UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

RECORDS

OF THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE

Eleventh Session
Paris, 1960

PROCEEDINGS

UNESCO

Published in 1962 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Place de Fontenoy, Paris-7e
Composed in Unesco's workshops
Printed by Joseph Floch, Mayenne

© UNESCO 1962
CPG.62/VII.11/A

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GENERAL INFORMATION

List of Delegates, Representatives and Observers 11
Delegates of Member States and Associate Members 11
Observers from non-Member States 19
Observers from international organizations 19
Observers from intergovernmental organizations 20
Observers from international non-governmental organizations approved for consultative arrangements 20
Observers from other non-governmental organizations admitted by the General Conference under Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure 22

Officers of the General Conference and of the Commissions and Committees 25

Time-table of meetings 27

List of documents of the eleventh session of the General Conference 29

Statistical table showing the documents prepared for the eleventh session of the General Conference . . . 44

VERBATIM RECORDS OF PLENARY MEETINGS

First Plenary Meeting 47
Opening of the session by the Temporary President of the General Conference, representing the Head of the delegation of France
Address by the Chairman of the Executive Board
Address by the Director-General
Statement by the Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Statement by the President on Arrears of Contributions
Establishment of the Credentials Committee
Second Plenary Meeting 53
Consideration of the First Report of the Credentials Committee
Third Plenary Meeting 65
Address by H. E. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (India)
Amendment of Rules 25(1), 30(1), 34(1) and 38(1) of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference
Adoption of the Revised Agenda
Fourth Plenary Meeting 81
Adoption of the Revised Agenda (continued)
Adoption of the Report of the Nominations Committee. Election of the President and Vice-Presidents of the General Conference
Establishment of Commissions and Committees
Admission to the eleventh session of observers from international non-governmental organizations
Admission of Associate Members of the Organization
Admission of new Member States of the Organization: Kuwait

Fifth Plenary Meeting 100
Presentation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 by the Chairman of the Executive Board
Statement by the Director-General on the main lines of the Organization's programme
Second vote on the suppression of item 15.6 of the revised agenda of the eleventh session of the General Conference
Sixth Plenary Meeting 110
Report of the President on the first meeting of the General Committee of the Conference and adoption of the proposed organization of work of the eleventh session
Address by the Minister of Education of Ceylon
Explanation of votes on the question of the deletion of item 15.6 of the agenda
Adoption of the First Report of the Administrative Commission (Part I)
Address by H.E. Father Rapaille, Head of the delegation of Haiti
Seventh Plenary Meeting 119
Election of 12 members of the Executive Board
Eighth Plenary Meeting 121
Address by H.E. Mr. Lapin, Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Leo Tolstoy
Adoption of Part II of the First Report of the Administrative Commission
Ninth Plenary Meeting 131
Address by the Minister of Education of Ghana
Adoption of Part II of the First Report of the Administrative Commission (continued)
Request for the inclusion of a new item in the agenda
Tenth Plenary Meeting 149
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General, of the Executive Board and of Member States
Presentation by the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Report on the activities of the Board in 1959-1960
Presentation by the Chairman of the Reports Committee of that Committee's Preliminary Report
General discussion
Eleventh Plenary Meeting 166
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General, of the Executive Board and of Member States (continued)
Twelfth Plenary Meeting 187
Adoption of the Second Report of the Administrative Commission
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Thirteenth Plenary Meeting 203
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Fourteenth Plenary Meeting 224
Inclusion of a new item in the agenda
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Fifteenth Plenary Meeting 241
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Sixteenth Plenary Meeting 259
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Seventeenth Plenary Meeting 275
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Eighteenth Plenary Meeting 290
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Nineteenth Plenary Meeting 304
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued)
Twentieth Plenary Meeting 319
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (conclusion)
Reply by the Director-General
Twenty-first Plenary Meeting 331
Setting up of the Working Party of the General Conference on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget
Place of the Twelfth Session of the General Conference
Consideration of the Second Report of the Credentials Committee
Twenty-second Plenary Meeting. 344
Discussion on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture
Twenty-third Plenary Meeting 358
Discussion on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture (continued)

Twenty-fourth Plenary Meeting 375
Discussion on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture (continued)
Twenty-fifth Plenary Meeting 392
Discussion on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture (continued)
Twenty-sixth Plenary Meeting 410
Discussion on the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples
Twenty-seventh Plenary Meeting 425
Discussion on the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples (conclusion)
Discussion on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture (conclusion)
Addresses by the Heads of the delegations of the Malagasy Republic and Upper Volta
Twenty-eighth Plenary Meeting 446
Adoption of the Report of the General Committee on the requests for the inclusion of two new items in the Agenda
Presentation of the Final Report of the Reports Committee by the Chairman of that Committee
Adoption of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission
Twenty-ninth Plenary Meeting 454
Adoption of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission
Adoption of the Fourth Report of the Administrative Commission
Adoption of the Report of the Programme Commission on Part II of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962
Thirtieth Plenary Meeting 465
Adoption of the Report of the Programme Commission on Part II of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 (continued)
Adoption of the Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education
Adoption of the Recommendation concerning the Most Effective Means of Rendering Museums Accessible to Everyone
Adoption of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission, Part E - Appropriation Resolution
Thirty-first Plenary Meeting 484
Adoption of the Report of the Working Party of the General Conference on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget
Election of the members of the Headquarters Committee, of the Legal Committee and of the Reports Committee
Adoption of the Addendum to the Report of the Programme Commission
Tribute to Mr. Jean Thomas, Assistant Director-General
Close of the eleventh session of the General Conference

NOTE:

The General Conference at its eleventh session adopted a revised text of Rule 59 of its Rules of Procedure (11 C/Resolutions, 16). Consequently 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 if necessary.

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:
Mrs. Masouma Ismaty WARDAKY
Mrs. Saleha ETEMADI
Mr. Fateh Mohammad MUNTAZIR
Mr. Abdul WAHED KARIMI

ALBANIA

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Myslim SINOIMERI
Delegate:
Mr. Dilaver PINDERI

ARGENTINA

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Dr. Luis R. MAC KAY
Delegates:
H. E. Dr. Alfredo D. CALCAGNO
H. E. Mr. José MAZAR BARNETT
H. E. Mrs. Rosa Clotilde SABATTINI de BARON BIZA
H. E. Dr. Abel SANCHEZ DIAZ
Alternates:
Mr. Lucio GARCIA DEL SOLAR
Dr. Juan Carlos FERREIRA
Dr. José Horacio CABRAL MAGNASCO
Adviser:
Mr. Félix DELLA PAOLERA
Secretary:
Mr. Guillermo BRANDT

AUSTRALIA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. E. Ronald WALKER
Delegates:
Mr. W. J. WEEDEN
Dr. H. G. WATKIN
Dr. W. Gardner DAVIES
Mr. G. EDGAR
Alternate:
Professor A. D. TRENDALL
Advisers:
Mr. P. G. H. HENDERSON
Mr. F. R. DALRYMPLE

AUSTRIA

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Kurt FRIEBERGER
Delegates:
Mr. Wilhelm MARINELLI
Dr. Friederich COCRON
Dr. Alexander PHILIPPOVICH
Advisers:
Dr. Ernst LAGLER
Dr. Karl BASCHIERA
Dr. Heinz LAUBE
Dr. Robert HEINE-GELDERN

BELGIUM

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Julien KUYPERS
Deputy:
Mr. Jean BAUGNIET
Delegates:
Reverend Father Robert de le COURT
Mr. Armand HACQUAERT
Mr. Marcel FLORKIN
Alternate:
Mr. Frans VANDENBORRE
Advisers:
Miss Emilie ARNOULD
Mr. H. COCHAUX
Mr. Sylvain DE COSTER
Mr. Robert PIERLET
Mr. René REINTJENS
Baron Conrad VAN DER BRUGGEN
Mrs. G. LION-LEVIE
Secretary:
Mrs. Liliane DE RIDDER-DE WILDE

BOLIVIA

Delegate:
H. E. Mr. José CUADROS QUIROGA

BRAZIL

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Professor Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO
Delegates:
Mr. Abgar RENAULT
Mr. Eliezer MAGALHAES
Mr. Celso FERREIRA DA CUNHA
Mr. Wladimir MURTINHO
Alternates:
Mr. Paulo CASTRO MOREIRA SILVA
Mr. Simeao LEAL
Mr. Almir de CASTRO
Mr. Mellilo Moreira de MELLO
Parliamentary Observers:
Mr. Mauro BORGES TEIXEIRA
Mr. Plinio SALGADO
Mr. Manuel OLIVEIRA FRANCO SOBRINHO
Advisers:
Mr. Gabriel FIALHO
Miss Maria ISAR TAMM BIAS FORTES
Mr. Gilberto CHATEAUBRIAND BANDEIRA DE MELLO
Mr. Marcos ROMERO
Secretaries:
Mrs. Maria Amelia de AGUIAR NELSON
Miss Maria Sylvia NORONHA

BULGARIA

Head of the Delegation:
Professor Sava GANOVSKI

Deputy:
Mr. Mintcho TCHERNEV
Delegates:
Mr. Chudomir PETROV
Professor Assen HADJIOLOV
Mr. Boris MILEV
Adviser:
Mr. Stéphane TODOROV

BURMA

Head of the Delegation:
Thiri Pyanchi U KHIN MAUNG CYI
Deputy:
H. E. WUNNA KYAW HTIN SAO BOONWAAT
Delegates:
Dr. THA HLA
U BA NYUNT
U BA WAN
Alternate:
U TIN AYE

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Mr. Grigorii Yakovlevitch KISELEV
Delegates:
Mr. Stepan Andreevitch UMREIKO
Mrs. Elvira Petrovna GERASIMOVITCH
Mr. Vadim Nikiforovitch POSNIAK
Adviser:
Mr. Viktor Sergeevitch KOLBASIN

CAMBODIA

Head of the Delegation:
H. R. H. Prince NORODOM NORINDETH
Delegates:
Mr. PUNG PENG CHENG
Mr. SAMRETHSOTH

CAMEROUN

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Oumaté TALBA MALLA
Deputy:
H. E. Mr. Jacques KUOH MOUKOURI
Delegates:
Mr. Siméon SONGUE
Mr. Engelbert ATANGANA
Mr. Max DIBOTI
Advisers:
Mr. Jean DUVERNET
Mr. SEGALEN

CANADA

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Marcel CADIEUX
Deputy:
Mr. Howard Russell MacEWAN, M.P.
Delegates:
Mr. J. Marcel BOURBONNAIS, M.P.
Mr. Oakley DALGLEISH
Major Vincent PRICE, Q.C.
Alternates:
Dr. Pierre GENDRON
Dr. R. F. SHARP
Miss Norma WALMSLEY
Advisers:
Mr. Eugène BUSSIERE
Miss Mary Q. DENCH
Mr. Lionel V. J. ROY
Mr. Ralph I. CHURCHILL
Secretary:
Mr. Pierre CHARPENTIER

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Jean-Christophe MACKPAYEN
Delegates:
Mr. Nicolas AWOYAMO
Mr. Alphonse DIBERT
Mr. Charlie MOKAMANEDE

CEYLON

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. G. P. MALALASEKERA
Delegates:
H. E. Mr. P. R. GUNASEKERA
Mr. N. M. M. I. HUSSAIN
Mr. T. C. I. EKANAYAKE
Mrs. Anil de SILVA

CHILE

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Emilio PFEFFER
Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Sergio MONTT RIVAS
Miss Irma SALAS
Mr. Hugo MONTES
Dr. Gustavo LAGOS MATOS

CHINA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. CHENG Tien-Fong
Delegates:
H. E. Dr. TCHEN Hiong-Fei
Professor CHEN Yuan
Dr. Chi-Pao CHENG
Dr. Paul K. T. SIH
Advisers:
Professor SUN Tang-Yueh
Professor HO Lien-Kwei
Dr. KUO Yu-Shou
Dr. CHOU Ling
Adviser and Secretary:
Dr. CHAO Keh-Ming
Secretaries:
Mr. Clément A. K. TSIEN
Mr. KUNG Tsung-Tsai
Mr. TCHEN Joen-Kouei
Miss Chantal LE ROY

COLOMBIA

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Mr. Eduardo ZALAMEA BORDA
Delegate:
H. E. Professor Ramón de ZUBIRIA
Secretary:
Mr. Claudio MARTINEZ BAENA

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Félix TCHICAYA
Delegates:
Mr. Paul FOUNDOU
Mr. Georges KIMBANGUI

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Ignace MAKUTA
Delegate:
Mr. Jean SUMBU

COSTA RICA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Rodolfo PINTO ECHEVERRIA
Delegates:
Dr. Norberto de CASTRO Y TOSI
Dr. Carlos DEAMBROSIS MARTINS
Miss Nidia HERRERA RODRIGUEZ

CUBA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. Raimundo LAZO
Delegates:
Mrs. Vicentina ANTUÑA
Mr. Roberto FERNANDEZ RETAMAR
Dr. Manuel CORRALES
Dr. Hilda LABRADA BERNAL

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. František KAHUDA
Deputy:
Professor Vladimir SEDLÁK
Delegates:
Mr. Augustin MICHALIČKA
H. E. Mr. Václav PLESKOT
Dr. Adolf HOFFMEISTER
Alternates:
Mr. Ivan MÁLEK
Dr. Přibyslav PAVLÍK
Professor František PAZÚR
Dr. Václav NAVRÁTIL
Dr. Jaroslav MARTINIC
Dr. Bořivoj KEIL
Advisers:
Dr. Václav TÝLNER
Mr. Vladimír CIHÁK
Miss Ludmila MELIONOVÁ
Secretaries:
Mr. Jiří PROKES
Mr. Ladislav MACH

DAHOMEY

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Sourou-Migan APITHY
Delegate:
Miss Solange FALADE
Adviser:
Mr. GEFFROY

DENMARK

Head of the Delegation:
Mrs. Edel SAUNTE, M. P.
Delegates:
Miss Helga PEDERSEN
Mr. Mogens PIHL, Ph. D.
Mr. Kristen Helveg PETERSEN
Miss Agnete VØHTZ
Alternates:
Mr. Mogens HERMANNSEN
Mr. Hakon STANGERUP, Ph. D.
Mr. Knud B. ANDERSEN
Mr. Peter Anton KOCH
Mr. Erik CARLSEN

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Oscar ROBLES TOLEDANO
Delegates:
H. E. Dr. Salvador E. PARADAS
Professor Augusto PEIGNAND CESTERO

ECUADOR

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Cristobal BONIFAZ JIJON
Delegates:
Mr. Vicente HARO ALVEAR
Dr. Luis Enrique JARAMILLO M.
Secretary:
Mr. Dario LARA

EL SALVADOR

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. Rodolfo BARON CASTRO CASTRO
Delegates:
Mr. Antonio SALAZAR
Mr. Roberto CORDERO d'AUBUISSON
Mr. Guillermo RUBIO MELHADO
Alternate:
Mrs. Elena SOL DE GUTIERREZ

ETHIOPIA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD
Deputy:
Mr. Million NEQ NIQ
Delegates:
Mr. Alemou BEGASHA
Miss Mary TADESSA
Mr. Abede KEBEDE
Advisers:
Mr. Guetatchew ZELLEKE
Mr. Jean LESSAY

FINLAND

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Heikki HOSIA
Deputy:
Mr. R. H. OITTINEN
Delegates:
Dr. Esko SUOMALAINEN
Mr. Arvi KIVIMAA
Mr. Kalervo SIIKALA
Alternates:
Dr. Paavo KASTARI
Mr. Paul JYRKÄNKALLIO
Mr. Mauno CASTREN

FRANCE

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Louis JOXE (up till 24 November)
Mr. Pierre GUILLAUMAT (from 25 November onwards)
Deputy:
Mr. Jean BASDEVANT
Delegates:
Mr. Julien CAIN
Mr. Jean SARRAILH
Assistant Delegates:
Mr. Jean COULOMB
Mr. Louis FRANCOIS
Mr. Stéphane HESSEL
Mr. Pierre LELONG
Mr. Henri MAZEAUD
Mr. Jean STOETZEL
Advisers:
Mr. Jean BERTHOIN
Mr. René CASSIN
Mr. Etienne GILSON
Mr. Jacques JAUJARD
Mr. Henri LAUGIER
Mr. Pierre PIGANIOL
Technical Advisers:
Mr. AUBERT
Miss AUBOYER
Mr. AUTIER
Mr. A. BASDEVANT
Mr. Pierre BARDIN
Mr. BARRATE
Mr. B. BLIN
Mr. BONNEFOUS
Mr. BRICHET
Mr. Pierre CHIGOT
Mr. CHILOTTI
Mr. DANNAUD
Reverend Father DUBOURGUET
Mr. Vadim ELISSEEF
Mr. ESCANDE
Mr. FINES
Mr. FESSARD
Mr. FOESSEL
Mr. FOUCHET
Mr. GILLETTE
Mr. GINESTE
Mr. GRANDESIMON
Mr. GROS
Mrs. HATTINGUAIS
Mr. IGOT
Mr. JUVIGNY
Mr. LABOURET
Mr. LE BRAS
Mr. LA COUR
Mr. LEFRANC
Mr. LEGLISE
Mr. P.L. MIGNON
Mr. PAQUE
Mr. REGNERY
Mr. TERROU
Mr. TOUCHARD
Technical Adviser to the Programme Commission:
Mr. Y. BRUNSVICK
Technical Advisers to the Administrative Commission:
Mr. J.P. CABOUAT
Mr. GRANDSIMON
Secretaries-General:
Mr. R. MORISSET
Mr. R. RODRIGUEZ
Secretary:
Mrs. C. BOUILLET

GABON

Not represented

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Dieter SATTLER
Deputy:
Professor Arnold BERGSTRAESSER
Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Herbert BLANKENHORN
Dr. Hans REIMERS
Professor Otto von SIMSON
Alternates:
Dr. Hans HILGARD
Dr. Maria SCHLÜTER-HERMKES
Dr. Heinz KÜPPERS
Mr. Holger REIMERS
Freiherr von BUDDENBROCK
Advisers:
Dr. Hellmut BECKER
Professor Georg ECKERT
Dr. Siegfried DÖRFFELDT
Dr. Luise REHLING
Professor Gert WEBER
Professor Edgar HEDERER
Professor Wulf ANKEL
Dr. Günther BÖHNECKE
Mr. Walter STEIGNER
Professor Ralf DAHRENDORF
Mr. Wilhelm MAURER
Dr. Rudolf SPANG
Professor W. BARKMANN
Professor Dietrich von DENFER
Professor Kurt BITTEL
Assistant Secretaries:
Dr. Wolfgang SCHLEICHER
Miss Irmingard SCHOOL-POENSGEN
Miss Dorothea SEEBERGER

GHANA

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. Mr. A. J. DUWUONA-HAMMOND, M.P.
Delegates:
Mr. D. A. BROWN
Mr. J. G. O'BAKA TORTO
Mr. A. I. K. QUAINOO
Mr. J. E. K. AIDOO
Expert:
Mr. A. HAMMOND

GREECE

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Georges AVEROFF
Delegates:
Mrs. Lina TSALDARIS
Mr. C. KITSIKIS
Mr. Basile CALEVRAS
Mr. M. MANTOUDIS
Advisers:
Mr. G. SPYRIDAKIS
Mr. R. RUFOS
Mrs. N. ANTONAKAKI

GUATEMALA

Delegates:
Mrs. Pilar BARRIOS de HASS
Dr. Carlos E. ROSAL
Mr. Rafael Armando TELLEZ

GUINEA

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Camera MOUSSA SANGUIANA
Delegates:
Mr. Camera NENE KALI
Mr. TOURE MAHOMED

HAITI

Head of the Delegation:
Reverend Father Hubert RAPAILLER
Delegates:
Mr. Jean MONTES LEFRANC
Mrs. Nicole DORCE

HONDURAS

Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Carlos Roberto REINA
Mrs. WATSON DE REINA

HUNGARY

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Pál ILKU
Deputy:
Mrs. Magda JÓBORU
Delegates:
Mr. Imre SZABÓ
Mr. József SZÁLL
Mr. Kálmán UJLAKI
Advisers:
Mr. György HAJÓS
Mrs. Irène PEHR
Mrs. Teréz RESZLER
Mr. Janos BECK
Mr. Marton KLEIN

INDIA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. K. L. SHRIMALI
Delegates:
H. E. Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN
Mrs. Hansa MEHTA
Mrs. Indira Gandhi
Professor MAHADEVAN
Alternates:
Dr. A. A. A. FYZEE
Mr. M. Chalapathi RAU
Professor G. D. BOAZ
Secretary-General:
Dr. N. S. JUNANKAR
Public Relations Officer:
Mr. E. Pouchpa DASS
Secretaries:
Mrs. Amie CRISHNA
Miss GIROD
Mr. R. N. VIJ
Mr. S. C. BHATTACHARYA
Messenger:
Mr. Vladimir BELIACHVILI

INDONESIA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. Tamzil SUTAN NARAJAU
Deputy:;
Professor SOEDJONO DJOENED POESPONEGORO
Delegates:
Mr. SUMITRO REKSODIPUTRO
Mr. SOEPARMO

IRAN

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. G. A. RAADI
Deputy:
Dr. MOUSSA AMID
Delegates:
Mr. Hossein MINOUI
Mr. Mohammad ACHNA
Mr. Massoud OSTOVANY
Mr. Sadeq TOUBIA
Secretary:
Miss Jacqueline LE CORRE

IRAQ

Not represented

ISRAEL

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Moshe AVIDOR
Deputy:
H. E. Mr. Walter EYTAN
Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Schmuel BENDOR
Professor S. SAMBURSKY
Mrs. Miriam LAMBERT
Alternates:
Mr. Yehuda HORAM
Mrs. H. ZINDER
Mr. Dan AVNI
Adviser:
Mr. Ephraim HARPAZ

ITALY

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Giacinto BOSCO
Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Giulio del BALZO di PRESENZANO

Mr. Giuseppe VEDOVATO
Mrs. Maria JERVOLINO
H. E. Mr. Francesco Maria TALIANI de MARCHIO
Mr. Enrico SERRA

Alternates:
Professor Giovanni CALÒ
Professor VITO
Professor Giuseppe UNGARETTI
H. E. Mr. Giorgio CIRAOLO

Secretary to the Delegation:
Mr. Gian Franco POMPEI

Advisers:
Professor Attilio FRAIESE
Dr. Gilberto BERNABEI
Mr. Eligio PERUCCA
Professor Umberto d'ANCONA
Mr. Vittore BRANCA
Professor Aldo GHIZZETTI
Dr. Gino PORFIRIO
Mrs. Maria Luisa PARONETTO-VALIER
Mrs. Alessendra DA VENEZIA

IVORY COAST

Delegates:
Mr. A. KACOU
Mr. R. BURGEAT
Mr. Adiko ASSOI

JAPAN

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Tetsuro FURUKAKI

Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Akira MATSUI
Mr. Shigeharu MATSUMOTO
Mr. Yoshio MUTO
Mr. Isao KIKUCHI

Alternates:
Mr Morikuni TODA
Mr Noboru SUGIURA
Mr. Toshiro UNO
Mr. Toshio HARA
Mr. Tetsuo MISUMI

Advisers:
Mr. Ken SUGAWARA
Mr. Suemasa OKAMOTO
Mr. Kazuo KINOSHITA

Attached to the Delegation:
Mr. Naomiti TSUKAHARA
Mr. Masahiko SEKI
Mr. Hiroshi KAWAGUCHI
Mrs. M. SAAS

JORDAN

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Khalil El-SALIM

Delegate:
Mr. Mohamad Nori SHAFIQ

KOREA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. Chun Suk AUH

Delegates:
Mr. Ki Zun ZO
Mr. Patrick H. CHANG

Experts:
Mr. MIN Kyong Chun
Mr. Hyun Kee KIM
Mr. Chin Hyung YOO

KUWAIT

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Abdul-Aziz HUSSEIN

Delegate:
Mr. Hassan Ali DABBAGH

LAOS

Head of the Delegation:
H. R. H. Princess SOUVANNA PHOUMA

Deputy:
Mr. Tay KEOLOUANGHKOT

Delegate:
Mr. Khamphouang OULA

LEBANON

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Charles D. AMMOUN

Delegates:
Mr. Hachem HUSSEINI
Mgr. Jean MAROUN
Mr. Takieddine SOLH
Mr. Fouad SARROUF
Mr. Camille ABOUSSOUAN

Alternates:
Mr. Basem JISR
Miss Najila ABOU [illegible]DINE

LIBERIA

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. Dr. John P. MITCHELL

Delegates:
Mrs. Fatima Massaquoi FAHNBULLEH
Mr. Arthur T. SUMMERVILLE

LIBYA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Mahmud BESHTI

Delegates:
Mr. Mansur OTHMAN MANSUR
Mr. Mansur KIKHIA

LUXEMBOURG

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Emile SCHAUS

Delegates:
Mr. Joseph HESS
Mr. Charles LANG
Mr. Jean WAGNER

MALAGASY REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. A. RAKOTO RATSIMAMANGA

Deputies:
Mr. Edouard ANDRIANTSILANIARIVO
Mr. B. RABETAFIKA

Delegates:
Mr. RAMAMBASON
Mr. RAZANAJOHARY
Mr. J. P. MAILLARD
Mr. Jean RENE
Mr. Jules RAZAFIMINO
Mr. Jean ERNEST

Alternates:
Mr. Thomas RAHANDRAHA
Mrs. RAHANDRAHA

Advisers:
Mrs. FERRAND
Mrs. de JUST
Mr. RAPATSALAHY

FEDERATION OF MALAYA

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. Inche ABDUL RAHMAN bin Haji Talib

Delegates:
Inche ABDULLAH bin Sahat
Inche K. ARIANAYAGAM
Inche Paul CHANG
Inche LOKMAN bin Musa
Inche Ahmad ZAINAL Abidin

MALI

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. ABDOULAYE Singaré

Delegates:
Mr. Amadou HAMPATE BÂ
Mr. Mamadou TALLA

MEXICO

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Agustín YÁÑEZ

Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Eduardo ESPINOSA Y PRIETO
Mr. Eugenio MÉNDEZ DOCURRO
Dr. Silvio ZAVALA

Dr. Paula ALEGRÍA
Advisers:
Mr. Oscar MÉNDEZ NÁPOLES
Mr. Manuel de la LAMA
Miss Catalina SIERRA CASASÚS
Mr. Ernesto Santiago LÓPEZ
Secretary-General:
Mr. Jesús CABRERA

MONACO

Head of the Delegation:
H.S.H. Prince PIERRE de MONACO
Deputy:
H.E. Mr. Arthur CROVETTO
Delegates:
H.E. Mr. Henry TREMEAUD
Mr. René NOVELLA

MOROCCO

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Mr. Mohammed EL FASI
Delegates:
Mr. Abdallah LAMRANI
Mr. Abdelhafid IDRISSI
Mr. Omar SNOUSSI
Mr. Mohamed Mohieddine MECHRAFI
Mr. MEHDI ELMANJRA
Alternates:
Mr. Hocine BEKKARI
Mr. Albert SASSON
Mr. Mohamed ELGHORFI
Mr. Larbi BISBIS
Mr. Abdelhadi TAZI

NEPAL

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. Mr. Parashu Narayan CHAUDHARI
Delegates:
H.E. Mr. Rama Prasad MANANDHAR
Mr. Krishna Bahadur MANANDHAR

NETHERLANDS

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Dr. J.M.L. Th. CALS
Deputies:
Dr. H.J. REININK
Dr. F. BENDER
Delegates:
Mr. J.H. BANNIER
Mr. B.J.E.M. de HOOG
Alternates:
Dr. C.C. BERG
Dr. W. BRAND
Dr. A.N.J. den HOLLANDER
Mr. S. KOSTER
Dr. A.B. de VRIES
Advisers:
Dr. L. BRUMMEL
Mr. Joh. H.M. DERKSEN
Mr. S. de GORTER
Mr. R.M.H. KOESOEMO JOEDO
Dr. J. VERHOEVE
Mr. H. van VLOTEN
Secretaries:
Mr. M.J.J. van LOOSDRECHT
Miss T. ROLDANUS

NEW ZEALAND

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Dr. C.E. BEEBY
Deputy:
Professor C.C. AIKMAN
Delegates:
Professor S. MUSGROVE
Mr. D.G. SHOULER
Advisers:
Dr. V. ARMSTRONG
Mr. J.G. McARTHUR

NICARAGUA

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Pedro J. QUINTANILLA
Delegates:
H.E. Dr. Diego Manuel SEQUEIRA
H.E. Mr. Coronel Rafael E. PÉREZ LUNA
Adviser:
Mr. Luis Felipe IBARRA

THE NIGER

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Mr. Zodi IKHIA
Delegates:
Mr. DIALLO ABDOULAYE
Mr. SEYDOU AMADOU
Mr. Francis BORREY
Mr. Alzouma TIECOURA

NIGERIA

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. Mr. Aja NWACHUKU, M.P.
Delegates:
The Hon. Mr. Mallam ISA KAITA
The Hon. Mr. Ge OKEKE
The Hon. Dr. Sanya ONABAMIRO
Mr. F.I. AJUMOGOBIA
Alternate:
Mr. E. ESUA, C.B.E.
Advisers:
Mr. Mallam Yusufu GOBIR
Mr. G.I.N. ENOBAKARE
Mr. I.K. ORCHARDSON
Mr. P. OGWUAZOR

NORWAY

Head of the Delegation:
Professor Alf SOMMERFELT
Deputy:
Mr. Harald L. TVETERAS
Delegates:
Mr. Axel Otto NORMANN
Mr. Arne OKKENHAUG
Mr. Alfred WOLD
Alternates:
Mr. Lars LANGAKER
Mr. Inge AUESTAD
Adviser:
Mr. Ole ALGARD

PAKISTAN

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Mr. Habibur RAHMAN
Deputy:
Dr. S.M. SHARIF
Delegates:
Dr. Mohammad Raziuddin SIDDIQUI
Dr. Ghulam Wahid CHOWDHURY
Delegate-Secretary:
Mr. S.G. GHALIQ
Adviser:
Mr. C. Kemal REHEEM

PANAMA

Delegate:
H.E. Mr. Jorge TULIO ROYO

PARAGUAY

Delegate:
H.E. Mr. Ramon V. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA

PERU

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Dr. Roberto MAC-LEAN Y ESTENOS
Delegates:
Mr. Alberto JOCHAMOVITZ
Dr. Javier ROMERO
Secretaries:
Mr. José BELAUNDE MOREYRA
Miss Cristina DENEGRI CORNEJO

PHILIPPINES

Head of the Delegation:
H.E. Mr. José E. ROMERO
Delegates:
Mrs. Geronima T. PECSON

Mr. Juan PEREZ, Jr.
Mr. Mauro AUSEJO
Mr. Pedro RONDUEN
Congressional Advisers:
Mr. Decoroso ROSALES
Mr. Manuel ENVERGA
Mr. Cornelio VILLAREAL
Mr. Domitilio ABORDO
Mr. Manuel CASES

POLAND

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

RUMANIA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Mihai RALEA
Delegates:
H. E. Mr. Vasile DUMITRESCU
Mr. Vasile MALINSKI
Mr. Tudor VIANU
H. E. Mr. Constantin NICUTA
Alternates:
Mr. Octov LIVEZEANU
Professor Traian IONASCU
Professor C. IONESCU-BUJOR
Secretary:
Mrs. Lucienne SERBAN

SAUDI - ARABIA

Delegate:
Dr. Yahya AL-KHASHAB

SENEGAL

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. François DIENG
Delegates:
Mr. Ibra WANE
Mrs. Marie GUEY
Mr. André GUILLABERT
Mr. Arona SY
Mr. Alioune DIOP

SOMALIA

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. Ali Gerad JAMA
Delegates:
Mr. Mahmoud Haji AHMED
Mr. Mahmoud HASSAN
Mr. J. F. SYAD

SPAIN

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Jesús RUBIO GARCÍA MINA
Deputy:
Professor Luis JORDANA DE POZAS
Delegates:
Mr. Joaquín TENA ARTIGAS
Mr. Adolfo MUÑOZ ALONSO
H. E. Mr. Federico DIEZ Y DE YSASI
Dr. Joaquín PÉREZ VILLANUEVA
Alternates:
Mr. Emilio GARRIGUES DIAZ-CAÑABATE
Mr. José Antonio GARCÍA NOBLEJAS
Mr. Rafael FERRER SAGRERAS
Mr. Rafael FERNANDEZ-QUINTANILLA Y PEREZ-VALDÉS
Mr. José Antonio MARAVALL CASESNOVES
Secretaries:
Mr. Luis SEGOVIA
Mrs. María Teresa BELLVESER
Mrs. Carmen SERRAT

SUDAN

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Ziada ARBAB
Delegates:
Mr. Abdel Halim Ali TAHA
Mr. Mandour el MAHDI
Mr. Khalid Mohamed ALI
Mr. Hassan Ahmed YOUSIF
Advisers:
Mr. Thabit Hassan THABIT
Mr. Mutwkil Ahmed AMIN

SWEDEN

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Ragnar LUND
Delegates:
Dr. Hilding EEK
Mr. Rune ERIKSSON
Mrs. Ruth HAMRIN-THORELL, M.P.
Mr. Nils KELLGREN, M.P.
Alternates:
Mr. Gunnar HAMBRAEUS
Dr. Gert HORNWALL
Mr. Sven Arne STAHRE
Dr. Erland SUNDSTRÖM
Dr. Carl Henrik WITTROCK
Adviser:
Mr. Bo KÄRRE
Secretary:
Miss Birgitta SELLMANN

SWITZERLAND

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. Hans-Peter TSCHUDI
Deputy:
H. E. Mr. Bernard BARBEY
Delegates:
Mr. Ernest BOERLIN
Mr. Camille BRANDT
Professor Robert DOTTRENS
Advisers:
Mrs. P. BUGNION-SECRETAN
Mr. René DOVAZ
Mr. Pascal FROCHAUX
Mr. Heinrich GUTERSOHN
Mr. Fritz GYSIN
Professor Jean Rodolphe de SALIS
Mr. Jean-Baptiste de WECK
Mr. Daniel GAGNEBIN
Secretary:
Mrs. BARACHE

THAILAND

Head of the Delegation:
Professor Lieutenant General PHYA SALVIDHANNIDES
Delegates:
Professor Prince PREM PURACHATRA
Mr. Abhai CHANDAVIMOL
Professor Kasem UDYANIN
Miss Lamaimas SARADATTA
Secretary:
Mr. Nob PALAKAWONGSA

TOGO

Not represented

TUNISIA

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Mahmoud MESSADI
Deputy:
Mr. Ahmed ABDESSELEM
Delegates:
Mr. Chedli KLIBI
Mr. Lassâad BEN OSMAN
Mr. Tahar GUIGUA
Alternates:
Mr. Moncef KEDADI
Mr. Abdelwahab BAKIR
Mr. Ahmed EL FANI

Mr. Mohammed BAKIR
Mr. Mohamed ETTRI
Mr. Rafik SAÏD
Secretary:
Mr. Mohamed SAHLI

TURKEY

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Professor Bedrettin TUNCE TUNCEL
Deputy:
Professor Dr. Tavfik SAGLAM
Delegates:
Mr. Hasan Ali YUCEL
Professor Suut Kemal YETKIN
Mr. Ahmet Kutsi TECER
Advisers:
Mr. M. Celal Sahir SILAN
Mr. Nejat ERTÜZÜN
Alternate:
Mr. Zeki Hakki KARABUDA

UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. S. A. SLIPCHENKO
Delegates:
Mr. K. Z. LITVIN
Mr. N. F. ANDRIUCHENKO
Mr. A. N. RUS'KO
Mr. A. T. CHEKANYUK
Adviser:
Mr. M. Y. PETRACHKOV

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Mr. S. G. LAPIN
Deputy:
Mr. A. G. KULAZHENKOV
Delegates:
Mr. S. A. AZIMOV
Professor N. M. SISSAKIAN
Mr. M. V. LAVRICHENKO
Alternates:
Mr. P. V. ZIMIN
Mr. M. M. MEHTI ZADE
Mr. A. I. LEGASSOV
Mr. I. V. SAMYLOVSKY
Mr. V. V. EVGUENIEV
Advisers:
Mr. F. A. KUKARENKO
Mr. K. P. RUBANIK
Mr. G. A. MOJAEV
Mr. N. M. MARIEV
Mr. U. P. NASSENKO
Mr. N. M. KANAEV

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. Saroite OKASHA
Deputy:
Dr. Mohamed AWAD
Delegates:
Dr. A. A. EL-SAYYED
Dr. A. EL-KOUSSY
Dr. G. SALIBA
Dr. A. F. ISMAIL
Mr. Mandour EL-MAHDI
Mr. Khalid Mohel ALI
Mr. Hassan Ahmed YOUSIF
Advisers:
Mr. Thabit Hassan THABIT
Mr. Mutwkil Ahmed AMIN

UNITED KINGDOM

Head of the Delegation:
The Rt. Hon. Sir David ECCLES, K. C. V. O., M. P.
Deputy:
Mr. J. B. GODBER, M. P.
Delegates:
Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS
Mr. C. R. ALLISON
Dr. Mary WOODALL, C. B. E.
Alternates:
Mrs. T. C. R. SHEPHERD
Dr. G. E. R. DEACON, C. B. E.
Mr. J. R. CLARK
Mr. D. H. LEADBETTER, C. B.
Mr. R. MORRISON
Advisers:
Mr. W. L. DALE, C. M. G.
Mr. G. I. CRAWFORD
Mr. C. CONNER
Mr. H. HOUGHTON, C. B. E.
Mr. B. COCKRAM, C. M. G., C. B. E.
Mr. A. A. F. HAIGH, C. M. G.
Mr. E. J. F. SCOTT
Mr. J. S. ARTHUR
Dr. E. O. MERCER, M. B. E.
Miss S. GUITON
Mr. H. O. DOVEY
Mr. P. LAVER
Mr. M. K. O. SIMPSON-ORLEBAR
Conference Officer:
Miss S. STRACHAN
Delegation Staff:
Mr. F. H. GOSHAWK
Miss V. B. D. BIDDELL

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Robert H. THAYER
Delegates:
Mrs. Bertha ADKINS
Mr. William S. DIX
Mr. Horace E. HENDERSON
Dr. George N. SHUSTER
Congressional Adviser:
Senator B. KEATING
Principal Adviser:
Mr. Henry J. KELLERMANN
Advisers:
Mr. Frederick BURKHARDT, Ph. D.
Mr. Alfred DEGRAZIA, Ph. D.
Mrs. Magdalen FLEXNER
Mr. Harry GOLDBERG
Mr. Frank MARIA
Mr. L. Arthur MINNICH, Ph. D.
Mr. John H. MOORE
Mr. Joseph B. PLATT, Ph. D.
Mr. James SIMSARIAN
Mrs. Fredrika M. TANDLER, Ph. D.
Mr. Andy G. WILKISON
Mr. Julius FLEISCHMANN
Mr. Harold KAPLAN
Mr. Harry J. KROULD
Mrs. H. Gates LLOYD
Dr. Frank SNOWDEN
Mr. James F. HUGHES III,
Mr. Wilbert H. PEARSON
Mr. Howard SIMPSON
Mr. Roger REVELLE
Mr. B. LARSEN
Secretary:
Mr. William B. YOUNG
Administrative Officer:
Mr. Frank ENGLAND

UPPER VOLTA

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. Darsalam DIALLO
Delegate:
Mr. Bernard TIBO OUEDRAGO
Secretary:
Mr. Roger KIAVWE

URUGUAY

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Eduardo PONS ETCHEVERRY
Deputy:
Mr. Juan PIVEL DEVOTO
Delegates:
Mr. Alfonso FERREIRIA
Dr. FERRES TERRA
H. E. Dr. Abelardo SAENZ

VENEZUELA

Head of the Delegation:
H. E. Dr. Mariano PICÓN SALAS
Delegates:
H. E. Dr. Alberto ZEREGA FOMBONA
Dr. José Luis AGUILAR GORRONDONA
Dr. Leonardo DIAZ GONZALEZ
Adviser:
Dr. Antonio STEMPEL

VIET-NAM

Head of the Delegation:
Mr. TRAN HUU THE
Deputy:
Professor VU QUOC THUC
Delegates:
Professor NGUYEN HUY BAO
Mr. NGUYEN KHAC KHAM
Mr. LY CHANH TRUNG
Alternates:
Professor TRINH DINH TIEU
Mr. TON THAT THIEN
Adviser:
Professor NGUYEN QUOC DINH
Secretary:
Mr. LE THANH MINH CHAU

YUGOSLAVIA

Head of the Delegation:
Dr. Milos ZANKO
Delegates:
Dr. Radivoj UVALIC
Mr. Boris KOCIJANCIC
Mr. Dimce BELOVSKI
Mr. Milovan MATIC
Secretary:
Mr. Radomir ANDJELIC

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

FEDERATION OF THE WEST INDIES

Delegate:
Mr. R.N. MURRAY

MAURITIUS

Delegate:
The Hon. A. BEEJADHUR

RUANDA-URUNDI

Delegates:
Mr. Thadée NDABAGUMIYE
Mr. Léopold BIHUMUGANI

SIERRA LEONE

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. J. Nelson WILLIAMS
Delegate:
Mr. D.H. CREED-NEWTON, M.B.E.

SINGAPORE
Not represented

TANGANYIKA

Head of the Delegation:
The Hon. O.S. KAMBONA
Delegate:
Mr. W.W. LEWIS-JONES

OBSERVERS FROM NON-MEMBER STATES

CHAD

Mr. OUAGADJIO

HOLY SEE

H.E. Mgr Paolo BERTOLI
Mgr Angelo PEDRONI
Reverend Father François RUSSO
Viscount Pierre d'ANDRE
Professor Jean A.A. PONCIN
Mr. Jean LARNAUD

IRELAND

Mr. D.O. LAOGHAIRE
Dr. Eoin MacWHITE

PORTUGAL

Mr. João Oswaldo Marçal CORREIA ANTUNES DE ALMEIDA

OBSERVERS FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

United Nations:
Mr. George PALTHEY
Mr. John P. HUMPHREY
Mr. Albert DOLLINGER
Mr. Marc SCHREIBER

United Nations Children's Fund
Dr. Charles EGGER

International Labour Organisation:
Mrs. L. JOUHAUX
Mr. W.S. CHANEY

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

Word Health Organization
Miss B. HOWELL

International Atomic Energy Agency
Professor R. BURAS
Miss M. JEFFREYS

International Civil Aviation Organization
Mr. J. HUTCHISON

Universal Postal Union
Dr. Fritz HESS

World Meteorological Organization
Miss MARTIN-SANÉ
Mr. M. CAMBON

Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization
Mr. Ove NIELSEN

OBSERVERS FROM INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
Mr. Emilio BETTINI

Ibero-American Bureau of Education
Mr. Manuel SITO ALBA

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

International Institute for the Unification of Private Law
Mr. Mario MATTEUCEI

League of Arab States
Dr. Yahya EL KHACHAB
Dr. H. F. EL DIWANY

Council of Europe
Mr. Robert CRIVON
Mr. Pierre BRAULT

Organization of American States
Mr. Francisco S. CESPEDES

International Bureau of Weights and Measures
Mr. Charles VOLET

International Bureau of Education
Professor Jean PIAGET
Mr. Pedro ROSSELLO

International Organization of Legal Metrology
Mr. M. COSTAMAGNA

International Council for the Exploration of the Sea
Mr. J. FURNESTIN

Organization for European Economic Co-operation
Mr. G. LÖWENTHAL

OBSERVERS FROM INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Approved for consultative arrangements

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

Associated Country Women of the World
Mrs. K. M. TURNBULL
Lady Tiphaine LUCAS

Catholic International Education Office
Mr. P. MAZIN
Mgr M. DESCAMPS
Mr. I. LINDEMANS
Mgr J. KERLEVEO
Canon J. MOERMAN
Mr. P. E. M. BOOS
Mr. I. MAROUN

Catholic International Union for Social Service
Miss H. NAEGELEN
Mr. P. BADIN

Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools
Mr. E. HATTINGUAIS

Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations
Mr. R. PINTO
Mr. Z. SHUSTER
Mr. E. WEILL
Mr. G. ISRAEL

Co-ordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students
Mr. M. GUNTHER

Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences
Professor J. MAISIN
Mr. J. F. DELAFRESNAYE

The Experiment in International Living
Miss M. LAUBRAY

Friends World Committee for Consultation
Mr. Wolf MENDL
Miss V. THOMPSON

International Alliance of Women
Dr. A. LEHMAN
Mrs. E. BERNARD
Mrs. H. LEGRAND

International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom
Mrs. S. den HERTOG

International Association for the advancement of Educational Research
Mr. M. DEBESSE

International Association for Vocational Guidance
Mr. J. BEAUSSIER
Mr. J. SCHILTZ

International Association of Art Critics
Mr. R. COGNIAT
Mrs. S. GILLE-DELAFON

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

International Association of Plastic Arts
Mr. B. LARDERA
M. J. LAGLENNE

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

International Association of Workers for Maladjusted Children
Mr. Henri JOUBREL
Mr. J. SELOSSE
Miss Ch. CONGE

International Astronautical Federation
Mr. Andrew G. HALEY
Dr. F. MALINA
Mr. A. R. WEILLER

International Catholic Child Bureau
Mr. Eudes de la POTTERIE

International Catholic Film Office
Mrs. R. ANGEBAUD

International Catholic Youth Federation
Mr. A. PAPISCA
Mr. Luiz Alberto de SOUZA
Mr. R. PEETERS

International Community of Booksellers' Associations
Mr. A. LEFEBVRE

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Mr. C. FORD

International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers
Mr. P. POIRIER
Mr. P. DEVAUX
Mr. J. ZIEGLER

International Conference of Social Work
Mr. LEFEBVRE-DIBON
Mrs. G. d'AUTHEVILLE

International Co-operative Alliance
Mr. J. KERINEC

International Council for Educational Films
Mr. R. LEFRANC

International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies
Sir Ronald SYME
Mr. J. d'ORMESSON

International Council of Museums
Mr. G. H. RIVIERE
Mrs. Benoist d'AZY-MOLTKE

International Council of Scientific Unions
Mr. G. LACLAVERE

International Council of Women
Mrs. M. H. LEFAUCHEUX
Mrs. K. DELAVENAY
Mrs. DINGHRA
Mrs. L. D. BARNEY
Mrs. E. VUILLARD
Mrs. M. MOLLIE

International Council on Archives
Mr. Guy DUBOSCQ
Mr. C. KECSKEMETI

International Federation of Art Films
Mrs. S. GILLE-DELAFON

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

International Federation of Christian Trade Unions
Mr. Robert VAUTHERIN

International Federation of Film Producers Associations
Mr. Ch. DELAC

International Federation of Modern Language Teachers
Mr. P. MEILE

International Federation of Newspaper Proprietors and Editors
Mr. M. de SAINT-PIERRE
Mr. C. BELLANGER

International Federation of Organizations for School Correspondence and Exchanges
Mr. J. DAMANTY

International Federation of Translators
Mr. J. WÜNSCHE
Mr. P-F. CAILLÉ

International Federation of University Women
Miss J.H. CHATON
Miss I. F. HILTON
Mrs. M. PETRÉ
Miss J. B. ROBINSON

International Federation of Workers' Travel Associations
Mr. M. LESUR
Mr. A. MOREL

International House Association and
International Alliance of Former Residents of the Cité universitaire de Paris
Mr. D. PEPY
Miss THOMAS

International League for the Rights of Man
Professor H. LAUGIER

International Literary and Artistic Association
Mr. J. VILBOIS

International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples
Mr. J. FORAY
Mr. N. ATANGANA
Miss J. DEJAIFFE
Mrs. F. PRESSUROT

International Music Council
Mr. J. BORNOFF
Mr. J. EVARTS

International Organization for Standardization
Mr. P. SALMON

International Publishers' Association
Mr. J. RODOLPHE-ROUSSEAU

International Scientific Film Association
Miss F. GAZAN

International Social Science Council
Mr. I. CHIVA

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

International Society for Education through Art
Mrs. E. HATINGUAIS

International Sociological Association
Mr. P. de BIE

International Theatre Institute
Mr. J. DARCANTE

International Union of Architects
Mr. R. LEBRET

International Union for Protecting Public Morality
Mr. J. CHOPLIN

International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
Mr. M.C. BLOEMERS

International Union for the Liberty of Education
Mr. R. DESPRETZ
Mr. de LABOULAYE
Miss TISSOT

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

International Union of Family Organizations
Mr. Z.R. BOUDET
Miss C. GAY

International Union of the Catholic Press
Mr. J. BOURDARIAS

International Voluntary Service
Mr. H. MAJEWSKI
Miss O. EYSSAUTIER

League of Red Cross Societies
Mr. R. ANGEBAUD

New Education Fellowship
Mr. R. GAL

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

Pax Romana - International Movement of Catholic Students - International Catholic Movement of Intellectual and Cultural Affairs
Mrs. D. MAZIN
Mr. R. Sugranyes de FRANCH
Mr. Louis-Edmond PETTITI

Society of African Culture
Mr. Thomas DIOP
Mr. A. DIOP
Mr. F. EPANYA
Mr. G. de BOSSHERE

Soroptimist International Association
Miss L. CHARLESWORTH
Dr. M. KRAEMER-BACH
Mrs. H. DERIJARD-BOURGEOIS
Mrs. A. BARBIER

UNDA Catholic International Association for Radio and Television
Reverend Father DECLERQ

Union of International Associations
Mr. G. DEVILLÉ

Union of International Engineering Organizations
Mr. J. CAMBOURNAC
Mr. B. de COMMINGES

Universal Esperanto Association
Mr. J. THIERRY
Mr. T. SEKLJ

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

World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations
Mr. J. F. REYMOND

World Assembly of Youth
Mr. D. WIRMARK
Mr. J. CAMBRIELLA
Mr. P. DIJKSTRA

World Association for Public Opinion Research
Miss H. RIFFAULT

World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
Miss A. TENANT
Mrs. A. de ST VICTOR

World Brotherhood
Professor A. DAIN
Mr. DUCROT

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

World Federation for Mental Health
Miss E.M. THORNTON

World Federation for the Protection of Animals
Mr. L. LESPINE
Mrs. R. BOUCHEZ

World Federation of Catholic Young Women and Girls
Miss J. GIENS
Miss M.H.C. VENDRIK
Miss F. DUMOULIN
Miss M. STERVINOU

World Federation of the Deaf
Dr. S. LAVAUD

World Federation of Trade Unions
Miss J. LEVY

World Federation of United Nations Associations
Mr. R. SMITH
Miss J. DESFORGES

World Jewish Congress
Dr. A. STEINBERG
Mrs. A. KLAUSNER

World Movement of Mothers
Mrs. I. MANCAUX
Miss M. DHELLEMMES
Mrs. M. PERRIN

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

World Power Conference
Mr. B. de COMMINGES

World Union for Progressive Judaism
Mr. M. GREILSAMMER
Miss J. WEILL
Mrs. F. GRAD

World Union of Catholic Teachers
Mr. A. ALBARET
Mr. J. TRANCHANT
Mr. L. GIORCELLI

World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations
Miss SWAGEMAKERS
Miss S. des GACHONS
Miss PINGAUD
Miss BELLOUARD
Miss CHAVIGNY

World University Service
Mr. B. DUCRET

World Veterans Federation
Mr. N. ACTON
Mr. E.R. BRAITHWAITE
Mr. V. ZUNIC

World Young Women's Christian Association
Mrs. His DIRKSE-BRESTERS
Mrs. S. DUFLO
Miss A. ARNOLD

Young Christian Workers
Mr. A. MARTINACHE
Mr. M. ZONGO
Mr. R. MAIONE

OBSERVERS FROM OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

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

Congress for Cultural Freedom
Mr. W.M. COOK

Fédération internationale des journalistes et écrivains du tourisme
Mr. J. BILLIET
Mr. J. HUREAU

Ford Fondation
Mr. W. McPEAK
Mr. G. GANT

International Civil Service Training Organization
Mr. J. MADER
Mr. R. ROUX
Mrs. L. DELABORDE

International Commission of Jurists
Miss J. ROCHETTE

International Film and Television Council
Mr. J. MADISON

International Radio and Television Organization
Mr. A. SUCHY

Liaison Committee of Women's International Organizations
Mrs. MAJORELLE

United Towns Organization
Mr. J. BRESSANL
Mrs. ATGER

World Association of World Federalists
Mrs. P. HOTTINGUER
Mr. H. VAUTROT

OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND OF THE COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

H. E. Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

VICE-PRESIDENTS

H. E. Dr. D.Luis R. MAC KAY (Argentina)
Dr. Kurt FRIEBERGER (Austria)
H. E. Mr. Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil)
H. E. Dr. Frantisek KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia)
Mr. A. J. DOWUONA-HAMMOND (Ghana)
Dr. K. L. SHRIMALI (India)
H. E. Mr. Giacinto BOSCO (Italie)
H. E. Mr. Agustin YAÑEZ (Mexico)
H. E. Mr. Ziada ARBAB (Sudan)
Mr. Phya SALVIDHANNIDES (Thailand)
Mr. Mahmoud MESSADI (Tunisia)
H. E. Mr. S. G. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom)
Mr. Robert H. THAYER (United States of America)
Dr. Mariano PICÓN SALAS (Venezuela)

Secretary-General:
Dr. Vittorino VERONESE

Secretaries:
Mr. M. MONTAGNIER
Mr. P. URLIK

GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE*

Chairman:
H. E. Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)
Secretary:
Mr. M. MONTAGNIER

PROGRAMME COMMISSION

Chairman:
Mr. Louis FRANÇOIS (France)
Vice-Chairmen:
Mr. Mohammed ANAS (Afghanistan)
Mr. F. I. AJUMOGOBIA (Nigeria)
Mr. Tudor VIANU (Rumania)
Rapporteur:
Miss Irma SALAS (Chile)
Secretaries:
Mr. J. McDOUGALL
Mr. C. BERKOVITCH
Mr. A. de la GUARDIA

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION

Chairman:
H. E. Mr. Rodolfo BARÓN CASTRO (El Salvador)
Vice-Chairmen:
Mr. Imre SZABO (Hungary)
Mr. Sumitro REKSODIPUTRO (Indonesia)
Mr. Adiko ASSOI (Ivory Coast)
Rapporteur:
Mr. H. C. DOVEY (United Kingdom)
Secretaries:
Mr. M. J. CHASE
Miss P. BOHN
Mr. V. PONOMAREV

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Chairman:
H. E. Mr. Akira MATSUI (Japan)
Secretary:
Mr. C. LUSSIER

*The General Committee consists of the President and the fifteen 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, Reports Committee and Headquarters Committee.

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

Chairman:
Dr. S. M. SHARIF (Pakistan)
Vice-Chairmen:
Professor Alf SOMMERFELT (Norway)
H. E. Mr. Sourou-Migan APITHY (Dahomey)
Secretary:
Miss L. McPHEE

LEGAL COMMITTEE

Chairman:
H. E. Dr. G. A. RAADI (Iran)
Vice-Chairman:
Mr. Traian IONASCU (Rumania)
Rapporteur:
Mr. Giorgio GIRAOLO (Italy)
Secretaries:
Mr. C. LUSSIER
Mr. G. PERRENOUD

REPORTS COMMITTEE

Chairman:
Mrs. Gustawa KAMINSKA (Poland)
Vice-Chairmen:
Mr. W. J. WEEDEN (Australia)
Mr. NGUYEN KHAC KHAM (Viet-Nam)
Rapporteur:
Mr. Kalervo SIIKALA (Finland)
Secretary:
Mr. C. M. BERKELEY

HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE

Chairman-Rapporteur:
Mr. W. Gardner DAVIES (Australia)
Secretary:
Mr. P. URLIK

TIME-TABLE

Eleventh session of the General Conference,
Paris, 14 November – 15 December 1960

DATES		Plenary Meetings	Commissions		Committees							*Working Parties:* Programme Commission										General Conference			
			Programme Commission	Administrative Commission	Credentials Committee	General Committee	Headquarters Committee	Legal Committee	Nominations Committee	Reports Committee*	Sub-Committee of Reports Committee	Education – Discrimination	Education – International instrument concerning technical and vocational education	Natural Sciences – Trends of inquiry	Natural Sciences – Oceanography	Natural Sciences – Arid Lands	Cultural Activities – Access to Museums	Cultural Activities – History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind	Cultural Activities – International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia	Mass Communication	Tropical Africa	Enlarged Meeting on Tropical Africa	The rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples	Methods of preparing the programme and budget	Negotiating Committee on 11/DR/170 presented by Yugoslavia	Working Party of the Administrative Commission
NOVEMBER																									
Monday 14	morning	1			1																				
	afternoon	2								11															
Tuesday 15	morning	3									1														
	afternoon	4	1	1					1																
Wednesday 16	morning	5	2	2		1		1																	
	afternoon		3	3				2																	
Thursday 17	morning		4	4		2		3																	
	afternoon		5	5				4																	
Friday 18	morning	6	6			3			2							1									
	afternoon	7	7	6											1										
Saturday 19	morning	8	8			4										2									
	afternoon	9	9											1											
Monday 21	morning	10	10	7		5									2										
	afternoon	11	11	8												3									
	evening		12																						
Tuesday 22	morning	12	13			6							1	2				1		1					
	afternoon	13	14																						
Wednesday 23	morning	14	15												3				1						
	afternoon	15	16										2						2						
Thursday 24	morning	16	17			7								3			1								
	afternoon	17	18														2			1					
Friday 25	morning	18	19	9																2	2				
	afternoon	19	20	10															3						
	evening																				3				
Saturday 26	morning	20	21	11			1																		
	afternoon		22	12			2					1													1
Tuesday 29	morning		23	13									3						4						
	afternoon		24	14												2	3								
Wednesday 30	morning		25	15		8						2									4				
	afternoon		26	16				5													5				
DECEMBER																									
Thursday 1	morning		27	17				6					4						5						
	afternoon		28	18							2											1			
Friday 2	morning		29	19																					
	afternoon		30	20	2																6				
Saturday 3	morning		31	21								3										2			
	afternoon	21	32				3																		
Monday 5	morning		33	22			4			12															2
	afternoon		34	23								4												1	3
	evening		35																						

*This Committee held ten meetings between 7 and 10 November 1960.

DATES		Plenary Meetings	Commissions		Committees							*Working Parties:* Programme Commission											General Conference			
			Programme Commission	Administrative Commission	Credentials Committee	General Committee	Headquarters Committee	Legal Committee	Nominations Committee	Reports Committee*	Sub-Committee of Reports Committee	Education — Discrimination	Education — International instrument concerning technical and vocational education	Natural Sciences — Trends of inquiry	Natural Sciences — Oceanography	Natural Sciences — Arid Lands	Cultural Activities — Access to Museums	Cultural Activities — History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind	Cultural Activities — International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia	Mass Communication	Tropical Africa	Enlarged meeting on Tropical Africa	The rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples	Methods of preparing the programme and budget	Negotiating Committee on 11/DR/170 presented by Yugoslavia	Working Party of the Administrative Commission
DECEMBER																										
Tuesday 6	morning		36	24				7																		
	afternoon		37	25		9																			2	
Wednesday 7	morning	22	38	26																						4
	afternoon	23	39																							
	evening		40																							5
Thursday 8	morning	24	41	27		10				13																6
	afternoon	25	42	28								5														
	evening		43																							
Friday 9	morning		44																					1		
	afternoon		45	29						14														2		
Saturday 10	morning		46	30																				3		
	afternoon		47	31																				4		
Monday 12	morning	26	48																							
	afternoon	27	49	32																						
Tuesday 13	morning	28	50			11																1				
	afternoon		51						3															5		
Wednesday 14	morning	29	52																							
	afternoon	30																								
Thursday 15	morning	31																								

*This Committee held ten meetings between 7 and 10 November 1960.

OTHER MEETINGS:

1. 57th session of the Executive Board: 16 and 29 November, and 2 and 12 December.
2. 58th session of the Executive Board: began on 15 December.
3. Seventh meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Research Centre on Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia: 17 November (2 meetings) and 2 December (1 meeting).
4. Consultative Assembly of the Latin American Social Science Research Centre of Rio de Janeiro and of the Latin American Social Science Faculty of Santiago, Chile: 18 November (2 meetings).
5. Meeting of the Joint Unesco-IAU Steering Committee: 1 December (1 meeting).
6. Miscellaneous: 61, including:
   DP/Distribution of Unesco publications in Africa: 6 December (1 meeting).
   Higher education in South-East Asia: 9 December (1 meeting).
   Meeting of delegations from Tropical Africa, Associate Members and representatives of non-governmental organizations: 6 December (1 meetin
   Information meetings for observers of non-governmental organizations: 15 November, 21 November and 22 November (3 meetings).
   Afro-Asian delegations (5 meetings).
   Latin American delegations (4 meetings).
   Delegations from Arab States (4 meetings)
   Nordic delegations (4 meetings).
   Asian delegations (2 meetings).
   African delegations (3 meetings).
   United Kingdom delegation (2 meetings).
   Swiss delegation (25 meetings).
   European National Commissions (1 meeting).
   Programme for Asia (2 meetings).
   East-West meeting (1 meeting).

LIST OF DOCUMENTS OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

I. GENERAL DOCUMENTS

11C/1	Provisional agenda of the eleventh session of the General Conference
11C/1 Rev.	Revised agenda
11C/2	Organization of the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference
11C/2 Rev.	Organization of the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference - Programme Commission and Working Parties
11C/3	Report by the Director-General on the activities of the Organization, 1 January-31 August 1960
11C/4	Oral Report
11C/5	Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962
11C/5 Add. & Corr.	Addendum & Corrigendum
11C/5 Add. & Corr. II	Addendum & Corrigendum
11C/5 Add. & Corr. III	Addendum & Corrigendum
11C/5 Add. 1	Comments of the Executive Board on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962
11C/5 Add. II	Comments by the United Nations, Specialized Agencies and other international organizations on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962
11C/5 Add. III	Draft resolutions, work plans and amendments submitted by Member States to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962
11C/5 Index	Index to the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962
11C/6	Admission to the eleventh session of observers from international non-governmental organizations : Recommendations of the Executive Board
11C/6 Add. I	Admission to the eleventh session of the General Conference of Observers from international non-governmental organizations not approved for consultative arrangements : Recommendations of the Executive Board
11C/6 Add. II	Recommendations of the Executive Board concerning the admission to the eleventh session of the General Conference of observers from international non-governmental organizations not approved for consultative arrangements
11C/7	Reports of Member States for 1958-1959 : Albania - Belgium - Brazil - El Salvador - Ethiopia - Iran - Korea - Mexico - Monaco - Pakistan - Poland - Rumania - Saudi Arabia - Yugoslavia
11C/8	Special Reports of Member States on action taken by them upon the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its ninth and tenth sessions
11C/8 Add.	Special Reports of Member States on action taken by them upon the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its ninth and tenth sessions
11C/9	Assessment of the work carried out by the Organization submitted by the Director-General, based on a parallel analytical summary of the reports of Member States and of his own reports for 1958 and 1959
11C/10	(Not published)
11C/11 Prov.	Report of the Reports Committee
11C/11 Prov. 2	Report of the Reports Committee
11C/11	Report of the Reports Committee
11C/12	Appraisal of Unesco's programme for the Economic and Social Council
11C/13	Action taken by the Economic and Social Council on the consolidated report on the appraisals of the programmes of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies (1960-1964)
11C/14 Prov.	First report of the Administrative Commission

11C/14 Suppl. Prov.	Draft resolution on the provisional assessment level and spending level for 1961-1962
11C/14	First report of the Administrative Commission
11C/15	Draft Convention and draft recommendation to Member States on the various aspects of discrimination in education
11C/16	The most effective means of rendering museums accessible to everyone
11C/17	Report on a survey of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture, including the reports on the study of international scientific and technical co-operation and the exchange of cultural workers in the field of mass communication media
11C/18	(See 11C/48 Add. I)
11C/19	Revision of the Directives concerning Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations
11C/19 Add. I	Revision of the Directives concerning Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations
11C/19 Add. II	Draft Directives concerning Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations
11C/20	Report on transitional measures pending the entry into force of the new Directives
11C/20 Add. I	Transitional measures pending the entry into force of the new Directives
11C/21	Report on the geographical extension of international non-governmental organizations
11C/22	Proposals by the Executive Board concerning the admission of international non-governmental organizations to consultative arrangements
11C/22 Add. I	Proposals by the Executive Board concerning the admission of international non-governmental organizations to consultative arrangements - Comments of Member States
11C/22 Add. II	Proposals by the Executive Board concerning the admission of international non-governmental organizations to consultative arrangements
11C/22 Add. III	Consideration of proposals made by the Executive Board concerning the admission of international non-governmental organizations to consultative arrangements
11C/23	Renewal of formal agreements concluded with international non-governmental organizations
11C/24	Report of the Executive Board on Rule 90 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference (Equally divided votes)
11C/25	Draft amendment to the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference concerning new documents requested in the course of the debates of the General Conference
11C/26	Proposed amendments to Rules 58 and 59 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference
11C/27	Place and date of the twelfth session of the General Conference
11C/28	Admission of Associate Members to the Organization : Ruanda-Urundi and Mauritius
11C/28 Add. I	Admission of Associate Members to the Organization : Tanganyika
11C/29	Recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General for further improvement of the methods of preparing the programme and budget
11C/29 Add.	Recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General for further improvement of the methods of preparing the programme and budget
11C/30	Application from Kuwait for admission to membership of Unesco
11C/31	Co-operation with the International Development Association
11C/32	Co-operation with the Inter-American Development Bank
11C/33	Inclusion in the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Conference of an item concerning the amendment of Article V of the Constitution and Rules 95 and 95 A of the Rules of Procedure

	of the General Conference (Increase in the number of members of the Executive Board)
11C/33 Add. I	Inclusion in the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Conference of an item concerning the amendment of Article V of the Constitution and Rules 95 and 95 A of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference (Increase in the number of members of the Executive Board)
11C/33 Add. II	Inclusion in the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Conference of an item concerning the amendment of Article V of the Constitution and Rules 95 and 95 A of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference (Increase in the number of members of the Executive Board)
11C/34	Unesco aid to the Congo (Leopoldville) within the framework of the civilian operations of the United Nations
11C/35	Request for the inclusion of a new item in the agenda of the eleventh session of the General Conference : item proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
11C/36 Prov.	Report of the Programme Commission
11C/36	Report of the Programme Commission
11C/36 Annex I	Draft Convention against discrimination in education
11C/36 Annex II	Recommendation concerning the most effective means of rendering museums accessible to everyone
11C/36 Add. I	Report of the Programme Commission
11C/37	Draft amendments to Rules 25(1), 30(1), 34(1) and 38(I) of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference
11C/38	Communication from the Head of the Delegation of China : Right to vote of China
11C/39	Request for the inclusion of a new item in the agenda submitted by the delegation of Cuba
11C/39 Add.	Request for the inclusion of a new item in the agenda submitted by the delegation of Cuba
11C/40	Credentials Committee - First report
11C/41	Presentation of the Proposed Programme for 1961-1962 to the eleventh session of the General Conference by Dr. Vittorino Veronese, Director-General of Unesco
11C/42	Second report of the Administrative Commission: Right to vote of Paraguay
11C/43	Inclusion of a new item in the agenda of the General Conference
11C/44	Working Party of the General Conference on methods of preparing the programme and budget
11C/45 Prov.	The rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples, bearing in mind the related proposals being tabled and discussions taking place at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly
11C/45 Prov. 2	The rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples, bearing in mind the related proposals being tabled and discussions taking place at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly
11C/45	The rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples, bearing in mind the related proposals being tabled and discussions taking place at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly
11C/46	Credentials Committee - Second Report
11C/47 Prov.	Working Party of the General Conference on methods of preparing the programme and budget
11C/47	Working Party of the General Conference on methods of preparing the programme and budget
11C/48 Prov.	Third Report of the Administrative Commission
11C/48 Prov. Add. I	Third Report of the Administrative Commission : Part E - Appropriation resolution
11C/48	Third Report of the Administrative Commission
11C/48 Add. I	Third Report of the Administrative Commission : Appropriation Resolution

11C/48 Add. II	Recruitment and Promotion of Staff
11C/49	Report of the General Committee of the General Conference on the requests for the addition of two new items to the agenda submitted by the delegation of USSR (11C/DR/129 and 11C/DR/130)
11C/50	(Not published - replaced by 11C/36 Annex II)
11C/51 Prov.	Fourth report of the Administrative Commission - Unesco Headquarters
11C/51	Fourth report of the Administrative Commission - Unesco Headquarters
11C/52	Time-table for the implementation of resolution on emergency programme of additional aid for the development of education in Africa (11C/PRG/32 Corr.)
11C/53	Draft resolution presented by the General Committee of the Conference: Tribute to Mr. Jean Thomas
11C/54	Nominations Committee - Recommendations of the Nominations Committee for Membership of the Headquarters Committee, the Legal Committee and the Reports Committee
11C/55	Enlarged meeting on Tropical Africa

II. DOCUMENTS OF THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION

11C/PRG/1	Report on the needs of Tropical Africa in the matter of Primary, General, Secondary and Technical Education
11C/PRG/2	Report on the educational needs of the Arab countries
11C/PRG/2 Add. I	Report on the educational needs of the Arab countries: consultation of Arab Member States on the desirability of establishing a regional centre for the advanced training of senior educational personnel
11C/PRG/2 Add. II	Report on the educational needs of the Arab countries: Memorandum of Arab delegations to the General Conference
11C/PRG/3	Report on the needs of Asia in primary education: A working plan and programme of action for the provision of compulsory primary education
11C/PRG/4	Report on the advisability of establishing an international instrument concerning technical and vocational education
11C/PRG/4 Add. I	Report on the advisability of establishing an international instrument concerning technical and vocational education: Note on the interest and activities of the Food and Agriculture Organization in vocational and technical education
11C/PRG/5	Report on the survey of the main trends of inquiry in the field of the natural sciences and recommendations for future action, including the question of preparing a draft agreement on international scientific and technical co-operation
11C/PRG/6	Report on the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands: past effectiveness and recommendations for future action
11C/PRG/7	Report on the results of the Intergovernmental Conference on Oceanographic Research
11C/PRG/7 Add. I	Report on the results of the Intergovernmental Conference on Oceanographic Research: Letter received from the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization
11C/PRG/8	Biennial Report of the President of the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind
11C/PRG/9	Report on the international campaign to safeguard the monuments of Nubia
11C/PRG/9 Add. I	Report on the international campaign to safeguard the monuments of Nubia - Addendum I
11C/PRG/9 Add. II	Report on the international campaign to safeguard the monuments of Nubia - Addendum II

11C/PRG/10	Report on the advisability of preparing an international instrument concerning the safeguarding of the beauty and character of the landscape
11C/PRG/11	Suggestions to Member States on measures to promote the free flow of information
11C/PRG/12	Proposed international Conference in Havana to study ways of improving the international transmission of news
11C/PRG/12 Add. I	Proposed international Conference to study ways of improving the international transmission of news - Addendum 1
11C/PRG/13	Tropical Africa and Unesco - Statement by Mr. M.S. Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General
11C/PRG/14	Information document - Working Party on Tropical Africa
11C/PRG/15	Report of the Working Party on the future programme of scientific research on arid lands
11C/PRG/16	Report of the Working Group on Oceanography
11C/PRG/16 Rev.	Report of the Working Group on Oceanography
11C/PRG/17 Prov.	Report of the Working Party for consideration of recommendations arising from the survey of the main trends of inquiry in the field of the Natural Sciences
11C/PRG/17	Report of the Working Party on the report on the survey of the main trends of inquiry in the field of the Natural Sciences and recommendations for future action, including the question of preparing a draft agreement on international scientific and technical co-operation
11C/PRG/18	Unesco's Co-operation with the Special Fund
11C/PRG/19	Report of the Working Party for consideration of measures taken by the Director-General to implement resolution 10 C/5.51 concerning the distinction to be made between the two basic functions of the Department of Mass Communication
11C/PRG/19 Rev.	Report of the Working Party for consideration of measures taken by the Director-General to implement resolution 10 C/5.51 concerning the distinction to be made between the two basic functions of the Department of Mass Communication
11C/PRG/20 Prov.	Working Party on Tropical Africa - Check-list of projects and activities proposed by the Director-General in documents 11C/5, 11C/5 Corr. and Add. and 11C/5 Corr. and Add. II
11C/PRG/21	United States Proposals under Point II of the agenda of the Working Party on Tropical Africa
11C/PRG/22	Tropical Africa - Communication by the delegation of Madagascar
11C/PRG/23	Tropical Africa - Communication by the delegation of Ghana
11C/PRG/24 Prov.	Report of the Working Party for consideration of the Biennial Report of the President of the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind
11C/PRG/24	Report of the Working Party for consideration of the Biennial Report of the President of the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind
11C/PRG/25 Prov.	Report of the Working Party on the advisability of establishing an international instrument concerning technical and vocational education
11C/PRG/25	Report of the Working Party on the advisability of establishing an international instrument concerning technical and vocational education
11C/PRG/26 Prov.	Report of the Working Party on draft international recommendations - Access to museums
11C/PRG/26	Report of the Working Party on draft international recommendations - Access to museums
11C/PRG/27 Prov.	Draft Report of the Working Party on the international campaign to save the monuments of Nubia
11C/PRG/27	Report of the Working Party on the international campaign to save the monuments of Nubia
11C/PRG/28	Sponsored fellowship programme for Africa
11C/PRG/29 Prov.	Report of the Working Party on the development of Unesco's activities in Tropical Africa, November-December 1960

11C/PRG/29	Working Party on the development of Unesco's activities in Tropical Africa, November-December 1960 - Report
11C/PRG/30	Tentative suggestions for the programme of long-term activities of Unesco in Tropical Africa, in the field of Natural Sciences
11C/PRG/31	A school construction programme in Africa
11C/PRG/32 Prov.	Emergency programme of financial aid to newly-independent countries and countries attaining independence in Africa
11C/PRG/32	Emergency programme of additional aid for the development of education in Africa submitted by the delegations of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, United States of America and Yugoslavia
11C/PRG/32 Corr.	Emergency programme of additional aid for the development of education in Africa submitted by the delegations of Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, United Kingdom, United States of America and Yugoslavia
11C/PRG/33	Scheme for textbook production centres in Tropical Africa
11C/PRG/34	The place of basic surveys in Unesco's programme for African education
11C/PRG/35	Budgetary implications of action taken by the Programme Commission
11C/PRG/36 Prov.	Draft report of the Working Party on the Draft Convention and Recommendation against discrimination in education
11C/PRG/36	Report of the Working Party on the Draft Convention and Recommendation against discrimination in education
11C/PRG/37	Programme for the supply of teachers to African Member States
11C/PRG/38	Proposals for balancing the budget
11C/PRG/DR/1	France (Amendment to the Draft Convention against discrimination in education)
11C/PRG/DR/2	Netherlands, Poland, United States of America (Participation of Member States in the International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia)
11C/PRG/DR/2	Netherlands, Poland, United States of America (Participation of Member States in the International Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia)
11C/PRG/DR/3	Austria (Amendment to the Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education)
11C/PRG/DR/4	Liberia (Establishment of a regional institute in Tropical Africa for production of textbooks and reading material for new literates)
11C/PRG/DR/5	France (Draft protocol instituting a conciliation and good offices committee for the application or interpretation of the Convention against Discrimination in Education)
11C/PRG/DR/6	Draft revised text of Article 2 of the Draft Convention against Discrimination in Education

III. DOCUMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION

11C/ADM/1	Financial report and statements for the two-year financial period ended 31 December 1958 and Report of the External Auditor
11C/ADM/2	Financial report and statements as at 31 December 1959 and Report of the External Auditor
11C/ADM/3	Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance: Report of the External Auditor on the statement showing the status of allocations to Unesco as at 31 December 1958
11C/ADM/4	Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance: Report of the External Auditor on the statement showing the status of allocations to Unesco as at 31 December 1959
11C/ADM/5	Member States' contributions: Scale of assessments for 1961-1962 - currency of payment - status of collections

11C/ADM/6	Administration of the Working Capital Fund
11C/ADM/7	Geographical distribution within the Secretariat: Report by the Director-General
11C/ADM/8	Preparation of candidates for the international civil service and initial post-entry training for probationary international civil servants
11C/ADM/9	Operational or executive personnel - Proposal of the Director-General to provide Member States with Executive Officials on request
11C/ADM/9 Add. & Corr.	Operational or executive personnel - Proposal of the Director-General to provide Member States with Executive Officials on request
11C/ADM/10	Administrative Tribunals Proposal to extend the period of jurisdiction
11C/ADM/11	Report on administrative costs and staff utilization
11C/ADM/12	Report on the Medical Benefits Fund
11C/ADM/13	Report on the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund and election of representatives of Member States to serve on the Unesco Staff Pension Committee for 1961-1962
11C/ADM/14	Report of the Headquarters Committee
11C/ADM/14 Add. I Prov.	Report of the Headquarters Committee
11C/ADM/14 Add. I	Report of the Headquarters Committee
11C/ADM/15	Amendments made by the Director-General to the Staff Rules
11C/ADM/16	Salaries and allowances of the Staff: Report by the Director-General
11C/ADM/16 Rev.	Salaries and allowances of the Staff: Report by the Director-General
11C/ADM/17	Staff recruitment and promotion
11C/ADM/17 Add.	Staff recruitment and promotion - Comments presented by the Staff Association
11C/ADM/18	Additional Headquarters premises required by the Organization
11C/ADM/18 Add. I	Additional Headquarters premises required by the Organization
11C/ADM/18 Add. II	Additional Headquarters premises required by the Organization - I. Financing the construction - II. Future of the Headquarters Committee
11C/ADM/19	Communication from the Head of the Delegation of Honduras - Right to vote of Honduras
11C/ADM/20	Amendment proposed by the Swiss Delegation to the draft resolution (document 11C/ADM/16 Rev. Corrigendum) concerning General Services salaries
11C/ADM/21	Amendment submitted by the Swiss Delegation to proposed resolution 11C/Resolution (document 11C/ADM/17) on staff recruitment and promotion
11C/ADM/22	Proposal by the Delegation of Australia for amendment to DR/101 Rev.
11C/ADM/23	Proposed resolution relating to the Working Capital Fund
11C/ADM/24	First report of the Legal Committee
11C/ADM/25 Prov.	Unesco staff recruitment and promotion
11C/ADM/26 Prov.	Draft report of the Working Group of the Administrative Commission on Staff Recruitment and Promotion
11C/ADM/26	Draft resolution submitted by the Working Group on Staff Recruitment and Promotion
11C/ADM/DR/1	United States of America (Amendment to the draft Directives concerning Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations)
11C/ADM/DR/2	Poland (Draft amendment to document 11C/19 Annex)
11C/ADM/DR/3	India (Draft amendment to the directives concerning status, obligations and advantages of international non-governmental organizations)
11C/ADM/DR/4	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Proposed amendment to Rule 103.8 in document 11C/ADM/15)

IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE

11C/BUR/1	Time-limit for the submission by Member States of proposals or amendments to the proposed programme involving the undertaking of new activities or a substantial increase in budgetary expenditure, and of proposals for increases or decreases in the total budget ceiling
11C/BUR/2	General Committee of the Conference
11C/BUR/3	Projet de calendrier revisé des travaux du 29 Novembre au 16 Décembre (in French only)
11C/BUR/4	Plenary meetings and Programme Commission
11C/BUR/5	Proposal by the President of the General Conference on the composition of the Working Party of the General Conference on the methods of preparing the programme and budget
11C/BUR/6 Prov.	Draft of the second report of the Legal Committee
11C/BUR/6	Second report of the Legal Committee
11C/BUR/7	Closing date of the eleventh session of the General Conference - Letter to the President of the Conference from the Heads of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden
11C/BUR/8	Revised draft time-table of work from 7 to 15 December
11C/BUR/9	Four plenary meetings: 7 and 8 December 1960 - Report on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture - Provisional list of speakers
11C/BUR/10	Draft report of the General Committee to the General Conference on the requests for the addition of two new items to the agenda submitted by the delegation of the USSR (11C/DR/129 and 11C/DR/130)
11C/BUR/11	Draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Republic of Guinea
11C/BUR/11 Rev.	Draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Republic of Guinea
11C/BUR/12	Note on Working Methods of the General Conference from the delegation of Canada
11C/BUR/DR/1	Suspension of the effect of paragraphs 2 and 5 of Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference

V. DOCUMENTS OF THE NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

11C/NOM/1	Nominations and elections for the posts of President and Vice-Presidents of the General Conference, and Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of its Commissions and Committees
Nominations for membership of the Executive Board (Curricula vitae):	
11C/NOM/2	H. E. Mr. Akira MATSUI (Japan)
11C/NOM/3	H. E. Dr. C. Edward BEEBY (New Zealand)
11C/NOM/4	Mr. John Payne MITCHELL (Liberia)
11C/NOM/5	H. E. Dr. Gunapala Piyasena MALALASEKERA (Ceylon)
11C/NOM/6	Professor Otto von SIMSON (Federal Republic of Germany)
11C/NOM/6 Rev.	Professor Otto von SIMSON (Federal Republic of Germany)
11C/NOM/7	Mr. Georges AVEROFF (Greece)
11C/NOM/8	Dr. Joaquin PEREZ VILLANUEVA (Spain)
11C/NOM/9	H. E. Mr. Stefan WIERBLOWSKI (Poland)
11C/NOM/10	H. E. Dr. Mariano PICON SALAS (Venezuela)
11C/NOM/11	Mrs. Indira GANDHI (India)
11C/NOM/12	H. E. Mr. Rodolfo BARON CASTRO (El Salvador)
11C/NOM/13	H. E. Mr. Julien Joseph KUYPERS (Belgium)
11C/NOM/14	Dr. George N. SHUSTER (United States of America)
11C/NOM/15	H. E. Dr. Eduardo A. PONS (Uruguay)

11C/NOM/16	Professor Radivoj UVALIC (Yugoslavia)
11C/NOM/17	Mgr. Jean MAROUN (Lebanon)
11C/NOM/18	Mr. Ziada ARBAB (Sudan)
11C/NOM/19	Professor Norair Martirosovich SISSAKIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
11C/NOM/20	Mr. Albert RAKOTO-RATSIMAMANGA (Malagasy Republic)

VI. DOCUMENTS OF THE REPORTS COMMITTEE

11C/REP/1 Prov.	Provisional Agenda
11C/REP/2	Opening Statement by Mr. M.S. Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General of Unesco
11C/REP/3	Reports Committee - Membership
11C/REP/4 Prov.	Report of the Reports Committee
11C/REP/5 Prov.	Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to study item 11.1 of the agenda of the General Conference
11C/REP/5	Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to study item 11.1 of the agenda of the General Conference
11C/REP/6	Outstanding questions

VII. DOCUMENTS OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

11C/CRE/1	Credentials of the Delegation of The Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville)

VIII. DOCUMENTS OF THE LEGAL COMMITTEE

11C/LEG/1	Election of new members of the Executive Board and increase in the number of members of the Executive Board: draft resolution submitted by Chad, Ivory Coast, Congo (Brazzaville), Senegal, Mali, Madagascar (Malagasy Republic), Guinea, Upper Volta, Central African Republic, Republic of Cameroun, Dahomey, Nigeria
11C/LEG/2	(Not published)
11C/LEG/3	Draft of the first report of the Legal Committee

IX. INFORMATION DOCUMENTS

11C/INF/1	Practical arrangements for the eleventh session of the General Conference
11C/INF/2	Invitations to the eleventh session of the General Conference
11C/INF/2 Rev.	Invitations to the eleventh session of the General Conference
11C/INF/3	General Conference Handbook, eleventh session, Paris 1960
11C/INF/4 Prov.	Provisional list of documents for the eleventh session of the General Conference
11C/INF/5 Prov.	Provisional list of Delegates, Representatives and Observers - Member States, Associate Members, Non-Member States
11C/INF/5 Add. & Corr. I	Provisional list of Delegates, Representatives and Observers - Member States, Associate Members, Non-Member States

11C/INF/5 Rev. 1	Provisional list of Delegates, Representatives and Observers - Member States, Associate Members, Non-Member States
11C/INF/5 Rev. 1 Add. I	Organizations permitted to send observers by special decision of the General Conference
11C/INF/6	Membership of the Executive Board by geographical regions (1946-1960)
11C/INF/6 Rev.	Membership of the Executive Board by geographical regions (1946-1960)
11C/INF/7	Nominations Committee - Membership of the Legal Committee, the Committee on Reports of Member States and the Headquarters Committee
11C/INF/7 Rev.	Nominations Committee - Membership of the Legal, Reports and Headquarters Committees
11C/INF/8	Administrative Commission - Schedule
11C/INF/8 Rev. 1	Administrative Commission - Schedule
11C/INF/9	Agenda of the Programme Commission
11C/INF/10	Documents of the Programme Commission
11C/INF/11	Candidates for Membership of the Executive Board
11C/INF/11 Rev.	List of candidates for Membership of the Executive Board presented by the Nominations Committee
11C/INF/12	Working Party on Tropical Africa - Meetings of 30 November 1960 - List of Documents

X. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS AND PROPOSALS

11C/DR/1	Norway (Inventory of the possibilities offered by science and technology for the promotion of human welfare)
11C/DR/1 Rev.	Norway id.
11C/DR/2	Italy (Subvention of $5,000 to the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers (IAUPL))
11C/DR/3	Israel (Establishment of a plan of priorities with respect to present and future Major Projects)
11C/DR/3 Rev.	Israel id.
11C/DR/4	Israel (Teachers' organizations and Unesco)
11C/DR/5	New Zealand (International collection of data on social maladjustment) amongst youth and its remedies
11C/DR/5 Rev.	New Zealand id.
11C/DR/6	New Zealand (Production and distribution of a junior edition of the Unesco "Courier")
11C/DR/7	Austria (Subvention in support of the activities of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research)
11C/DR/8	Philippines (Establishment in the Philippines of a regional centre for the training of teachers)
11C/DR/8 Rev.	Philippines (Establishment in the Philippines of an Asian regional centre for the training of teacher educators)
11C/DR/9	Philippines (Assistance to the Asian Youth Institute in the Philippines)
11C/DR/10	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/11	Philippines (Regional seminars on Associated Schools Projects)
11C/DR/12	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/13	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/14	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/15	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/16	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/17	Philippines (Regional Meeting, in 1961, of Directors of Cultural Relations Services of National Commissions)
11C/DR/18	Philippines (Assistance to Member States within the framework of the East-West Major Project)

11C/DR/19	Philippines (Establishment of a regional centre for the promotion of the East-West Major Project)
11C/DR/20	Philippines (Publication of a Filipino edition of the Unesco "Courier")
11C/DR/21	Philippines (Regional training institute for technical staff in the field of information)
11C/DR/22	Philippines (Centennial birthday of Dr. Jose P. Rizal, national hero of the Philippines)
11C/DR/23	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/24	Philippines (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/25	Chile (Request for technical assistance in the field of audio-visual aids)
11C/DR/26	Chile (Technical assistance for the Pilot Rural Teacher-Training Institute of Chile)
11C/DR/27	Chile (Technical assistance for the Pilot Agricultural Technical School of Chile)
11C/DR/28	Chile (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/29	Brazil (Establishment of a Latin American Physics Centre)
11C/DR/29 Rev.	Brazil id.
11C/DR/30	Cambodia (Establishment of a Unesco Co-ordination Office in Cambodia)
11C/DR/30 Rev.	Cambodia id.
11C/DR/31	Austria (Travel grants for workers for study abroad)
11C/DR/31 Rev.	Austria id.

Documents 11C/DR/1 to 11C/DR/31, containing draft resolutions, work plans and amendments submitted by Member States in connexion with the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-62 are also referred to and analysed in document 11C/5 Add. III.

11C/DR/32	Brazil (Increase of $2,000,000 in the total appropriations proposed in document 11C/5)
11C/DR/33	Pakistan (Creation of research centres for primary education in Pakistan)
11C/DR/33 Rev.	Pakistan id.
11C/DR/34	Brazil (Procedure for the examination and approval of the Programme and Budget)
11C/DR/35	Sudan, United Arab Republic (Adoption of Arabic as a working language of Unesco)
11C/DR/35 Rev.	Sudan, United Arab Republic id.
11C/DR/35 Rev. 2	Sudan, United Arab Republic (Publication in Arabic of the main documents and publications of Unesco)
11C/DR/35 Rev. 3	Sudan, United Arab Republic id.
11C/DR/36	Viet-Nam (Extension of the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands)
11C/DR/37	Viet-Nam (Application of the social sciences to problems of social and economic development)
11C/DR/38	Viet-Nam (Seminar on the status of Asian women)
11C/DR/39	Viet-Nam (Exchange of information between social science research committees)
11C/DR/40	Viet-Nam (Contribution of the social sciences to adult education)
11C/DR/41	Viet-Nam (Microfilming and reproduction of rare documents concerning Asian cultural values)
11C/DR/42	Viet-Nam (Establishment of regional cultural activities centres in the Asian countries)
11C/DR/42 Rev.	Viet-Nam id.
11C/DR/43	Viet-Nam (Drafting of a history of Asian cultural interrelations and Asian cultural relations with the West)
11C/DR/44	Viet-Nam (Development of exchanges of cultural bibliographies)
11C/DR/45	Viet-Nam (Adult education in rural areas)
11C/DR/45 Rev.	Viet-Nam id.
11C/DR/46	Viet-Nam (Exchange of information in the field of adult education)
11C/DR/47	Viet-Nam (Extension of the Major Project on Primary Education)
11C/DR/48	Viet-Nam (Exchange of information concerning primary education)
11C/DR/49	Viet-Nam (Teaching of languages in primary schools)
11C/DR/50	United States of America (Increasing of the 1961-62 budget by $1,000,000)
11C/DR/51	Denmark (Extension of Unesco's activities in the field of the status of women)

11C/DR/52	United Kingdom (Extension of Unesco's programme relating to youth)
11C/DR/53	United Kingdom (Increase in Unesco's financial contribution to international meetings of experts)
11C/DR/54	Czechoslovakia (Establishment of an International Institute for Cellular Research)
11C/DR/55	Czechoslovakia (Study of questions relating to disarmament)
11C/DR/56	Czechoslovakia id.
11C/DR/57	Czechoslovakia (Improvement of propaganda in favour of the principles of peaceful co-existence)
11C/DR/58	Czechoslovakia (Increase in the use of films for youth)
11C/DR/59	Rumania (Various amendments to the proposed programme and budget)
11C/DR/60	Denmark (Publication of a comprehensive Flora of Europe)
11C/DR/61	Switzerland (Preparation of a catalogue of the scientific and technical works published during the past forty years)
11C/DR/62	Argentina (Grant to the Latin American Regional Centre for Mathematics)
11C/DR/63	Iran (Commemoration of the twenty-fifth centenary of the founding of Iran)
11C/DR/63 Rev.	Iran id.
11C/DR/64	Poland (Study and presentation of the cultural heritage in Tropical Africa)
11C/DR/65	Poland (Contribution to the training of scientific and technical leaders in countries which have recently gained independence)
11C/DR/66	Sudan (Various amendments to the proposed programme and budget)
11C/DR/67	Mexico (Exchange of teachers under the East-West Major Project)
11C/DR/68	Netherlands (Grant of $60,000 to ICOM)
11C/DR/69	Hungary (Wider dissemination of knowledge of the countries of Asia and Africa)
11C/DR/70	Italy (Establishment of an International Computation Centre in Rome)
11C/DR/71	Israel (Withdrawn)
11C/DR/72	Bulgaria (Various amendments to the proposed programme and budget)
11C/DR/73	Japan (Improvement of textbooks and teaching materials)
11C/DR/74	Japan (Methods and materials for education for international understanding)
11C/DR/75	Japan (Asian seminar on Associated Schools Projects)
11C/DR/76	Japan (Improvement of school health)
11C/DR/77	Japan (Regional symposium on libraries in Asia and the Pacific Area)
11C/DR/78	Japan (Associated institutions for the study and presentation of cultural values)
11C/DR/79	Japan (Publication of the Unesco "Courier" in Japanese)
11C/DR/80	Japan (Amendment to proposed resolution 7.21 - Participation in the activities of Member States)
11C/DR/81	Philippines (Establishment of a regional centre for training teachers of Spanish)
11C/DR/82	Italy (Organization of an international service for the study of statistical data)
11C/DR/83	Ceylon, India, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Sudan (Readaptation of Unesco's programme for better international co-operation)
11C/DR/84	Belgium, Mexico, Morocco (Promotion of literacy and extension of primary education in countries in process of development)
11C/DR/84 Rev.	Belgium, Mexico, Morocco id.
11C/DR/85	France (Increase of the editions of information material produced by Unesco)
11C/DR/86	France (Encouragement of work in respect of scientific and technical terminology)
11C/DR/87	France (Increase of Unesco's assistance to social science research in Africa)
11C/DR/88	France (Study of school curricula in Tropical Africa, the Arab States and in South East Asia)

11C/DR/89 France (Regional conference on education)

11C/DR/90 France (Implementation of the conclusions of the Addis Ababa Conference on education)

11C/DR/91 France (Inclusion of the International Association for Educational and Vocational Information (IAEVI) in the list of non-governmental organizations receiving subventions)

11C/DR/92 France (Convening of two regional conferences on technical education)

11C/DR/93 France (Assistance to youth activities in Africa)

11C/DR/94 France (Study of juvenile delinquency and the social inadaptation of young people)

11C/DR/95 France (Establishment of a programme of action for the eradication of illiteracy)

11C/DR/96 France (Development of libraries attached to enterprises)

11C/DR/96 Rev. France id.

11C/DR/97 India (Decentralization of the Organization's work)

11C/DR/98 India (Improvement of the East-West Major Project)

11C/DR/99 India (Co-operation of the National Commissions in the implementation of Unesco's programmes)

11C/DR/100 India (The promotion of international co-operation in Unesco's fields of activity)

11C/DR/101 India (Geographical representation in the Secretariat)

11C/DR/101 Rev. India id.

11C/DR/102 India (Development and improvement of science teaching at the secondary level)

11C/DR/103 India (Assistance to National Commissions)

11C/DR/104 India (Cheap production of scientific and technical books)

11C/DR/105 India (Promotion of higher education in the rural areas of underdeveloped countries)

11C/DR/106 India (Establishment of a centre for the training of teacher educators in Asia)

11C/DR/107 Czechoslovakia (Centenary of the death of Bozena Nemcová)

11C/DR/108 Mexico (Withdrawn and replaced by 11C/DR/186)

11C/DR/109 Cuba (Organization of a pictorial exhibition illustrating the extension of primary education in Latin America)

11C/DR/109 Rev. Cuba (Pictorial exhibition illustrating Latin American education, culture and customs)

11C/DR/110 Spain (Amendment to draft resolution 1.31 (11C/5) - primary education in Latin America)

11C/DR/111 Sweden (Amendment to draft resolution 4.413 (11C/5) - safeguarding of the monuments of Nubia)

11C/DR/112 India (Study of folk drama in South East Asia)

11C/DR/113 Belgium (Documentation concerning automation and its applications)

11C/DR/113 Rev. Belgium id.

11C/DR/114 Czechoslovakia (Inclusion in the agenda of the eleventh session of a question concerning the danger of bringing up young people in a spirit of superiority and intolerance or in a colonialist, fascist or militaristic spirit and a revengeful disposition)

11C/DR/115 United Arab Republic (Establishment of an International Centre for the Processing of Statistical Data)

11C/DR/116 United Arab Republic (Establishment of an International School in Paris)

11C/DR/117 United Arab Republic (Invitation to Member States to join the Intergovernmental Convention establishing an International Computation Centre in Rome)

11C/DR/118 Brazil (Establishment in Brazil of a Regional Institute of Book Restoration)

11C/DR/118 Rev. Brazil id.

11C/DR/119 Cuba (Exhibition of photographs showing Latin American life, culture and customs)

11C/DR/120 Cuba (Establishment of a Regional Centre for African Studies at Havana)

11C/DR/120 Rev. Cuba id.

11C/DR/121 Cuba (Establishment in Cuba of a National Centre of Oriental Studies)

11C/DR/121 Rev.	Cuba id.
	Cuba (Organization of a Meeting of Teachers from Latin American Library Schools)
11C/DR/122 Rev.	Cuba id.
11C/DR/123	Cuba (Amendment to draft resolution 5.142 - documentation and research in mass communication)
11C/DR/124	Cuba (Amendment to draft resolution 3.51 - the application of the social sciences to problems of social and economic development)
11C/DR/124 Rev.	Cuba id.
11C/DR/125	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Support for the "Declaration on the Grant of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples")
11C/DR/126	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Restoration to former colonies, by imperialist powers, of part of the resources plundered from them by monopolies)
11C/DR/126 Rev.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics id.
11C/DR/127	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Peaceful coexistence and co-operation among States with different social and economic systems)
11C/DR/127 Rev.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics id.
11C/DR/127 Rev. 2	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (In Russian only - corresponds to 11C/DR/127 Rev. (English, French and Spanish))
11C/DR/128	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Co-operation by Unesco in general and complete disarmament)
11C/DR/128 Rev.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics id.
11C/DR/128 Rev. 2	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics id.
11C/DR/128 Rev. 3	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (In Russian only - corresponds to 11C/DR/128 Rev. 2 (English, French and Spanish))
11C/DR/129	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Amendment of the procedure for admission to Unesco of States not Members of the United Nations)
11C/DR/130	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Change in the status of Associate Members of Unesco)
11C/DR/131	Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Basic principles and criteria of Unesco's publications policy in the field of social sciences)
11C/DR/131 Rev.	Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic id.
11C/DR/131 Rev. 2	Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic id.
11C/DR/132	Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Hungary (Holding a World Conference in 1961, on the Eradication of Illiteracy)
11C/DR/133	Argentina (Establishment of an Education Clearing House)
11C/DR/134	Argentina (Foundation of a Regional Centre of Advanced Economic Studies)
11C/DR/135	Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (Geographical distribution of posts in the Secretariat)
11C/DR/136	Chile (Proposal for increased assistance to the Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO))
11C/DR/137	United Kingdom (Education of women)
11C/DR/138	United Kingdom (Better use of the Organization's resources)
11C/DR/139	United Kingdom (Extension of the Special Fund to secondary education in general)
11C/DR/140	Ethiopia (Amendments to proposed resolution 1.2321 (11C/5) - development of primary and secondary education in Tropical Africa)
11C/DR/141	Federal Republic of Germany (Comparative study of key-words of culture)
11C/DR/142	Federal Republic of Germany (Establishment of a United Nations Voluntary Service Corps)
11C/DR/142 Rev.	Federal Republic of Germany (Better co-operation between existing bodies for voluntary service)
11C/DR/143	Federal Republic of Germany (Development of adult education)

11C/DR/144	France (Amendment to draft resolution 5.112 - free flow of information and ideas)
11C/DR/145	France (Amendment to draft resolution 5.142 - study of mass communication problems)
11C/DR/146	France (Preservation of photographs and cinematographic films)
11C/DR/147	Bulgaria (Participation of States not yet Members of Unesco in international conferences convened by the Organization)
11C/DR/147 Rev.	Bulgaria id.
11C/DR/148	Cuba (Promotion of human rights)
11C/DR/149	Guatemala (Measures in favour of the American indigenous population)
11C/DR/150	Congo (Brazzaville) (In French only)
11C/DR/150 Rev.	Congo (Brazzaville) (Redemption of part of the African cultural heritage now outside Africa)
11C/DR/151	Congo (Brazzaville) (Training in Africa of technicians in the field of mass communication)
11C/DR/152	Poland (Amendments to draft resolution 5.221 - dissemination of information about the aims and activities of Unesco)
11C/DR/153	Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic (Establishment of a Regional Centre for Research in and Production of Textbooks in Arab Member States)
11C/DR/154	United States of America (Holding of an international conference with a view to the improvement of the international transmission of news)
11C/DR/155	Austria (Amendment to the Convention against Discrimination in Education)
11C/DR/156	Congo (Brazzaville) (Convention on Copyright and "droits de suite" for Africa)
11C/DR/157	Senegal (Assistance to the United Towns Organization)
11C/DR/158	Malaya (Amendment to the Draft Convention and Draft Recommendation against Discrimination in Education)
11C/DR/159	United States of America (Cataloguing of audio-visual material relating to Unesco's aims)
11C/DR/160	Congo (Brazzaville) Establishment of national copyright legislation in African States)
11C/DR/161	Canada (Financial assistance for the organization of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of the International Folk Music Council)
11C/DR/162	United Kingdom (Rôle of education in international understanding)
11C/DR/162 Rev.	United Kingdom id.
11C/DR/163	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Reduction of Unesco's administrative expenditure)
11C/DR/164	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Organization of conferences with a view to the better utilization of natural resources)
11C/DR/165	Uruguay (Increase in the resources of the Science Co-operation Office for Latin America)
11C/DR/166	Central African Republic (Development of education in the Central African Republic)
11C/DR/167	Ghana (Creation of a post of Assistant Director-General to direct Unesco's activities in the field of education)
11C/DR/168	Burma, Ceylon, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Strengthening of Unesco's rôle in the field of information in order to promote peace, co-operation and international understanding)
11C/DR/169	France, Japan, Netherlands, Switzerland, United States of America (Study and improvement of the Secretariat's activities)
11C/DR/170	Yugoslavia (International solidarity campaign for the development of education in Tropical Africa)
11C/DR/171	Argentina (Contribution of education to international understanding)
11C/DR/172	Italy (Publication of the "Courier" in Italian)
11C/DR/173	Netherlands (Amendment to the Convention against Discrimination in Education)
11C/DR/174	Mexico (Amendments to the Draft Convention against Discrimination in Education)
11C/DR/175	Federal Republic of Germany id.
11C/DR/176	Switzerland id.

11C/DR/177	Czechoslovakia id.
11C/DR/178	Denmark id.
11C/DR/179	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics id.
11C/DR/180	Italy id.
11C/DR/181	France id.
11C/DR/182	United Kingdom (Increased priority for education in Unesco's future programmes and assistance projects)
11C/DR/182 Rev.	India, United Kingdom id.
11C/DR/183	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples)
11C/DR/184	Cuba (Holding of an international conference with a view to the improvement of the international transmission of news)
11C/DR/185	Pakistan (Establishment of non-governmental organizations in Asian and African countries)
11C/DR/186	Mexico, Peru (Prohibiting of the illicit exportation of works of art and archaeological finds)
11C/DR/187	Burma, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Ghana, Guinea, India, Jordan, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Pakistan, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Viet-Nam (The rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples)
11C/DR/188	Switzerland (Participation in meetings of a technical character in the fields of education, science and culture)
11C/DR/188 Add.	Switzerland (Organization and classification of Unesco meetings)
11C/DR/189	Iran (Co-operation of Unesco with the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Association)
11C/DR/190	Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Poland, United States of America (Cataloguing of audio-visual material relating to Unesco's aims)
11C/DR/191	Japan, United Kingdom (Amendment to proposed resolution 7.21 (11C/5) - participation in the activities of Member States)
11C/DR/192	France, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America (Study and improvement of the Unesco Secretariat's activities)
11C/DR/192 Rev. 1	France, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America id.
11C/DR/193	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Recruitment and promotion of members of the Secretariat)
11C/DR/194	Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden (Procedure for the preparation of the proposed budget to be submitted to the twelfth session of the General Conference)
11C/DR/195	Argentina, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela (Maintenance of international aid to CREFAL)
11C/DR/196	Iran (Methods of preparing the Proposed Budget for 1963-1964)
11C/DR/197	Switzerland (Methods of preparing the programme and budget)
11C/DR/198	United States of America (Tribute to Mr. Jean Thomas)

STATISTICAL TABLE

showing approximate number of documents,
pages and copies prepared for the eleventh session of the General Conference

SUMMARY

Total number of documents (in each language)	735
Total number of pages in one set (four languages)	32,660
Total number of copies	2,376,855

In all approximately 23,341,000 pages were produced.

VERBATIM RECORDS OF PLENARY MEETINGS

PLENARY MEETINGS

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

14 November 1960, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Opening of the session by the Temporary President of the General Conference, representing the Head of the Delegation of France 47
Address by the Chairman of the Executive Board 49
Address by the Director-General 50
Statement by the Head of the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 52
Statement by the President on arrears of contributions . . . 52
Establishment of the Credentials Committee 52

OPENING OF THE SESSION BY THE TEMPORARY PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, REPRESENTING THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF FRANCE

1.1 Mr. BERTHOIN (France) (Translation from the French):

Ladies and Gentlemen, before our work begins, it is my painful duty to inform the General Conference that two of our national delegations have suddenly been plunged into mourning. Last Thursday afternoon, in the middle of a meeting of our Executive Board, the delegate of Mexico - H.E. Dr. Pedro de Alba, a doctor, philosopher and great-hearted humanist - suddenly collapsed and died. Yesterday, whilst driving his car, Gaston Berger, one of the clearest thinkers of our times, our master and our single-minded friend, suddenly collapsed and was killed as his car crashed into an obstacle on the road. Their loss will be keenly felt, not only by their countries, which are united in their grief, but also by Unesco and by all those in the world today who are fighting such an arduous battle for the salvation of mankind. In circumstances such as these, words are powerless to express our feelings and the General Conference will, I am sure, wish to show its sympathy with Mexico and France by observing a minute's silence.

(The delegations observed a minute's silence)

1.2 On behalf of the head of the French delegation, my distinguished friend, Mr. Joxe, Minister of Education of my country, I have the honour to declare the eleventh session of the General Conference open. First of all, I would extend a most cordial welcome to you all. At this meeting, many of us will have an opportunity to renew former acquaintances, to meet again our fellow-workers whom we rightly call our friends. Others are making their first contact with our great Organization, either because they are serving for the first time on the delegation of their country, which is already a member of Unesco, or else because the era of international responsibilities has but recently dawned for their native land. To the latter especially we extend our good wishes and a heart-felt welcome.

1.3 Today, ladies and gentlemen, I still hold that high office to which I was appointed two years ago, thanks to the desire of the tenth General Conference to pay homage to France; and as out-going President I wish to speak briefly - and, as far as is humanly possible, without any national bias - in conformity with the rule which, I believe, should guide all who occupy this chair that I am about to vacate - the rule that the President should speak to you as one citizen of the world to his brothers in the human family.

1.4 First of all, I should like to express something which is, I am sure, in all our hearts and minds at this time - the feeling of disquiet, if not alarm, which must weigh on every thinking and feeling person today. It is true that we are not called upon to wrestle with problems which are disturbing other assemblies and come under the jurisdiction of other bodies, but do we not inevitably feel our Organization being jarred to its very foundations by the antagonism, rivalries, misunderstandings and bitterness which make the peoples of the world - driven beyond endurance and with their nerves at breaking-point - wonder whether they will not, once again, end by paying the terrible price ?

1.5 It is, indeed, amazing that, despite the burden of sorrows they have borne and the disasters they have endured, men should still fail to realize that they are rushing together towards the abyss, and that now that they are faced with all the forces of nature which they are "releasing", as the saying goes, they have only one chance of salvation - to cease fighting, and to unite.

1.6 In any case, can a man really be happy living under a constant threat - a threat which is even harder to endure when he realizes that those he loves are in danger too ? As he waits for news of some fruitless meeting, some unsuccessful conference, as he hears of insults and the brandishing of arms, the thinking man must, in the end, fall into the most profound despair.

1.7 For my part, I can affirm that, since I have held this signal office, I have never before been more conscious of the need, the urgent need, for the nations to recognize their underlying unity, nor more certain that mankind is being drawn ineluctably towards an alternative which it cannot avoid facing - brotherhood or death.

1.8 And realization of this fact adds singularly to the importance of our rôle, our responsibilities and consequently our duties. For, however serious our set-backs, we must not allow ourselves to sink into despair; that would be our ultimate downfall, and the abandonment of that faith which sustains us in all adversity.

1.9 We have no material power - and it is to our honour - to command respect for the most precious qualities in Man, which cannot be measured in terms of quantity or force; but are we doing all that we could to let people know what we are and what we can contribute to the salvation of the human race ?

1.10 Are we making enough effort to see that people know about the tasks which are being accomplished in the name of Unesco, by Unesco, within Unesco, by so many conscientious, willing workers, and which become ever more urgent as the danger increases ? Are we doing enough to ensure that, through our governments and the various information media and organs of opinion in our countries, Unesco's work is being brought before the public as it deserves to be, and that, as the fate of mankind hangs in the balance, the justice and truth of that work are tipping the scales, however slightly, in our favour ? Let us dare to go further still : as the network of media - radio, cinema and television - capable of reaching the ears of the most distant or the most deaf, the eyes of the most remote or the most blind, grows denser every day, are we doing enough to ensure that all these scientific achievements, admirable for the intelligence to which they testify, are really being used in the service of Man - that is, to promote his material and moral welfare ? Unfortunately, either because of our improvidence, or because we have confused licence and liberty, they are often like those glorious flowers in which the most deadly poisons lie hidden. And finally, let us all - whether we be men of action or intellectuals - take the last step and, answerable to our conscience - or our God - ask ourselves whether we are quite sure that we think enough about all this, and about the responsibilities devolving upon us.

1.11 Humanity is caught up in a headlong, giddy flight, which will end one day in triumph or disaster; and when we return to our respective countries, we shall not have fulfilled our duty to mankind, whose soul hovers uneasily about the august building in which we are meeting, if we do not remain, or become, faithful and zealous servants - if not the apostles - of all these causes which, with many others, are but the concrete expression of the ideals which are the corner-stone of our Organization, and on whose defeat or victory our fate depends.

1.12 Now that we are welcoming to our Organization the representatives of countries which have recently achieved independence, we shall be required to assume still greater responsibilities - provided, of course, that these young nations seek the entirely disinterested assistance which Unesco is ready to offer them. If so, strong links will be forged, to the advantage of all concerned, between Unesco and the new States; and as these links grow stronger, they will be a pledge of mutual understanding and a substantial guarantee of security, better living conditions and progress for the young nations.

1.13 For, in times like ours, independence is a very precarious and frail thing. What country in the world today can really claim to be independent, in the sense in which the term has been used throughout the centuries ? And in the world of tomorrow, which is taking shape before our eyes, it will be even less possible to make such a claim. Is it not evident that, apart from possible catastrophes, we are in a transition stage between the polytheism of sovereign States and a sort of economic monotheism, which would in itself be formidable, were the forces of which it is composed and the needs which are its motive power not controlled, guided and dominated by the noble moral ideals, the lofty philosophical or religious inspiration which it is Unesco's task to reveal and to harmonize, so that, like some great symphony, it may touch the heart of the world?

1.14 How lucky these young States are ! What security they enjoy in the certainty that, as they set out on their difficult journey, beset by ambushes and morasses, and watched by eyes that are not always kindly and friendly, they will meet an Organization such as ours, ready to receive them without any ulterior motives, in a spirit of true brotherhood, an Organization which exists for the purpose of helping, wherever help is needed and requested, to promote and consolidate human progress, without which no State can long survive.

1.15 I said just now that independence is a precarious thing; the truth is, of course, that we are all governed by the law of dependence. And, while it

is a commonplace to say that the more our way of life has developed, the less it depends on us alone and is conditioned by markets in distant parts of the world, it cannot be repeated too often that the dream of a society of peoples living in concord and in peace, who have retained or achieved their individuality, can never come true unless these nations, like large families, learn to work together in conscious, willing interdependence, and assist one another, exchanging the good things that result from their very diversity.

1.16 What better place could there be than this to realize both the overriding necessity and the nobility, of working together in conscious, willing interdependence ? Where could we learn to do so better than here? This is indeed the rule that we are striving to apply in every field of our work, in the form of mutual understanding, friendly interest in whatever affects others and gratitude for what we can do for one another ; it may be noted, however, that our mutual help would cease if ever we were mad enough to try to superimpose on all the different peoples, even though united in world-wide friendship, a uniform civilization, suggestive of some sort of spiritual dictatorship !

1.17 For another honour that we prize very highly is that, great and small, rich and poor, we are striving here, as one man, to promote all the different cultures by providing opportunities for them to meet, to make contact with each other and to emulate each other freely, as one of our first Directors-General said.

1.18 Unesco, then, is the very opposite of a gathering of people condemned by their very interests and limitations to Platonic activities. It is, indeed - and this is something it should never forget - the crucible in which the principles of justice are fused - those principles which alone can ensure peace without hypocrisy. This is our glory, and the more nations there are to share that glory, the more we rejoice.

1.19 Today, however, I feal a certain sadness, which, I know, you will understand and forgive.

1.20 Tasks such as those we have been thinking of, the common impulse which daily unites so many men of goodwill in inspiring ventures, the vivid memory of invaluable friendships with members of the Executive Board, at whose meetings I have observed the quality of the work done by all your representatives, under the high-minded, genial and firm guidance of its distinguished Chairman, Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, and the exceptional achievements of the administration, led by you, Mr. Director-General, so graciously and so competently - the Executive Board, at which I have been conscious of mutual affection and trust - the counterpart of that affection and trust which we long to see in this poor world - brave in the face of constant trial - all these things will explain my desire - perhaps somewhat exaggerated - to make this simple speech, as the final act of my term of office, which has meant so much to me.

1.21 For a moment I imagined that I was the bearer of the world's conscience - that conscience in which we all have our part, but which is a tremendous, indivisible entity, transcending the nations of the world. You will not smile at my delusion, I am sure.

1.22 The truth is that I have been supported by you all, by that joint and therefore unlimited strength which lifts us all who are members of this community above ourselves, as we see what troubles have to be remedied and realize what has been achieved and - still more important - what remains to be done.

1.23 This profound sense of sharing in clear-sighted and benevolent activities, common tasks and mutual assistance will, for me, always be associated with you, and will be an honour, a delight and a lesson to me throughout my life.

1.24 Time and again I shall return in spirit to these lofty halls, around which, on the soil of France, so many flags, both time-worn and new, flutter in the same breeze ; and when I am overwhelmed by fears or weighed down by doubt, I shall come to this temple of brotherhood, where so many acts of undying faith have been performed, a faith which will fire our successors in their turn (I greet them on their way) ; and here I shall meditate, undaunted, and renew my faith in Wisdom and in Light.

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

2. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French) :
I call upon Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, Chairman of the Executive Board.

3.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board :

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, one of the conventions of our General Conference requires that the Chairman of the Executive Board should follow you, Mr. President, in addressing this opening session. My first word is a tribute to you, Mr. President. Not all the members of the General Conference will realize that its President automatically becomes an ex officio member of the Executive Board for two years. Indeed none of your predecessors seem to have acknowledged this fact, even if they realized it. You Sir, have exercised your rights throughout the last two years to the great advantage of the Executive Board's deliberations. You have attended all our sessions - I cannot say every one of our meetings - but the Executive Board has on a number of occasions profited from your presence and from your participation in our discussions, I cannot say in our decisions because our Constitution denies the President a vote. I know that my colleagues on the Executive Board would wish me to thank you for this proof of your abiding interest in the work of our Organization.

3.2 You, Mr. President, have already noted the loss which the Executive Board suffered in its concluding session on the eve of this Conference through the sudden death of our Mexican member, H. E. Dr. Pedro de Alba. All his fellow members had a great affection for him ; in a sense he was our elder statesman. His services to international understanding spanned two generations : he belonged to the old order and to the new, to the League of Nations and to the United Nations ; to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to Unesco. His life-long experience and his contemporary vision were great assets to us. For several years his Government had assigned him to special duties abroad that included representation upon a number of Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, in addition to Unesco, so that he came to us as an exceptionally

well-informed and valuable member. But to his professional competence he added a most gracious presence, the influence of which we all felt. Our grief at the loss of H. E. Dr. Pedro de Alba may slowly pass, but our sense of indebtedness to him will last a very long time. I am sure that my colleagues of the Executive Board would wish me to thank the members of the General Conference for their tribute to his memory.

3.3 And this morning, Mr. President, the Executive Board heard with profound regret of the tragic death of Mr. Gaston Berger, and expressed its deep sympathy with their colleague, Mr. Julien Cain, with the French National Commission, and with your country, Sir, at the loss of this most distinguished Frenchman. He believed in Unesco, he worked for it, as his vigorous chairmanship of the National Commission has shown. Last year he presided over a round table which met in this hall on the occasion of the General Conference, and we had hoped to profit during this Conference from his great ability and experience. Please allow me, Mr. President, to say that the Executive Board associates itself fully with the gesture of sympathy already made by this General Conference.

3.4 In the interval of two years between the tenth session of the General Conference and this one, the Executive Board, in co-operation with the Director-General, has represented the General Conference, which is the sovereign body of the Organization, in supervising its work. This has not been an easy task; Unesco's work is growing in size, in scope and in complexity. This fact has called forth reserves of insight and courage, energy and resourcefulness from the Director-General and his staff, and it is with particular pleasure that we greet him and his staff at the opening of this General Conference. It marks the culmination of two years' hard labour and holds out prospects of even greater demands for the immediate future. We wish the Director-General and his staff well.

3.5 I do not intend to detain the Conference, Mr. President, I merely want to make one general observation. We are all aware of the powerful forces that are transforming the world and you have reminded us of them; these have made and are making new demands on a scale never made before in Unesco's history. They have added substantially to the number of our Member States whom we welcome most cordially. They have increased the extent and the range of Unesco's relations with the United Nations, with a larger number of Specialized Agencies and with other international organizations. The consequences of these facts are shot through the work now facing the Conference, particularly when it addresses itself to the programme and budget proposals for examination.

3.6 The Executive Board has been feeling the impact of all this in the sheer size of its agenda, from session to session, and in the number of new items brought to its notice under the pressure of world events. The Executive Board is accepting the challenge of the situation and it has decided as an initial response to it to invite the next Executive Board, as a matter of urgency, to institute an inquiry into the present methods of work of our Organization to see how they can best be adapted to meet the new conditions, so different from the ones which prevailed when the present rules and methods that guide us were agreed. The Executive Board wants to be sure that the day-to-day means at the disposal of Unesco should always be equal to the ends which it is intended to serve, and, in this matter, I am glad to say we find ourselves in complete agreement with the Director-General.

3.7 Finally, Mr. President, I hope the members of the Conference will find the preparatory work of the Executive Board a real help to them in the days that lie ahead.

ADDRESS BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

4. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the Director-General.

5.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman of the Executive Board, ladies and gentlemen, at the opening of this eleventh session of the General Conference I have great pleasure in greeting the delegations of the Member States present, who, I am sure, will be joined within the next few days by those who, for various reasons, have not been able to be present today in this assembly.

5.2 I wish to welcome especially the representatives of those States which have become members of the Organization since the last session of the General Conference. Unesco is proud to be able to welcome them to this building, which has now become their home. In recent months - even in recent weeks - the great family of our Member States has grown still larger; a number of African countries, which have finally achieved independence during 1960, decided to become members of Unesco immediately after entering the United Nations organization.

5.3 Their presence means that the Organization has moved one step further towards world membership; and as they join us I should like them to know that we are aware of both their aspirations and their needs. I have no doubt that, at the present session, the General Conference will wish to pay constant attention to their problems and interests, so that they may, from the outset, play their part as fully and as effectively as possible in the work of international co-operation and mutual assistance for which the Organization exists. How delighted all the present members are - both foundation members of the Organization and those States which have become members more recently, to be able to hold out the hand of friendship to them today!

5.4 I also greet the representatives of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. There are many bonds between us, which are growing stronger with the years, and we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with them against the scourges of mankind - poverty, hunger, sickness and ignorance - which can be overcome only by action on a united front.

5.5 I welcome, too, the representatives of the other intergovernmental organizations and the observers of the international non-governmental organizations which are dedicated to the same ideal as Unesco, and many of which assist substantially in the execution of our programme.

5.6 As we meet at the Organization's Headquarters, in a setting which has now become familiar to most of you, we remember that we are enjoying the hospitality of France and of its capital city, the intellectual and spiritual glory of which enriches all who live or meet on this favoured soil.

5.7 You, Mr. President, who presided with distinction and courtesy over the deliberations of the tenth session of the General Conference, have retained your affection for this building as if you were its faithful friend, and have maintained your kindly interest in it. I thank you cordially for this.

5.8 The two-year period which has just ended has been far from easy for the Secretariat, which, as well as executing the programme adopted by the General Conference in 1958, has had to devote a considerable amount of time and effort, when preparing the programme for the coming two-year period, to keeping up with the rapid and sometimes bewildering sequence of events which govern its activities and adapting itself to new situations. There have been certain delays as a result of this, which I regret, but which were beyond our control; and I especially wish to pay public tribute to the energy and devotion displayed by my colleagues and by the Secretariat as a whole in performing this task. On the day after tomorrow, I shall have the honour of putting the main features of this programme before you. It does, I think, take the requirements of the contemporary world into account, for it has been drawn up after constant study of Unesco's potentialities in the light of the position of its Member States. As you know, I felt that the two main lines of our future development and of our programme should be education and scientific co-operation, with special emphasis on the needs of States which have recently attained independence, and particularly the African States.

5.9 When I took up the duties entrusted to me by Member States at the end of the last session of the General Conference, I said how much I was sustained by the thought that I should not be alone in facing the task and the responsibilities that I had accepted on your behalf, at the head of the Secretariat.

5.10 And so, today, I must express my appreciation of the support given me by Member States over the past two years, of their unfailing interest in the Organization's problems and activities and the many different ways in which they have helped the Secretariat to carry out its task. I wish to thank especially the Governments I have visited during this period, who have taken the opportunity of direct contact to show me the actual conditions in their country, to share their experience with me and inform me of their views on Unesco's present and future activities.

5.11 The Executive Board and its Chairman, Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, have given me firm, unwavering support. I am greatly indebted to the Executive Board, which, in these last two years, has given me the benefit of its advice, supported me in the tasks I have undertaken and shown understanding and sympathy when difficulties had to be faced. According to the Constitution, the Director-General prepares the Proposed Programme and Budget for each two-year period, but everyone is aware of the vital part played by the Executive Board in this respect and, above all, of the effective, constructive contribution which has been made by the present Board, by patient, thorough examination of the Secretariat's proposals at each of its sessions, to the preparation and final shaping of the form and content of the Proposed Programme and Budget which you will be examining in the coming weeks.

5.12 The Executive Board and Unesco as a whole have just suffered a tragic loss: we shall remember H.E. Dr. Pedro de Alba, who died so suddenly last Thursday while taking part in the Executive Board's deliberations, as an outstanding example of generous self-sacrifice in the service of noble causes. His wisdom and high-mindedness will always be an inspiration to all those who have been privileged to know him and to work with him.

5.13 In paying tribute to this great Mexican, this great servant of Unesco, I also, on behalf of the Secretariat, wish to express my deepest sympathy with his family and with the Government he represented with such distinction.

5.14 And it would seem that Fate is still against us. With much sorrow we have just received news of the accidental death of Mr. Gaston Berger. He was not only a philosopher and one of the leading French thinkers of our day, but also a man of action whose opinion we always valued particularly highly, and whose death is an almost irreparable loss. Mr. Berger, who was the Chairman of the French National Commission for Unesco, was a great humanist, and had earned universal respect. He had been associated with Unesco's work for a very long time and always took an active interest in the life and development of the Organization; in recent years, he did much to promote its advancement. These two outstanding men would have made a most valuable contribution to the work of this session of the General Conference. But however bitterly we may feel the loss of our friends, Unesco must go on.

5.15 And now we are approaching another stage in the history of our Organization, in which the sovereign assembly of which you are members will be called upon to take many a decision of vital importance for the future of Unesco, whose firm, practical action is now more necessary than ever to the world. After discussion and time for reflection, votes will be taken, in accordance with the democratic rule in which we all believe. In wishing you every success in your work, I should like to express my profound conviction that the General Conference will show wisdom and serenity, that it will constantly seek to preserve balance and justice, and that the solutions it adopts will strengthen the bonds between the members of the Organization still further so that, through the advancement of education, science and culture, we may construct the defences of peace in a world longing so ardently for it.

5.16 In the words of a poet from Africa, to which our thoughts and hearts are turning, may we say, with conviction: "Together, in these beautiful surroundings, we shall tend the plant that provides the best and most nutritious food of all, the food that gives the nations true strength - peace".

STATEMENT BY THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

6. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): H.E. Mr. Lapin, Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, informed me just now that he would like to make a very short statement, not connected with the Conference's programme of work, immediately after the address you have just heard. I therefore call upon Mr. Lapin.

7.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Director-General and the President have spoken to us of the new African States which have become Members of Unesco. This is a most important event in the life of our Organization. You will all remember the enthusiastic and festive welcome accorded to the new Members a short time ago in the United Nations General Assembly. There can be no reason why we should not welcome the new Members of Unesco with like sincerity and joy.

7.2 May I, on behalf of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the delegations of the other Socialist countries, extend a cordial welcome to the new Members of Unesco ? The fact that they are joining our Organization is evidence of the enormous changes taking place in the political and social circumstances of peoples who were once oppressed, and furnishes yet another proof of the inevitability of the complete collapse, in the near future, of all the colonial régimes, which have brought so much sorrow and suffering to mankind. The long colonial domination not only delayed the economic and cultural development of these peoples for many years, but also, in many countries led to the decay of their economic system and of their national culture.

7.3 On entering Unesco, the new States have a right to expect that our Organization will help them in every possible way to raise the standard of their national culture, science and education, and will assist them to eliminate for ever the disastrous consequences of colonialism. It is Unesco's sacred duty to give effective help to peoples which have entered on the path of independent, autonomous development. For its part, the Soviet Union is helping and will continue to help the young States in every possible way to develop their national economic systems, and to revive and improve their national culture, education and science. We sincerely wish the peoples of these countries great success in every department of their national and cultural life, and we greet their representatives present at this meeting.

7.4 We hope that, as the Conference proceeds, other States, which, for various reasons, have not hitherto taken part in its activities, will join Unesco, and that our Organization will become a truly world-wide, international Organization.

7.5 Ladies and gentlemen, may I, on behalf of all the delegations of the socialist countries, express to the Government, the National Commission and the members of the delegation of France our deep sympathy at the tragic death of the renowned French scholar and public figure, the Chairman of the French National Commission for Unesco, Mr. Gaston Berger. I also wish to express our profound sympathy with the Government and the delegation of Mexico to this Conference at the untimely death of that distinguished figure in Mexican public affairs and member of Unesco's Executive Board, Dr. Pedro de Alba.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTIONS

8.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): It is now my duty to make a statement about arrears in payment of contributions and their effect on the right to vote of Member States at this session of the General Conference.

8.2 Under Article IV, paragraph 8 (b) of the Constitution, the right of Member States to vote is contingent upon payment of their contributions. Paragraph 8 (b) 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."

8.3 At present, four Member States have not the right to vote at this session of the General Conference, since the total amount of contributions due from them exceeds the total amount of contributions payable by them for the current year and the immediately preceding calendar year. These four States are Bolivia, China, Honduras and Paraguay. Paragraph 8(c) of Article IV, however, states that the General Conference may nevertheless permit such a Member States to vote, if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member Nation.

8.4 The delegations of the States concerned will therefore have to decide whether they should request the General Conference to apply this paragraph. Such requests, if not already submitted to the Director-General, should be addressed without delay to the President of the General Conference, who will transmit them to the Administrative Commission, to which such requests are normally referred.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

8.5 We shall now elect the Credentials Committee.

8.6 Rule 27 of the Rules of Procedure, which concerns this Committee, reads as follows:

"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."

8.7 In accordance with these provisions, I have the honour to propose that the General Conference appoint the following States to serve on the Credentials Committee: Argentina, Bulgaria, France, Japan, Morocco, Philippines, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America.

8.8 If the Conference has no objection, the Credentials Committee will be so constituted. I should also state that, in its recommendations to the Nominations Committee, the Executive Board has proposed that Japan provide the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

8.9 I hope that the Committee will be able to present its report to the General Conference this afternoon, about four o'clock.

8.10 The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

14 November 1960, at 4.15 p.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Consideration of the First Report of the Credentials Committee 53

CONSIDERATION OF THE FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I declare the meeting open. Following on the statement which I had the honour to make this morning concerning arrears in payment of contributions, I wish to inform the Conference that I have received from the Head of the Chinese delegation a letter dated 12 November 1960, requesting that, in accordance with Article IV, paragraph 8(c) of the Constitution, the Chinese delegation be authorized to vote at the present session. This communication is reproduced in the document which will be distributed today to all delegations. As I pointed out this morning, this request will be referred to the Administrative Commission, which will consider it when discussing item 23.2.2 of the agenda.

1.2 The General Conference will now hear the report of the Credentials Committee. I would at once request delegations with comments to make on this report to inform the Secretary of the Conference that they wish to speak.

1.3 I call upon H.E. Mr. Matsui, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

2.1 Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (Translation from the French): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Credentials Committee, established on 14 November 1960 by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at its eleventh ordinary session, held a meeting at 12 noon that day.

2.2 The Committee is composed of delegates of the following States: Argentina, Bulgaria, France, Japan, Morocco, Philippines, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and United States of America.

2.3 I have had the honour of being elected Chairman of this Committee. This great honour has been paid, certainly not to myself, but to my country.

2.4 The Committee proceeded to examine the credentials received by the Director-General from the States which will be listed later.

2.5 The delegate of the United States of America proposed that the Credentials Committee recommend to the General Conference that it take no decision regarding the credentials submitted by the representatives of Hungary. The delegates of Bulgaria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the other hand, proposed that the credentials of the delegation of Hungary should be recognized as being in good and due form.

2.6 Furthermore, the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, supported by the delegate of Bulgaria, lodged objections to the credentials submitted by the delegation of China and asked that these credentials be rejected. On the other hand, the delegate of the United States of America submitted the following proposal on the same subject:

2.7 "The General Conference,

(1) Decides not to consider, at its eleventh session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat the 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."

2.8 The Committee first voted on the proposal of the delegation of the United States of America relating to China. This proposal was adopted by 5 votes to 3.

2.9 The Committee then proceeded to examine the proposals relating to the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. By 5 votes to 2, with 1 abstention, the Committee decided to vote first on the proposal submitted by the delegation of the United States of America. When put to the vote, this proposal was adopted by 5 votes to 2, with 1 abstention.

2.10 The Committee noted that, as the purpose of the vote was not to recommend the 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.

2.11 The Committee decided that the delegates of the Member States about to be listed 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.

2.12 These States are as follows: Afghanistan, Australia, Belgium, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Ceylon, China, Republic of the Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, India, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Libya, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaya, Mexico, Monaco, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Upper Volta and Viet-Nam.

2.13 The Committee recommends that the delegations of these States be allowed to take part in the eleventh session of the General Conference.

2.14 The delegates of the States about to be listed 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.

2.15 These States are as follows: Albania, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, France, Honduras, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Nigeria, Panama, Senegal, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

2.16 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, these delegations be allowed to take part in the eleventh session of the General Conference.

2.17 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.

2.18 The Committee examined the credentials of the delegates of the following Associate Members: Federation of the West Indies, Kuwait and Sierra Leone. It recommends that the delegates of these Associate Members be allowed to take part in the General Conference.

2.19 The Committee then examined the credentials of the observers of the Holy See, Ireland, Portugal and Somalia, not members of Unesco, and of the observers from Mauritius and Tanganyika. The Committee recommends that the General Conference admit these observers.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): So far, four delegations have asked to take part in the debate on the Report of the Credentials Committee. They are, in the order in which their requests were made, the delegations of the United States of America, Czechoslovakia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Would any other delegations wishing to take part in the discussion kindly inform me at once?
(The delegations of Hungary, Argentina, the Philippines, Rumania and China requested that their names be included in the list).

3.2 I regard the list of speakers as closed and I call upon H.E. Mr. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

4.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America): Mr. President and fellow delegates, the delegation of the United States, and I am sure this is true of almost every delegation here represented, has the deepest respect for the Organization of Unesco and for the rules and regulations of procedure laid down by its Conferences, its Secretariat, and the Director-General. I therefore propose to abide by these rules and defer any opening remarks of greeting or condolence until the appropriate dates specified for opening addresses.

4.2 Mr. President, I wish to speak for the approval of the report of the Credentials Committee and its recommendation. I believe that at the very outset of this Conference it is of the utmost importance that there be a clear understanding of how we shall spend the too few hours we have to discuss some of the most momentous problems with which mankind has ever been faced. There are peoples in Africa, in the Arab States, in Latin America, the Far East and elsewhere in the world who are seeking to take their rightful place in this rapidly moving modern civilization. They need, and indeed they must have what this great Organization of Unesco is most qualified to give them - advancement in education, science and culture. We are gathered here at this Conference to discuss ways and means of helping to supply these needs.

4.3 These people are entitled to our undivided attention. Are we going to be able to spend our time properly in discussing these problems, or are we going to be subjected to long dissertations on matters which are not, and should not be our concern? The question who are the appropriate representatives of the people of geographical China, is a political question; it has no place in this forum. The United Nations Organization was created for the specific purpose of offering a forum for the discussion of political questions such as this one. Indeed, this very question has been discussed and was disposed of only a few weeks ago by the United Nations in a resolution practically identical to that recommended by the Credentials Committee in its report. As a Specialized Agency of the United Nations, should this Organization take the initiative in going beyond the decision of the United Nations? I submit Mr. President, that such action would not only be inappropriate but would be plunging Unesco into an area in which it does not belong, and in which, in the process, it might suffer irreparable injury.

4.4 For political questions have a tendency to divide peoples, whereas the advancement of education, science and culture, and of human knowledge, for which Unesco was created, are questions which

bind people together. I hope, Mr. President that these arguments will be a sufficient basis on which the report of the Credentials Committee can be accepted by this Conference and its recommendations adopted.

4.5 I do not propose at this time to introduce the subject of the qualifications of the Chinese Communist régime to be seated in Unesco, since the issue before us now is only the question whether or not the subject of the seating of the Communist Chinese delegation should be discussed at all. I earnestly trust that at this Conference we can avoid the violence and asperity of words and action which all of us regretfully saw in the forum of the United Nations in New York. However, I would reserve my right, Mr. President, to speak again and discuss these questions should they be injected into this Conference by others; this I sincerely hope will not be the case.

4.6 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 representative of Hungary. Here again is a political problem which is under consideration by the United Nations. The recommendation of the Committee is entirely in accord with past decisions taken on this subject in the United Nations and in other Specialized Agencies. Since the 1956 revolution of the Hungarian people every United Nations General Assembly has refused to accept the credentials submitted by representatives of the present régime in Hungary. By thus taking no decision on their credentials, the General Assembly has placed the Hungarian representatives in a provisional status and, again this year, the same procedure was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. The United States delegation recognizes that the adoption of its proposal would make Rule 24 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference of Unesco applicable, which would permit the Hungarian delegation to participate in the work of the General Conference with the same rights as other delegates. This is the same procedure as is followed in the United Nations General Assembly, and again, Mr. President, I do not intend to discuss the question of the qualifications of the Hungarian régime to come before this Conference because that is not the subject of our discussion here.

4.7 In summary, Mr. President, the United States delegation supports the recommendations of the Credentials Committee, which are consistent with the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly both as regards Chinese representation and as regards Hungarian credentials, the same decisions which were adopted overwhelmingly by the Unesco General Conference at its tenth session in 1958. In urging the approval of these recommendations, Mr. President, may I again emphasize a point which cannot be repeated too often. There are millions of people in the world waiting for us to get down to the business of how the light of knowledge can be brought to them. We have important work to do for them, let us get on with it and not waste our time on political questions. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee and its recommendations.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon H.E. Mr. Kahuda, Head of the delegation of Czechoslovakia.

6.1 Mr. KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia I consider it necessary to make the following statement with regard to the Credentials Committee's report. At the previous session of Unesco's General Conference, the Czechoslovak delegation declared, and it now once more declares, that the Government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia recognizes only the credentials issued by the lawful Chinese Government, namely the Government of the People's Republic of China.

6.2 In this connexion, I have to express the profound anxiety of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia at the fact that, as a result of the policy of discrimination followed by the imperialist powers, led by the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, whose population represents nearly one-quarter of the entire human race, is not yet able to occupy its rightful place in Unesco and so take part in the Organization's work.

6.3 This policy of discrimination seriously prejudices our Organization's international prestige and the results of its activities. Co-operation within Unesco undoubtedly suffers from the fact that, in its various organs, the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who do not represent anyone and who owe their existence entirely to the military occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States of America, are allowed to speak on behalf of China. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia will therefore vote against the Chiang Kai-shek representatives' credentials.

6.4 The Czechoslovak delegation does not agree with the proposal submitted by the representative of the United States of America with respect to the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Czechoslovak delegation protests against this discrimination against an independent People's democracy, which, by virtue of its culture and economic development, is on an equal footing with the other members of the great family of States which are building socialism and striving for lasting peace and the happiness of mankind as a whole.

6.5 The Czechoslovak delegation, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government and the people of Czechoslovakia as a whole, is gratified at the increase in the number of Unesco's Member States. It is convinced that all the Member States whose delegations' credentials we are accepting today will help Unesco to fulfil its fundamental tasks - the development of the culture and education of all peoples, the fostering of the idea of peaceful coexistence, and the achievement of general and complete disarmament, that fervent desire of all mankind - thus enhancing Unesco's prestige among the peoples throughout the world.

6.6 The Czechoslovak delegation sincerely welcomes all Unesco's new Member States, and especially the representatives of the African countries. The struggle for national liberation carried on for so many years, with enormous sacrifices, by those peoples has not been waged in vain but has ended in victory. Many African States became effective

members of the United Nations at the fifteenth session of that Organization's General Assembly. The whole Czechoslovak people warmly sympathizes with the liberation movement in colonial countries. We are concerned, as the Czechoslovak Parliament stated in its message to the parliaments of the States which have recently become independent, that the time has now come for all the countries of Africa and the other continents to win their freedom and independence. The victory over colonialism will thus be finally secured. The Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia maintains wide contacts with a number of free countries of Asia and Africa on a basis of equality, mutual respect, non-interference, mutual advantage and friendship, and it is seeking to develop such contacts further in every possible way.

6.7 The countries of Africa and Asia are the cradle of all human culture. There is no doubt, for instance that, in ancient times, several highly developed cultures existed in the African continent. Some of them disappeared of themselves, but most of them were destroyed and annihilated by the colonizers through cruel imperialist exploitation. The existence, in the past, of a highly developed culture in Africa is confirmed not only by scientific hypotheses - which are today generally accepted - such as the belief that the beginnings of metallurgy are to be traced back to the distant past in Africa, but also by the highly developed technique of bronze casting (lost-wax process) found in the towns of Benin, Ife, etc., by not sufficient proof likewise furnished by the Rhodesian cave gallery, several miles long, whose walls are covered with drawings dating from antiquity to the present time? Does not the art of the Congo, Chad, Nigeria, the Sudan and Dahomey show that the creative energy of these peoples has not disappeared and that, in a free society, it will revive and continue to develop thanks to the immense vitality of the Negro peoples? Is not one of the best proofs of this vitality to be found in the fact that, despite slavery and subsequent segregation, it has produced that new art of the Negro peoples, jazz?

6.8 It is our profound conviction that the collective national consciousness of the peoples liberated from colonialism will inspire them to make a new contribution to world culture. These countries which have won their independence need lasting peace above all in order that they may do away with the unhappy legacy of colonialism and strengthen and develop their economy and culture. We are confident that the new African States, together with all other peace-loving States, will continue the struggle for peace with the same energy as they brought to the fight for their national liberation and independence.

6.9 The Czechoslovak delegation will therefore vote for the acceptance of the credentials of delegations to the eleventh session of Unesco's General Conference.

7.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): We have still to hear eight speakers on this very important question. May I ask them kindly to limit their observations as far as possible, to the real subject of the discussion?

7.2 I call upon H.E. Mr. Lapin, Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the delegation of the Soviet Union strongly objected at the Credentials Committee's meeting, and now objects at the plenary meeting, to that part of the Committee's report in which it is proposed to recognize as valid the credentials of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

8.2 Contrary to international law, as well as to common sense, the Chiang Kai-shek representatives have, for several years past, unlawfully occupied the place of the Chinese people's representatives in Unesco, although it is universally known that they are political bankrupts who have long since broken all ties with the Chinese people and depend on the support of foreign States.

8.3 Why do the United States of America and their allies of the military bloc refuse to recognize that great, sovereign and independent State, the People's Republic of China, and its representatives in Unesco, and continue, as they have done for so many years, to lavish their favours on the Chiang Kai-shek representatives? Simply because China has become truly a nation, truly Chinese, and because its Government is a government in the real sense of the term, representing the will and aspirations of the Chinese people as a whole.

8.4 Everyone knows that China today is a great and powerful State. The fear occasioned by the emergence of a socialist China has evidently bereft certain imperialist circles of their reason, so that they are endeavouring to deny the existence of Chinese China. Such a policy is naturally doomed to failure. It has already suffered a cruel defeat. The policy of certain circles, directed towards the continuation of the cold war against a great sovereign State - the People's Republic of China - is condemned by all the peoples of the world. Furthermore, the American people themselves have condemned this policy and, at the recent elections, voted as a whole against this policy and its advocates.

8.5 In spite of that, however, the delegation of the United States is today still opposing the admission of the lawful government of the People's Republic of China, and is endeavouring to use our international Organization for its own interests and political purposes. In this way, it is seeking to divert Unesco's efforts from the vitally important task of working out and implementing the practical measures with which our Organization should be concerned.

8.6 Mr. Thayer, the representative of the United States of America, would have us believe that we cannot consider political questions in this assembly. We cannot agree with this view, nor I imagine, can other delegates.

8.7 Perhaps I may remind you of the speech made on this subject by the representative of India, Mr. Husain, at the last session of the General Conference in 1958. I shall quote from the verbatim record. On that occasion also, the American delegate had maintained that, as the question had been considered by the United Nations, it was impossible to discuss it at the General Conference of Unesco. In reply, Mr. Husain, the representative of the great Indian people, said that the fact that the United Nations

had postponed consideration of the question year after year did not mean that we should follow suit without further thought and proper consideration. "This, in the view of my delegation," Mr. Husain said "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".

8.8 So this question has not been invented by the communist countries, but inevitably thrusts itself upon us all. As Unesco is an independent organization, how can it be maintained that the question of co-operation of China's scientists, cultural leaders, artists, teachers and cultural institutions should be decided in New York at the United Nations, instead of here in Paris, where Unesco has its headquarters? Common sense protests against such a view.

8.9 Everyone knows that in China there is only one government elected by the Chinese people, namely the Central People's Government. It exercises absolute power over the whole of China's territory, with the exception of certain offshore islands on which Chiang Kai-shek's supporters, routed by the Chinese people, are skulking under the protection of the American fleet.

8.10 It is quite obvious that the only lawful representative of China is a representative appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; this is a truth which is internationally recognized.

8.11 Mr. Thayer, the representative of the United States of America, has told us that we should not concern ourselves with political questions; but, today, the President of the General Conference, the Chairman of the Executive Board and the Director-General have all called upon us for co-operation, mutual understanding and political tolerance. Fine things have been said about brotherhood and co-operation; but now we are told that political questions are forbidden ground to Unesco. We cannot agree with this contention. We are in agreement with the speeches we heard at the opening of the Conference, but not with Mr. Thayer's speech. We cannot shut our eyes to these flagrant violations of international law and common sense; we cannot be parties and accessories to illegality.

8.12 Now, it is again proposed that we should recognize the Chiang Kai-shek corpse as a living organism; an attempt is again being made to force upon us the scandalous decision to recognize the Chiang Kai-shek men as the representatives of China; but who is still ignorant of the fact that no self-respecting international organization wants a political corpse like the Chiang Kai-shek representative in Unesco? He must be excluded from the Organization.

8.13 The Head of the Soviet delegation to the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, Nikita Sergeevich Khruschev, emphasized that the efforts of the Government of the United States of America to resuscitate a political corpse like Chiang Kai-shek and his putrefying régime, repudiated by the Chinese people, merely helped to poison the international situation. They also hamper Unesco's activities.

8.14 If our Organization intends to develop further - and we have no doubts on this matter - it must, when deciding such questions, take account of the actual pattern of forces in the present-day world. It is impossible to speak seriously of "collaboration among all the peoples of the world in the fields of education, science and culture" and, at the same time, exclude from such collaboration the millions of citizens of China, whose science and culture are of immense international importance.

8.15 Fellow delegates, at the present time a cultural revolution unparalleled in history is taking place in the People's Republic of China, embracing all sections of the population. In present-day China, science and technology are advancing by leaps and bounds, and the People's Republic of China already has great achievements to its credit in the fields of education, science and culture. Throughout the many centuries of China's history, no Chinese government has ever been able to solve its vitally important basic economic and cultural problems as the present government is so successfully doing. Nothing that Unesco does can bear its full fruits unless account is taken of the Chinese people's wealth of experience and unless its rightful representatives take part in the work.

8.16 We have no doubt that the representatives of Unesco's Member States will rightly appraise the actual world situation and the part played by the People's Republic of China in international affairs, and will not permit the question of China's lawful rights to be used for unworthy political purposes. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers it essential to state once more that the Chiang Kai-shek representatives are unlawfully occupying China's seat in Unesco, and it categorically protests against this injustice. Only a representative designated by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can be accepted as China's lawful representative in Unesco. I request, Mr. President, that my proposal be voted on separately from the general resolution concerning the Credentials Committee's report.

8.17 The delegation of the Soviet Union also strongly protests against the attempt to throw doubt on the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. The United States representative, who today impugned the Hungarian delegation's credentials is obviously well aware of the complete worthlessness of the instructions which he received before his departure for this Conference. It is evident that this attitude on the part of the United States delegation is not conducive to a spirit of collaboration and to an improvement in international relations, and is incompatible with the appeal for mutual understanding which was addressed to us today at the opening of the Conference.

8.18 The objections concerning the Hungarian delegation's credentials are far-fetched and grossly tendentious and there is no need to dwell on such an obvious fact. The delegation of the Soviet Union calls upon the delegates to the eleventh session of Unesco's General Conference to reject the United States proposal concerning the non-recognition of the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, for the adoption of such a proposal would be extremely detrimental to the prestige of our Organization, whose mission is to promote international co-operation in the fields of education,

science and culture. I move that the United States proposal, which was thrust upon the Credentials Committee, be not discussed further.

8.10 The Soviet delegation is not opposed to the Credentials Committee's report as a whole, but only to those points to which I have referred. In his speech Mr. Thayer saw fit to remark that, if we discuss this question in detail, he will speak again. This seems to be something of a threat, but we must inform Mr. Thayer that we are not afraid to discuss this question and are prepared to expatiate on it at length.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Mac Kay, Head of the Argentine delegation.

10.1 Mr. MAC KAY (Argentina) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, first of all I wish to thank the General Conference, on behalf of my country, Argentina, for the honour of having been appointed to serve on the Credentials Committee.

10.2 We were accordingly present this morning at the Committee's first meeting, when it adopted the recommendations which are now before this plenary meeting.

10.3 I wish to explain very briefly, in compliance with the President's request, the reasons for our vote in favour of acceptance of the credentials of the Republic of China.

10.4 In voting thus, Argentina has remained true to its traditional policy in this matter, adopting the same attitude as it did when the question was discussed in the United Nations, which is the organization competent to deal with political questions.

10.5 In accordance with this policy, Argentina will again vote in favour of the Credentials Committee's proposals, just as it voted for the decisions adopted in this matter by the United Nations.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Romero, Head of the delegation of the Philippines.

12.1 Mr. ROMERO (Philippines):

Mr. President, delegates, on behalf of the delegation of the Philippines I shall speak very briefly in support of the report of the Credentials Committee. On the proper occasion I shall extend the greetings of my delegation to the newly accredited delegates of Africa and Asia, of which we are part, and shall also have occasion to discuss some of the more important problems before this Conference. Now, we wish only to say that we believe the point raised here to be a political one, and that Unesco is not the proper forum for the resolution of such questions. If we went into this question we would have very little time left for the solution of the very important and pressing problems before this Conference.

12.2 It has been my privilege to have represented my country in many Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, the International Sugar Agreement, the International Wheat Agreement, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. Invariably, in the matter of credentials, these organizations have followed a precedent set by the United Nations concerning identical questions. I express the opinion, therefore, on behalf of my delegation, that the United Nations having spoken on the matter of the representation of China and the credentials of Hungary, we should be well advised to abide by this decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Slipchenko, Head of the Ukrainian delegation.

14.1 Mr. SLIPCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic first wishes to add its voice - the voice of a nation of forty-two million people - to those of the other delegations which have spoken on the Credentials Committee's report, and whole-heartedly congratulates Unesco on the further remarkable increase which has occurred in our large family of nations. This event is of the greatest political importance. Unesco is steadily coming closer to being a truly universal organization, and this is to be welcomed unreservedly.

14.2 What is of paramount importance is the fact that all these new Member States of Unesco are young countries which have been through long periods of heavy colonial oppression and have only recently won their independence. The fact that these States have subscribed to the United Nations Charter and the Unesco Constitution, in our opinion, marks one of the most important stages in the consolidation of their political independence and the establishment of co-operation on an equal footing with the other countries of the world.

14.3 The simultaneous admission to Unesco of such a large number of newly independent States of the African continent is an event of paramount importance, principally because their presence here as full members of our international organization reflects the great changes that are now taking place at such a speed in the life of mankind. It can confidently be said that the day is not far distant when the last victim of colonialism will be liberated from his chains, when the peoples still suffering under colonial oppression will take their place in international organizations on an equal footing with others.

14.4 This is the inexorable advance of history and Unesco must keep pace with the times if it is not to lag behind the headlong march of events. These remarks have a direct bearing on the work of the Credentials Committee, which, by certifying the credentials of Unesco's new Member States, is, as it were, registering the death of colonialism.

14.5 In this connexion, I feel I must draw attention to an extremely significant fact. I have in front of me document UNESCO/11 C/INF/2 (Invitations to the eleventh session of the General Conference), dated 16 June 1960. Section C (Non-Self Governing Territories) of this document reads as follows: "In pursuance of the authorization given to the Director-General by the Executive Board at its 56th session, the Director-General has invited the following States, in respect of which the Government of France has presented a request for admission as Associate Members, to send observers" - I emphasize the

word observers - "to the General Conference: Federation of Mali (Sudan, Senegal), Malagasy Republic, Gabon Republic, Republic of Chad, Central African Republic, Republic of the Ivory Coast, Republic of Niger, Republic of Dahomey".

14.6 As you can see, only last June these States were being graciously permitted to send observers to the General Conference with a view to their admission as Associate Members, with the authorization of the French Government, whereas, today, we are welcoming these States as full Members of our Organization. The march of history has indeed been rapid! The last leaves had not yet fallen from the plane trees on the Paris boulevards, the ink had not yet dried on the said Unesco document, when it became necessary to reprint it in order to keep pace with life, in order to make the document reflect the new situation; and what a grand and significant situation! We are all for such "Revisions"; may there be more of them!

14.7 We must, however, be consistent in all our actions and in all our decisions. Having ratified the credentials of a large number of newly admitted countries, i.e. having acted quite reasonably and in complete accord with the behests of the times, we were naturally entitled to expect that the Credentials Committee would display similar good sense in all other cases and, in complete harmony with the needs of the day and with political expediency, would propose the entirely logical step of rejecting the so-called credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek political corpses, after giving them the usual death certificate if it were still required.

14.8 Against the background of such a joyful, vivifying event as that which has just taken place in the admission to our Organization of the young, entirely creative forces and inexhaustible potential energy of the African countries, the attempt by some members of the Credentials Committee to galvanize and resurrect corpses is an anachronism, a piece of nonsense so great that, as we say in the Ukraine, "it cannot get in either through the fence or through the gate". Truly, we have here a corpse clutching a live man!

14.9 You will excuse the comparison which I am now obliged to make, but I and my many colleagues have the impression that we, the representatives of many countries of the world, gathered here to discuss extremely important and urgent questions, are, thanks to the delegation of the United States of America (and how often this has already happened!), being forced from the very outset to divert our attention from our main work in order to take part in some sort of spiritualistic seance: the delegation of the United States of America proposes that we should recognize as the real representatives of China certain Chiang Kai-shek ghosts called up from the other world, where, in fact, they have been living for the past twelve years, ever since the glorious victory of the people's revolution in China.

14.10 How much longer is this spiritualistic farce, with the calling up of spirits - which is unworthy of any self-respecting international organization - going to continue? Is it not time to put an end to this mockery of history, life and common sense? I am profoundly convinced that, among all those present at this meeting, including the members of the Credentials Committee and the delegation of the United States of America, there is not a single person who does not know perfectly well who in fact represents the great Chinese people: the Government of the People's Republic of China or these Chiang Kai-shek ghosts whom certain persons are vainly endeavouring to resuscitate politically for the narrowly egoistical ends of the United States of America and in the pursuit of plans which have nothing in common with the aims set forth in Unesco's Constitution or with our Organization's lofty responsibilities.

14.11 It may well be asked how much longer the fiction of Chinese representation, both in the United Nations and Unesco will, under pressure from the United States, be artificially brought up in connexion with each new report of the Credentials Committee or when moneys are scandalously, almost forcibly, extorted from Member States for the purpose of paying the contributions of the bankrupt Chiang Kai-shek clique? Is it not time to put an end to this by recognizing the inescapable fact that there is only one China, the China where six hundred and fifty million Chinese are living and organizing a new existence for themselves - authentic patriots, who have themselves committed supreme authority to their only legal government, established in the capital of their great country, Pekin. This fact is becoming ever clearer and more patent and the day of its full recognition is coming ever closer; but you, gentlemen, by voting unanimously against the recognition of the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives can and should make this very day the day of justice.

14.12 The representative of Argentina and the representative of the Philippines have said that the question of China's representation should first be settled by the United Nations, that it is a strictly political question which, in general, is not a matter for Unesco. Is it possible, however, in our day, for such a reputable organization as Unesco to imitate the ostrich and, hiding behind purely formal considerations and procedural artifices, pretend that political questions of the greatest importance, which are disturbing everyone, one of which is certainly the question of the representation of China, do not concern Unesco? And I can assure the representative of the Philippines that it is not the socialist countries which have obliged the Conference to divert its attention from the agenda; he addressed his remarks to the wrong quarter.

14.13 Let Unesco, which has inscribed on its banner the noble ideals of universality and justice, be consistent in all things, particularly in its decisions, and let it show that it is true to those ideals. Let it, just as unanimously as it has welcomed the representatives of the young African countries, reject the unlawful and unnatural recommendation made by the majority of the Credentials Committee under pressure from the delegation of the United States of America with respect to the so-called credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

14.14 In conclusion, I am authorized to state that the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic deeply regrets that the Conference should have been obliged to consider, even indirectly, the question of the credentials of the lawful delegates.

of the Hungarian People's Republic. It is quite obvious to any unbiased person that there are no grounds whatever for throwing the shadow of a doubt on the competence of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. I therefore protest categorically not only against the very mention of the Hungarian delegation's credentials in the report, but also against this further attempt to use Unesco, as in the case of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives, for the purposes of political machinations. I speak out in defence of the purity of the principles proclaimed in our Organization's Constitution.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Ujlaki of the Hungarian delegation.

16.1 Mr. UJLAKI (Hungary) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, to protest strongly against that part of the Credentials Committee's report which deals in a discriminating way with our delegation's credentials. The existence of the Hungarian People's Republic and the legality of its Government are fully recognized by public opinion everywhere. Our country maintains diplomatic relations with Unesco's Member States in all parts of the world. At our invitation, Heads of foreign States and many distinguished persons from various countries - including several members of Unesco's Executive Board - have visited our country in recent years and hundreds of journalists have stayed in Hungary. All these people have had the opportunity to appreciate that life in our country and its economic and cultural development are proceeding on perfectly normal lines.

16.2 Our Government has always co-operated closely, and continues to do so, with a large number of international organizations, and particularly with Unesco. Only recently, with Unesco's assistance, we organized a regional conference of European countries in Budapest to discuss the international exchange of publications.

16.3 Mr. President, we feel bound to express our opinion that, in certain international organizations, the discriminatory recommendations concerning the Hungarian delegation's credentials are due to the initiative - entirely without any moral or legal justification - of a great imperialist power. This great power cannot forgive us for our socialist régime, or for our Government's peaceful policy. Nevertheless, with all due respect to the representative of the United States Government, the Hungarian people's decision in this respect is not provisional, but final, and nothing will prevent it from continuing on the course it has freely chosen.

16.4 The alarming fact, however, is that this great power wishes to oblige our General Conference to share its resentment and political dissatisfaction. Such attempts are liable to place Unesco, whose mission is to pursue noble, universal aims, in the dangerous position of being forced to serve the particular political interests of one of its Member States. This strikes a serious blow not only at the prestige of the State concerned but also at the respect which our Organization commands. I feel it unnecessary to emphasize that such behaviour has a detrimental effect on the international atmosphere.

16.5 Regarding the representation of China, we consider it outrageous that the place of the great and cultured Chinese people in this important international organization, instead of being occupied by the only constitutional government which represents them, should be usurped by a clique of adventurers who are bartering away the interests of the Chinese people. This, in our view, is also one of the consequences of the United States policy, which is against human and social progress all over the world and hampers the constructive work of the United Nations and of all other international organizations. For many years, this policy has been preventing the delegates who are alone qualified to represent the Chinese people and culture from occupying their rightful place in international organizations, including Unesco.

16.6 The Hungarian delegation, in full agreement with the overwhelming majority of mankind, condemns this policy and protests against the participation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Unesco's work. The Hungarian delegation is profoundly convinced that these regrettable and unacceptable intrigues cannot continue indefinitely and that the time is not far off when such discriminatory and inadmissible practices, which are already rejected by the vast majority of mankind, will also be impossible in international organizations.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Dumitrescu of the Rumanian delegation.

18.1 Mr. DUMITRESCU (Rumania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the Credentials Committee has presented its report. The recognition of the credentials of the newly admitted States - I am referring to the African States which have become members of the Organization - is certainly something positive, another step towards making Unesco universal, as was emphasized today by the Director-General.

18.2 Allow me, on behalf of the Rumanian delegation, to address a warm greeting to the representatives of the new Member States and to wish them every success in their efforts to promote the cultural and social development of their countries and to neutralize as soon as possible the harmful effects of many centuries of colonial oppression. We are persuaded that the new States now given the opportunity to take part in Unesco's activities will, in so doing, make a valuable contribution to the treasures of world culture and thus advance the cause of peace. That is undoubtedly a further step towards making Unesco genuinely universal.

18.3 But this shows up in an even more serious light the blows aimed at this very principle of universality; I refer in particular to the practice, imposed by the United States of America of excluding from Unesco countries whose presence amongst us is urgently needed. I shall take, first of all, the case of the People's Republic of China, whose place in Unesco is still occupied by the representatives of a phantom government protected by certain foreign States. Unesco wishes to be - and must be - a universal organization; but, at the same time, it

excludes from its activities a people representing one-quarter of the world's population. Unesco sincerely desires to implement the East-West Major Project, but of what good is a knowledge of the East if it excludes the Chinese people? We regret to note that the Credentials Committee once again recommends recognition of the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives. Still worse, it is even proposed to give them a bonus by allowing them to take part in the General Conference's work with the right to vote, although they have not paid their contribution for years.

18.4 Moreover, the number of countries which have voted for the admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of our Organization has recently increased considerably. This is a great sign of the times, which should not be overlooked.

18.5 That is why the Rumanian delegation is absolutely opposed to practices such as those which I have just mentioned and requests you to reject the proposal to accept the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives. It urges you to unseat these representatives.

18.6 The Rumanian delegation is also against the United States proposal, adopted by the Credentials Committee, not to recognize the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic. This question has been raised once again by the United States of America for political reasons, in order to force our Organization to practise discrimination, in violation, not only of the Constitution, but also of the principle of the universality of Unesco.

18.7 Hungary is a member of our Organization, and its representatives, delegated by the sovereign Government of that country, are fully entitled to take part in the work of the General Conference. We therefore request that the Hungarian delegation's credentials be accepted.

18.8 If we really want the General Conference's work to proceed in accordance with the declarations made during the first plenary meeting, and if we wish the great tasks incumbent upon the Organization to be carried out in a constructive manner, compatible with peaceful coexistence, we must, at the very outset, refuse to admit any violation of Unesco's Constitution. Having made these critical remarks on fundamental issues, and convinced that it is serving the aims of Unesco, the Rumanian delegation requests that a separate vote be taken on each of the items in the report of the Credentials Committee.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Cheng Tien-Fong, Head of the Chinese delegation.

20.1 Mr. CHENG Tien-Fong (China):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, at the very beginning, I want to point out to you the relations between China and Unesco. In 1946, when the first session of the Unesco General Conference was held in Paris, the then French Minister of National Education remarked in his speech of welcome that China was the first country at the San Francisco Conference of 1945 to suggest the idea of international co-operation in the field of culture and education, within the frame of the United Nations. Next, I wish to say something about my personal relations with Unesco. I attended the constituent Conference in 1945 in London and the first session of the General Conference in 1946 in Paris. In June 1951, I attended the sixth session of the General Conference of Unesco as the Head of the Chinese delegation. Nine and a half years have elapsed, and I am here again to attend the eleventh session. How fast time flies and yet what happened then is still vivid in my mind. I am glad to find familiar faces among the delegates and hope to develop new friendships with others.

20.2 It is expected that the delegate from the Soviet Union and other communist bloc nations will endeavour to oust the Republic of China from Unesco, and to invite the communist régime of Peiping to join. What surprises me is the slanderous and malicious language they have used about the Government of the Republic of China and its leader, which even uneducated persons should know enough to refrain from using in such a solemn and dignified international gathering. I will not degrade myself or my country to such a low level as to follow their example in name calling, but I must refute their argument concerning China's representation.

20.3 In the first place, they argue that since the communist régime at Peiping rules 600 million Chinese people, therefore that régime and not the Government of the Republic of China should represent China in Unesco. This premise is misleading and entirely false. It is true that since December 1949 the Government of the Republic of China has established itself in Taiwan. But it is still recognized as the legal government of China by the majority of the sovereign States, and by the United Nations and all its Specialized Agencies. All the freedom loving peoples in the world are in sympathy with us in our struggle for freedom and justice. The Chinese Government has a National Assembly and a Legislative Yuan, whose members were elected by the Chinese people, and a Control Yuan whose members were elected by the legislatures of all the Chinese provinces. These representative organs are still functioning in Taiwan and President Chiang Kai-shek was elected by the National Assembly to serve his third term only half-a-year ago. On the other hand, the so-called Central Government of the People's Republic of China, although it has controlled the Chinese mainland for eleven years, is nothing but a puppet régime of the Soviet Union just as the Quisling régime in Norway during the Second World War was a puppet régime of Nazi Germany. The communist régime rules, not with the consent of the people, but by sheer force. It has deprived the Chinese people of every right and liberty. On the Chinese mainland there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of press, no freedom of assembly and even no freedom of worship. The Chinese communists have cowed the people into submission by terror. Tens of millions of people have been liquidated while other tens of millions have been drafted as slave labour. Owing to their tyrannical rule, people have lost the incentive to work; crops are usually poor and flood and famine occur frequently. As a consequence, the great majority of the Chinese people are suffering from hunger and millions have died from starvation. Since 1950 several million Chinese have fled and others are still fleeing from

the mainland to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, the South East Asian countries and even to Europe and America. Many millions more would have fled too, if they had the chance. The Chinese people intensely hate the communist régime and resort to active resistance whenever and wherever possible. All these facts prove that if the Chinese people had a chance to express their free will by voting, the communist régime would be overthrown by an overwhelming majority.

20.4 Secondly, they assert that Chinese culture must be represented in Unesco, therefore the communist régime should be admitted. To say that the puppet régime at Peiping stands for Chinese culture is ridiculous and farcical. That régime is not only un-Chinese, but anti-Chirese, in so far as our culture and our heritage are concerned. It has suppressed academic freedom so that all Chinese children and young people have been trained to put their thought in a straitjacket to conform to the communist party line. Teachers and professors who dare to deviate from this path in their teaching are at once dismissed or even put into concentration camps. Education in the Chinese mainland has been thus degraded to brain washing. By establishing communes the communists have taken children away from their parents and have thus broken traditional family ties. Confucianism which teaches righteousness, social justice, the dignity of man and universal brotherhood, and has been the corner-stone of Chinese culture for more than 2,000 years, is now suppressed. Confucius has been labelled a reactionary and his classics have been forbidden to circulate. Will you, ladies and gentlemen, think for a moment that such an anti-Chinese régime is qualified to represent China and Chinese culture in this international organization? No, certainly not, the centre of Chinese culture is now undoubtedly in Taiwan. The Chinese Government, despite its financial difficulties has done its best to promote education and culture. I have no time to recount the details of educational progress in Taiwan, and wish to say merely that while we teach science and modern technical knowledge in our schools and colleges, we also emphasize our Chinese heritage, Confucian philosophy, traditional moral traits and family life. By learning from the West and at the same time preserving our heritage we hope to be able to contribute our share to world civilization.

20.5 Mr. President, fellow delegates, I have presented these salient facts to you in order to help you understand the true nature of the question at hand. I request that the report of the Credentials Committee be speedily adopted in toto, so that the Conference can proceed with important business.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Singare Abdoulaye, Head of the delegation of the Republic of Mali.

22. Mr. ABDOULAYE (Mali) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as my country, the Republic of Mali, is today taking part in the work of this assembly for the first time, I would not have asked to speak, had I not, when listening to the report of the Credentials Committee a few moments ago, noticed an omission concerning our delegation. And this, despite the fact that we were duly informed of the approval of our delegation's admission to Unesco and deposited our credentials with the Secretariat as soon as we arrived this morning. Forgive me for raising this question, but I should like to know what has happened to our credentials.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Matsui, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

24. Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, in accordance with the decision taken at this morning's meeting by the Committee, which instructed me to report direct to the Conference on the subject of any credentials received after that meeting, I am glad to inform you that credentials have been deposited by two governments, including that of the Republic of Mali, whose delegate has just raised a question in this connexion and whose credentials, in good and due form, arrived this morning after the Committee's meeting. We have also received provisional credentials from the Government of Costa Rica.

25. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): We have noted your communication, Mr. Chairman of the Credentials Committee. I now call upon H.E. Father Rapailler, Head of the Haitian delegation and Minister of Education of Haiti.

26.1 Father RAPAILLER (Haiti) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, all countries have already hailed the emergence of the young nations into the light of independence. We Haitians, who were the first negro people in the world to become free, would be most ungracious if we failed to add our voice to the chorus of praise accompanying the admission of our kinsmen to the family of nations. In our opinion, Unesco should approve the Republic of China's right to vote. It is not the number of its inhabitants that gives a nation the right to live, but rather its intrinsic value as a racial and political entity. The Republic of China has not disappointed Unesco by its behaviour, by its social programme, or by the human ideal for which it stands and which has won it international respect. I therefore urge this assembly and the negro peoples not to allow themselves to be influenced either today or tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, or on any other day of the present Conference, by feelings rather than by positive facts, by probabilities rather than by actual evidence.

26.2 The time allotted to the Conference is barely sufficient to enable us to consider important and urgent questions; let us not waste it therefore, in discussing matters with which the Conference is not competent to deal.

26.3 As someone said here yesterday, it is Unesco's aim and duty to unite and not divide. In this respect, both the facts and the evidence justify our maintaining full confidence in the Republic of China, which, through its existence in the world

and in Unesco, continues to provide a torch to illumine civilization, and is the active protagonist of an outlook necessary for the peace of mankind.

27.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
Ladies and gentlemen, the discussion of the Credentials Committee's report is closed. We have now to vote on the matter. Only two parts of this report have been contested; the part relating to the credentials of the Chinese delegation and the part relating to those of the Hungarian delegation. The rest of the report has not given rise to any objections. I therefore have the honour to propose that you should approve all that part of the report which does not relate to these two questions, in order to clarify our discussion and clear the way, as it were. If the meeting accepts this proposal, we shall be able to consider as adopted the whole of Mr. Matsui's report, save for the parts relating to the Chinese and Hungarian delegations.
27.2 I consider the proposal as approved; the whole of the report with the exception of the two questions at issue, is therefore adopted.
27.3 We have now to deal with the two questions under dispute. The first, relating to the Chinese delegation, is the subject of a proposal in the Credentials Committee's report; I feel I should again read out this proposal in order to clarify the discussion. The Committee recommends that you adopt the following proposal:
"The General Conference,
Decides not to consider, at its eleventh session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China;
Decides to reject the objection made to the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China".
27.4 I think that we should first take a decision on this part of the report. We shall proceed to a vote by roll-call, as this has been requested by more than two delegations.

28. (The vote was taken by roll-call:
Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Federation of Malaya, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, 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, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.
Abstained: Austria, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Dahomey, Ghana, Israel, Ivory Coast, Laos, Malagasy Republic, Republic of Niger, Federation of Nigeria, Switzerland, Tunisia, Upper Volta.
Absent: Ethiopia, Iraq, Panama, Saudi Arabia).

29.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
The result of the vote is as follows: in favour 43; against 27; abstentions 15; absent 4. The Credentials Committee's proposal relating to China is thus approved.
29.2 There remains the second question under dispute. I would remind you that the Credentials Committee has recommended that the General Conference should not take any decision concerning the credentials submitted by the Hungarian delegation. I wish to make quite clear that this proposal does not imply any withdrawal of rights from the Hungarian delegation. If I may venture to do so, I should like to point out that the proposal simply endorses the attitude which, if I am not mistaken, was adopted by the United Nations. The adoption of the report will not, of course, deprive Hungary of its right to take part in the discussions of the present session of the General Conference.
29.3 Bearing this in mind, we shall now proceed to a further vote by roll-call.

30. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, permit me to make one remark: your comment on the voting procedure was not quite accurate. You emphasized that the vote would not deprive Hungary of the right to take part in our proceedings. It is true that this was proposed by the American delegation, but, for objectivity's sake, it should be added that, by voting in favour of this proposal, we shall nevertheless be allowing discrimination against the Hungarian People's Republic and its representatives. It must therefore be borne in mind that a vote in favour of the American delegation's proposal is definitely detrimental to the Hungarian delegation.

31.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I should like to remind the Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that I simply made a few, very brief comments on the relevant part of the Credentials Committee's report and, in order that there shall be no doubt in the minds of the delegates - for my intention was merely to clarify the purpose of the vote - I shall read out the corresponding passage of the report adopted this morning by the Committee:
"The Committee then proceeded to examine the proposals relating to the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. By 5 votes to 2 and 1 abstention, the Committee decided to vote first on the proposal submitted by the delegation of the United States of America. When put to the vote, this proposal was adopted by 5 votes to 2 with 1 abstention. The Committee noted that, as the purpose of the vote was not to recommend the 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 the other representatives". That is a clear statement. It would obviously have been better - and I apologize for this to the assembly - for me simply to have read out this section of the report. I thought

it my duty to sum it up; but I do not think that I gave a wrong interpretation of it. I therefore regard this small incident as closed.

31.2 With your agreement we shall now proceed to the vote.

32. (The vote was taken by roll-call:

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

Voted against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Sudan, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia.

Abstained: Cameroun, Central African Republic, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Federation of Malaya, Republic of Niger, Federation of Nigeria, Tunisia, Upper Volta.

Absent: Ethiopia, Iraq, Panama, Saudi Arabia).

33.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

The result of the vote is as follows: in favour 39; against 31; abstentions 15; absent 4. The Committee's proposal is therefore adopted.

33.2 We have still to take a decision on the report as a whole. If there is no objection, it is unnecessary to proceed to a vote.

33.3 The report of the Credentials Committee is thus adopted as a whole.

33.4 The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

15 November 1960, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)

CONTENTS

Address by H.E. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (India) 65
Amendment of Rules 25 (1), 30 (1), 34 (1) and 38 (1) of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference 66
Adoption of the revised agenda 67

ADDRESS BY DR. SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN (INDIA), FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, I declare the meeting open. H.E. Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, delegate of India, who, owing to his responsibilities as Vice-President of the Republic, must shortly return to his country, has expressed the wish to address the General Conference this morning. I am certain that this gathering is looking forward with pleasure to listening to someone who has twice acted as President of the General Conference with unparalleled prestige, distinction and authority. I therefore call upon him to address you.

2.1 Dr. RADHAKRISHNAN (India): Mr. President, fellow delegates and friends, as I am leaving on Thursday and shall not have an opportunity of speaking on the Director-General's report, it is very kind of the President to have asked me to say a few words today.

2.2 I wish to speak on the way in which Unesco can help the establishment of peace and cultural solidarity in this world of mounting tension, increasing production of nuclear weapons and an expanding arms race. In Unesco, work is accomplished on educational projects, in scientific research, in technical assistance, demonstrating the involvement of all nations in international commitments. It is therefore essential that we should do all in our power to establish the basic good feeling which is absolutely essential if any kind of political decisions are to be reached. We talk about disarmament, but nothing concrete is achieved because we live in a divided and suspicious world. People are afraid of encirclement on the one side, of surprise attacks on the other, and so we break confidences, we send intelligence planes, we try to bribe people of other countries. All this arises from the one fundamental lack of trust between the great nations of the world. Unless that trust is re-established, unless it is possible for us to say that we can talk to each other and establish some kind of concord, the future of the world seems to be very bleak. Once Bernard Shaw, in addressing a conference in Cambridge a few years before his death, described to the audience his vision of the future; an old cleric got up and asked: "How do you propose to implement your ideals?" With a bland smile, Shaw observed: "Human selfishness, human selfishness". He meant that all people are interested in survival, that they have the instinct of self-preservation and therefore they will all work together to establish some kind of concord. Survival is bound up with solidarity, so selfishness will help us to establish this kind of concord.

2.3 But unfortunately we know there is no such thing as a basic rationality of human nature. We may know that a particular thing is to our interest, and yet we are not prepared to follow the counsel, even of self-preservation. The human mind works at different planes: there is the plane of the unconscious instinct and impulse, there is next the plane of rational purpose and organization, highest of all is the plane of spiritual vision, of intuitive insight. So long as we are lost on the first two planes, the present moral discouragement will continue as will the tendency to feel that the world is coming to a chaotic condition. All these things illustrate to us that human reason is not ultimate, but that there is something higher than human reason which we have to adopt. Both the unconscious impulses and instincts and our rational tendencies have to be governed by the enlightened spirit; if we do not have it the present conditions are bound to continue for a longer time.

2.4 Our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, said once: "I cannot derive any pleasure from living in a world which is not united". He meant that until the world becomes one, until we are able to cut across divisions of creed and of political and economic organization, until we are able to establish what may be regarded as the human community, there can be no real joy in living. The East-West project which this Organization has set aflost is one contribution towards this great idea of establishing concord or solidarity among men. We should do our best, in every possible way, to reduce the causes of conflict, one of the major sources of which is colonialism - people now working in subjection who are all demanding equality and the

overthrow of colonial rule. Nationalism is a force which is rampant today. A young nationalist of Africa wrote thus: "In the name of African women walking for miles to find mere sustenance for their children, in the name of African urchins whom hunger has forced to become habitual liars, in the name of African soldiers drafted to fight in North Africa as shock troops in the attack on the life and liberty of other men, we ask for an end of colonial rule, for an end of subjection. Until colonial rule is abolished one major source of conflict in this world will not disappear".

2.5 True, a large number of States have emerged into freedom and we welcome them all into this assembly. Every one of us is delighted that we have a large number of African States as members of Unesco. That in itself requires a change in the very structure of the Secretariat, of the Executive Board, etc., and also requires a change in your programme and budget proposals, for it is no use allowing people to become free if you do not assist them by all the means at your disposal to make that freedom a reality. There must be not merely political consciousness of freedom, but also social consciousness of the realization of freedom, both economically and politically. Engineers, technicians, industrialists, all these are necessary if the newly emancipated countries are to realize their freedom in any essential sense of the term. That is one of the great tasks which Unesco has to face, for it is this Organization that can give them more facilities for education, more technical assistance, etc. I do hope that in the drafting of your programme and budget proposals this fact will be taken into account.

2.6 More than that, so long as race discrimination is written into the statute books of countries, peace will be precarious, it can never be a certainty. Wounded souls are the greatest enemies of peace, and the feelings of many peoples in Asia and Africa are deeply involved in this problem of race discrimination. It is essential therefore that these discriminations should be abolished as soon as possible. If you do not do so, we will be responsible for bringing about major conflicts in this world. If constitutional processes do not help us to solve these problems, violent upheavals will naturally result and we will be responsible for these violent upheavals in the world. Thus, all those who are interested in the well-being of humanity, in the welfare of the peoples of the world and in peace, must work and strive their utmost to see that these discriminations are abolished as speedily as possible.

2.7 We, as an Organization standing for education, science and culture, must therefore try to suppress our prejudices. Culture is no more than a perpetual attempt to eliminate prejudice, to emancipate the minds of men from all kinds of prepossessions. Man must be an animal tamer, he must continue to function as an animal tamer. We cannot work only for our immediate future as long as we have the larger goals at heart; we must rid the world of all the obstacles to the establishment of peace.

2.8 It is now my pleasure to extend our welcome to the new African States. We ask the Organization to help these African States to achieve social and economic independence. Science and social conscience are both at our disposal; science can help us to realize all our social goals. In other words, scientific discoveries and social conscience must work together. In this Organization we have tried to expand educational facilities, we want to divert scientific pursuit to creative ends, we wish to increase beauty in human lives. It is only when these dimensions of the human spirit are properly established and fulfilled that we may call ourselves really civilized human beings. I do hope that this Organization will do its utmost to promote these ends.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I am sure that I am interpreting the wishes of everyone at this Conference in thanking Dr. Radhakrishnan for his uplifting address. May his words and his thoughts be an inspiration for our work throughout this Conference.

AMENDMENT OF RULES 25 (1), 30 (1), 34 (1) AND 38 (1) OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

3.2 The agenda now provides for various proposals to be submitted to us by the Chairman of the Executive Board. In the first place, he will be submitting to the General Conference a proposal of the Board to amend Rules 25 (1), 30 (1), 34 (1) and 38 (1) of the Rules of Procedure by raising the number of Vice-Presidents of the General Conference from twelve to fifteen. Afterwards, in conformity with Rule 13 (1), the Chairman of the Board will submit for the approval of the Conference the revised agenda, copies of which have been distributed to all delegations. According to its Rules, the General Conference must decide by a simple majority both on the adoption of the revised agenda and on that of the amendments to its Rules proposed by the Executive Board.

3.3 I now call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

4. Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President and fellow delegates, you will notice on your agenda for this morning item 2 and item 3. The first item is related to the proposal that the number of Vice-Presidents be increased and item no. 3 to the adoption of the agenda. With your permission, Mr. President, I would take no. 2 first, so that it might be disposed of before the adoption of the agenda is dealt with. The Executive Board decided at its 57th session, in view of the increase in the number of Member States and of the need of securing a balanced geographical distribution of offices, to recommend to the General Conference that it amend its Rules of Procedure so as to increase the number of Vice-Presidents from twelve to fifteen. You will find the recommendations of the Board in document 11 C/37 which has been distributed. In view of the fact that the Nominations Committee is to meet immediately after this plenary meeting, the Board suggests that the Conference might agree to put this question for discussion immediately. Should the Conference approve the suggestion, it would then be possible to present to the Nominations Committee at the same time all the recommendations of the Executive Board on the candidatures to the posts of

Vice-Presidents of the Conference. With your permission, Mr. President, I suggest that we dispose of that matter before I approach the question of the adoption of the agenda.

5.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the proposals of the Executive Board. If there are no objections, these proposals will be considered as adopted.
5.2 The proposals of the Executive Board are adopted.

ADOPTION OF THE REVISED AGENDA

5.3 I now call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board to submit the revised agenda.

6.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board: Mr. President, then if we turn to the question of our Rules of Procedure and the adoption of the agenda, in accordance with Rule 13 the General Conference has to approve its own agenda. The Executive Board has considered the provisional agenda and also the supplementary items that have been proposed by Member States and by the Director-General in accordance with Rule 11 of our Rules of Procedure. This document is now before the members of the Conference as 11 C/1 (Rev.).
6.2 I must draw the attention of my fellow delegates to the fact that two Member States - the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Cuba - have requested the inclusion of two new items in the agenda after the statutory time-limit for the admission of items had expired. These requests are contained in two documents 11 C/35 and 11 C/39 which should be in the hands of delegates.
6.3 According to Rule 14, Mr. President, requests received after the deadline may be added to the agenda by the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Conference present and voting, but such new items must be referred in the first instance to the General Committee of the Conference for its report before the vote is taken, in accordance with Rule 36, paragraph 1 (c). The Executive Board, then, is of the view that these requests must be examined by the General Committee of the Conference at its first meeting.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon H.E. Mr. Lapin, Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

8.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President and fellow delegates, we have just listened to the very illuminating speech by the distinguished representative of the great Indian people. I should like to point out that in the Soviet Union, there is not a single person active in cultural, scientific or political life who would not subscribe to the spirit and letter of the ideas expressed by the Indian representative.
8.2 The Soviet Union delegation has proposed the inclusion in the agenda of the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco of the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" presented by the Soviet Union delegation to the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The text of the declaration has been distributed by the Unesco Secretariat to all participants in the present Conference, and Unesco is asked to support it, on obvious grounds, for the declaration is inspired by the Organization's own ideals and objectives. Unesco is also asked to do everything it can to contribute to the speediest possible elimination of the harmful after-effects of colonialism in the fields of education, science and culture. Co-operation in the abolition of colonial rule, as the Indian representative put it in his speech, and help in overcoming the after-effects of colonialism as rapidly as possible, constitute one of the principal tasks which Unesco has to fulfil.
8.3 Our turbulent century can with full justification be called the century of the struggle for freedom, the century in which the oppressed peoples are shaking off the foreign colonial yoke. Following Asia, where the largest countries have freed themselves from colonial régimes, Africa, too, has squared its mighty shoulders. Colonialism is in its death throes; its days are numbered. Millions of Africans, still languishing in colonial bondage, are no longer dumb slaves; they have taken up the struggle and demand their freedom.
8.4 Expressing the will of millions of Soviet men and women, as well as the thoughts and aspirations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Soviet Government submitted its "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" to the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. This completely demolishes the myth of the inability of colonial peoples to govern, create or build, and may rightly be called an indictment of colonialism, a death sentence on the shameful system of imperialism. It is now clear that colonialism is approaching its end, but unfortunately the peoples of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, Angola, Mozambique, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Sierra Leone, South West Africa, Zanzibar, West Irian, Puerto Rico, Guiana and many other countries are still under the colonial yoke.
8.5 That is why it has become more urgent than ever before to launch the final attack against colonialism and put an end once for all to this shameful blot on humanity.
8.6 The Executive Board of Unesco, for purely formal reasons, has so far not included our proposal in the agenda. The Soviet Union delegation requests the plenary meeting of the Conference to support our proposal that the General Conference should discuss the question of what measures could be taken by Unesco in support of the declaration. I trust that this proposal will be supported.
8.7 A suggestion has also been made for the inclusion in the agenda of the Cuban representative's proposal that every State, whether great or small, be guaranteed the conditions necessary for its independent existence, freedom from intervention in its internal affairs, respect for its sovereignty and its free development under the social and economic system voluntarily chosen by its own people. This proposal (document 11 C/39) has been distributed to participants in the Conference.
8.8 The present period is characterized by the fact

that the peoples of many countries have liberated themselves from the bonds of servitude; but there is still a danger of the restoration of colonialism in certain countries. Attempts are being made, in fact, to reimpose the former systems. I am sure that I am expressing the general opinion of all the delegations present in saying that the action of any State which attempts to intervene in another State in respect of matters arising from economic, social or cultural differences, should be forthrightly condemned. Decisive measures against such an aggressor State should be taken by all peace loving countries in order to put an end to any aggressive acts violating the sovereignty and independence of other countries. I am therefore fully in favour of the inclusion of the Cuban proposal in the agenda. This step is justified by the fundamental importance of the question concerned.

8.9 The Soviet Union delegation has also proposed that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in Unesco be included in the agenda. This proposal is listed in all documents as item 7 of the provisional agenda, and its inclusion is urgently necessary for a number of reasons. How can confidence be created throughout the world if such discrimination is permitted against the 650 million-strong Chinese people?

8.10 The People's Republic of China has now been in existence for eleven years. The industrious Chinese people has transformed its country from an economically backward country into a leading industrialized State, and great progress has been achieved in the fields of education, science and culture. Successful efforts are being made to eradicate illiteracy, which is the heritage of a long period of colonial domination in China, and an extensive network of primary and secondary schools and higher educational establishments has been created for that purpose. The People's Republic of China is constantly extending its international relations and amplifying its international co-operation, and its rôle in world affairs has become immeasurably greater.

8.11 The fact that China is deprived of its rightful place in the United Nations is a black spot in the history of that international body. This is now beginning to be recognized by leading figures in all countries who are championing China's legitimate rights. The Soviet Union delegation and the delegations of many other countries are firmly convinced that the unnatural exclusion of the People's Republic of China from participation in Unesco's work is extremely harmful to the Organization itself, for this policy restricts its sphere of activity and hampers co-operation between all peoples in the fields of education, science and culture in the interests of world peace.

8.12 How can we speak of objectivity if it is possible to refer in the Constitution to the "educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world" while in practice excluding the Chinese people from such relations? How can we speak of the development of mutual understanding between Eastern and Western cultures if we leave out of account the most ancient culture of the East - that of the great Chinese people?

8.13 What is the reason for all this? Why is the Constitution violated? Unesco was created for the purpose of ensuring co-operation between all peoples and the establishment of world peace; and it is therefore essential to put a stop to the infringement of the Chinese people's rights in our Organization. The Soviet Union delegation urges the Member States of Unesco to take a realistic view of the actual situation, and remove the injustice which has so far been done in Unesco to the great Chinese people. It urges, in the interests of justice and of the consolidation of international co-operation and world peace, that the People's Republic of China be offered its rightful place in Unesco.

8.14 We also propose the deletion from the agenda of item 23.2.2 concerning the contributions of the Chiang Kai-shek group. This question cannot be considered in the absence of China's lawful representatives.

8.15 Fellow delegates, Mr. President, allow me to communicate to you a message which I have just received from the President of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev:

"To the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco, Paris. On behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as on my own behalf, I extend greetings to the participants in the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco. Your Conference is meeting at a crucial moment in history, when humanity is rapidly renewing its forms of social structure and, thanks to an ever deeper grasp of natural laws, now has at its command more and more new and remarkable scientific and technical achievements. Our era has all that is necessary for the progress of humanity and for the creation of abundance of material and cultural wealth for all peoples. Despite this, the menace of war still overshadows the world and hundreds of millions of people in the various continents are suffering from hunger, disease, destitution and illiteracy. Many peoples are still deprived of the most elementary human rights; they live under the colonial yoke and are subjected by the colonizers to merciless oppression, violence and plunder. The armaments race provoked by the imperialists deprives humanity of immense material and spiritual resources, and is driving the world towards a catastrophe which threatens to produce an unprecedented number of victims and the destruction of the treasures of world civilization. All peoples have a vital interest in preventing war, in abolishing as rapidly as possible the shameful colonial system and in strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization can make a significant contribution to the glorious task of creating a world without war, a world without armaments, a world without oppressed and enslaved peoples. Only under conditions of lasting peace can there be really fruitful collaboration between scientists, cultural workers and educators in all countries for the solution of the many serious problems facing mankind. The Soviet Union, for its part, will do everything in its power to consolidate peace and international co-operation. I am convinced that scientists and cultural workers cannot remain neutral in the great battle for peace,

just as they cannot and should not remain indifferent to the legitimate struggle for national liberation waged by the oppressed peoples against colonial servitude. The Unesco Constitution proclaims the need to consolidate peace, increase the welfare of the peoples, ensure respect for the human personality and guarantee the equality of rights of all races and persons. I venture to express the hope that the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco will be guided by these high principles and will adopt decisions constituting a worthy contribution to the glorious task of promoting peace and human progress.

14 November 1960 MOSCOW" N. Khrushchev

9.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): In his address, H.E. Mr. Lapin requested the inclusion of two new items which are not on the agenda submitted to you. In conformity with Rules 11, 14 and 36 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, these items are automatically referred to the General Committee, which will report thereon subsequently. We shall therefore not have to discuss them now.

9.2 I call upon H.E. Mr. Mitchell, Head of the delegation of Liberia.

10.1 Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia): Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, Mr. Chairman of the Executive Board, fellow delegates, the Liberian delegation finds it impossible to vote in favour of the draft agenda for the eleventh session of the General Conference in its present form. Firstly, the deferment of the general debate until the middle of the session is the cause of great concern to our delegation. It is the view of the Liberian delegation that most of the delegations here present brought a speech, already written for the general debate, which to quite an extent gives an indication of the reaction of their government to the proposed programme and budget. It would therefore seem logical for these speeches to be made before the programme is considered. On the other hand, if the Director-General thinks it is unnecessary to have these speeches, such a decision can be taken at this Conference and there would be no opening speeches at the twelfth session of the General Conference.

10.2 We consider out of place on the agenda of this Organization, the item of disarmament. In the opinion of the Liberian delegation, the discussion of this question at Unesco would prejudice discussions at present taking place at Geneva and in New York on the same topic. We are concerned here with education, science and culture. The question of disarmament is therefore outside the purview of this Organization. I, for my part, refuse to disarm Unesco since our arms are urgently needed to educate millions of children the world over.

10.3 The Liberian delegation likewise sees no reason for including any item on colonialism in the agenda. The very presence here today of several African delegations is a clear indication of the end of colonialism. We do not believe in immediate or violent change; we believe in gradual change. Furthermore, the two main colonial hold-outs, the Union of South Africa and Portugal, are not participating in this meeting and it will serve no purpose to include this item on the agenda. Those who are here are thoroughly convinced that they must give up their colonial holdings on the African continent. Sierra Leone is due for independence in 1961, Tanganyika is due for independence in 1961 or 1962, as are several of the British protectorates on the African continent. We therefore feel that the British and the French are now thoroughly convinced that they can no longer hold the African in subjugation. To include such an item in the agenda would mean a waste of precious time that we need for more important business.

10.4 Finally, it is the belief of the Liberian delegation that the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China should not appear on the agenda of the eleventh session of Unesco's General Conference. In presenting this view, the Liberian delegation does not consider the merits or demerits of the case, but it feels that, inasmuch as the United Nations has settled the question at its present session in New York, it should not be included on the agenda here in Paris. Furthermore, so much time would be spent on the general debate on this topic, the outcome of which is already known, that a great disservice would be done to our overall discussions.

10.5 The Liberian delegation therefore appeals to this Conference in the name of education, science and culture, in the name of the millions of children the world over who are looking hopefully for some concrete action from this Conference, to eliminate these items - disarmament, colonialism, and the admission of the People's Republic of China - from the agenda.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Wierblowski, Head of the delegation of Poland.

12.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President and fellow delegates, I should like to express my opinion concerning the agenda of the General Conference and, first of all, with regard to the Soviet proposal relating to the elimination of colonialism. The present era is the era of the abolition of colonialism; but this process is taking place in very difficult circumstances: the blood of the peoples of the colonial countries is being shed, and many countries are still under colonial subjugation. It is essential to expedite the process and create conditions which are favourable to it, and I consider that the voice of the General Conference of Unesco can be of the greatest value in this respect. Together with the entire United Nations family, with all the Specialized Agencies, we should adopt a clear position on all questions relating to the elimination of colonialism. It is the duty of all international organizations and all peoples to help the countries still under the colonial yoke to take their place as rapidly as possible in the family of free and independent nations.

12.2 I therefore fully endorse the Soviet Union proposal and hope that, it will be supported at our Conference and at the General Assembly and will be included in the agenda.

12.3 The Polish delegation is also whole-heartedly in favour of including the Cuban Government's proposal in the agenda. The Cuban people has embarked

upon the path of all-round development of its capacities within the framework of a truly independent State. It is beset by many dangers, and I feel that no one is more qualified than the Cuban representatives to request the inclusion in the agenda of a question concerning intervention in a State's internal affairs. The Cuban delegation's proposal should accordingly be included as an agenda item.

12.4 Subject to the deletion of the item concerning the Kuomintang's financial contributions, the Polish delegation approves the agenda as a whole, i.e. with the retention of item 7 concerning the representation of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. This question has already been much discussed at previous sessions of the General Conference as well as at the present session, and I feel that there can be no doubt as to the need to raise this question of the representation of the great Chinese people, numbering 650 million.

12.5 I consider that, subject to the deletion of the item concerning the Kuomintang's contributions, we should adopt the agenda together with the additions proposed by Member States, i.e. by the Soviet Union and Cuban delegations. I feel sure that the General Conference will appreciate the urgency of these questions and take decisions which will enable our Organization to enhance its prestige among the peoples of the world and develop its efforts in the fields of education, science and culture, which are those in which it should show the utmost possible initiative. But in order that it may do so, those phenomena in international life which are incompatible with sound judgement and international law have first to be eliminated. I am of the opinion that if we adopt the agenda in the form suggested by the Polish delegation we shall be proceeding along the right lines.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

14.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America): Mr. President and fellow delegates, representing, as I have the honour of doing before this Conference, the first colonized people in the world to gain their freedom from colonization, I beg, Sir, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, to reserve my comment on this question as well as on the proposal by the delegation of Cuba to the General Committee, to which this question has been referred. In this connexion, may I be permitted to comment that it seems to me that the business of this Conference could proceed more quickly and a waste of time could be avoided if some of the delegates would observe more closely the Rules of Procedure.

14.2 On the question raised by the representatives who have just spoken, the question of the contribution of the Republic of China, it seems to me fairly obvious that if, as we decided yesterday, we are not going to raise the question of the unseating of the present delegation and the seating of any other delegation from China, then the question of the contribution of the delegation of China which is before us, must be on the agenda and must properly remain there. After all, the contribution of each delegation to Unesco is of very vital importance to this Conference. It controls the right to vote, it adds to or subtracts from the budget, and how we can possibly avoid discussing this subject or retaining it on the agenda is beyond my comprehension. I submit, Mr. President, that this item should certainly remain where it is.

14.3 On the question of the inclusion of an item proposed by the USSR that the representation of China in Unesco be included in this agenda, I hesitate to repeat what I said very clearly yesterday. We have already decided this question, it has no place on the agenda, and it is simply inserted here in order to introduce political discussion into this Conference. It is to me beyond comprehension that anyone who heard the extraordinary speech of the Vice-President of India this morning, in which he called upon this Conference to concern itself with the minds and spirits of humanity, can possibly think of introducing into this Conference purely political matters for propaganda purposes.

14.4 This Conference has decided to follow the leadership of the United Nations General Assembly in this matter, and to repeat decisions of previous General Conferences in rejecting the consideration of this issue in Unesco. We have not the time to undertake a lengthy discussion of issues such as this, we must leave them to the United Nations General Assembly. I will not go into this matter further, Mr. President, because I realize that under the Rules of Procedure there should be no substantive discussion of an issue when we are considering whether or not the issue is to be included in the agenda. But, since this item has been proposed by the USSR for the agenda, I realize that it will be necessary to vote on the matter again, and I recommend and move that we proceed to the vote to reject the inclusion of this subject in the agenda of the Conference.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): A new speaker has just handed in his name. I therefore call upon H.E. Mr. Slipchenko, Head of the delegation of the Ukraine.

16.1 Mr. SLIPCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President and fellow delegates, the speeches made by the representatives of the United States of America and Liberia in opposition to the Soviet Union's proposals relating to the declaration against colonialism and to disarmament, as well as against the Cuban delegation's proposal, clearly reveal the central purpose of the activities of those who are organizing and participating in this campaign under the leadership of the United States delegation. Those activities are directed against the proposals made by the Soviet Union and Cuba and their aim is to prevent an authoritative international organization like Unesco from adding its voice to that raised by other international organizations and by millions of people in all countries in forthright condemnation of the armaments race, the shameful colonial system and the threat of atomic war and in vigorous support of international co-operation and the peaceful existence of all peoples of the world.

16.2 The United States delegation objects to the Soviet Union's proposals, i.e. to the declaration against colonialism and to the discussion of the question of disarmament, at the very time when

tremendous efforts are being made throughout the world to reach agreement on the main problems exercising everyone without exception, including those who are now seated in this hall and who represent their respective peoples in this Organization; at a time when every weighty and authoritative word - particularly that of such a reputable organization as Unesco - is of great importance. It is characteristic that none of the opponents of the Soviet Union's proposals objects in principle to the actual idea of the cessation of the armaments race, or to the reduction of tension, the elimination of colonialism, and so on; but this is simply verbal camouflage. Deeds, not words, are what are wanted - and here and now, at this General Conference of Unesco.

16.3 I must state that I, like certain other delegates, listened with sorrow to what the Liberian representative, Mr. Mitchell, had to say. He, if anyone, should know that more than a hundred million of his brothers in Africa are still under the yoke of colonialism. Every one of the African peoples is faced with a host of problems of different kinds - political, economic, social and cultural, apart from which there are general African problems and general human problems on whose solution hangs not only the fate of one people but the future of the entire African continent and of the world in general.

16.4 What are these problems? They comprise the political and economic liberation of the whole of Africa and the question of disarmament - the vital question of whether men will live under peaceful conditions or under the conditions of war. Why, then, oppose the altogether clear, precise and constructive proposals submitted by the Soviet Union?

16.5 The question of the inclusion of the Cuban delegation's proposal in the agenda also deserves our most earnest attention. As stated in the message we have just heard from the President of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Khrushchev, the world is still menaced by war. Intervention in the internal affairs of any of our Organization's Member States, and, in the present case, the threat of such intervention in the affairs of Cuba, is a direct threat to the cause of peace.

16.6 The question raised by the Cuban delegation brooks no delay. The point at issue is whether a member of our Organization is to remain an independent State, whether Cuba is to develop its activities in the fields of education, science and culture with complete political freedom. Everyone, of course, knows perfectly well what the matter is all about, and who and what is now threatening the Cuban people which only quite recently won its freedom with such tenacity and heroism.

16.7 Having put an end to the Batista dictatorship, the Cuban people liberated itself from foreign exploitation, took charge of its own destiny and firmly informed the American monopolists that it was master of its own fate and its own riches and that it intended to enjoy the fruits of its own labour and its highly developed culture. Unesco cannot but listen to the voice of a people when it asks for protection, when its freedom and national property are gravely menaced.

16.8 In welcoming young countries to Unesco House, we should bear in mind our obligations. We are responsible for the destiny of every member of our Organization. Yes, gentlemen, Cuba now has a new régime, an excellent one that pleases the Cuban people, and every member of Unesco should respect this régime and not engage in any activities aimed at changing it by force, or, to put it more precisely, at restoring the old colonial system. No, Unesco cannot remain silent, and if we wish to maintain and enhance the Organization's prestige in the eyes of the peoples fighting for their liberation, we must vote for the inclusion of the Cuban proposal in the agenda of the present session.

16.9 The Soviet Union's proposal that the question of the representation in Unesco of the People's Republic of China be included in the agenda is just as important; it should and obviously will, be retained in the agenda. Our delegation reserves the right to speak again on this question when it comes up for discussion at a plenary meeting of the Conference.

17.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, I did not wish to interrupt the honourable speaker we have just heard, but, since I am presiding over your meeting, it is my duty to see that the rules are observed. I am therefore compelled to point out that, in a series of addresses we have just heard, two questions have been raised which are not on the agenda and which should be referred to the General Committee for consideration. When it has the General Committee's report before it, the Conference will have every opportunity to discuss these problems thoroughly. To open a discussion on them now, in a sort of indirect way, is not in keeping either with the spirit or the letter of the rules governing our debates.

17.2 We still have another eight speakers on this item of the agenda. I request them, so that our work may proceed smoothly, to be kind enough to confine their remarks to items on the agenda and to leave aside questions which are automatically referred to the General Committee for consideration.

17.3 I now call upon H.E. Mr. Kiselev, Head of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

18.1 Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President and fellow delegates, we are now considering a crucial question as regards the work of our Conference - the determination of the contents of its agenda. The Conference is allowing itself to make a serious error which will not be pardoned either by our contemporaries or by future historians.

18.2 First of all, on behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, I wish to extend cordial greetings to all new States admitted to membership of Unesco and to their delegations who are taking part in the work of the present Conference. The participation of new States in the work of the General Conference of Unesco is a significant event which reflects the great changes that are taking place in the life of mankind. The formation of new independent States is clear proof of the peoples' growing consciousness and of their firm resolution to put colonialism in its grave.

18.3 We are convinced that the conquest of independence after a long and just struggle will have a

beneficial effect on the economic and cultural development of the peoples liberated from colonialism, and will ensure the national independence of their countries and their advance along the road to social progress. Our delegation fully supports the Soviet Union's proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the declaration concerning the elimination of colonialism and the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The representative of the great Indian people and other delegates have already spoken eloquently and convincingly on this theme.

18.4 It is a very good thing that new members are swelling the ranks of our Organization; this rejoices all of us, for, as Mr. Khrushchev, the President of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, emphasized in his message to this Conference, the securing of world peace and the development of all-round collaboration in the fields of education, science and culture require that Unesco should comprise all States regardless of their social and political structure. It is our duty to contribute to the consolidation of world peace and to peaceful co-operation with a view to promoting the welfare and cultural development of all mankind.

18.5 At the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Khrushchev said that whoever wants world peace and disarmament should vote in favour of the proposal that the People's Republic of China should occupy its rightful place in the United Nations and participate in the latter's activities directed towards the consolidation of peace.

18.6 The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers it completely intolerable that the Chinese nation, numbering 650 million and constituting one-fourth of the entire human race, should be deprived of the possibility of participating in the work of Unesco, an organization whose object is to help to promote the peace and the security of the peoples of the world and develop international co-operation in the fields of education, science and culture. China's rightful place in Unesco has for several years now been occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek group, which represents no one and which is supported by the American authorities occupying the island of Taiwan.

18.7 The flagrant violation of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is the outcome of the aggressive policy of discrimination adopted by the Government of the United States and the latter's military allies, of the pressure put on Unesco by imperialistic circles in the United States and their NATO partners. It was precisely under the pressure of the United States, blinded by its hatred of the People's Republic of China and its Socialist system, that yesterday's plenary meeting of our Conference, despite common sense had forced upon it, by an insignificant majority, the shameful decision to accept the credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek group, those traitors to the Chinese people.

18.8 It is completely clear to all persons who soberly consider the facts of the situation that the great Chinese people can and should be represented in all international organizations, including Unesco, only by delegates who are appointed by the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. The People's Government exercises full authority over the entire territory of China. The United States' efforts to resuscitate a political corpse, namely that of Chiang Kai-shek and his putrefied régime, are merely poisoning the international atmosphere, in our Organization as elsewhere.

18.9 Forgive my frankness, but the Chiang Kai-shek group reminds me of the toad in the popular fable by the Byelorussian writer Kondrat Krapiva, "The toad in the wheel track". The fable tells about how an obstinate toad decided to overturn a large cart: "I have only to sit in the wheel track, push under the wheel with my shoulder and I shall send the cart flying". As was to be expected, however, the toad's reasoning played it false; the wheel of the cart passed over it and crushed it, and the cart went serenely on its way.

18.10 The People's Republic of China, with its feet firmly planted on the road of Socialist construction, moves confidently forward. It has scored great successes in the economic, social and cultural fields, and it has also won wide international recognition, and has established normal diplomatic relations with many other countries. Its trade and cultural relations now extend to most parts of the world. The Chinese Government and people actively support the principle of international economic and cultural co-operation. A cultural revolution is at present proceeding throughout the whole of China and great progress is being made in education, science and culture. The People's Republic of China is conducting a peaceful foreign policy, and seeks to establish friendly relations with all countries. Its foreign policy is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence worked out at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries.

18.11 Article I of the Unesco Constitution speaks of the respect for justice and the rule of law; but justice has been violated. Here, in the hall of the General Conference, the seats rightfully belonging to the People's Republic of China are occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek group which represents no one and which is passionately defended by the representative of the United States of America. The Chinese people has dumped these political bankrupts on to the rubbish heap of history. The fact that China has no lawful representatives in Unesco is extremely harmful to our Organization and restricts its sphere of activity. The Chinese people has a rich and age-old culture, and Unesco cannot be a fully competent and universal organization for international co-operation in education, science and culture if it disregards the outstanding achievements of the Chinese people.

18.12 There is no need to prove that without the participation of the People's Republic of China no real effect can be given to the East-West Major Project adopted at the ninth session of the General Conference, as the Indian delegate has aptly indicated. World opinion demands that the People's Republic of China should occupy its rightful place in the United Nations and in all the United Nations organizations. This is clearly shown by the speeches made at the United Nations by the leading statesmen of Africa, Asia and Europe. The speedy restoration of China's rights in the United Nations was advocated by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawarhalal Nehru, the President of Indonesia, Mr. Soekarno, the President of Guinea, Mr. Sekou Touré, the President of Ghana, Mr. Nkrumah, the President of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Nasser, and many others.

18.13 The recent presidential election in the United States of America likewise confirmed the failure of the policy of non-recognition of the People's Republic of China. The American people rejects the policy of leading circles in the United States of ignoring the People's Republic of China. This policy of non-recognition has no hope of success.
18.14 The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, expressing the will of the Byelorussian Government and people, fully supports the proposal that the question of China's representation in Unesco be included in the agenda of the present session. We call upon the delegates to the Conference to summon up the necessary courage to remedy the error committed yesterday and to adopt a wise decision, which is the only just one, namely, the restoration of the legitimate rights in Unesco of the People's Republic of China. The restoration of those legitimate rights will enhance Unesco's prestige and authority and will be a positive contribution to the development of mutual understanding and to the intellectual solidarity of all peoples of the world.
18.15 We categorically object, furthermore, to the inclusion in the agenda of the present Conference of item 23.2.2 concerning China's contributions and arrears in the payment of contributions, as the Chiang Kai-shek group does not represent China.
18.16 In addition, we whole-heartedly support the Cuban proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the question concerning the censure of any State which attempts to intervene in the affairs of another. This question is extremely important and is linked up with the general struggle against the shameful phenomenon known as colonialism. Our delegation is convinced that the present Conference will make a worthy contribution in fact, to the great cause of the peoples' struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence.

19.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I must point out that we still have to hear the spokesmen of the following delegations: Czechoslovakia, China, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Cuba, Viet-Nam and Rumania. Finally, the Minister of Education of Nigeria, who has to leave Paris this afternoon, would be happy to say a few words to the Conference at the end of the meeting. I shall therefore ask speakers to be as brief as possible.
19.2 I call upon Mr. Pavlik, of the delegation of Czechoslovakia.

20.1 Mr. PAVLIK (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, speaking today on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, I should like to dwell briefly upon some of the questions already touched on here. In the first place, the delegates of certain countries, such as the United States of America and Liberia, object to the Soviet proposal concerning the right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in Unesco. These delegates adduce procedural arguments and wish to avoid the discussion of this vital question.
20.2 They forget that Unesco should be an organization effectively based on the principle of the universal representation of all countries of the world. If Unesco wishes to carry out successfully its great tasks as defined in the Constitution, namely, "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", an end must be put to the abnormal and truly shameful situation in which the great Chinese people, which represents almost one-fourth of the world's population, has no representative in this Organization.
20.3 Anyone who thinks that such a situation can endure is acting contrary to the principles on which our Organization is based. I should like to ask this question: Who profits by such a policy, and who loses by it? Unesco or the People's Republic of China? Certainly not the People's Republic of China, which is pursuing a clear objective - its further development in fields of economy, culture and education. The greatest sufferer from this policy is Unesco for without the active participation of such an important country as the People's Republic of China it is impossible for it to carry out its mission and its tasks successfully.
20.4 It is impermissible, surely, that an organization like Unesco, whose mission is to ensure the international co-ordination of activities in the fields of education, science and culture, should refuse to enlist the co-operation of China with its ancient culture, its age-old scientific traditions and its many-sided creative activity.
20.5 In the name of justice, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia insistently demands that this question be included in the agenda and that the lawful representatives of China be allowed to participate in Unesco's work.
20.6 The Czechoslovak delegation will not vote for the agenda item concerning the contributions of the so-called representatives of China.
20.7 I also declare, on behalf of my delegation, that it supports the Soviet Union delegation's proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the "Declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples" and also the Cuban delegation's request.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon H.E. Mr. Chen Hiong-Fei, Head of the delegation of China.

22.1 Mr. CHEN Hiong-Fei (China) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall be very brief. My first intention in asking to speak, Mr. President, was to request you to try to introduce some order into our discussions. In fact, Mr. President, you forestalled me; but it must be admitted that your advice has not had much effect. I regret this and I think that you, Mr. President, regret it as much as I do. It is to be hoped that subsequent speakers will have a clearer idea in their minds of the tasks assigned to us as delegates at this session of the General Conference of Unesco. There can be no doubt that those who addressed you from this platform a few moments ago were speaking solely for propaganda purposes. I shall refrain from discussing some of the aspects of the items it has

been proposed to include on the agenda. That is a question of procedure provided for in the relevant rules. However, I am sure that you will not hold it against me, Mr. President, and nor will the meeting, if the delegation of China feels that it must say something with regard to some of the terms used here.
22.2 Among the members of Unesco, there is no representative of the Kuomintang. Personally, I know perfectly well what the Kuomintang is, as you perhaps do too, but I have no intention of enlarging upon that subject. I only ask that individuals claiming to be cultured and educated abstain from using certain expressions on this platform. We Chinese do not understand education and culture in that way.
22.3 A great deal has been said about colonialism and there has been a considerable amount of discussion on the substance of that question. I shall not follow the example of the previous speakers. The General Committee will consider the question and report to the Conference. May I be permitted only to say that this concept of colonialism lends itself to different interpretations? Some delegates have pointed out that France and the United Kingdom are conscious of the evolution of history and that the governments administering other countries are perfectly aware of it as well.
22.4 In my opinion, China has also in a way experienced the effects of colonialism and imperialism and I am all the more qualified to tell you that, in our opinion, certain new forms of imperialism and colonialism are continuing to spread. It seems to me that the old colonialism is well and truly dead and I believe that those who were the colonizers have realized this. But, I repeat, I very much fear that a new kind of colonialism is making attempts to spread. I shall not dot my i's. You understand me, and we shall thus waste far less time.
22.5 I only want to add with regard to the so-called problem of the representation of China - an item which appeared on the provisional agenda - that, in my view, the General Conference already reached a decision yesterday afternoon and will be giving proof of its wisdom and efficiency in regard to Unesco's methods of work if it refrains from reopening this question, which no longer has any validity.
22.6 Before leaving the platform, Mr. President, I only venture to hope that you will be able to use your authority to ensure that the discussions and debates of this meeting are on the same high level as our proposed aims and are worthy of the distinguished individuals sitting amongst us.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon H.E. Mr. Sanguiana, Head of the delegation of Guinea.

24.1 Mr. SANGUIANA (Guinea) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President and delegates, the Republic of Guinea, in order to remain true to its ideals and to those of this august assembly, pleads for the retention on the agenda of the items proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union. If Unesco were not to tackle the question of the abolition of colonialism by considering the representation of some countries which are entirely colonized, it would be equivalent to closing our eyes completely to a living reality, to forgetting that, throughout the world, millions of men are still living under the yoke of nations which claim to be superior and to misunderstanding the fact that a proportion of mankind is still suffering from a policy of discrimination with its attendant social ills and hateful crimes.
24.2 It is the noble task of Unesco to fight for international acceptance of the principles of freedom and equality, seeking to raise living standards throughout the world and to secure results conducive to human progress. We should, with the same ideals in view, seek out and try to eliminate the causes of dissension and discord which are plunging the world into the cold war. That is why I love the generous mission which falls to us as members of Unesco.
24.3 The Soviet proposal therefore seems perfectly fair and reasonable. We should be wrong to reject it for motives which are totally unjustified if we really want to create an atmosphere conducive to peace and world progress.
24.4 The freedom of culture, science and education can be a reality only for nations also enjoying physical, political and economic freedom. If it be Unesco's mission to fight for this noble aim, then it is its duty to consider the problem of the liberation of the colonized peoples, as proposed in the agenda.

25. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
Because of the time, I shall, with your consent, ladies and gentlemen, call upon H.E. Mr. Aja Nwachuku, Minister of Education of Nigeria, who has to leave Paris in a few hours and wishes to address the Conference before he goes.

26.1 Mr. NWACHUKU (Nigeria):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I bring to you cordial greetings from the governments and people of the Federation of Nigeria who attained independence on 1 October this year. As an Associate Member of Unesco, Nigeria has sent representatives to the last two sessions of the General Conference and has also participated in a number of the activities of this great Organization. For example, in February this year, Nigeria was represented at a meeting of Ministers and Directors of Education, held in the city of Addis Ababa, on the needs of the Tropical African countries in the field of primary, general secondary and technical education. A few months later it was represented at the Accra Conference on Technical Education and at the Cotonou Conference on Education of and Opportunities for Women.
26.2 I have personally led two Nigerian delegations to Geneva, to the International Conference on Public Education, held under the joint auspices of Unesco and the International Bureau of Education. During the period in which Nigeria has been an Associate Member of Unesco, it has been accorded much courtesy by and received encouragement from the Member States and officials of the Organization. Nigeria is grateful for those courtesies and that encouragement. It is also proper for me to mention that Nigeria has benefited from the guidance and assistance she has received from the United Kingdom in connexion with the activities of Unesco whilst she was an Associate Member. Following her attainment of independence, Nigeria was admitted by unanimous vote to membership of the United Nations organization.

On the occasion of her formal admission as the 99th member of that great organization, the Nigerian delegation was led by the Prime Minister, the Honourable Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. The Prime Minister briefly stated the principles which Nigeria has adopted as the basis of her policy in international relations; with regard to the United Nations, Nigeria desires to remain on friendly terms with all nations and to participate actively in the work of the United Nations organization.

26.3 Now I have the honour and pleasure of leading the Nigerian delegation to this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco. This session is of great significance to Nigeria, for it is the session at which you have extended your hand of friendship to draw us to full membership of the Organization, thus enabling us to share fully with you in all its activities. It is in recognition of this fact and of the importance which this Organization holds for us, that the Nigerian delegation on this occasion includes the Ministers of Education from the three component regions of the Federation of Nigeria, in addition to myself as Federal Minister of Education. The document preliminary to Nigeria's accession to Unesco as a full member was signed in London on 2 November by our High Commissioner. I can give our assurance that this formal act carried with it full recognition of the important rôle which Unesco plays in world affairs and my country's determination to play a worthy part in promoting its ends.

26.4 So far as is in our power, we shall co-operate fully in the programmes for the promotion of the educational, scientific and cultural objects of the Organization. We welcome all measures calculated to bring about a closer understanding between nations, based on mutual appreciation of the character and traditions of their peoples. The needs of Nigeria in men, money and materials are immense. In this connexion, the recent report entitled "Investment in Education" which was made to me as the Federal Minister of Education by an internationally manned commission under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge University, is most relevant. The report has set out in the most formidable terms what is needed to provide Nigeria with high level manpower on a scale to meet the country's needs in the modern world. The Commission has attempted to forecast Nigeria's educational needs up to 1980; the recommendations are far reaching, unconventional and expensive to carry into effect. They will be practicable only if Nigerian education seeks outside aid and if the Nigerian people themselves are prepared to accord education first priority and to make sacrifices for it. The second condition is already being fulfilled, for the thirst for education in Nigeria is very great and in parts of the Federation the provision for education absorbs more than 40% of the annual budget. The Ashby report on post-school certificate and higher education in Nigeria was submitted to me at the beginning of October this year, and the four governments of Nigeria are now examining it in co-operation, with a view to bringing its proposals into effect with the rapidity which our situation requires. It will undoubtedly be vastly beyond our resources in money and material and expert staff to carry out this gigantic programme. We must inevitably look to our friends overseas to assist us. Among them I count the peoples represented by the delegates to this present Conference.

26.5 The full implications and costing of the proposals have yet to be determined, but one proposal is well worth mentioning here: in order to promote an adequate flow of recruits for post-secondary education there must be at the earliest opportunity an increase in secondary school intake from the present level of under 15,000 per annum to more than 30,000 per annum in the next ten years. The initial capital cost of three new universities to be established is estimated at about £20 million. Then higher teacher-training colleges for the secondary schools and training colleges must be established. However, when our plans have taken form in concrete projects, I feel sure that Nigeria can count not only on the goodwill but also on the practical assistance of the various agencies, such as the Special Fund, which are associated with the activities of Unesco. In this connexion, the recent visit of Mr. Maurice Dartigue to Nigeria was of great significance.

26.6 Ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion I wish to say that Nigeria is happy to become a Member State of this great Organization. As we gratefully take our place with you in this assembly we are fully conscious of the responsibility which faces the Organization in the world today. You may count on Nigeria's support in the years ahead.

27. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Awad, of the delegation of the United Arab Republic.

28.1 Mr. AWAD (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, I wish to speak on the question which is before the General Conference, that of the inclusion of item 7 on the agenda of the General Conference. I was happy to listen to the remarks of the representative of the United States concerning colonialism and the fact that his country was the first of all the colonies. His country has also set an example to the countries of the world as to how to get rid of colonialism, and they have been following in the footsteps of the United States ever since. However, I do not find myself in agreement with the proposal to exclude item 7. I think that we are here faced with a real problem; this is a people of over 600 million, very nearly one-quarter of the human race, with whom according to our Constitution we should maintain cultural relations. For the sake of friendship and peace we should collaborate with them in the domains of education, science and culture and yet we are leaving them completely alone. I wish this item to remain on the agenda in order that my delegation may be in a position to suggest ways and means of creating contacts with the Chinese People's Republic, with that great population which has been one of the most important producers of human culture. We cannot honestly pretend that we are fulfilling our mission in Unesco and observing all the articles of our Constitution if we leave the Chinese people to themselves.

28.2 The United Nations has found means of contacting the Chinese People's Republic, indeed, the Secretary of the United Nations has gone all the way to Peking to discuss certain problems. We might be

able to send our Director-General or one of his representatives, or a mission, to Peking to find means of contacting the Chinese people and maintaining some relations between Unesco and that great people. Even the United States is maintaining contacts, sometimes in Czechoslovakia, in Prague, and sometimes in Warsaw, where the representatives of the two countries - China and the United States - meet and with the help of a few bottles of vodka try to reach some agreement on certain questions. Why should we not do the same, even without vodka, and try to establish some contact between Unesco and the Chinese People's Republic? It is for this reason, Mr. President, that with due respect to my colleagues who have spoken against the inclusion of item 7, I beg, on behalf of my delegation, that we retain item 7 on the agenda.

29. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Lazo, Head of the delegation of Cuba.

30. Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I shall address this international gathering briefly and as clearly as possible. To begin with, I would request you to accept the proposal submitted by Cuba, which merely reiterates a principle ...

31. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I must point out that the proposal must be considered by the General Committee and that a discussion on its substance should not be opened now. The Rules of Procedure must be observed in this instance as, indeed, in all others.

32.1 Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):

I bow to the President's ruling and shall therefore refer only to the reasons motivating the proposal submitted by Cuba.

32.2 I feel somewhat worried and a little surprised that we in the world today should be divided in the face of clear, indisputable facts and evidence. I cannot believe that there is any real, fundamental opposition to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of one country by another.

32.3 Without going into any reasons, I simply wish to draw the attention of delegates to Article I of Unesco's Constitution, under paragraph 3 of which our Organization undertakes not to interfere or intervene in matters which are essentially the private concern of its Member States. In other words, Unesco begins by setting the example of accepting the principle of non-intervention in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the States of which it is composed. We are faced with the fact that it is acknowledged as necessary to international solidarity and to the achievement of our Organization's aims that we do everything possible to prevent the interference of one State in the affairs of another. This is the spirit of the proposal which we hope will be discussed at the opportune moment, Mr. President.

32.4 There has been, and still is, much discussion and controversy about another principle which is not of a political, but of a philosophical and moral order, namely disarmament.

32.5 How can we, and on grounds of what procedure, refuse to consider any movement in favour of peace, in other words, of disarmament?

32.6 Mr. President and fellow delegates, we form part of an organization which I shall call "the great world organization for the mental disarmament of the nations".

32.7 For our Constitution states that wars begin in the minds of men. Therefore we are in fact an organization for disarmament, in other words an organization for peace.

32.8 I do not understand how there can be any distinction between the United Nations and Unesco from the point of view of disarmament or any other movement for the promotion of peace. The United Nations deals with the political aspect, whilst we deal with that of education, science and culture. Therefore, in the United Nations, it is possible to fight for peace with other arms, with other instruments, with other media. But in Unesco also, it is not only our right but our duty to fight for peace and disarmament.

32.9 With regard to the admission of any nation to our Organization I, on behalf of a small nation - a numerically small nation, although it has great moral resources and is today in the centre of the international scene - on behalf of my Government and on behalf of the Cuban people, I can and must say that Cuba opens its arms to all the nations of the world and that we cannot, in this respect, conceive of any reserves or exceptions of any kind. This Organization can be an international organization only if it accepts all the peoples of the earth. I believe that, in saying this, I am expressing the very spirit of the proposals which gave rise to this debate.

32.10 I am surprised that such obvious facts can divide us but, since this division does exist, I only want to appeal to delegates to consider these problems precisely from the point of view of the lofty ideals of Unesco - a universal organization created for peace, to work through education, science and culture for the good of mankind, without excluding anyone, thus giving effect to the principle which a great Spanish-American summed up in these words: "Respect for the rights of others means peace, and peace alone can ensure the future of the world".

33. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Tran Huu The, Head of the delegation of Viet-Nam.

34.1 Mr. TRAN HUU THE (Viet-Nam) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the delegation of Viet-Nam and in compliance with the President's suggestion, I should like to be brief and restrict my remarks to the question of China. If I am not mistaken, the two other problems raised here should be considered and resolved by the General Committee before being submitted to the plenary meeting.

34.2 As I said, then, I shall confine my remarks to the problem of China and, more particularly, to procedure. At the second plenary meeting of this session, it was decided, by means of a vote, to

recognize the present representation of China. This being so, the delegation of Viet-Nam considers that a negative decision has already been taken on the question of the representation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. In any event, the consideration of this question is incompatible with the acceptance of the credentials of the present Chinese delegation by the General Conference. What is certain, and very serious, is the fact that the mere inclusion of this item on the agenda, bearing in mind the decision already taken to admit the present delegation of China, presupposes the possibility of the existence of two Chinas. It is clear that this last problem, which is a purely political one, should not be debated by Unesco.

35. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Malinski, of the delegation of Rumania.

36.1 Mr. MALINSKI (Rumania) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I shall be very brief and shall dwell only on a few questions. Yesterday, the Rumanian delegation listened with the closest attention to the speeches made at the opening of this Conference, and what we heard encouraged us to think that the Conference's work would proceed harmoniously and successfully.

36.2 The message read out today from Mr. Khrushchev, Head of the Soviet Government, whose outstanding services in the noble cause of defending peace have long been acclaimed by progressive opinion throughout the world, has given us tremendous moral support in the performance of our task. We had gained the impression that the present Conference has a clear perspective and a definite approach; today, however, we have come up against a number of obstacles of a so-called procedural nature.

36.3 The Rumanian delegation fully supports the Soviet delegation's proposals and the Cuban delegation's proposal. It has already expressed its opinion concerning the representation of China. It might be said that the march of history itself has placed this item on the agenda, yet our Organization alone is still unable to include it as an agenda item and successfully resolve it.

36.4 As to the question of colonialism, Unesco, like any other organization, can contribute to some extent or other to progress and the forward march of history. We rejoice at the partial successes which Unesco has already achieved in this matter, and consider that it does not become it to stay put on the road of historical evolution and stand in the way of progress.

36.5 Our delegation's object, in making this declaration, is to contribute to the success of our Conference's work and hence to the development of culture and the consolidation of world peace.

37. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Sinoimeri, Head of the Albanian delegation.

38.1 Mr. SINOIMERI (Albania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I have the honour, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, to state that it warmly supports the proposal of the Soviet Union to adopt the resolution concerning the liquidation of colonialism throughout the world.

38.2 I also support the request for the inclusion on the agenda of the Cuban proposal to condemn any State which attempts to interfere in the affairs of another State on account of wide economic, social or cultural divergences between them.

38.3 The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in Unesco is a matter of vital importance and should be the subject of serious study by our Organization, in order that this urgent problem may be solved in a just fashion. Its solution will greatly help to strengthen our Organization and contribute to the attainment of its noble ends. It will also assist us considerably in accomplishing our main task, which is to safeguard and consolidate world peace.

38.4 Our delegation considers that the non-participation of the People's Republic of China does our Organization grave harm, narrows its field of action to a very marked degree and, as a result, deprives Unesco of every possibility of achieving its lofty aims.

38.5 Unesco is a world-wide international organization, in which every sovereign State on earth subscribing to the humanitarian ends it is pursuing should be represented. Otherwise, the Organization can never be considered universal.

38.6 This problem is of prime importance, particularly as it is a case of the People's Republic of China, which has a population of 670 million.

38.7 This is not the first time that the General Conference has considered the question of restoring to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights in Unesco. Today, the place which lawfully belongs to the People's Republic of China is occupied by the puppet Chiang Kai-shek, who was rejected by the Chinese people over eleven years ago and has found asylum on the island of Taiwan, under the protection of the guns of the imperialists of the United States of America who have occupied this island which is part of Chinese territory.

38.8 The fact that the People's Republic of China is not represented in Unesco is one of the most serious mistakes that our Organization has yet made, a flagrant violation of international law and the fundamental principles of Unesco.

38.9 Our delegation considers that the main responsibility for this must be laid at the door of the Government of the United States of America which, by every kind of intrigue, blackmail, pressure and slander, has managed to bend Unesco to its will.

38.10 The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania fully supports the proposal of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with regard to the representation of China in Unesco and, for its part, urges that the "Chiang Kai-shekist" usurpers, who represent no one, be immediately expelled from our Organization and that the authentic representatives of the Chinese people, the representatives of the People's Republic of China, of the only legitimate government of China, be given their rightful place. This must be done immediately, for the true representatives of China ought to have been occupying this place for a long time.

38.11 China was one of the founder States of both the United Nations and Unesco. The Chinese people in revolt drove out their foreign oppressors, the American imperialists and their lackeys, the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and set up a people's government, thus taking their fate into their own hands. To start a revolution, to change a reactionary régime and install a democratic people's government in a country is the internal affair of that country and no State can interfere without ruthlessly violating the most elementary principles of international law.
38.12 Today, as everyone knows, there is only one legitimate government in China, which enjoys the deepest sympathy and the widest and firmest possible support of the entire Chinese people. This government is that of the People's Republic of China, with its capital at Peking.
38.13 This genuinely democratic government, the expression of the will of the Chinese people, exercises its authority over the whole of Chinese territory, with the exception of the Chinese island of Taiwan occupied by the American imperialists. There is a well-known principle to the effect that a change in political and social régime cannot and should not affect the status of a Member State of Unesco. Why, in the case of China, are attempts being made to adopt a different attitude, contrary to the basic principle whereby the right to represent a country at the international level devolves upon the government in charge of that country? The cause of the ruthless violation of this basic right and of the fundamental principles of our Organization is easy to discover. For it is common knowledge that the United States of America has adopted and is still adopting an openly hostile attitude to the People's Republic of China.
38.14 The United States of America is conducting an aggressive policy with regard to the great People's Republic of China. The American imperialists are occupying Taiwan and other Chinese islands by force. They are interfering in the most cynical way in the domestic affairs of China, instigating and committing provocative acts against its territorial sovereignty and its national unity.
38.15 The United States of America has created, against the People's Republic of China, a whole system of aggression, comprising more particularly the notorious SEATO bloc, that military treaty ...

39. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
Although I think that everything can be said in our assembly, I also think that there are ways and ways of saying it and that certain expressions should be excluded from our debates.

40.1 Mr. SINOIMERI (Albania) (Translation from the French):
The United States of America has created, against the People's Republic of China, a whole system of aggression, comprising more particularly the notorious SEATO bloc, that military treaty concluded with Japan and other countries. The opposition of the United States to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China, both in the United Nations and in Unesco, is an integral part of this policy of interference, provocation and aggression. Our delegation strongly condemns all these intrigues of the imperialists of the United States of America and their partners, as it condemns the American theory of two Chinas. There is only one China, one and indivisible: it is the People's Republic of China, a great Socialist State, a member of the Socialist camp, a very powerful State, without the participation of which no problem, political or otherwise, can be properly solved.
40.2 Our delegation also strongly condemns the base slandering by the imperialists and their lackeys of the peaceful intentions of the People's Republic of China.

41. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
If you continue in this strain, Sir, I shall be compelled to ask you to stop. In an assembly like this, where culture is the keynote, I should like us all to make it a rule to refrain from using language that may hurt anyone's feelings. That seems to me to be of fundamental importance, and I should very much like everyone to abide by this rule.

42.1 Mr. SINOIMERI (Albania) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, these are facts, I am giving you facts, I am conveying to you the attitude of my delegation. Allow me, Mr. President, to finish what I want to say. Everyone is aware of the peaceful policy adopted by the People's Government of China. Until now, the People's Republic of China has established diplomatic relations with 25 States, it enjoys trade relations with nearly 90 countries and cultural relations with the overwhelming majority of countries in most parts of the world. It is constantly strengthening its friendly relations with neighbouring countries, as can be seen by the quick solution of its frontier problems with Burma and by the fact that it has signed treaties of friendship with Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan.
42.2 The People's Republic of China, firmly supporting the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union, has in its turn taken important measures to eliminate the threat of war and to strengthen peace. One of these was the recent proposal of the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of China, Chou en Lai, concerning the conclusion of a reciprocal friendship and non-aggression treaty among the countries of Asia and, more particularly, among the countries bordering on the Pacific - including the United States of America - with a view to delivering this region from any threat of atomic warfare.
42.3 This proposal is of special importance for peace, both in that region and throughout the world. Moreover, we are all familiar with the constructive co-operation of the People's Republic of China in drawing up the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and with the part it played at the Bandung Conference.
42.4 Finally, we are all familiar with the important contribution made by the People's Republic of China towards the achievement of an armistice agreement in Korea and Indo-China. All this shows, with a clarity that no slander can obscure, that the People's Republic of China has always carried out, and continues to do so, a policy aimed at safeguarding and strengthening world peace. The People's Republic of

China has become and still is a factor of the first importance for the maintenance of world peace and security. Its whole attitude is in perfect harmony with the aims of our Organization. To close the doors of Unesco to the People's Republic of China means cutting off artificially a quarter of the world's population from the Organization's activities - which is absurd and inadmissible. In emphasizing the need to give China its rightful place in Unesco, we have at heart Unesco's interests, its prestige, its future and its destiny.

42.5 There are people who falsely maintain that Unesco cannot decide to admit the People's Republic of China as long as it is not a member of the United Nations. Well, gentlemen, by what right has the Federal Republic of Germany the status of a Member State of our Organization? Perhaps it is because Western Germany is becoming more and more a breeding ground for war, a country in which Prussian militarism is being reborn, where the Nazi generals command the Bundeswehr, where Nazism, racialism and anti-Semitism are incessantly growing? Perhaps it is because the Federal Republic of Germany belongs to the aggressive bloc of NATO, presided over by the United States of America? How can all these contradictions be explained except by the policy of discrimination the United States and its partners are following towards the People's Republic of China and how can we allow such a state of affairs to exist without violating, in the most ruthless manner, the very principles on which Unesco is based?

42.6 It is therefore natural to conclude that to deny the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights is equivalent to encouraging the imperialist aggressors, to trampling on the sacred cause of peace, to betraying openly the confidence that all nations should have in Unesco, to transforming Unesco - an organization for idealism and peace - into one responsible for covering up and justifying the intrigues of those who want war and are preparing for it.

42.7 The People's Republic of China has not only become a factor of prime importance, an essential factor in international politics, but also a vital factor for the further advancement of world science, education and culture. The great Chinese people have from time immemorial made a most valuable contribution to human civilization. China is acknowledged everywhere as one of the most important cradles of culture and science the world over.

42.8 However, the creative activity of this great and talented people was, towards the middle of last century, seriously hampered by the savage colonialist oppression of the imperialists and the cliques in their pay. Thanks to its stubborn, heroic struggle under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party - a struggle which lasted for some decades - against the imperialists and the Kuomintang clique of Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese people burst the bonds of slavery and regained freedom and independence in 1949. But the People's Government inherited a past of economic and cultural underdevelopment, the result of looting and the reactionary and inhuman policy of the imperialists and the ruling cliques of the country, who had always been in the pay of the imperialists. Thus, in 1949, over 90% of the Chinese population was illiterate. A fine example of the civilizing work done by the imperialists in China, to mention only the cultural aspect! But a nation which was able to resist both foreign and national oppressors and which, through its heroic struggle, was able to eject them once and for all, lacked neither the energy nor the wisdom to embark on the course of economic and cultural development and to make up the age-old leeway imposed upon it by its bitter enemies.

42.9 I do not wish to mention here all the enormous strides that the Chinese people ...

43. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I must ask you, Sir, to confine yourself to the agenda and to conclude.

44.1 Mr. SINOIMERI (Albania) (Translation from the French):

I do not wish to mention here all the enormous strides that the Chinese people, under the leadership of their People's Government, have made, and are continuing to make, in the spheres of industry, agriculture, etc. Everyone knows about that and even the enemies of China are forced to admit it. I only want to dwell on some aspects of the advances made by China in science, culture and education since the republic was established on 1 October 1949. After throwing off the yoke of oppression, the Chinese nation, under the leadership of its Government, mobilized its forces completely and has made outstanding progress towards a cultural revolution.

44.2 In the last eleven years, over a million illiterates have learned to read and write. In the 1958-1959 school year, there were more than 810,000 university students, twice as many as in 1947, when the universities of China had their highest enrolment of students before the revolution; there were also 12,900,000 pupils attending secondary and technical schools, i.e. 6.8 times more than in 1946, which held the record for the number of secondary school pupils in old China. At present, over 80% of the school age population attends school regularly. With regard to culture, over 740 forms of dramatic art, of a broadly popular nature, have been listed and modernized.

45. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I must request you, Sir, to conclude fairly soon, in view of the time. Many delegates have obligations that they would like to fulfil.

46. Mr. SINOIMERI (Albania) (Translation from the French):

The Chinese cinema has developed considerably ...

47. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): We shall allow you three minutes to conclude.

48.1 Mr. SINOIMERI (Albania) (Translation from the French):

The Chinese cinema has also developed considerably this year. In China, literary works of a high ideological and artistic standard are published. Outstanding works of world literature have been translated. With regard to health, China now has 390,000 health centres, in other words, 107 times as many as there were on the eve of its liberation.

48.2 Results of this kind, secured in record time, can only be achieved in countries with a democratic

people's government, which is bound to its people and serves it whole-heartedly.

48.3 How then is it possible to contest the legitimate rights of a nation which would make a tremendous contribution to the work of our Organization? These are all the reasons which prompted our delegation to vote against the report of the Credentials Committee.

48.4 Our delegation once again wishes to emphasize its opposition to the decision of the Credentials Committee, and to urge that the "Chiang Kai-shekist" puppet be expelled immediately and that the genuine representative of the Chinese people be invited to take his seat without delay. Our delegation deeply resents the injustice being done to the People's Republic of China, which has conducted and is still conducting a policy of peace. It strongly disapproves of the hostile attitude of the American delegation, and will continue to disapprove as long as the latter maintains that attitude and this problem is not resolved in a just manner. In the light of the aforementioned facts, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania calls for the immediate withdrawal of the representatives of the "Chiang Kai-shekist" clique and the restoration of the right of the true representatives of the Chinese people to adhere to our Organization, i.e. the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

49.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, I assume that you will agree, in view of the time, to the adjournment of the discussion until the beginning of this afternoon's meeting. But, before closing, I should like your agreement that we declare the list of speakers closed. The representatives of Guatemala and Hungary are still to be heard. If you agree, there will be no other speakers on this item.

49.2 In order to relieve the tension a little, I should like to give you an item of good news: Somalia has carried out the formalities required under the Constitution for admission to Unesco and the Organization therefore now has 94 Member States. I formally welcome Somalia to our midst.

49.3 As we are a little behindhand with our work and as we are coming to the substance of the agenda of this Conference, we can, if you agree, arrange for the Nominations Committee to meet at 3 p.m. This committee, as you know, comprises the heads of all delegations, and must submit to the General Conference its proposals for the appointment of the next President of the General Conference and the 15 Vice-Presidents, since you agreed this morning to raise the number of Vice-Presidents to that figure. To save time, we might resume the session while the Nominations Committee is still meeting. We shall also have the pleasure of hearing two speakers who have requested an opportunity of addressing the General Conference, namely the Minister of Education of the Republic of Mali, and His Excellency the Head of the Malagasy delegation. If you agree, we shall therefore listen to these two speakers, followed by the other two speakers who are still on the list, after which we shall have to decide on the agenda items at issue.

49.4 Does the Conference agree to these proposals? They are adopted.

49.5 The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

15 November 1960, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Jean BERTHOIN (France)
later: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

Adoption of the Revised Agenda (continued) 81
Adoption of the Report of the Nominations Committee. Election of the President and Vice-Presidents of the General Conference 88
Establishment of Commissions and Committees 91
Admission to the eleventh session of observers from International non-governmental organizations 91
Admission of Associate Members of the Organization 94
Admission of new Member States of the Organization: Kuwait 98

ADOPTION OF THE REVISED AGENDA (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The meeting is open. We shall now conclude the debate on the adoption of the agenda. I call upon Mr. Tellez, to speak for the delegation of Guatemala.

2.1 Mr. TELLEZ (Guatemala) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, Guatemala, which is itself suffering from colonialism, firmly and categorically condems it in all its forms and aspects.
2.2 The Guatemalan delegation considers that such a matter should in no circumstances be raised at a Conference like this; however, since the question of colonialism was hotly discussed at this morning's meeting, the Guatemalan delegation wishes to make the following declaration, clearly and emphatically:
2.3 Our country, at the cost of great sacrifices, has kept up a long and painful dispute with England. For over a hundred years, we have been crying out for justice to be done to a small people which claims the reunion of the territory of Belize, unlawfully retained by a foreign power, with the mother country.
2.4 At this meeting, before the representatives of the different countries of the world, we wish to establish our claim, although we do not agree with the Soviet Union that Unesco is the right Organization to deal with this problem as a whole.
2.5 Indeed, we are convinced that the question does not come within Unesco's purview, since other international institutions exist to deal with questions, like colonialism, which affect a great many peoples.
2.6 Even if other countries remain indifferent to this problem which faces my own, Guatemala will continue the struggle. We will exhaust all possible peaceful means of achieving our objective, and we are persuaded that, when justice is done - as it will be before long - when this happy day dawns for my country, Unesco will extend its aid and technical assistance to Belize, a small part of the American continent where education, science and culture have not yet flourished as much as could be desired.
2.7 It is highly regrettable that, during this debate, speeches have been made without any regard to the ordinary rules of courtesy and diplomacy. Therefore, while reiterating our firm and unmitigated condemnation of countries which are perpetuating the colonial system, we would request the Soviet delegation, for procedural reasons and because the question concerned is of a political nature, not to distract the attention of delegates with matters which are not within the competence of Unesco and, in the interest of good fellowship, concord and the efficient conduct of our debates, to withdraw its proposal and thus to speed up the work of Unesco, which has such tremendous tasks ahead of it.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mrs. Joboru, to speak on behalf of the Hungarian delegation.

4.1 Mrs. JOBORU (Hungary):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Hungarian delegation associates itself with the opinion expressed by other delegations that the question of the representation of the Chinese people should be put on the agenda of the present Conference. We are of the opinion that the arguments raised against this proposal cannot be accepted. Neither the decision of the present Assembly of the United Nations nor the decisions of our previous General Conferences can prevent Unesco, this independent international organization, from putting on the agenda of the present General Conference a question, the discussion and the solution of which are required by the international general public and by the basic principles laid down in Unesco's Constitution and are also necessary for the successful activity of the Organization.
4.2 Unesco cannot enjoy the real confidence of its

old and new Member States and of the international general public unless it changes the ridiculous and senseless position relating to the representation of the Chinese people, unles it recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the legitimate representative of the Chinese people instead of the clique of Chiang Kai-shek.

4.3 The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from Unesco, in addition to violating the Chinese people, the sense of justice of the international general public and the basic principles of Unesco's Constitution, has a most unfavourable influence on Unesco's practical activity. The Chinese are not only a mighty people but a people with a great culture. China's ancient cultural values and its outstanding cultural achievements in the last ten years are well known all over the world. Taking into account all these considerations, the Hungarian delegation is of the opinion that the question of the representation of the Chinese people should be put on the agenda of the present General Conference.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The delegation of the United Kingdom has asked to reply to the statement made by the Guatemalan delegate, and it is undoubtedly their right to do so. I therefore call upon the delegate of the United Kingdom.

6.1 Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I regret that I was not here when the representative of Guatemala raised this point. It seems to us a great pity that Guatemala should use an international and a technical forum like Unesco for raising what is after all a purely political argument. The terms of reference of this General Conference do not require it to express opinions or make recommendations regarding disputes over sovereignty, and it is not competent to do so.

6.2 As the delegate of the United Kingdom, I do not accept the statement of the Guatemalan delegate in so far as it disputes the sovereignty of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over British Honduras. Her Majesty's Government have no doubt as to their sovereignty over the territory of British Honduras and I wish, Mr. President, formally to reserve the rights of Her Majesty's Government on this question. If the statement of the Guatemalan delegation is recorded in the minutes, I request that my present statement shall also be so recorded.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The debate is now closed. But before we proceed to vote, I should like, as was agreed this morning, to call upon Mr. H.E. Abdoulaye Singare, Minister of Education of the Republic of Mali.

8.1 Mr. ABDOULAYE (Mali) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, one month after being proclaimed a Republic, Mali applied for admission to Unesco. We are particularly gratified at being accepted as a member of this international Organization, in whose activities we had already been co-operating indirectly through the competent departments of the French Government.

8.2 As a mark of satisfaction and of the interest it takes in Unesco, my Government has done me the honour of appointing me to lead its delegation at the present session. Our delegation also includes Mr. Amadou Hampate Ba, Director of the Mali Scientific Research Institute and a great specialist in African traditions, who is well known in this building, not only because he was once the holder of a Unesco fellowship, but also on account of his work which is highly appreciated in all international scientific circles.

8.3 Unesco, by its very nature, has a leading part to play in the development of relations between all the peoples of the world, which is the best guarantee of international understanding and universal peace. The young African States place much hope in the assistance it can give in solving the problems with which they are faced in the scientific and cultural fields. Without in any way minimizing the achievements to the credit of the civilizing powers, it must be admitted that there is still much to be done in this field in order to combat illiteracy and give full expression to human values. It is, therefore, with a conviction of the necessity for understanding in the scientific and cultural fields that the Republic of Mali today takes its seat in the great international association of Unesco. We come, first of all, to take advantage of the experience of the United Nations and also to contribute our share of cultural treasures, so as to foster that mutual understanding without which no peace is possible.

8.4 Before the debates begin, I may perhaps be permitted to say a few words about what Mali was in ancient times, what Mali is today and what we would like Mali to be tomorrow, as a member of the community of nations.

8.5 In olden days, Mali was a great empire, and historians have had much to say about its wealth, organization and culture. Its territory included most of the present French-speaking States of West Africa, and its influence extended through North Africa as far as Europe. It contributed to the introduction and spreading of Arab culture into Tropical Africa.

8.6 The Republic of Mali constitutes a resurrection of this glorious cultural past. Just as the Mali Empire, owing to its geographical position, played a leading part in the evolution of Tropical Africa, so the Mali of today has contributed to the awakening of African nationalism, although this does not imply the slightest antagonism towards anyone. Mali, therefore, has merely confirmed that the spiritual values of a people can develop only under national sovereignty. We shall respect such values in all nations, but we also intend that all nations shall respect ours. We have drunk from the springs of French culture, but without having destroyed our own values in the process. A few weeks ago, Mr. Modibo Keita, President of the Government of the Republic of Mali, made a speech at Segou, which was one of the capitals of the great Sudanese Empires and which remains today a living school of African traditions; he said: "All that will remain of France in Mali will be her culture"; that culture, enriched by many contributions from outside, is more of a universal than a national culture. It is therefore not astonishing that young nations, eager to be universal, should adopt French as their official language.

8.7 I have told you what Mali was in the past and

what it is today. What we would like our country to be in the cultural sphere, is a model centre where modern technology will fashion the native human material, but without warping it or shaking the foundations of our spiritual life and our humanism. Was not Bamako, the capital of the Republic of Mali, the meeting-place where, over the past fifteen years, the idea of African emancipation took shape? The cultural influence of Mali cannot be better expressed than in the words of Mr. Lamine Gueye, President of the Senegal National Assembly, and the oldest and most respected of African statesmen, who said: "Whenever Africa has tried to find its soul, it has found it at Bamako".

8.8 What Bamako was for African statesmen, we should like Mali to be for all Africanists the world over; for any idea which comes from Mali has every chance of spreading throughout the rest of the continent because of our country's central position in West Africa. No ground could therefore be more fertile for Unesco's work.

8.9 I thank you for your kind attention and shall close in our African fashion by saying: "Peace be with you".

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon Mr. Ratsimamanga, Head of the Malagasy delegation.

10.1 Mr. Ratsimamanga (Malagasy Republic) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, one of the finest achievements of this century has been the creation of this world organization, this intellectual forum, where convictions and aesthetics converge and work together.

10.2 Unesco unites those who, in other spheres, oppose and insult one another and makes them work together for the greater glory of knowledge. That is why, of all the honours which have been bestowed upon the young nation of Madagascar since its return to independence, the honour which you are doing it today by admitting it to your Organization is the one which has touched it most. It is also the one which will have the greatest effect on its future activities and will give the best assurance of permanence to its individuality as a nation.

10.3 If I might apply to international circles a metaphor which is familiar to the French literary world, I would say that, at this moment, Madagascar is receiving from your hands its habit d'immortalité.

10.4 I would therefore like to thank you, most cordially, on behalf of Mr. Tsiranana, President of the Malagasy Republic, whom you received so warmly here only about 10 days ago, on behalf of the people of Madagascar and on my own behalf, for you will guess how happy and proud a university man like myself is at the admission of his country to Unesco.

10.5 I hope that in the next few months my present joy will take the form of an effective contribution to the common task. We have, of course, much to ask of you, for it appears that, although solitude may well be fruitful for a nation, isolation becomes daily more harmful, as technical progress causes the dimensions of the world to shrink.

10.6 The first thing you can do to help us, and which we shall appreciate above all else, is to protect us against mental isolation. For the real barrier between peoples is not their language, but the far more serious one of being unable to accept different moral codes or to understand different methods of reasoning. We want and love to converse with the rest of the world, and our admission to Unesco gives us the chance to do so.

10.7 May all people of goodwill desire it as we do, and may the taste for communicating thoughts in times such as these, when interests are so ruthlessly opposed to one another, be safeguarded by Unesco; and may this taste in its turn safeguard the most precious thing of all - the dignity of the human race.

10.8 We should like, therefore, to raise the question of the necessity for such exchanges. That is why we are anxious to make accessible to our people the joys of knowledge which, no matter to what extent it is carried, is always conducive to civilization and improvement. That is why, too, we hope for your assistance in raising the standard of our education and extending it to an increasing proportion of the population.

10.9 But Unesco, as the first two letters of its initials imply, stands above all for unity. We know that these benefits must not be rererved for the privileged few, but must be extended to our whole nation of shepherds and workers in the forests and rice fields. We do not forget that knowledge, however much of it is acquired and even if it be limited to the most elementary notions, should open the doors to your world community. We are waiting for your assistance, we are waiting for you to help us to convert the 51% of our population which is literate (although the percentage is sometimes as high as 90% in the centre of the country) into a people who have all got well beyond the stage of "reading, writing and arithmetic", of which too much has been said, in order to do better, and be able to think for themselves and express themselves with ease. We do not fear to state that this aim, which gives rise to far more difficult problems than the fight against illiteracy, should be ours and that Madagascar is worthy of following the trail blazed by France. But to succeed, we need encouragement from you. For who is in a better position than you to improve our humble village schools and increase their number, or to develop our university and our training college for key personnel, who, although they already exist, are still too few in number? And above all who is in a better position than you to inspire the necessary fervent respect for a humanism which has taken refuge in your temple?

10.10 Is is by symbolizing our entry into your assembly in this way that we can feel proud to offer you our own contribution. As a newly independent nation, we have enthusiasm. But as a formerly independent nation, we still possess the strength of our traditions, which are all the more alive in that we had to preserve them carefully if we were ever to find ourselves again. Our way of thinking is strongly marked by those traditions. Being a mixture of many different races, based on the negroid element, we are a combination of them all. And the miracle of having formed a nation and a civilization of migratory elements of such diverse origins has taught us that, rightly proud of a tradition in which three continents were united, we should always be the link between Asia, Oceania and Africa.

10.11 In order to keep this idea alive, we already have our temple, which we owe to the generosity of France and to which we should like to invite you. It is our university.
10.12 It would be foolish to try and attract you by the magic of the climate, which is very healthy at Tananarive, or by the notorious friendliness and gentleness of our people. What you will find there, in a more positive fashion, is a range of studies which is rare elsewhere, whether it be a question of our language or of our new-born culture. You will be able to study old Sanskrit phrases dating back six centuries before the Buddhist era, which form the basis of our language, you will find a poetry and prose related to the Japanese haïkais and the Malay pantoums. From the Sixth century onwards, Arab civilization left its traces, as did the Bantu language. Come and visit us, then. It is not only Madagascar which will welcome you but also French technicians. A new humanism is being fashioned, a new culture is being created, and a new nation is being born. Help us in this direction, for human beings, no matter what their origins, are indivisible, and humanity is not the privilege of a single group of men. We must have a sense of belonging to the rest of the world, whilst at the same time retaining our own individuality.
10.13 Ladies and gentlemen, I shall not take up your time any longer. I have mentioned the various civilizations which went to make up what is today called Madagascar. May the joy of the moment, then, take the form of tangible results in the near future. The newly admitted nations may have much to ask, but they also have much to give and that is what Madagascar eagerly hopes to do. May its spiritual treasures be added to yours, which are those of the whole world, by means of Unesco. That will be our pride from henceforward and that is why I want again to express my gratitude.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French)
I am sure that the entire assembly appreciates the dignity, nobility and sincerity of the speech made by the Head of the Malagasy delegation.
11.2 Ladies and gentlemen, you have now to vote on the revised agenda for the eleventh session of the General Conference.
11.3 I would first like to reply to Mr. Mitchell who, in his speech, mentioned the problem of the debate on the Director-General's report. You have before you document 11 C/2 containing the Executive Board's proposals regarding the organization of the work of the session, and it will be for the General Committee to decide, in the first place, on the date in question, it being understood that the final decision will rest with the Plenary Conference. Incidentally, the General Committee which you will shortly be electing will be starting tomorrow to study the proposals regarding the organization of the Conference's work. From all the speeches made on this subject, I have noted that three items of the agenda submitted to you were questioned. The first of these is Item 7 (Representation of China in Unesco). The deletion of this item has been requested by the delegations of the United States of America, Viet-Nam and other Member States, whilst its inclusion has been requested by the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Guinea, the United Arab Republic and other Member States. In compliance with the request that has been made, voting will be by roll-call. As we are dealing with an amendment to the proposals submitted to you, you will vote on this amendment; i.e. on the question whether Item 7 should be deleted or not.

12. (The vote was taken by roll-call:
Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Mexico, Monaco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela and Viet-Nam
Voted against: Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Guina, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Somalia Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.
Abstained: Austria, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Israel, Ivory Coast, Laos, Malagasy Republic, Republic of Niger, Tunisia and Upper Volta.
Absent: Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Dominican Republic, Iraq, Federation of Malaya, Panama and Saudi Arabia).

13.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French)
The result of the vote is as follows: 41 in favour of deleting Item 7, 33 against, 10 abstentions and 5 delegations absent. Item 7 is accordingly withdrawn from the Agenda.
13.2 We now come to the second item subject to controversy. There is a request for the deletion of Item 15.6 dealing with disarmament questions, which was included in the revised agenda at the request of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The deletion is requested by the delegation of Liberia. Whereas other delegations request that this item be retained. The following is the text of Item 15.6: "The action taken by the Director-General for the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Executive Board at its 55th Session concerning the question of general and complete disarmament" (item proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).
13.3 As there has been no request for a roll-call vote, voting will be by a show of hands.

14.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to say a word about the way in which this meeting is being conducted. The President is clearly taking sides, which he is not allowed to do. During the whole meeting we have seen the President - whom we greatly respect - using his gavel to silence certain speakers, while addressing compliments and congratulations to others. I have no desire for the President to compliment me, but at least he should be fair. It would be best of all if our President remained impartial throughout.

14.2 We have been accused of raising a question which does not concern Unesco's activities. But as you know, the Executive Board, at its 55th session, adopted a resolution requesting our respected Director-General, Mr. Veronese, to take all appropriate measures to further through Unesco, that is by means of culture, science and education, the great idea of disarmament and the lessening of international tension. Surely it is correct that the Director-General should report to the Conference on what he has been able to do in this direction, and that we should all help him to find the correct ways of really assisting humanity, by means of science, education and the mobilizing of the intelligentsia, in the great and necessary cause of disarmament. Is this not the task of Unesco?

14.3 It has been said that we should not concern ourselves with politics. But there are good politics and bad politics. Disarmament is good politics. Let us therefore assist the Director-General and the Organization as a whole to apply Unesco's resources to these matters.

14.4 I should therefore like to request that we retain on the agenda this question, which is of real concern to Unesco and which will be of assistance to the Executive Board and the Director-General.

15.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I should like to reassure the leader of the Soviet delegation, although I feel some need of being reassured myself. I always try during debates which are not always easy to conduct, to preserve a strict impartiality but just now I had the feeling, when observing the hesitation - very visible from where I am at the moment - of the representatives of certain delegations, that they had not quite understood or heard the perhaps inadequate explanation I gave concerning the method of voting. My only concern was to enlighten the assembly again, in case there were still any doubts about what I had said. There has never been any question of avoiding the vote; on the contrary, we were just about to proceed to it. I do not think, therefore, that I deserve to be accused of partiality in the conduct of the debates.

15.2 Having said this, I will now call upon H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, leader of the Brazilian delegation.

16.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, those of us who have been following Unesco's proceedings for many years know well enough that the first two days of each session of the General Conference are always stormy and full of political incidents. We are therefore not too dismayed to see a few clouds gathering, for we hope that they will soon be dispelled.

16.2 So far as the item in question is concerned, I would like to try to divest it of its political nature in the narrow, or party, sense of the word. There are not two parties at Unesco - one in favour of disarmament and the other hostile to it. There are not two groups at Unesco - one in favour of peace and the other hostile to it. We must do away with this wrong impression that we are divided over a matter as sacred as this. The resolution adopted by the Executive Board at its 55th meeting was adopted after thorough examination. It was discussed at length and passed unanimously. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not alone in taking an interest in the implementation by the Director-General of a resolution which the Executive Board referred to him unanimously. It is the entire Organization that is interested in knowing to what extent the international situation has made it possible, or impossible, for the Director-General to take a certain number of decisions along the lines laid down in the Executive Board's resolution; that resolution was not in the least political, in the narrow sense of the word, but was intended to ensure that Unesco would have an opportunity of collecting its share of the immediate profits of disarmament, if and when it should come about, and using any resources thus made available in the interests of education, science and culture. And it is only in this spirit, and for this purpose of allowing Unesco the use of funds which will become available for peaceful ends, that we expressed the wish that the Director-General should tell us, from time to time, how and under what conditions it has been possible to implement this resolution of the Executive Board.

16.3 There is no question of addressing an ultimatum to the Director-General, demanding that he tell us what he has been unable to do; we leave him free to impart to us his impressions on the development of a problem which is dear to all our hearts, no matter where we come from or what our political ideology may be.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call on Mr. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

18. Mr. THAYER (United States of America):

Mr. President, I would like to associate the United States delegation with the remarks of H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro of Brazil. It is perfectly true that in the early days of any Conference such as this there is uneasiness and tension. I might add that the uneasiness and the tension generally come from those who, for some strange reason, seem to be not very sure of themselves. But I think it strange that in this country and on this rostrum it should be necessary for any delegate to rise to the defence of either the President of this Conference, or the Director-General. Certainly their records here in Unesco and in past years are sufficient evidence of the fairness and the zeal with which they have performed their duties; the Executive Board has passed a resolution on this subject. As I have said a great many times before, we are not here to discuss political issues, and it is curious that this issue should be raised by those who in the past have walked out of political meetings on this subject. There is no need for us to remind anyone here how to do his duty. We are all in favour of disarmament, but this is not the place to discuss it. I therefore, Mr. President, as representing a country that has been one of the champions of disarmament in the world, oppose the placing of this question on the agenda. I believe it should be left to the Director-General.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the delegate of Poland.

20.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, I have listened with some surprise to the remarks made by certain delegates. In the first place, it seems to me entirely superfluous to defend you against any of today's speakers. I did not understand any of them as having any objection to the way in which you have conducted the meetings of the General Conference. There is therefore no need to defend you.

20.2 In the second place, the question of disarmament is one which no organization belonging to the United Nations system can avoid discussing. It is, of course, a political question, but as such it is no less important for education, science and culture. Moreover, it is clear to all of us that in the conditions of the armaments race, not to mention the cold war or, worse still, a "hot" war, the development of culture, science and education is impeded, and consequently our Organization cannot refrain from considering this question.

20.3 If we avoid discussing this matter, if Unesco does not raise its voice in defence of the idea of disarmament and the reduction of world tension then, of course, all our efforts to educate people and to develop science and culture will be in vain. I therefore fail to understand the objections to including this item on our agenda.

20.4 Furthermore, this question is not a new one; it was taken up and discussed at length by the Executive Board, which finally came to a compromise decision, which satisfied the wishes of all members of the Board and all Unesco Member States. The resolution adopted by the Executive Board speaks of the utilization of any resources released as a result of disarmament to meet urgent needs in education, science and culture. This resolution therefore falls into the category of those which we are obliged to discuss.

20.5 I support what has been said here by the delegates of the Soviet Union and Brazil, and believe that an overwhelming majority of the General Conference shares their views.

20.6 I should like to request that a roll-call vote be taken, as was done in the case of the preceding items on the agenda.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Ammoun, delegate of Lebanon.

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

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, you will perhaps allow a representative of a very small country to sum up the very valuable remarks which have been made and, although not in the least empowered to speak in the name of countries of similar size and power to his own, to echo something of their opinion by saying what he feels about the inclusion of this question of disarmament in the agenda.

22.2 I should have liked to eliminate passion from this debate. You know the story of the king to whom someone said: "You will be happy the day when you wear the shirt of a happy man". He searched throughout the kingdom and finally found a man who replied "Yes" to the question "Are you happy?". But the happy man had no shirt. Perhaps, to return to atomic armament, one day the happy people - as in the case of the shirt - will be precisely those who do not possess such armament. A few explanations are no doubt necessary with regard to certain points of detail. In a way, this is a question of politics, for there are politics in a narrow sense of the word, there are politics in the wide sense of the word, but there are also politics as such. There are cultural politics, educational politics and even scientific politics if we go back to the Aristotelian sense of the word. Politics can be applied to everything, and we all know that today there is such a thing as world-wide politics in connexion with hunger. Consequently the word politics in itself may be like that famous Spanish inn where everyone found what he had brought there. We too, can concern ourselves with politics, but with politics confined to education and culture.

22.3 I am a little ashamed about this speech of mine, for I have the feeling that, in speaking of disarmament, I am dealing with a sphere of activities foreign to me. So far as we are concerned, there is no problem. But I consider that, all the same, we have the right to take a certain interest in questions connected with disarmament and here again I would like to quote an Arab proverb which says that when the sea and the wind do battle, it is the small boat that suffers. In this particular case, we are the small boat; although we are neither the wind nor the sea, we may, therefore, take a certain interest in this question of disarmament.

22.4 So far as its inclusion in the agenda is concerned, although we have no very detailed information on this subject, we have nothing against it; but this again calls for some explanation. If it is a matter of going into details, into questions of power, bombs, equipment and comparative strengths, that is obviously outside our competence. But if by disarmament we understand moral disarmament - which is perhaps the preliminary and essential condition for the material disarmament which should follow - then I consider that we can deal with it; I would even go so far as to say that we ought to deal with it, since our very Constitution bids us construct the defences of peace in the minds of men. I think then that, subject to the conditions which I have already mentioned and which would eliminate all partisan, if not political, aspects of the problem and all cause for passion as well, we can include the question of disarmament in the agenda, whilst bearing in mind that it should be treated within the terms of reference laid down by our Constitution.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Duwuona-Hammond, leader of the delegation of Ghana.

24.1 Mr. DUWUONA-HAMMOND (Ghana):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of Ghana considers it somewhat unfortunate that this debate has been oponed again and that this particular item on the agenda concerning action taken by the Director-General on the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Executive Board at the 55th session should take so much of our time.

We know that Unesco is not the place for what we call "power politics"; this is a place for education, for the advancement of human knowledge and all other matters pertaining to culture. The question the delegation of Ghana would like to ask the Conference is: "Why did the Executive Board adopt a resolution or take a decision as to complete disarmament at this time?" I do not know their reasons, but I feel sure that the Executive Board took that decision in the belief that with complete disarmament or with any degree of disarmament, millions if not billions of pounds which today are being used in the production of war materials can be turned to the service of mankind.

24.2 If a decision, therefore, has been taken by the Executive Board, we, the delegation of Ghana, do not see the reason why we should object if the Director-General or whoever is responsible is asked to tell this Conference what action has been taken towards its implementation. We do not think that the Director-General is bound to give a full account. He may merely state before the Conference that the resolution was adopted, that ways and means have been sought to secure complete disarmament, and that we have not achieved our goal. It is a pity that we should come here to spend the precious hours which we should use in thinking for the benefit of mankind, in a discussion of these questions, which I consider to belong in the realm of power politics.

25. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the Director-General.

26.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I had absolutely no intention of speaking, and perhaps it is not even opportune to do so, but, since it is not a matter of disarmament in general but, according to the wording of the proposed item, of measures taken by the Director-General in pursuance of the decision of the Executive Board, and since the delegate of Ghana has just expressly referred to this, I think it my duty to read to you the relevant decision of the Executive Board. Having noted the decision entitled "General and complete disarmament", which was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1959, together with a while series of considerations, the Executive Board concludes as follows:

"Requests the Director-General

(a) To continue to take all appropriate measures to bring about the formation, in all Member States, of a climate of opinion favourable to the achievement of the objects of tho United Nations resolution.

(b) To submit to the Executive Board as soon as the United Nations have achieved agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, a report on measures which might be adopted by Unesco within its field of responsibility to collaborate with the United Nations in the implementation of the agreement.

(c) To submit to the Executive Board as soon as is feasible proposals for the utilization of any resources released as a result of disarmament to meet urgent needs in education, science and culture.

(d) To inform the Executive Board of whatever he has been able to do implement this resolution."

26.2 I have therefore kept the Executive Board regularly informed in all reports submitted to it at sessions subsequent to that at which this resolution was adopted, and by means of oral reports, of what I felt I could do, specially in pursuance of the first part of the resolution, which is at present the only applicable one; i.e. that dealing with the creation of a climate of public opinion favourable to the achievement of the objects of the United Nations resolution. I have even mentioned this fact in reports which I have submitted to the General Conference.

27.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

A motion for the closure of the debate has been submitted to me by H.E. Mr. El Fasi, head of the Moroccan delegation.

27.2 Here are the provisions of rule 76 of the Rules of Procedure, by virtue of which the closure of the debate can be declared:

"A Member State or Associate Member may at any time move the closure of the debate, whether or not any other speaker has signified his wish to take part in the discussion. If application is made for permission to speak against the closure, it may be accorded to not more than two speakers. The President shall take the sense of the General Conference on a motion for closure. If the General Conference is in favour of the closure, the President shall declare the closure of the debate."

27.3 I call upon Mr. El Fasi.

28.1 Mr. EL FASI (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the impression that we are already beginning to discuss the substance of the question, although it is merely a matter of approving the inclusion of an item in the agenda.

28.2 This item has been submitted by the Executive Board which has examined it at great length and very thoroughly at its last two sessions, and particularly in April. We were almost unanimous in proposing that this item be placed on the agenda. We come to the General Conference, and the President was about to proceed to the vote when operations were suspended. It was, in any case contrary to the Rules of Procedure to allow members to speak once the voting procedure had begun. But now that a number of delegates have spoken - and most of them on the substance of the question - I do not think that there is a single person in this room who is against disarmament. If we want disarmament (and here I go entering into the substance of the question myself!), it is in order that the money used for armaments may be employed for education. I am therefore requesting you to close the debate in accordance with Rule 76 of the Rules of Procedure and to proceed immediately to vote for the inclusion of this item in the agenda. When it comes up for discussion in the General Conference, we shall have plenty of time to express our points of view.

29. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): So as to be perfectly clear, we shall proceed to a roll-call vote.

30. (The vote was taken by roll-call:

Voted in favour of the deletion of item 15.6: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Italy, Japan, Korea, Liberia, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay and Viet-Nam.

Voted against: Afghanistan, Albania, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Mexico, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta and Yugoslavia.

Abstained: Argentina, Austria, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Denmark, El Salvador, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Federation of Malaya, Mali, Nepal, New Zealand, Republic of the Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Switzerland and Venezuela.

Absent: Cambodia, Iraq, Panama and Saudi Arabia).

31.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Here are the results of the vote: 30 in favour of the deletion of item 15.6 from the revised agenda, 30 against, 26 abstentions, and four delegations absent. Rule 90 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference stipulates that: "If a vote is equally divided, in voting not concerned with elections, a second vote shall be taken in the course of a subsequent meeting. This meeting shall be held within forty-eight hours after the first vote, and the taking of the second vote shall appear on its agenda. Unless at this meeting there is a majority in favour of the proposal, it shall be considered as lost". I therefore propose that the question be included in the agenda for tomorrow morning.

31.2 If there is no opposition, it is so decided.

31.3 There remains the third item under discussion. There is a request for the deletion of item 23.2.2, which reads as follows: "Communication from the Government of the Republic of China concerning the contribution and the arrears in payment of contributions of China". The deletion of this item from the agenda has been requested by the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland and other Member States. On the other hand, the delegations of the United States of America and other Member States have requested that it be retained. We shall proceed to a roll-call vote.

32. (The vote was taken by roll-call;

Voted in favour of the deletion of item 23.2.2 from the agenda: Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Poland, Rumania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Voted against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Monaco, Nicaragua, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Sudan, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela and Viet-Nam.

Abstained: Afghanistan, Austria, Central African Republic, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Dahomey, Denmark, Finland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Laos, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Federation of Malaya, Mali, Morocco, Republic of the Niger, Norway, Senegal, Somalia, Sweden, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta and Yugoslavia.

Absent: Cambodia, Iraq, Nigeria, Panama and Saudi Arabia.

33.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Here is the result of the vote: 16 in favour of the deletion of item 23.2.2 from the agenda, 46 against, 23 abstentions, and five delegations absent. Consequently, item 23.2.2 is retained on the agenda.

33.2 I now propose that you vote on the revised agenda as a whole, subject to the result of the vote tomorrow morning on item 15.6 which is held over.

33.3 The revised agenda is adopted.

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

33.4 I call upon Mr. Sharif, Chairman of the Nominations Committee, to present its report.

34.1 Mr. SHARIF (Pakistan), Chairman of the Nominations Committee:

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Nominations Committee held its first meeting this afternoon and did me and my country the honour of electing me as its Chairman. The Committee also elected Professor Sommerfelt of Norway and H.E. Mr. S.M. Apithy of Dahomey as Vice-Chairman. The task of the Committee was to prepare a list of nominations for the posts of President and 15 Vice-Presidents of the General Conference, and to submit for the consideration of the Commissions and Committees the names of persons to serve as Chairmen of these bodies and suggestions concerning the posts of Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur. In preparing these recommendations, the Committee was greatly assisted by the report of the Executive Board submitted in accordance with Rule 30 of the Rules of Procedure. Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is now my privilege to present to you the recommendations of the Nominations Committee. The Committee proposes, as President of the eleventh session of the General Conference, H.E. Mr. Akale-Work Abte-Wold, the Ambassador of Ethiopia in Paris. For Vice-Presidents the following 15 countries are recommended: Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, India, Italy, Mexico, Sudan, Thailand, Tunisia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America and Venezuela.

34.2 For the posts of Chairmen of the various commissions and committees, the Nominations

Committee makes the following recommendations: Programme Commission, Mr. Louis François (France); Administrative Commission, H.E. Mr. Barón Castro (El Salvador); Legal Committee, H.E. Mr. Raadi (Iran).

34.3 The following officers of the Conference were already elected before the meeting of the Nominations Committee: H.E. Mr. Matsui (Japan), Credentials Committee; Mr. Gardner Davies (Australia), Chairman of the Headquarters Committee; Mrs. Kaminska (Poland), Reports Committee.

34.4 The Committee further recommends that the election of the Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteurs of the various Commissions and Committees and the working parties should take place in those bodies. In doing so the Nominations Committee hopes that the delegations will give due consideration to the principle of a balanced geographical distribution, with due regard to the diversity of culture and competence.

35. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Duwuona-Hammond, Head of the delegation of Ghana.

36.1 Mr. DUWUONA-HAMMOND (Ghana):

Mr. President, I am grateful to you first, and to the Conference also, for granting me the favour of speaking on this rather rare occasion. The Government and people of Ghana, through their delegation here present, cannot fail to express their warmest thanks to the Executive Board and the Nominations Committee for giving serious consideration to the position of the Continent of Africa, and for having recommended the candidature for the Presidency of the Conference of no mean nation, the candidature of Ethiopia, one of the ancient States of Africa.

36.2 In a broadcast to our nation on 8 October 1960, soon after his return from the United Nations General Assembly, our illustrious leader Dr. Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, said, and I beg to quote him: "The year 1960 has been described as an African year in the United Nations. At the present session of the General Assembly, 15 new African States have been admitted to membership of the United Nations; more are to come. We congratulate the new States of Africa on beginning their career in the international sphere and we hope that we will all join in working together for the political unity of our Continent, and in projecting the African personality in current international affairs".

36.3 Mr. President, we in Ghana believe that Africa has a vital rôle to play in international affairs. Our first interest is in peace. We believe by experience that, given the necessary tools, the African is capable of proving his mettle in any sphere, no matter how new, strange or difficult. It is our great hope, that by the infusion into this Organization of new blood from Africa (I refer to the Presidency), the purposes for which Unesco stands will be more easily achieved. I understand that since the inception of this Organization, this is the first time that an African has been recommended for the seat of the Presidency. Confident as I am, as an African, of the integrity and capabilities of the African, I support this nomination and on behalf of the Government and the people of Ghana recommend to this session of the Conference the candidature of H.E. Mr. Akale-Work Abte-Wold of Ethiopia for the Presidency. I am confident that he will never let his fellow delegates down.

37.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the proposals of the Nominations Committee, supported by the Head of the delegation of Ghana; I think that your applause makes voting unnecessary.

37.2 I therefore declare H.E. Mr. Akale-Work Abte-Wold elected President of the General Conference at its eleventh session.

37.3 Mr. President, I should like immediately to express on my own account the feelings which this assembly has just demonstrated to you. The new President of the General Conference is Head of the Ethiopian delegation, has been Ambassador to Paris since 1958, and represents a country of very ancient civilization where legend and history vie with one another in a glorious past; a State for which, as he himself reminded us recently, in a remarkable speech that we have not forgotten, intellectual and social education has always been a major problem, for the solution of which the Sovereign and the peoples' representatives have always made the greatest sacrifices; a country destined by its geographical situation to be a link between Africa, Europe and Asia. Your choice, ladies and gentlemen, is therefore first of all a mark of homage to a noble nation where a respect for the liberty of man and human dignity was confirmed very early in its history. But I know, too, that your homage is also paid to the eminent personality whom you have elected. Mr. Akale-Work Abte-Wold was, as I may be allowed to state with special cordiality, a student at the French Lycée in Alexandria, and his training as a technician made him acquainted with industrial questions. His gifts as an administrator, however, were no less brilliant, and he was successively the head of the Ethiopian Red Cross, Minister of Agriculture, and finally Minister of Education of his country, before becoming one of its most distinguished diplomats. Our new President, therefore, is particularly well versed in all the problems which we have to discuss here, he is accustomed to dealing with their repercussions and, so to speak, the unity of human beings. I would ask him to accept my very cordial greetings and be so good as to come and relieve me of my office, thus accepting the high responsibilities of which he is so entirely worthy.

37.4 I now call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

38. Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I am sure that you will allow me to intervene at this particular point, when we are about to say farewell to one President and are about to greet another. It is right before we embark upon the pleasant task of greeting our new President that we should assure the departing one that he takes with him our sense of gratitude which we would like to express to him. In the course of the last General Conference he guided our deliberations with great experience, great skill and great wisdom, and he is bringing and has brought this new General Conference into a promising existence. I am sure that we would like to tell him that we feel

that we have profited greatly from his knowledge, his skill and his masterly handling of our deliberations, so I would invite you, ladies and gentlemen, with acclamation to show our gratitude to our retiring President.

(Mr. Berthoin surrendered the chair to Mr. Akale-Work Abte-Wold).

39.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, it is not without emotion that I assume this high office which you have entrusted to me, and my first official task will be to thank all those to whom I owe this signal honour from the bottom of my heart. The honour indeed appears to me to be formidable when I think of the long line of illustrious persons who have presided over our debates for the good of the human race as a whole. It is to the last of these - to my very eminent colleague, Mr. Jean Berthoin - who, with all the competence of a distinguished French academic, discharged his duties as President with exceptional verve, that I would like to pay, on behalf of us all, a respectful and grateful tribute. Once again we have had the opportunity of appreciating the personality of our ex-President on the occasion of the opening of the present session of the General Conference, and we are not likely to forget his never-failing courtesy, his alert and precise mind, his firm but elegant way of conducting the debates, all of which show that he possesses the essential virtues of great servants of the French Republic. It requires much boldness on my part to succeed him. I shall therefore need all your understanding and all your sympathy in order to accomplish my difficult task, and, in so doing, I shall always try to follow the examples and lessons of my distinguished predecessor.

39.2 Two sad events have marked the beginning of the present Conference. I should like to associate myself with the homage rendered to the memory of Dr. Pedro de Alba; anyone who had the opportunity of meeting him, for no matter how short a time, loved him dearly; he died the noblest of deaths - that which overtakes a man in full harness. I would also like to associate myself with the tribute paid to the memory of Professor Gaston Berger, whose sudden decease is an almost irreparable loss to our Organization. These two untiring workers for our great ideal will always remain present in our memories.

39.3 But the opening of this Conference is not marked by sadness alone. How can we fail to rejoice at the presence of new Member States and new Associate Members who are prepared to contribute their enthusiasm and faith to our work? How could I not rejoice to see the circle of the African family widened here?

39.4 Although I rightly prize the honour which you have done me, it is easy to guess that, through me, you wished to honour the oldest of the African States. Although this is only the second time that I have headed my country's delegation to the General Conference - which, from certain points of view, makes me a beginner - I also find myself playing the part of a doyen.

39.5 I would therefore like to thank all the delegates of the five continents who, by electing me, have celebrated the advancement of Africa. I thank them as an African, of course, but I also thank them as a militant in Unesco's great cause. They have shown that they are still loyal to the principles which inspire our work and which are at the very source of the Charter of the United Nations. Transcending petty quarrels and the inevitable and regrettable differences of opinion, the present General Conference has set an example of universality. This ought to be emphasized. This example is all the more valuable in that the African States expect a great deal of Unesco - or, in the last analysis, of the solidarity of all other countries. What they expect is not assistance in the form of mere financial subsidies or other expedients designed to compensate for their lack of progress, but a brotherly, unself-seeking aid which, in the last resort, should be just as advantageous to those who give as to those who receive. For there are not, as many ill-informed people still think, wealthy and energetic nations on the one side and poor and lethargic nations on the other, the former restricting themselves to giving and the latter to begging and, in some cases, receiving without any effort.

39.6 The countries which are known as underdeveloped can and must contribute energetically to the preparation and execution of assistance programmes of which they are theoretically the beneficiaries. Any project - as recent examples have unfortunately shown - which does not make enough allowance for the conditions existing in the country where it is to be carried out, runs the risk of not achieving its ends. If this institution is to succeed it must adapt its programme constantly to local needs; and this it can do only by securing the close co-operation of the representatives of underdeveloped countries in the working out of methods and programmes and the choice of means. This close, active collaboration will make it possible to discover local leaders in all spheres, who will emerge as the work goes on and will contribute their advice and suggestions, thus giving all the various experts an opportunity to add to their knowledge of the country where they are called upon to work, to the greater benefit of culture in general. For there ought not to be a mechanical repetition in Africa and Asia of what has been done previously in other areas of the world, even if it has been successful. We ought to be able to see radically new methods devised, not in the secrecy of laboratories, however reputed or valuable they may be, but as the outcome of a constant and fruitful exchange of ideas between the most favoured nations and those which are far less fortunate.

39.7 In this way we shall see our Organization develop into the closely-knit universal body, which it was originally designed to be, and it will then be possible to lower the legal, technical and mental barriers which still separate members of the human family, even in the age of rockets and perhaps of inter-planetary communications.

39.8 I shall now give the list of the 15 countries proposed by the Nominations Committee for the posts of Vice-President. They are as follows: Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, India, Italy, Mexico, Sudan, Thailand, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America and Venezuela.

39.9 I take your applause to mean that you approve

of the Committee's proposals. I would remind you that, according to the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, these 15 Vice-Presidents should arrange to be represented by a member of their delegation if they are unable to attend meetings.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES

39.10 We now come to item 4.2 of the agenda and shall proceed to elect the Chairmen of the Programme Commission, the Administrative Commission and the Legal Committee, so that they can attend the meeting of the General Committee tomorrow morning.

39.11 In accordance with the procedure adopted during previous meetings of the General Conference, the plenary meeting is suspended and we shall now sit as the Programme Commission. You have heard the proposal of the Nominations Committee for the Chairman for this Commission. Mr. François (France) is the candidate nominated by the Committee. I understand from your applause that you approve of this recommendation. Mr. François is therefore elected Chairman of the Programme Commission.

39.12 I now declare the first meeting of the Administrative Commission open for the purpose of electing a Chairman. The Nominations Committee proposes that the Chairman of this Commission should be Mr. Barón Castro (El Salvador). The recommendation is accepted. The first meeting of the Administrative Commission will take place tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock in Room IV. The Commission will then proceed at once to elect its Vice-Chairmen and Rapporteur.

39.13 Finally, we come to the question of the Legal Committee. In order not to have to convene the members of this Committee in another room for a purely formal meeting, I submit for your approval the names of the representatives of the 15 Member States proposed for membership of the Committee: Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Lebanon, Liberia, Pakistan, Rumania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America and Venezuela. The Nominations Committee suggests that H.E. Mr. Raadi (Iran) should be Chairman of this Committee. The proposal is adopted.

ADMISSION TO THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF OBSERVERS FROM INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

39.14 We now come to item 5 of the agenda. I call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board to present its recommendations.

40.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President, on behalf of the Executive Board, I submit to you our recommendations concerning the admission of observers from international non-governmental organizations to the eleventh session of the General Conference. You will know that our Constitution contains two provisions concerning the admission of observers. In the first place, all non-governmental organizations with consultative status are automatically invited to send observers. In the second place organizations not having consultative status may send observers to the General Conference if such invitations are approved by a two-thirds majority vote. You will find in document 11 C/6, a printed document, and Addenda, which are cyclostyled, the list of 14 organizations of the latter category recommended by the Board. These are organizations not having consultative status, but wishing to send observers. Four of these bodies are well-known foundations which are traditionally invited to the sessions of our Conference, and the information about them and another ten organizations is found in documents 11 C/22 and 11 C/6 and Addenda.

40.2 On behalf of the Executive Board I would like to move that the 14 non-governmental organizations listed in these documents, 11 C/6 and the Addenda, be invited to send observers to the present session of the General Conference.

41. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Azimov, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

42.1 Mr. AZIMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

The delegation of the Soviet Union is of the opinion that Unesco should establish and maintain close and permanent relations with all international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, whose activities are related to education, science and culture and contribute to the consolidation of peace and co-operation between all peoples.

42.2 Unesco's purposes and tasks are defined in its Constitution, which was signed on 16 November 1945, that is, exactly fifteen years ago, when the memory of the world war that had just come to an end was still quite fresh in everyone's mind, a war which was unleashed by Nazi Germany with the connivance of certain Western States and which caused incalculable suffering and misery to the various peoples. Thus, it is not by chance that the Constitution of our Organization declares before anything else the need to construct the defences of peace in the minds of men.

42.3 In assuming the most noble and important task of contributing to the consolidation of peace and security, Unesco pledged itself to promote closer contacts and mutual understanding between the various peoples and to encourage co-operation between all countries in all fields of intellectual activity. Consequently, Unesco should, firstly, be as representative as possible, that is, should be composed of all peace-loving States, regardless of their social structure and degree of economic development, and, secondly, co-operate extensively with all organizations whose activities are designed to consolidate peace and security, without discrimination against any of them.

42.4 Unfortunately, it must be noted that several truly democratic international non-governmental organizations have for some considerable time been the object of discrimination on the part of Unesco contrary to the Constitution of our Organization. Among these international organizations, mention may be made of such mass organizations as the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International

Union of Students and the International Federation of Journalists, as well as such representative organizations as the International Radio and Television Organization and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

42.5 The extent to which the above-mentioned organizations are representative of the masses is shown by the following data: 91 countries sent the representatives of 87,000,000 boys and girls to the last Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, held in Prague in 1959. At present, 101,000,000 boys and girls belonging to 97 countries are members of this organization. The Women's International Democratic Federation comprises women's organizations in more than 50 countries and has 200,000,000 members belonging to all continents of the world; the same number of countries are represented in the International Union of Students. The International Radio and Television Organization's members consist of broadcasting organizations in more than twenty European, Asian and African countries. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers comprises national organizations in thirty countries.

42.6 As regards Unesco's relations with the first four of the above-mentioned organizations, their inconsistency cannot fail to cause bewilderment. The World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the International Union of Students were approved for consultative arrangements with Unesco and sent observers to the General Conference. Subsequently, however, they were deprived of that status under the false pretext that their activities did not correspond to Unesco's activities. One has only to study the fundamental provisions of the statutes of these organizations and the work done by them in order to be convinced that the provisions of their statutes and their activities completely correspond to Unesco's fundamental tasks and purposes.

42.7 Why does Unesco endeavour to exclude these organizations which are anxious to co-operate with it and participate in a number of its activities? Unesco observers participated in some of the activities carried out by the aforesaid organizations, for instance, in a session of the International Radio and Television Organization and in congresses of the International Democratic Federation. The representative of Unesco attending the special Conference organized during the Fourth Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Vienna, in 1958, when speaking in connexion with the resolution of the Conference on the education and training of children, recognized the importance and present-day interest of the questions discussed at the Conference and specially emphasized that the education of children in a spirit of peace and friendship is one of the important tasks defined in the Constitution of Unesco.

42.8 Further, in the resolution adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation the Congress welcomes the activities of Unesco and of the other Specialized Agencies and organs of the United Nations, aimed at improving the situation of children in underdeveloped and colonial countries, and expresses the hope that these organizations will contribute to the education of children and youth in a spirit of friendship and respect for all peoples. The Congress considers that the State and the community should guarantee compulsory free general education for all children of school-age in their native language, without distinction as to race, nationality, sex, social origin, etc.

42.9 All the other organizations to which I have referred carry out similar activities. Who can maintain, without flouting his conscience and common sense, that the noble principles and aims, as well as the activities of these organizations are contrary to or do not correspond to the principles and aims defined in Unesco's Constitution or to the Organization's activities?

42.10 The Soviet delegation supports the Executive Board's decision in regard to inviting an observer of the International Radio and Television Organization. At the same time, the Soviet delegation considers it impossible to tolerate any longer Unesco's policy of discrimination against other non-governmental organizations and urges that a resolution be immediately adopted, inviting to the present eleventh session of the General Conference observers of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the International Organization of Journalists, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the International Association of Democratic lawyers.

43. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Hoffmeister, delegate of Czechoslovakia.

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

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I do not want to become involved in a discussion of this question by entering into too much detail, but I would like to say a few words about the way in which observer status has been granted to certain non-governmental organizations and yet withheld from others. The list of aims set out in Unesco's Constitution was based on the concept of universality and corresponds almost exactly to the list of activities set out in the statutes of the international organizations working for education, science and culture. And yet the Executive Board decided by a majority not to grant them observer status or the advantage of consultative arrangements.

44.2 I venture to invite the General Conference, now rejuvenated by many new Member States, to modify its attitude and throw the doors of Unesco wide open to the world of education, science and culture as represented by certain international organizations. One cannot help feeling somewhat bitter about certain illogical decisions taken by the General Conference and the Executive Board and obstinately repeated at recent sessions of this Conference.

44.3 The World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the International Radio and Television Organization, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the International Organization of Journalists have a total of hundreds of thousands of members belonging to over

seventy countries, and these young people, women, journalists, students and teachers are the type of people who alone are capable, owing to the very nature of their work, of helping Unesco in a really effective way to pursue its essential aims in the tense atmosphere at present prevailing in the world.

44.4 All, in fact, make a useful contribution to the spreading and application of the ideals of international understanding and peaceful co-operation, for they are the people who represent the generation which will succeed us in this assembly - or at least we hope so - at future sessions of the General Conference of Unesco. The rejection of their applications by certain Member States is in flagrant contradiction with the disconcerting indulgence shown towards certain very minor organizations to which consultative or observer status has already been granted.

44.5 The Czechoslovak delegation therefore urges the General Conference to grant observer or consultative status to all the organizations which I have named in my very short speech.

45. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Milev, delegate of Bulgaria.

46. Mr. MILEV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the French): ;

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, at the last meeting of the General Conference I spoke about the International Radio and Television Organization, the headquarters of which is in Prague. You will remember that we requested that this organization be granted consultative and not observer status with Unesco. Two years have gone by, and we can now express our satisfaction that the Executive Board has understood that the time has come to grant a special status to this organization, which is a truly international one, is particularly active, and includes dozens of national radio and television organizations. But although we rejoice at the step taken by the Executive Board, it is a very timid step. We should like the Executive Board and the General Conference to go a little further and not only grant the International Radio and Television Organization observer status, but approve it for consultative arrangements. We ask this because of the international nature of this organization which has contributed, and is still contributing, very effectively to Unesco's activities. In short, I would like to express our firm wish that the General Conference should go a little further than the proposal made by the Executive Board and approve the International Radio and Television Organization for consultative arrangements with Unesco.

47.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President, I would like to help the members of the General Conference, if possible, to have clearer ideas about the matter which is under discussion. I know that members of the Conference are aware of the fact that there are non-governmental organizations that enjoy consultative status and other non-governmental organizations not enjoying consultative status who are anxious to send observers to the General Conference. It would be extremely helpful, I think, if the members of the General Conference could bear those categories very distinctly in mind. I shall therefore try to help you to appreciate what is the position of each, in order that you may come to a decision.

47.2 To take the first - those enjoying consultative status: I want to inform the members of the Conference, as some of them who have a particular interest in administrative questions will know, that the position of these non-governmental organizations seeking and enjoying consultative status is a matter which will be considered by the Administrative Commission. This is so because the Administrative Commission has been instructed to consider the directives which will lay down the criteria for non-governmental organizations to qualify for consultative status. Have I made that point clear? In the present Conference, then, the Administrative Commission will receive from the Executive Board certain suggestions with regard to directives that should be applied in order to decide whether organizations may enjoy consultative status. Accordingly, the Executive Board has decided that at present, while the directives are in suspense, and awaiting the decision of the Administrative Commission for later approval by the General Conference, it would be inappropriate to add any other new organizations to the consultative category. An addition of any new organization to consultative status, is, I suggest, ruled out by the fact that the directives concerning the qualifications of organizations for consultative status are at present under discussion, and until we have cleared those in the Administrative Commission and later in the General Conference, questions of admission to consultative status must remain in suspense. Therefore, only those organizations now enjoying consultative status can, for the purpose of this Conference, be regarded as qualified to enjoy consultative status. If I have carried the members of the General Conference with me on that particular matter, I am sure that they will appreciate that any suggestion for adding new organizations to the list of those enjoying consultative status is at the moment inappropriate. That is point no. 1.

47.3 Point no. 2 concerns the report that I submitted to you on behalf of the Executive Board, which dealt with observers only, that is to say with non-governmental organizations who have not been put on the list of those enjoying consultative status, but who wish to send observers to this Conference. There are ten of them and four foundations to which we have already referred. Here I must draw your attention to our Constitution and, if you have your copies before you, I would like to refer you to article 4, sub-section 13, "the General Conference on the recommendation of the Executive Board and by a two-thirds majority, may, subject to its Rules of Procedure, invite as observers" and so on. Thus, the Executive Board has to make a recommendation to you, and the Executive Board recommends these ten in addition to the four foundations.

47.4 The interpretation hitherto adopted has been that the recommendation of the Executive Board must be a positive recommendation, that those who are listed are positively recommended to you and no others. Consequently, at this stage, we are again prevented from adding to the list, because additions to the list require a positive recommendation on the part of the Board.

47.5 The additional point that I wish to make is that at its very last session, and I admit it was a very busy one, the Executive Board addressed itself to this matter. It considered that the time had now come - it was Thursday and the Conference was to begin on Monday - to draw a line somewhere. A resolution was put to the Executive Board that the line be drawn and, for the purpose of this General Conference, the Executive Board decided that it was not prepared to consider any new applications for admission as observers.

47.6 I hope, Mr. President, that I have helped the members of the Conference to understand the complete difference between those enjoying consultative status and observers, and also the limitation that rests upon us now with regard to the admission of observers. The Executive Board has drawn a line and no more observers can be admitted without a positive recommendation from the Executive Board. I therefore urge the members of the Conference to adopt the recommendations of the Executive Board in this matter.

48.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

You have heard the explanations given by the Chairman of the Executive Board. As regards item 5 of the agenda, the General Conference is required to vote on the recommendations of the Executive Board contained in documents 11 C/6 and Addenda I and II, dealing with the admission of observers from non-governmental organizations to the present session.

48.2 A two-thirds majority is required. I shall therefore ask the Conference to refer to the recommendations of the Executive Board contained in the three documents mentioned above and to vote on these recommendations. Voting will be by a show of hands.

(Voting was by a show of hands)

48.3 Here are the results of the vote: 56 in favour of the adoption of the recommendations of the Executive Board, with two abstentions. The recommendations of the Executive Board are therefore adopted.

ADMISSION OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION

48.4 I now call upon the Director-General, who will submit recommendations regarding the admission of three new Associate Members, namely Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika and Mauritius.

49. The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with Article II, paragraph 3 of the Constitution and Rule 92, paragraph 2 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, I now come to the question of the admission to Associate Membership of the Organization of the Territories of Ruanda-Urundi, Mauritius and Tanganyika. I have received from the Belgian Foreign Minister and from the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom requests in due form for the admission of these Territories as Associate Members. At its 57th session, the Executive Board authorized the Director-General to invite these Territories to send observers to the eleventh session of the General Conference. Observers from these Territories are, therefore, now present in this hall and I am happy to welcome them. Under Article II.3 of the Constitution and Rule 81 of the Rules of Procedure, a two-thirds majority vote by the General Conference is required for their admission.

50. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Sir David Eccles, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

51.1 Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, I personally congratulate you on your election. It gives the United Kingdom delegation great pleasure that a representative of Africa should have been chosen. It is now my duty, and a very pleasant one, as Head of the United Kingdom delegation to declare my Government's sponsorship for associate membership of Unesco of two more of the territories for whose international relations the United Kingdom Government is responsible. These are Mauritius and Tanganyika.

51.2 It is the settled policy of my Government to encourage colonial governments to seek associate membership as soon as they feel able to take advantage of this great privilege, and the results of that policy are here on the benches today. It has been our practice to help the territories under our administration, as rapidly as possible, to the full management of their own affairs, and then to full independence with the hope and the belief that they will wish to remain within the Commonwealth. As the delegates here know, Sierra Leone, the West Indies and Singapore are already Associate Members, and the first two are represented at this Conference.

51.3 Nigeria, formerly an Associate Member, like Ghana and Malaya before it, is now happily entitled to ask for full membership, and this morning we had a most excellent speech from the Minister of Education of Nigeria. Today Mauritius and Tanganyika come to join us as Associate Members. Both these territories have the experience and the maturity which, as we know from our dealings with them, make them able and, I am certain, eager to participate in Unesco's work. I am very glad to see their Ministers of Education here, Mr. Beejadhur and Mr. Kambona; they will I am sure prove very welcome colleagues. Therefore, Mr. President, with confidence I ask the General Conference to agree that Mauritius and Tanganyika be admitted to Associate Membership.

52. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon the representative of Mauritius.

53.1 Mr. BEEJADHUR (Mauritius):

Mr. President, on behalf of the Mauritius Government I would like to thank Sir David Eccles for having sponsored our application for admission to Unesco and I would like to thank the Conference for its acceptance of Mauritius as an Associate Member of the Organization. I wish to assure the Conference that Mauritius accepts, and will fulfil, the obligations of an Associate Member. Mauritius is a small island, only some 720 square miles in area, with big problems. The

biggest and most urgent of these problems is that resulting from the rapid increase of our population which has taken place in the past 15 years, largely owing to the success of public health measures and, in particular, to the eradication of malaria. We have always had a fairly high birth-rate and now we have a low death-rate. For example, for the years 1944-1948 the number of deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births averaged 154.9, while by 1959 it had dropped to 62.5. This rapid increase in population has had a particular impact on the field of education. Of a population now numbering some 631,000, some 279,000 - that is about 44% - are under the age of 15.

53.2 The Conference will appreciate what this means in terms of providing schooling for our children, yet the record of progress during the past ten years has been an impressive one. Our total current expenditure on education represents about 14.5% of our national budget and 3% of our national income. Of about 125,000 children of primary school going age, that is between the ages of 5 and 12, about 110,000 are in government and aided primary schools, while of the rest a fair proportion find places in private schools, athough there is no compulsory education in Mauritius. The urge for education in Mauritius is so great that all parents, rich or poor, see that their children get some kind of education, and it is estimated that about 85% of the people are literate in English and French, both of which languages are compulsory school subjects, in addition to other normal primary school subjects. Further, at the option of parents, children in the government and primary aided schools may be taught one of four Oriental languages: Hindi, Urdu, Tamil or Telugu. In the field of secondary education Mauritius is a little backward.

53.3 There are three government grammar schools, one of which is for girls, one technical institute, and the Government subsidizes also eight church schools. The private secondary schools, which number 61, are of a rather lower standard owing to the lack of trained teachers. Unfortunately much of the ground gained at the primary school stage is subsequently lost for lack of facilities for further education and there is a tendency to relapse into illiteracy.

53.4 In Mauritius, as elsewhere, the problem of youth does not end with the last term at school. But, in Mauritius it is especially acute, for our country is an agricultural country, and despite efforts to achieve some diversification, its economy is still almost wholly dependent on one crop - sugar. Efficient and expanding though our main industry is, and notwithstanding the ability of our scientists, geography alone must confine the possible further expansion of our sugar industry within comparatively narrow limits. The practical consequences of this are that employment opportunities lag far behind the increasing demands of thousands of young people leaving our schools every year. Within this general problem we have in Mauritius, as elsewhere, the special problem of the educated youths who represent the surplus aspirants to white-collar jobs which do not, and cannot ever, exist.

53.5 Finally, there is the social problem which has been with us for years, and which also is not unknown in other countries. The population of Mauritius is composed of people of very different racial origins - from Europe from the Indian continent, from Africa, and from China - and of many creeds - Hindus, Muslims, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Buddhists, and others. Each community has a rich cultural heritage and naturally tends to cling to its own language and traditions, but this is often at the expense of national unity. It is our object to weave these various strands into a national fabric, to achieve what we call in Mauritius a Mauritian entity. We must gear our educational system to this end, and we know we have much to learn from the experience of others.

53.6 Sir, if I have referred briefly to some of the major problems facing Mauritius, it is because we know we are not without friends upon whose understanding and readiness to help we can count. If evidence of this were needed, it could be found in the approval given by the Conference today to the admission of Mauritius as an Associate Member of the Organization, and in the patience with which the representatives of so many nations have listened while the representative of the Mauritius Government made his début on the international scene.

53.7 Mr. President, I would like to end by quoting a great French poet who lived and fought for those lofty ideals which your predecessor so eloquently outlined in his speech on Monday and for which Unesco stands. Lamartine said:

"Je suis le concitoyen de tout homme qui pense,
L'univers est mon pays"

54.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I consider that you haven by your applause, approved the admission of Mauritius as an Associate Member of Unesco.

54.2 I now call upon Mr. Kambona, representing Tanganyika.

55.1 Mr. KAMBONA (Tanganyika):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am honoured to represent Tanganyika at this session of the General Conference of Unesco and to have the privilege of addressing members on the occasion of Tanganyika's admission as an Associate Member. I come as an elected member of the Legislative Council and as Minister of Education to express my country's thanks to Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for her sponsorship, and to the Organization for accepting us as an Associate Member. We in Tanganyika are aware of the close interest which the Organization has shown from year to year in the development of our country. Nevertheless, it may not be out of place to sketch briefly the development of education in the Territory. Although the beginning of African education dates from 100 years ago, it was not until the 1920's that an organized system of education began to develop. A period of rapid expansion following the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924 was succeeded in the 1930's by a period of political uncertainty and of financial stringency allowing little advance. Real progress was not resumed until after the Second World War when a ten-year plan for education was approved providing for a 4-year primary course, to be followed, for selected pupils, by a 4-year middle course. The aim of the middle school course was to

provide a general education which would not only prepare the best pupils for further education or training, but would be of value to as many as possible of those who would not be proceeding further and who needed a general practical course to fit them to become useful citizens in the country and environment, either rural or urban, to which they belong.

55.2 The ten-year plan was followed by a 5-year plan which, it became apparent, for financial reasons, would have to be spread over seven years. The aim of the plan was to raise academic standards and to expand middle and secondary education. Secondary facilities exist at present for only one in every five of those completing the middle school course, and it is on remedying this state of affairs that the Government proposes to concentrate, as a fifth priority, the new plans it is making for the next three years. Without many more school certificate holders, we shall be unable to send on to higher education the numbers needed to fill higher posts inside and outside the public service. Nor shall we be able to train the number of teachers of the quality we need for secondary education.

55.3 It is for this reason that we plan to increase the number of our candidates for school certificates from 342 in 1959 to 2,275 in 1964. We can do it, but we can only do it if we get the teachers we need. East Africa cannot supply our needs and we must look elsewhere. The British Commonwealth is alive to the importance of secondary education in developing territories and the more advanced countries in the Commonwealth are already taking steps to facilitate movement of secondary teachers to countries like my own. We need them and we welcome them. The plans on which all three East African Governments have agreed for the development of higher education in East Africa for the next five years envisage the early establishment of a University College in Tanganyika to form, with the other colleges in Kenya and in Uganda, a University of East Africa. But these plans also require a vast expansion of secondary output and this we must achieve. We expect over each of the next three years to need to recruit at least 100 teachers abroad; the number will probably be nearer 150 and may be 200. Half of these must be graduates if, in a rapidly expanding system, standards are to be maintained. This is our prime need. We receive from many nations offers of aid, of scholarships overseas, of other kinds of help for post-secondary training. If these nations can also make it possible for us to produce enough secondary pupils, we shall be able and shall be glad to accept their offers. Without their help we shall be unable to provide students of the quality necessary to benefit from the training they can give.

55.4 Before I leave the subject of education, I must also refer to another aspect of educational development to which my Government attaches the greatest importance. It is perhaps particularly appropriate that I should mention this at a session of the General Conference where members will be considering the draft of a Convention against discrimination in education. Tanganyika has a population of some 9 million Africans, but in addition there are immigrant communities, the largest of which is the Asian group numbering some 72,000. The next largest is the European group, numbering some 20,000. Language and various colonial factors have led to the development of separate school systems for different races and groups of races. These are paid for in small part by education taxes imposed on a racial basis. The Government is determined to replace this racial system of education by a single system for the whole country and plans for this have been drawn up. Secondary places will be awarded on merit and no pupil will be prevented from taking up his place because his parents are unable to afford to pay the fee. There are other educational developments which I ought to mention to give a full picture - agricultural education, girls' education, technical education, teacher training, but I propose now to leave the formal education system.

55.5 I would like to mention two developments which constitute a beginning to a territory-wide growth of interest in drama and in art. The British Council has, over the past few years, organized through schools and other groups a drama festival which now draws participants of many cultures from all parts of Tanganyika. Its diversity and increasing popularity are a happy augury for future respect and understanding of the culture of others. In the field of art, the Arts and Crafts Society has inaugurated our new exhibition of school art which we hope will develop into a real stimulus of interest both within the schools and outside them.

55.6 Finally, a word about adult education. The Tanganyika Government is pursuing a vigorous policy of adult education in a modest sense, by the use of community development methods. In urban areas, the aim is to enable the people to acquire the skills necessary for a more developed and gracious way of life. Attractive, well-built community centres have been or are about to be built in all the larger towns. These centres form a focal point of the social and cultural life of the towns. Here women's classes are held in cookery, dressmaking, hygiene, child care and similar subjects. In the evenings there are literacy classes and classes in English and elementary mathematics, all run by voluntary teachers. In the rural areas, attention is largely concentrated on mass literacy campaigns and education in home economics and homecraft subjects, through the medium of women's clubs. The training of the teachers and supervisory staff for these clubs has been made possible by generous grants from the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Although we need help in other fields, for example, the provision of visual aids both for formal and adult education, and for which we should be very grateful to receive help from Unesco, our great and overriding need is the need for teachers.

55.7 I want to emphasize this, so that if you go out today and if you remember that Tanganyika has been admitted to Associate Membership, you will remember three words - Tanganyika needs teachers, Tanganyika needs teachers - and may this ring in your ears - Tanganyika needs teachers!

55.8 We believe that the path along which our country is developing and the way in which our education is being developed, will enable us in the not distant future to make in our own turn a contribution through Unesco to other countries in need. Mr. President, I again express my country's very great appreciation of the granting of

Associate Membership of Unesco, and I am very proud that Tanganyika should be admitted at a time when Africa has taken the Chair.

56.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I think that your applause authorizes me to declare Tanganyika admitted as an Associate Member.
56.2 I now call upon H. E. Mr. Kuypers, delegate of Belgium, who will present the application of Ruanda-Urundi for admission to Associate Membership.

57.1 Mr. KUYPERS (Belgium) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, the Belgian Government is happy to present and support the application of Ruanda-Urundi for admission to Associate Membership of the United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. In view of the objectives which Unesco has set itself, it is likely to have a favourable influence on the last stage of the political evolution which should lead this Territory to independence, in accordance with undertakings given by Belgium, a signatory to the Charter of United Nations and to the Trusteeship Agreement.
57.2 In a territory such as this, which has difficult social problems to face, our Organization, by advocating universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, can give assistance in the necessary training for the democratic exercise of the prerogatives of full independence, which is now near at hand. Since Ruanda-Urundi's resources are small in comparison with the requirements of its large population, the help and co-operation which it is entitled to expect from our Organization as an Associate Member will be a useful supplement to the financial and technical assistance which my country, as the Administering Authority, has always given this Territory in order to foster its social and cultural progress - an assistance to which several reports of the Executive Board to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations bear witness.
57.3 These are the reasons which have determined my Government urgently to request the General Conference, at its eleventh session, to admit Ruanda-Urundi as an Associate Member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

58.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): As the representative of Ruanda-Urundi has expressed the desire to address the Conference later, I now put the question of the admission of this Territory as an Associate Member to the Conference.
58.2 Ruanda-Urundi is admitted as an Associate Member of Unesco.
58.3 I call upon Mr. Azimov, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

59.1 Mr. AZIMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of the Soviet Union warmly welcomes the desire of the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi, Mauritius and Tanganyika to become members of Unesco. The Soviet delegation, however, wishes to see them admitted to Unesco, not as Associate Members deprived of voting rights, but as full Members enjoying all the rights and powers conferred on Member States of Unesco under the latter's Constitution.
59.2 The Soviet delegation listened with great satisfaction to the speeches by the representatives of Mauritius and Tanganyika, in which we sensed the desire for freedom and independence. But we also heard another speech, made by the Belgian representative who, instead of championing the right of these peoples to complete freedom, presents Ruanda-Urundi to us, at the General Conference, as an Associate Member. We consider that this is an affront to the honour of free, independent peoples.
59.3 In this connexion, the Soviet delegation is of the opinion that the distinction at present made, by the Constitution of Unesco as well as by the Organization in practice, between Member States and Associate Members is not only incompatible with the principles of the equality of rights of peoples and nations and their right to self-determination, as solemnly proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, but is a serious departure from them. All nations have equal rights, and this equality is not granted to them but is inseparable from national sovereignty.
59.4 Unfortunately, we are obliged to note that certain nations and peoples still remain in a state of dependency. The sovereign rights of those peoples are flagrantly usurped by the colonial powers which continue presumptuously to consider that the peoples falling under their domination are incapable of exercising their own rights independently. The imperialist-colonizers found it necessary to make this assertion in order to conceal the fact that they had established a régime for the oppression and open plundering of the dependent peoples. However, the irresistible will to life and particularly the recent happy events in Africa completely confute this absurd assertion.
59.5 An ever greater number of dependent countries are becoming aware of their strength; many of them have already thrown off the colonial yoke and have taken the path of free and independent development. Some of these countries have already become members of Unesco and we have had the joy of welcoming them among us. The delegations of these countries together with the delegations of all other countries discuss and settle the serious problems falling within the competence of Unesco. This shows once again that they are completely capable of carrying out the functions of their States in matters of foreign policy.
59.6 It may be asked why the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi, Mauritius and Tanganyika cannot be full Members of Unesco and, like all the Organization's Member States, take part in the settlement of the problems which are common to all peoples. Why does Unesco, whose mission is to combat every kind of discrimination, itself contribute to this discrimination and thus allow itself to be led by the colonial powers?
59.7 Is it not time to put a definite end to this injustice and to show proper respect for these people's rights, unlawfully taken away from them and usurped by the colonial powers? We are of the opinion that the General Conference would be acting correctly if, at the present session, it took a decision whereby Ruanda-Urundi, Mauritius and Tanganyika would be admitted as full Members of Unesco. That would be a just decision. Unesco would show, by deeds and

not by words, that it champions the cause of real equality between great and small nations and rejects all discrimination which is a survival of the shameful colonial system.

59.8 The delegation of the USSR calls on the General Conference to adopt draft resolution 130 concerning the change of the status of Associate Members of Unesco into that of full Members of the Organization. Allow me to read out, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, the draft resolution submitted by the USSR in regard to changing the status of Associate Members of Unesco:

"The General Conference,

Guided by the democratic principles of the equality of rights of nations and peoples and their right to self-determination,

Desirous of assisting in every way the immediate application of the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples",

Condemning colonialism in all its manifestations and forms,

Recognizing that all the peoples represented in Unesco must enjoy equal rights and advantages arising from their membership of Unesco,

Decides to change the status of Associate Members of Unesco into that of full Members of the Organization,

Resolves to revise the Constitution of Unesco and the relevant Rules of Procedure accordingly,

Solemnly declares its readiness to give favourable consideration to applications for admission as full Members of Unesco from countries engaged in a struggle for their national independence and freedom".

59.9 Mr. President, I request that this draft resolution be considered at a meeting of the General Committee.

60.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Since the proposal of the delegate of the Soviet Union is not on the agenda, the draft resolution will be referred to the General Committee.

60.2 We shall now pass on to the next item on the agenda.

ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBER STATES OF THE ORGANIZATION: KUWAIT

60.3 I call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

61. Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President and fellow members, I have to report that at our recent session immediately preceding the General Conference, the Executive Board considered an application from Kuwait for membership of Unesco and unanimously adopted the following resolution: "The Executive Board, considering that the Government of Kuwait applied for membership of Unesco on 25 April 1960, considering that the Director-General, in accordance with Article 2 of the agreement between the United Nations and Unesco, forwarded the application to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for consideration by the Economic and Social Council, considering that the Economic and Social Council at its 30th session decided that it had no objection to the admission of Kuwait to the Organization, decides in accordance with Article 2 of the Constitution of Unesco, to recommend to the General Conference at its eleventh session, that Kuwait be admitted to membership of the Organization". On behalf of the Board, Mr. President, I wish to submit that resolution.

62. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Sir David Eccles, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

63. Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, delegates, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government I should like to support this application from Kuwait for full membership of Unesco. I expect many delegates, like us in the United Kingdom, have admired the progress that Kuwait has made in a great many directions in recent years, and not least in the field of education. If any honourable delegate has been there, he or she will have seen what a good record in the building of modern schools Kuwait has got. They are well worth seeing. Kuwait is responsible for the conduct of its international relations and the rapid evolution of the Kuwaiti State has enabled it to participate increasingly and usefully in the work of the Specialized Agencies. For these reasons Her Majesty's Government considers that Kuwait is amply qualified for the status of full membership, which is now requested. We are confident that this Conference will welcome this important small State to full membership.

64. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Awad, delegate of the United Arab Republic).

65.1 Mr. AWAD (United Arab Republic):

Mr. President, I think you should consider yourself lucky because I did not ask to speak on the question of the African States which have applied for associate membership. I happen to be a specialist in African affairs and a Director of an African institute, and therefore I might be capable of keeping the Conference busy listening to my lecture until tomorrow morning. To make matters easy I shall confine my remarks to Kuwait. Nothing gives me greater pleasure, nor can give any family greater pleasure, than the acquisition of offspring. The Arab family is particularly happy to welcome Kuwait to this great Organization; its entrance is a twofold gain to the Arab people and to Unesco.

65.2 There are several ways of entering Unesco, and Kuwait has chosen to enter in the grand manner, first though the Economic and Social Council, receiving the first welcome there. Then it received a second welcome from the Executive Board. Now the third welcome, when Kuwait is accepted with a warm and affectionate embrace in the bosom of our Organization. I suppose you all realize that Kuwait is not a big power, in fact Kuwait is rather a small power with no territorial ambitions. It has no wish to make any conquests and the idea that it desires to conquer the sub-continent of India, or Australia including Tasmania, is entirely devoid of truth.

65.3 Kuwait is not a colonial power, it is a very

hard working country and very progressive. Before modern economic developments had brought new wealth, Kuwait was particularly interested in fishing for pearls in Arabian waters as its main income. Now, in happier days, Kuwait will gather the new pearls of international cultural relations. Mr. President, I hope that we will accept Kuwait as a full Member of this Organization in the same manner as it was accepted in the Executive Board, with unanimous acclamation.

66.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Kuwait is admitted as the 95th full Member of Unesco.

66.2 I now call upon Mr. Dabbagh, representative of Kuwait.

67.1 Mr. DABBAGH (Kuwait):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, two years ago a member of the Kuwaiti delegation had the honour of taking this rostrum to express the gratitude of Kuwait for being admitted as an Associate Member of Unesco. It gives us great satisfaction now to take this same rostrum again on the occasion of being accepted as a full Member of the Organization. We feel we have ample reason to indulge in a feeling of pride, satisfaction and anticipation of the good that is to come as the result of this decision you have taken today. It is not a little thing for a small country like ours to discover that within two years it has come of age and is admitted on the same footing as the other big nations of the world into full membership of such an international organization as Unesco. That is such an enjoyable experience as only small countries can go through. To these countries I can assume it represents a step forward in the road towards a new world - a world which is the hope of humanity, in which the dignity of man is preserved and in which nations are measured not in terms of their ability to destroy, but by their determination to co-operate for the advancement of all that is noble in man's heritage. Allow me then to extend to you all the gratitude of the Government of Kuwait for allowing us to take our seat among you.

67.2 Our anticipation of the good to come is based on more solid grounds. During the last two years, we sought help from Unesco on more than one occasion. The help given was always prompt and invaluable in whatever field it happened to be - in the reorganization of our public and school libraries, in the erection of a new museum or in the foundation of a new university.

67.3 International organizations may be familiar with the emerging small countries whose economic potentialities cannot cope with the rapid pace of educational and cultural development desired. The need of such countries for international aid is apparent. Kuwait's need for international co-operation springs from another cause. The state of affluence which the country enjoys has made it possible to embark upon a number of educational and social projects on a large scale. During the last decade the school population, for instance, has been multiplied ninefold. There are proportionately more children in the age groups of 6-12 years in the schools of Kuwait than in any other country in the Middle East. These children enjoy not only tuition, but school meals, clothing, and access to other educational facilities as well, completely free. Such an achievement could not have been made solely with the money that we could afford; it was made possible through co-operation with the sister Arab countries to whom we owe a great debt.

67.4 It is with this belief in the need for and value of co-operation among nations that we pledge our word to adhere faithfully to both the word and spirit of Unesco's Constitution. We hope that our contribution, however small it may seem, will help to realize the ideals of freedom, justice and international collaboration which the Organization strives to achieve.

68. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Ndabagumiye, the representative of Ruanda-Urundi.

69.1 Mr. NDABAGUMIYE (Ruanda-Urundi) (Translation from the French):

It is with emotion that I express our gratitude, at this solemn moment, to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for having accepted Ruanda-Urundi as an Associate Member.

69.2 Ruanda-Urundi, which is a Trust Territory of the United Nations, naturally had its eyes turned towards this international Organization which, at the present time, has acquired capital importance in international life. My country is also interested in all the institutions which form part of the great United Nations system. And, in this connexion, Unesco has pride of place, on account of the aims it pursues and the supremely important nature of its task.

69.3 Ruanda-Urundi would also like to take this opportunity of expressing its thanks to Belgium for the good work she has done in the sphere of Unesco's activities, thus making it possible for the Territory to participate directly and independently in such activities.

69.4 Ruanda-Urundi is on the threshold of profound changes in its political structure, for Belgium intends, under the Trusteeship Agreement, to lead the Territory to independence during November 1962. It is therefore more than ever necessary to train staff who will be equal to their tasks and, here, the competence and experience of Unesco can be of most precious help. It is, however, even more important that the education of the people and their political emancipation should go forward hand in hand, if the new institutions are to be of benefit to all. This, however, will require much effort.

69.5 All visitors to Africa are struck by the thirst of its inhabitants for knowledge. This is particularly true of us; your Organization, therefore, will find that our country is fertile ground for the cultivation of the seeds so energetically and generously sown by Belgium in the fields of education, science and culture. Without wishing to be presumptuous, I think I can say that, in return, the spreading of knowledge, through Unesco, of our own particular forms of art and civilization may well add some treasures to the common heritage of mankind. Long live Unesco and long live understanding between all the peoples of the world.

70. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

16 November 1960, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

Presentation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 by the Chairman of the Executive Board . . . 100
Statement by the Director-General on the main lines of the Organization's programme 100
Second vote on the suppression of item 15.6 of the revised agenda of the eleventh session of the General Conference 106

PRESENTATION OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1961-1962 BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Gentlemen, the meeting is open. We begin our work this morning with the presentation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962.

1.2 In accordance with Article V.5(a) of the Constitution, the Executive Board examines the programme of work for the Organization and corresponding budget estimates submitted to it by the Director-General, and submits the programme and budget with such recommendations as it considers desirable to the General Conference.

1.3 The Chairman of the Executive Board will be discharging this duty in a few moments, when he submits the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962.

1.4 Moreover, in conformity with resolution 52.4 adopted by the General Conference at its tenth session, the Director-General is required to make at the opening phase of the General Conference, a statement on the main lines of the Organization's programme.

1.5 I now call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

2.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I have the honour to present the comments of the Executive Board on the programme and budget for 1961-1962. The general observations of the Board together with its remarks upon particular chapters of the programme and budget, including the relevant addenda and corrigenda, are contained in 11 C/5 Add.1, which has been distributed to you.

2.2 The members of the Board would wish me to pay tribute to Mr. El Fasi who was the Chairman of the Board's special working party which undertook the preparatory work on its behalf, and also to another member, Mr. Carneiro, who was the Chairman of another working party which worked in close association with Mr. El Fasi's working party in the elaboration of the draft resolution contained in paragraph 14 of document 11 C/5 Add.1. That resolution will be found on pages 6 and 7, in the English version, and is the important relevant statement for our discussions. In regard to this resolution I undertook to inform the General Conference on behalf of the members of the Executive Board that two-thirds of the members of the Executive Board voted in favour, none voted against, and there were some abstentions.

2.3 The debate on this resolution was quite remarkable in that the members of the Board found themselves obliged to agree that the new programme proposals of the Director-General had to be commended to the General Conference. It then appeared to be reasonable to them that, if the members of the Board approved the ends that the Director-General had in mind, they could not deny him the means. It was in this spirit that some members of the Board assumed the responsibility personally of voting in favour of the new ceiling, although the authority of their governments for any ceiling figure would need to await the arrival of the leaders of their delegations at this Conference. I felt it right that the General Conference should know the strength of conviction that lies behind the Board's recommendation on this important matter, as outlined in the draft resolution in paragraph 14. I present these comments to the General Conference.

STATEMENT BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL ON THE MAIN LINES OF THE ORGANIZATION'S PROGRAMME

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon the Director-General.

4.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman of the Executive Board and delegates, as you have pointed out, Mr.

President, the General Conference, at its tenth session, adopted resolution 52 requesting me, inter alia, to make a statement to the General Conference, describing the main lines of the proposed programme and budget, before the Programme Commission studies that document in detail. As the Programme Commission should be meeting very soon, I am making this statement, to clarify, if possible, its debates.

4.2 I propose to give you as coherent a description as possible of the principal features of the draft which the Secretariat has drawn up in accordance with the directives of the General Conference and which the Executive Board has submitted to you, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, together with its recommendations, mentioned by the Chairman of the Board a few moments ago.

4.3 When this draft was prepared, I bore in mind the opinion expressed by the General Conference at its last session to the effect that it would be reasonable to allow for a moderate increase in the budget for 1961-1962. I refrained, however, from starting off with a total budget figure - as a working hypothesis - within which the estimates for such programme proposals as I decided to make would have to be fitted. I thought it wiser to begin by considering the various aspects of the programme, singling out the obligations which Unesco had already assumed and to which it was committed in future years, and seeing which projects were drawing to an end and what the resulting savings would be, in order to obtain as accurate an idea as possible of the amount of funds that could reasonably be expected to become available for activities requiring consolidation or expansion.

4.4 It was not my intention to disrupt the structure of a programme which was the result of long and valuable experience acquired by the General Conference over the years, from one session to the next. As far as its general outline and methods were concerned, it met the wishes expressed by Member States. It was quite clear to me that it consisted largely of activities known as general, continuing activities, which benefit all Member States and in which Unesco plays the part of an international civil service, and that in addition, it consisted - to a considerable extent also, since this part of it includes the Major Projects - of activities planned on a long-term basis.

4.5 I was also aware of the potentialities, in the sphere of direct action contributing to the Organization's main objectives, of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, now in existence for more than ten years, the Programme of Aid to Member States, established in 1954, which later became the Programme of Participation in the Activities of Member States, and the United Nations Special Fund, founded two years ago. In preparing the future programme, account had to be taken of these methods of action and also, of course, of the extra-budgetary funds which often make it possible to expand certain programme activities considerably.

4.6 Therefore, in preparing the draft now before you, I kept these aspects of the problem in mind. In order to preserve the balance of the programme, I considered it essential to devote special attention to the main factors upon which it depends. In the first place, there is the quantitative relationship between the general activities, to which I referred a few moments ago, and the actual programme operations. The general activities, which form the backbone of the programme, not only ensure the continuity of Unesco's work but also give it the necessary scientific basis. They supply it with an essential substratum which I may be permitted to compare to the part played in science by fundamental research as opposed to applied research. It is therefore unthinkable to try to expand the programme operations at the expense of the general activities, by reducing the appropriations for the latter.

4.7 In the second place, there is the relationship between the budgetary appropriations for the programme operations and the extra-budgetary funds which are used, as you know, for the execution of the programme of direct action. Here, too, a fair balance must be maintained and the importance of some aspects of the programme, especially in the field of cultural activities, which do not benefit by extra-budgetary resources, should not be disregarded.

4.8 Further, as and when the geographical scope of the Organization's activities grows, care must be taken to ensure that the major effort which it is Unesco's duty to make for the benefit of a specific group of countries should neither weaken nor diminish its work in other regions, which meets equally real needs. In other words, the new responsibilities that Unesco is called upon to assume, particularly in connexion with the continent of Africa, imply the continuation, in the most resolute fashion, of its activities in other regions of the world.

4.9 In past years, the General Conference, the Executive Board and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations have quite rightly emphasized the need to concentrate available resources on a certain number of priority objectives. I believe that the draft before you meets this need satisfactorily. This is so, firstly, because the proposed budget increases affect fields of activity which are already of major concern to the Organization. These activities are therefore considerably strengthened. Moreover, the gradual integration of activities undertaken under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund with those provided for in the Regular programme shows far more clearly how they all form an organic whole. The layout of the document also brings out the organic relationship existing between the various types of project since, for the first time, these have been classified in accordance with their objectives and not with the way in which they are financed.

4.10 After these few general remarks, I should now like to speak of some new features of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962.

4.11 With regard to education, it seemed to me that, while continuing the basic studies and research which Unesco has always carried out since its earliest days, the Organization should now expand its responsibilities in this field, in order that they may bear more proportion to the enormous needs now becoming evident throughout the world. To carry out fully one of the tasks devolving upon it under its Constitution, it should - and I am deeply convinced of this - increase its contribution to

practical educational activities in Member States, in order to help them both to expand and improve education as a whole, regarded as a single entity whose component elements cannot be dissociated.

4.12 There can be no doubt that the economic and social advancement of the underdeveloped countries is, as has often been reiterated, the crucial problem of our time. There is certainly no point in reminding you of the extraordinary speeding up of technical progress throughout the world during the last few years. In most countries, the swift expansion of economic activity makes it increasingly imperative to train the experts required for such expansion. Governments are being obliged more and more to anticipate their needs, in the years to come, in industry, agriculture, trade, administration, research, technology and the professions. This quite naturally leads them to revise their curricula, teaching methods and system for the selection of pupils. Moreover, the tendency in almost every country in the world is to consider education as the means of giving individuals an all-round training, which will equip them, not only to exercise a trade or profession, but also to shoulder their responsibilities towards their families, the local community, the national community and even the world community.

4.13 Thus, the very concept of education has changed radically. Hitherto, education has often been considered only as a means of passing on traditional values; it is now deliberately conceived as a factor contributing to the transformation of Man and his environment.

4.14 As I already had the opportunity of saying, when I submitted the report of Unesco to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its last session in July, aid to the less developed countries is becoming an increasingly urgent problem. How can Unesco shirk its responsibilities in a year such as 1960, which is distinguished by the attainment of independence by a large number of countries, especially on the African continent?

4.15 Is it not the duty of the international community, using every means at its disposal, to help these States henceforth to forge their own destiny? It is therefore natural that, in the present circumstances, education - and particularly school education at all levels, scientific and technical education and adult education - should be given much prominence in Unesco's programme.

4.16 In the first place, it is essential to draw up an accurate and systematic list of needs, in order to be able to work out long-term development plans. In this respect, Unesco is benefiting by the experience gained in implementing the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, which was initiated in 1956 and will continue to expand in 1961 and 1962.

4.17 At its last session, the General Conference requested me to conduct surveys of present educational needs in Tropical Africa, Asia and the Arab States.

4.18 Unesco has received extremely effective aid from the Member States in those three regions of the world. Thanks to this - and to this only - it was possible to carry out three surveys successfully within a few months. These surveys enabled the Secretariat and the regional meetings convened for the purpose to assess more accurately the magnitude of the tasks to be accomplished.

4.19 To give an idea of the enormous needs to be met, I shall quote only a few figures. While there are now nearly five million pupils in the primary schools of the Arabic-speaking countries, the school-age population in those countries is estimated at almost 15 million. In 15 Asian countries, it is estimated that about 87 million children of school age are without any schooling facilities and, in these countries, the population is growing constantly. This means that, if the school enrolment figures remained the same in the coming years, the proportion of illiteracy would rise more and more.

4.20 Of the 25 million children of school age in the countries of Tropical Africa, 17 million have no possibility of attending school. The needs of Latin America, calculated at an earlier stage are no less striking. Although remarkable progress has undoubtedly been made in the last few years, which points to an increase in the number of children attending school, considerable efforts have still to be made.

4.21 While the States concerned are devoting the highest possible proportion of their national revenue to the development of their educational systems, they are quite justified in expecting from the entire international community the support and aid which they need. Unesco must therefore act, and with all speed.

4.22 That is why, after consulting the Executive Board, I have included in the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 three groups of projects designed to meet, as far as possible, the wishes expressed by the Member States of the three regions concerned. I estimated that it would be necessary to provide for an increase of about one million dollars in the funds for the development of education in the Arab States, Asia and Tropical Africa. For the last-named region, I have also proposed in document 11 C/5 Add. and Corr. a supplementary programme costing $775,000, to be added to the sums already provided for Africa in the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 (document 11 C/5).

4.23 The attainment of independence this year by a large number of African States, most of which are, I am happy to say, now Member States of Unesco, made it necessary for our Organization to take immediate steps within the general framework of the programme launched for their benefit by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

4.24 However considerable the tasks to be accomplished in the fields of primary and secondary education, it is obvious that systematic efforts must be made, too, to develop technical and vocational training and higher education. I therefore considered it necessary to expand and reinforce these activities also.

4.25 With regard more particularly to higher education, I should like to mention the international study of university admissions, which Unesco and the International Association of Universities have been able to undertake jointly, owing largely to the generous assistance of the Carnegie Corporation. This new feature of our programme is important, not only because of the vital part played by universities in the national life of every country and the

practical results which can be expected of such a study, but also because it has provided an opportunity for a new type of co-operation - which works extremely well - between an intergovernmental organization like Unesco, an international non-governmental association and a private foundation.

4.26 With regard to adult education, I took into account the recommendations of the World Conference on Adult Education held in Montreal last summer. The proposals submitted to you, which affect several chapters of the programme, are designed to give the impetus expected from Unesco in this field.

4.27 The new structure of the Department of Education, the staff of which will have to be increased to the required extent, is designed to equip this department to carry out the programme rationally and efficiently during the next two years.

4.28 The scientific needs of the contemporary world are equally imperative. It is obvious that scientific progress is one of the main conditions for economic and social progress, but the development of science is itself dependent, owing to the fact that research workers are all specialists, upon the degree of development of international co-operation in scientific research.

4.29 The survey on the main trends of inquiry in the field of the natural sciences, undertaken at the request of the General Assembly of the United Nations was conducted under the auspices of the United Nations and Unesco by a special consultant of international standing, Professor Pierre Auger. It provides an extensive panorama of contemporary science, of its achievements as well as its gaps. By clarifying the existing situation as regards research in the various branches of science, it has made it possible to single out a number of objectives for the future, especially in basic research, the exploration of natural resources and the training of scientific and technical personnel. I am sure that this survey, which is very broad in scope, will be studied with interest by the General Conference. It has already inspired some of the proposals appearing in the proposed programme for 1961-1962.

4.30 Among the projects that have led to increased international scientific co-operation, I shall confine myself to mentioning one in the sphere of oceanography, a subject now very much to the fore in the scientific world. The bulk of the additional funds proposed for natural sciences are assigned to a new programme in the marine sciences, based on the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Conference on Oceanographic Research held in Copenhagen last July. It provides for the establishment of an Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission and for close collaboration with the other international organizations concerned.

4.31 In the broad field of the social sciences, the international co-operation of experts and research workers is equally essential. Moreover, it is Unesco's duty to pursue, unceasingly and energetically, its studies and dissemination of information which contribute to the campaign against the scourge of racialism. It seemed to me more than ever necessary to intensify our activity in this respect.

4.32 I cannot fail to mention Unesco's efforts in the sphere of culture, which completes the triptych - education, science and culture - of the present and future activities of the Organization.

4.33 I should like to recall a fact of which you are well aware, namely that, during this budgetary period, Unesco was faced with a problem of the greatest importance. I am referring to the safeguarding of the sites and monuments of Nubia, in danger of being submerged as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam. The launching, last March, with the unanimous agreement of the Executive Board, of its appeal for international co-operation to find the resources needed to save these treasures, was considered as a type of undertaking fully consonant with Unesco's aims. This appeal has already met with a favourable response in many countries and we have received numerous offers to carry out accelerated archaeological excavations in the areas destined to be flooded. However, apart from these excavations, surveys and investigations, we are faced with a practical task of still greater magnitude: that of saving certain monuments from the destruction and submersion threatening them, either by isolating them from the water by means of construction works or by evacuating some of their irreplaceable treasures. The protection of unique wonders like the Abu Simbel Temple and the Island of Philae require the collection and expenditure of considerable sums of money, which can be raised only through the most generous public and private co-operation at the international level. Although this item falls outside the scope of the Regular budget, I felt impelled to draw your attention to this exceptional undertaking, for which Unesco has assumed a large part of the responsibility.

4.34 I should also like to draw attention to the importance of the study of "International Relations and Exchanges in Education, Science and Culture", which was prepared by Unesco, in collaboration with other organizations concerned, at the request of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and which will be the subject of a special debate at this Conference.

4.35 Proposals based on the findings of this survey and bearing on the continuation of activities designed to increase the number of international relations and exchanges, both bilateral and multilateral, already appear in the proposed programme and budget which you are soon to consider. The importance of this study has led me to rename the service responsible the "International Exchange Service", since its functions are henceforth expanded to include other activities in addition to the exchange of persons.

4.36 You will, I am sure, understand if I deal more cursorily with the activities relating to mass communication. The structure of the Department, altered in accordance with the directives of the General Conference, now tallies more exactly with its two principal functions. The programme concerning the free flow of information and the development of information media will be continued resolutely in 1961-1962, while mass media will be used more systematically to promote the ideal of peace and international understanding for which Unesco stands.

4.37 I mentioned earlier that I would confine my remarks to the new features of the programme before you. That is why I have not talked about the Major Projects, with which the General Conference is thoroughly familiar, since it has already discussed them on two occasions. Their objectives

are clearly defined and their implementation will continue along the approved lines. Taking account of the other aspects of the programme of which I have spoken, I did not consider it possible to increase the budget estimates for these projects to any marked extent save for the East-West Major Project, for which the sum provided exceeds the amount for the previous period by about $250,000.

4.38 I should like once again to express my gratitude to the Executive Board, which has given me particularly valuable aid and support during the successive stages that have led up to the submission of the proposed programme and budget in its present form.

4.39 I have taken all the comments and suggestions which it has made to me into consideration wherever possible, and as the Chairman of the Executive Board was kind enough to point out, many of them are reflected in the proposals before you.

4.40 The extraordinary speed with which events have succeeded one another since last summer made it impossible for the Secretariat to bring out the principal document by the prescribed date. In order that the difficulties with which we were faced may not recur in future, I propose, with the approval of the Executive Board, a new time-table for the preparation of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1963-1964. The tide of events also compelled me, contrary to my original intention, to present the proposed programme and budget in a single document, together with two Addenda and Corrigenda, one of which, as I have already stated, contains, in particular my proposals for a supplementary educational programme for Tropical Africa.

4.41 With regard to document 11 C/5 Add. and Corr.II, I should like to draw the Conference's attention to my proposals concerning co-operation with the International Development Association and the Inter-American Development Bank. These two institutions, whose aim is to provide the financial backing for economic and social development, were set up in Washington at the end of September. They have considerable sums at their disposal. They recognize that education is a key factor in economic development and consider that the advisory services of Unesco would be particularly valuable both to their own central organs and to the governments seeking assistance from them. I took the view that Unesco could not shirk this new responsibility, since it cannot hold aloof from a task which is eminently within its sphere of competence and which may have considerable effects on educational development in the Member States involved, mainly in Asia, as far as the International Development Association is concerned, and in Latin America, which is the sphere of interest of the Inter-American Development Bank. I should like to make it clear that there is no question at all of Unesco's taking part in the execution of the programmes or activities financed by these agencies, but only of providing them with the services that they or the beneficiary States may require when preparing the necessary plans. Document 11 C/5 Add. and Corr.II shows only the administrative and budgetary implications of the collaboration which I advocate with the two aforesaid organizations - i.e. a total expenditure of $187,000 - but all the relevant information can be found in documents 11 C/31 and 11 C/32.

4.42 Owing to the late date at which these proposals had to be submitted to it, the Executive Board, in expressing its interest in the initiative which I had taken in this respect and in giving its approval to it, adopted a resolution in which it submits these proposals to the General Conference, but without including the above-mentioned sum in the provisional spending level, which, after examining the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, it recommends for approval to the General Conference "together with such additional funds as the General Conference may decide to be necessary for co-operation with the above organizations".

4.43 In connexion with the development of the situation in the Congo, I also had to submit to the Executive Board at a recent date a report on Unesco's participation in the civilian operations of the United Nations in that country. I thought that the Organization, as a contribution to the combined efforts of the United Nations family in the Congo, should meet the cost of the salaries of the principal administrative and executive staff responsible for directing this undertaking, the object of which, I would remind you, is to re-establish the educational system of the country, particularly at the secondary and higher levels. After my consultations with the Executive Board last week, and bearing in mind the comments made during its debate on this subject, the proposals I submit to the General Conference in document 11 C/34 have additional budgetary implications amounting to $144,000.

4.44 In these circumstances, the total increase of $4,958,665 over the 1959-1960 budget can be broken down as follows: 81% for Programme Operations and Services (Part II), 14% for Common Services (Part IV) and 7% for General Administration (Part III). A reduction of 2% is possible under Part I as a result of various savings.

4.45 And now, I consider it my bounden duty, as Head of the Secretariat, to draw the Conference's attention to the fact that, in most of its areas of work, the Secretariat has reached the utmost limit of the effort which it is capable of making. I am not thinking only of the size of the staff, which is barely adequate, but also, and above all, of the buildings which have become too small, less than two years after the completion of the Headquarters. I must emphasize the seriousness of this situation, which should be examined with the greatest care and remedied as quickly as possible; otherwise, the Secretariat, the essential instrument for the execution of the programme, may find itself deprived of the means which are indispensable if it is to go on working efficiently.

4.46 Following my consultations with the Headquarters Committee, which I have kept fully up to date in regard to this important problem, I have submitted to the General Conference a project for the construction of a new Headquarters building. Several alternative methods of financing it have been considered and they must now be examined by the Headquarters Committee and afterwards by the Administrative Commission. However, it is already clear that if the Conference approves the solution which I recommend - and which would consist in paying off the cost of the building in eight years - a further sum of $1,234,000 will have to be added to the total expenditure for 1961-1962.

4.47 To summarize; the proposed budget amounts to $30,929.128 - an increase of $4,958,665, or 19.09%, over 1959-1960.
4.48 In addition, the Conference will have to consider the draft resolutions already handed in by Brazil and the United States of America for a budgetary increase even greater than that which I myself have proposed; it will also have to consider over one hundred draft resolutions proposing either additional expenditure for activities already included in the proposed programme, or for new projects. These proposals of Member States - coming from all over the world - show how keen they are to expand Unesco's activities. I am sure that the Programme Commission will consider them most carefully and, at this stage, it is not my task to make recommendations to the Conference in this respect; but I wished to mention this important aspect of the task incumbent upon it during the current session, and I am confident that it will bear it in mind when the time comes - as it soon will - to fix the provisional budget ceiling.
4.49 Finally, I would repeat what I have already said, namely, that the funds required to finance the construction of a fourth building, which constitute an extraordinary item of expenditure, will have to be added to the total of the Regular budget.
4.50 I now submit the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 to you for study and reflection. I am perfectly well aware that the resources available to the Organization are insignificant in comparison with the tremendous needs which have still to be met in the world today. During the year, I have repeatedly referred, whenever I had an opportunity, to the benefits that mankind could derive from the plan for general and complete disarmament contemplated by the United Nations General Assembly in the resolution which it adopted last year. That plan would enable us to serve still better the cause of education, science and culture throughout the world. Meanwhile our first duty is to be ready to carry out our task with such means as may be available to us. However, I for my part am certain that the studies and surveys conducted in the last few years, and particularly during the current two-year period, have prepared Unesco to assume with greater maturity and efficiency the responsibilities which might devolve upon it, should that plan be put into effect.
4.51 Very soon the Programme Commission and then this assembly and all the other organs of the Conference will be starting their work and assuming their responsibilities. But I should not like to see, in this effort to meet the urgent and tremendous needs existing in the world and particularly in the countries of Africa, these responsibilities becoming a cause of rivalry between the Director-General and the General Conference. I would rather - and I am sure this will be the case - see our respective responsibilities smoothly co-ordinated for the greater good of the Organization and its future, for the greater good of education, science and culture, for the greater good of peace in the world.

5.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

After the addresses given by the Chairman of the Executive Board and the Director-General, to which you have just listened, the Programme Commission will now hold its first meeting in Room II.
5.2 The plenary meeting will continue. We shall begin by considering the General Committee's recommendation with regard to the time-limits for the submission of amendments to the proposed programme and budget, after which a second vote will be taken on the proposal to delete item 15.6 of the revised agenda.
5.3 I call upon the Secretary to read the General Committee's recommendation.

6.1 Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, here is the recommendation which the General Committee is submitting to the General Conference with regard to the time-limits for the submission of draft amendments to the proposed programme and budget.
6.2 The General Conference,

Recalling Rule 108 of its Rules of Procedure,

Considering that, owing to circumstances beyond his control, the Director-General was unable to communicate the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 to Member States by the prescribed date,

Considering that, in these circumstances, certain Member States have been unable to adhere to the time-limits laid down by Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference for the submission of proposals for the adoption by the General Conference of amendments to the proposed programme and budget which involve the undertaking of new activities or a substantial increase in budgetary expenditures, or which involve increases or decreases in the total budget ceiling proposed by the Director-General,

Decides to suspend the effect of paragraphs 2 and 5 of Rule 78 of its Rules of Procedure;

Decides to fix 7 November 1960 as the latest date for the submission by Member States to the General Conference of proposals covered by paragraphs 2 and 5 of Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon the Head of the delegation of Brazil, H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro.

8.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and delegates, I should like to begin by expressing my support for the proposal made by the Director-General and approved by the General Committee. At the same time, however, I should like to ask this assembly to take into account a small amendment which I proposed to the General Committee this morning, but which it did not adopt. As my proposal was unacceptable to the majority of the Committee, I can only appeal to the General Conference, in the hope that it will agree to its insertion in the draft resolution submitted to us by the Director-General. This amendment relates to the date at which proposals concerning the fixing of the budget ceiling would be receivable. You know, fellow delegates, that this year we have to observe a new provision (paragraph 5 of Rule 78),

under which proposals for increases or decreases in the total budget ceiling proposed by the Director-General must be submitted in writing and must reach the Director-General at least six weeks before the opening of the session; the Director-General then communicates them as soon as possible to Member States and Associate Members. Within this prescribed time-limit, two proposals to alter the ceiling suggested by the Director-General were made, one of them by the Government of Brazil and the other by the Government of the United States of America. These two proposals are therefore perfectly in order.

8.2 The Conference will now have before it four different figures for the budget ceiling, and will have to vote for the one which it deems most appropriate.

8.3 In the first place, there is the figure proposed by the Executive Board, fixing the ceiling at $30,597,628; that of the Director-General, fixing it at $30,929,128; the proposal of the Brazilian Government for a ceiling of $31,460,628 and that of the Government of the United States of America for a ceiling of $31,597,628.

8.4 In the hope of securing acceptance of a proposal which will take all these factors into account and may facilitate the Conference's choice, I suggest that the following amendment be included in the last paragraph of the proposal approved by the General Committee this morning: "Decides to fix 7 November 1960 as the latest date for the submission by Member States to the General Conference of proposals covered by paragraph 2 of Rule 78 of the Rules of Procedure, and 16 November" - that is today - "as the latest date for the submission of proposals covered by paragraph 5 of Rule 78". This might perhaps enable us, Mr. President, to submit to the meeting this afternoon a proposal for the budget ceiling which would not only contrive to reconcile the slight differences in the figures I have referred to, but would also make it possible to take into account to some extent - if only a very slight one - the approximately 200 draft resolutions of which you are aware and for which neither the Director-General's proposal nor the proposals of Brazil and the United States have been able to make allowance.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

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

10.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America):

Mr. President, I appreciate, and with great understanding, the spirit in which the distinguished delegate of Brazil has presented this suggestion that we change the date on which the ceiling of the budget shall be fixed. But I believe that there are practical considerations which make this extremely difficult, if not impossible, to do. I listened with great interest to the explanation of the Chairman of the Administrative Commission when he described all the complications of the work of that Commission which accompanied the preparation of the budget and the ceiling of the budget. I know also that every one of the delegations here assembled has received instructions from their government on the question of how much they can contribute to the Unesco budget; delay would ensue if new instructions had to be received as the result of the extension of the date. We are all anxious to give the fullest possible assistance to the African nations and other areas of the world. I simply say that the evidence of the United States' goodwill in this respect is written into the proposal which we have already made. But we have been here already a long time, let us get down to the business of this Conference which we cannot do if we keep on extending dates and listening to more proposals. We have serious work to do, and I believe that if we extend this date from 5 November to 16 November, someone with just as good reason may suggest that we postpone it another week. We shall then be arguing continually about the question of extending the date and not attending to the substance of the Conference itself.

10.2 So, Mr. President, I respectfully suggest that we adhere to the proposal of the Director-General and that we accept the recommendations of the General Committee.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Is the motion of the Head of the delegation of Brazil to amend the recommendation of the General Committee seconded?

11.2 The motion is not seconded.

11.3 The Conference will therefore decide on the General Committee's recommendation, which must be passed by a two-thirds majority.

11.4 The recommendation is adopted unanimously.

SECOND VOTE ON THE SUPPRESSION OF ITEM 15.6 OF THE REVISED AGENDA OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

11.5 We shall now continue with the next item of the agenda. You will remember that, at the plenary meeting yesterday afternoon, the proposal to suppress item 15.6 of the agenda resulted in an equally divided vote - 30 in favour and 30 against. Under Rule 90 of the Rules of Procedure, the General Conference will now proceed to a second vote on the same item.

11.6 I call upon the Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to speak on a point of order.

12.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the speeches made by certain delegates yesterday on the subject of the agenda showed that the Soviet proposal regarding item 15.6 had been slightly misunderstood. I would therefore beg leave to explain our position briefly. We did not, as suggested here, recommend reopening the discussion on the specifically military and political aspects of disarmament, for such matters come within the province of the United Nations. Unesco has other tasks. It is stated in our Organization's Constitution that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. The reason why we proposed item 15.6 was simply that the armaments problem has assumed such proportions that it threatens to destroy all our efforts in the fields of education, culture and science.

12.2 We have just heard the statement by the Director-General. It contained many interesting and positive points, raising such concrete problems as those of museums and landscapes. That is all very well. But does the world have any guarantees that all the useful and necessary measures proposed can be carried into effect? Are there any guarantees that war will not break out, and that bombs will not begin to fall on our schools, our museums and our homes? That is why the Soviet Union is so intent on raising this issue.

12.3 There has been talk of museums, indeed. But not so long ago, during the last war, 427 museums, 82,000 schools and 42,000 libraries were destroyed in our country. Over 200 of our writers perished during the war. The point at issue is whether bombs will once again fall on our museums, our homes, our theatres and our schools.

12.4 If all were going well in the United Nations, if the United Nations had already reached agreement on disarmament, it would be inappropriate for us to raise the matter here. But as you are aware, no agreement in the matter has yet been reached in the United Nations. We have no intention of developing a discussion on disarmament, but we consider it our duty in the context of Unesco's tasks to express our moral and intellectual concern with the problems of disarmament.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon the delegate of the United States of America, after which we shall proceed to vote.

14.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America):

Mr. President, I wonder if it would not be possible to ask the Secretariat to arrange for a meeting where some of the delegates could learn about parliamentary procedure?

14.2 I rise, Mr. President, on a point of order, to ask if it would not be possible for the Chairman of the Executive Board to explain exactly the proposition on which we are about to vote.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board.

16.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the matter now under discussion stems from a resolution passed by the Executive Board at its 55th session and to which the Director-General referred in his intervention in the debate yesterday. For the information of the Conference, I would say that when this matter was discussed in the Executive Board a basic resolution was submitted by one of the members which I think I am fair in saying did not, in its form, command the confidence and support of the majority of the members of the Board. At the same time, with that spirit of co-operation which I am happy to say is characteristic of the Executive Board, it was decided to form a working party to see whether some general agreement could be reached. Here again, I am happy to say that, as often occurs, general agreement was reached in the resolution which was later unanimously passed by the Executive Board.

16.2 I shall read the relevant parts of that resolution to the members of the Conference. The operative introductory section is designed more particularly to contribute to the creation of relations of trust and peaceful co-operation between States in conformity with the aforesaid resolution, and is, I think, in line with the concluding paragraphs of the Director-General's statement this morning introducing the programme and budget. That is to say, the aim of the resolution was to reaffirm the Executive Board's belief in the principles for which Unesco stands. It then went on to decide that the Organization should continue to take all appropriate measures to bring about the formation in all Member States of a climate of opinion favourable to the achievement of the objects of the United Nations resolution. There is a reaffirmation that what we are engaged in, if I may venture to say so, is the pursuit of international co-operation and mutual understanding, through education, science and culture. We reaffirm in that resolution that what the members of the Programme Commission are now doing is seeking ways and means, with the money that we will give them, to enable them to do that work.

16.3 The second thing that we said was that the Director-General might, when the United Nations had achieved agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, give a report on measures which might be adopted, etc. I have no need to remind you, ladies and gentlemen, that that situation has not been reached, and therefore that there is no obligation on the Director-General or the Executive Board to engage itself upon entirely theoretical lucubrations.

16.4 The third point made in the resolution is that the Director-General should submit to the Executive Board, as soon as feasible, proposals for the utilization of the resources. As the resources have not become available, there is no obligation on the Director-General or the Executive Board to proceed to make proposals to anybody because the resources are not there. And finally it calls for continuing information to be given to the members of the Executive Board concerning ways and means in which the programme and the work of the Organization is continuing to serve the aim which was set out at the beginning - to contribute to the creation of relations of trust and peaceful co-operation between Member States. I wish to repeat and to assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that no meeting of the Executive Board passes but that the Director-General does not, in the course of either the printed or cyclostyled or oral statements, have regard to these general aims. The Executive Board is satisfied that the Organization is consistently working to these ends.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

We shall now proceed immediately to vote on the suppression of item 15.6 of the revised agenda.

18. (The vote was taken by roll-call.

Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Haiti, Iran, Israel,

Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.

Voted against: Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ceylon, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Guinea, Hungary, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

Abstained: Afghanistan, Austria, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Federation of Malaya, Nepal, New Zealand, Peru, Switzerland, Thailand.

Absent: Albania, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Iraq, Liberia, Niger, Saudi Arabia, Somalia).

19.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Here is the result of the vote: 36 in favour of the suppression of item 15.6 of the revised agenda, 26 against, 20 abstentions and 9 absent.

19.2 Item 15.6 is therefore deleted from the revised agenda.

19.3 I now call upon H.E. Mr. Lund, Head of the delegation of Sweden.

20. Mr. LUND (Sweden):

Mr. President, I have come to this rostrum to say that the Swedish delegation voted in favour of retaining this item on the agenda as it seemed to us to imply only that Unesco must continue its work and be prepared for the time when disarmament and effective international control has been achieved, and this in full conformity with the declarations of the Director-General yesterday and of the Chairman of the Executive Board today.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon H.E. Mr. Kahuda, Head of the delegation of Czechoslovakia.

22.1 Mr. KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the Russian):

I should like to say a few words in explanation of our delegation's vote: the results of the vote on the subject of the Director-General's report on action taken for the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Executive Board on 15 December 1959, at its 55th session, make it necessary for the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia to explain its point of view in greater detail. Our Government set great store on the Executive Board's resolution expressing the international Organization's readiness to make a contribution towards the solution of this most burning issue of the day - a contribution which would have undoubtedly enhanced Unesco's prestige among all those actively concerned with science, culture and education.

22.2 The reason why the Czechoslovak delegation voted against the deletion of item 15.6 from the agenda is that the objectives of keeping the world free of armaments and armies and ridding it of the threat of war form the bedrock of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, which has the backing of the entire nation. These principles of the peaceful development and coexistence of States are embodied in the new Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia adopted this year.

22.3 It is no easy task, admittedly, to work out ways of producing mutual understanding between peoples and of creating new relationships between them, especially as this task has never before acquired such capital significance. Small wonder, then, that mankind is finding this problem difficult to solve. This makes it all the more important, therefore, to support this noble endeavour, and Unesco is in a better position than any other organization to discharge such a mission. It was precisely this question which was dealt with in the Board resolution requesting the Director-General to continue to take all appropriate measures to bring about the function, in all States, of a climate of opinion favourable to the achievement of the objects defined in the resolution on general and complete disarmament unanimously adopted by the United Nations.

22.4 The Czechoslovak delegation cannot accept the arguments advanced by those who claim that Unesco is not in a position to take any action so long as no agreement has been reached on general and complete disarmament, and that it is first of all necessary to arrive at such an agreement on the political level.

22.5 The fallacy of such reasoning, which consciously or unconsciously borders on sabotage of peace and disarmament, is obvious. The conclusion of an agreement is, of course, the business of political organs; but if we believe that disarmament is the key issue of mankind today, we have no right to sit back and wait, and we should do everything possible in our own particular field to help solve this problem, regardless of the present results of the political negotiations. In fact, we should exert even greater efforts the larger the number of difficulties that arise in the political sphere.

22.6 At literally every step we come up against a series of questions which are directly within our purview as an international organization dealing with education, science and culture. For example, one argument advanced against general and complete disarmament is that disarmament presupposes confidence, and that confidence is lacking today. But if we wish to avoid the old error of puzzling our brains in order to decide which came first, the chicken or the egg, we can only say that disarmament is a prerequisite for confidence, just as confidence is needed for disarmament. Any sensible person will readily appreciate the tremendous part that the education of children and adults can play in this connexion, and the responsibility resting on the shoulders of those in charge of information media. It is precisely in this particular field that we can and must make an important contribution.

22.7 The results of today's vote do not relieve Unesco of its responsibility as far as education is concerned. Whether we like it or not, we shall sooner or later have to turn our attention to this matter. The question of general and complete

disarmament will become a central link in our activities, which means that it will be necessary not only to concentrate our full attention on it but also to set aside budget funds. Too much time has already been lost, yet the danger remains - the danger of procrastination. That is all I had to say to explain our vote.

23.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

The time of the next meeting, to be held tomorrow, will be settled by the General Committee.

23.2 The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

18 November 1960, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

Report of the President on the first meeting of the General Committee of the Conference and adoption of the proposed organization of work of the eleventh session 110
Address by the Minister of Education of Ceylon 110
Explanation of votes on the question of the deletion of item 15.6 of the agenda 111
Adoption of the first report of the Administrative Commission (Part I) 112
Address by H.E. Father Rapaille, Head of the delegation of Haiti 117

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT ON THE FIRST MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE AND ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED ORGANIZATION OF WORK OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The sixth plenary meeting is called to order. Before turning to the items on the agenda of this morning's meeting, it is my duty to submit to the Conference a report on the first meeting of the General Committee, which took place yesterday morning.

1.2 The General Committee considered the request for the inclusion of a new item on the agenda submitted by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: "Statement on the grant of independence to the colonial countries and peoples".

1.3 For the purpose of considering this request and the suggestions made by several members of the Committee, the General Committee decided to appoint a working party from among its members to include the representatives of the following Member States: Brazil, France, Ghana, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

1.4 In addition, the Chairman of the Executive Board submitted the proposed organization of work of the eleventh session of the General Conference.

1.5 As no objections were raised in the General Committee to the proposals made in the Executive Board document, or to those contained in document 11 C/2 Rev., submitted by the Director-General and relating to the organization of work of the Programme Commission and the constitution of working parties, I imagine that the General Conference will in its turn approve these proposals without discussion.

1.6 Are there no objections? The proposals of the Executive Board and the Director-General are approved. The proposed organization of work of the eleventh session of the General Conference contained in documents 11 C/2 and 11 C/2 Rev. is accordingly adopted, subject to any changes which the General Conference, the Commissions and Committees may see fit to make, on the proposal of the General Committee in the course of the session.

1.7 The plan for the organization of work provides for the general debate on the reports of the Director-General on the activities of the Organization in 1958 and 1959 to take place in plenary session from 21 to 25 November.

1.8 So far, 60 delegations have notified their intention of participating in this general debate.

1.9 As already announced in the Conference Journal, delegations which have not yet handed in their names are asked to do so by this evening. The list of countries and speakers will appear in the Journal of 19 November and be submitted to the General Committee at its meeting on the morning of 19 November.

1.10 Before going on to the main item on this morning's agenda, which is the first report of the Administrative Commission on items 23.2.2 and 23.2.1 of the agenda, I shall be calling on the delegates of Cuba and Uruguay who have asked to be allowed to explain their votes at the last plenary meeting. The two delegations concerned have promised me that their explanations will be very short.

ADDRESS BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION OF CEYLON

1.11 I have pleasure in announcing the presence among us this morning of H.E. Mr. Mahmud Badiudin, Minister of Education and Broadcasting of Ceylon, who is passing through Paris and would like to give a message of friendship and encouragement to the General Conference.

1.12 I call upon Mr. Mahmud Badiudin.

2.1 Mr. BADIUDIN (Ceylon):

Mr. President, my first words are words of thanks to express my sincere gratitude to you, Sir, and to the distinguished representatives of so many nations assembled here for according me the privilege of speaking to you at this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco.

2.2 I should like, as the Minister of Education of Ceylon, to say in all humility that I consider this gesture on your part as an honour to my country rather than to me, who am only its loyal servant. My country, Sir, since the attainment of political independence in 1948, and more especially since the establishment in 1956 of what has been rightly called a People's Government, has been engaged in the arduous task of nation building. In so doing however, we have not been unmindful of our responsibilities to the comity of nations. We have been a member of Unesco since 1949 and, according to our strength and the means at our command, have tried to fulfil our responsibilities towards this organization whose lofty aim, the establishment of the defences of peace in the minds of men, is so closely linked with our own spiritual aspirations.

2.3 I should like to recall that my country was one of the first to assist in breaking down the barriers which keep man from man, by ratifying the Unesco agreement on the importation of educational, scientific and cultural materials. We have of late become a member of the international centre at Rome for the preservation and restoration of cultural property. We have been among the first signatories to the *International Convention for the Exchange of Official Publications*. It would be possible to add many other items to this list but I have mentioned these efforts not as evidence of achievement but rather as proof of our dedication to the causes that spur Unesco to noble endeavour. We recall with pride that it was long ago that we began the implementation of one of Unesco's main goals, namely, the provision of educational opportunity for all our people.

2.4 Ceylon is a land of ancient culture where people of many races and creeds have for centuries lived in harmony, making distinctive contributions to a common cultural heritage. One of the chief features of this heritage has been a search for enlightenment, particularly through the portals of knowledge. In pursuance of this effort, love of education has always characterized our people. It is no matter for surprise, therefore, that in spite of many political vicissitudes, Ceylon enjoys very high literacy, about 80%, the second highest of any country in Asia.

2.5 We have a system of free education from the kindergarten to the university and even beyond. It was as a result of this broad basis of education that we were able to institute universal adult suffrage very early in the history of modern Asia, and have been able to conduct the elections of political bodies in an orderly manner. There has never been in our country any discrimination in the implementation of education; there is no discrimination in the salaries paid to teachers on the basis of sex; free books and free midday meals are provided to such children as need them. We have three universities, two of which are devoted especially to the study of the culture of the East.

2.6 As a result of various circumstances over which we have had no control, our education in recent times has had rather a haphazard development. I have had the privilege of introducing in Parliament a few weeks ago a Bill whose aim is to provide a unified system of education for the whole country. In the system of education which we envisage, special emphasis will be placed on the necessity of imparting to the children a sense of spiritual values, for it is a part of our tradition that above all man is a spiritual being. The fulfilment of this aim will necessarily call for the solution of numerous and complex problems.

2.7 It is in this connexion, in particular, that I should like to take this opportunity of expressing our desire to enlist the assistance of this Organization in the great tasks that lie ahead of us. We are fully aware of the assistance given by Unesco to many countries including ours, and I should like to make special mention of the assistance given to Ceylon in the teaching of science in schools, indeed, a Unesco mission is working in Ceylon at present.

2.8 As I have already indicated, we have made what we consider to be great strides in satisfying our educational needs, but a great deal more remains to be done and we feel that we have shown by the successes that have so far attended our efforts that we deserve the assistance of those who are in a position to help in the task of national development in other countries. We propose, therefore, at the proper time and in the proper place, to make known our requirements, but I should like to make an appeal to you now to help us in our endeavour to the best of your ability. Throughout her history Ceylon has been a good neighbour. She has long served as a centre for the dissemination of culture. While we look back with pride into our past, we look forward with hope and confidence to being able to play our part in the advancement of knowledge and the happiness of mankind.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I thank the Minister of Education of Ceylon for his remarkable statement and am sure that the Conference will bear all his advice in mind. For its part, the Conference hopes that Ceylon will co-operate fully with Unesco.

EXPLANATION OF VOTES ON THE QUESTION OF THE DELETION OF ITEM 15.6 OF THE AGENDA

3.2 I now call upon H.E. Mr. Lazo, Head of the delegation of Cuba.

4.1 Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and delegates, in view of the President's request, I shall try to explain the vote of my delegation as briefly as possible.

4.2 Cuba wishes to state that it favoured, and voted for the idea of discussing the question of disarmament within the framework of Unesco, in other words, with reference to education, science and culture, mainly because, in so doing, Unesco would be fulfilling a duty placed upon it by its Constitution.

4.3 We hold, and shall continue to hold, that this motion is neither for or against any State, or any Unesco official, and has no specific case in mind.
4.4 It is the Cuban view that specific cases of this kind are a matter for other international organizations, the United Nations, for instance. Luckily for us, Unesco is concerned with general cases, ideological problems and trends in education, science and culture. That being so, an opportunity should always be given here to debate the question of disarmament, just as it is for that of illiteracy, for example, and other similar questions.
4.5 The delegation of Cuba accordingly voted in that sense, considering that it was our duty under the Unesco Constitution to discuss the question of disarmament. And in that connexion, I might say that, to our honour, we in Unesco are more often concerned with duties than with rights.
4.6 For the reasons I have given, Cuba voted in the way I have outlined and therefore rejects as incorrect any other version of its motives or aims, such as those attributed to it by certain writers in the English-language press.
4.7 Cuba, voting objectively and without prejudging the issue will come down in favour of discussing any such general topic that may be included in the agenda, including such matters as the creation in the world of an atmosphere conducive to peace or the eradication of illiteracy throughout the world. Its vote cannot have any political implications, nor have we any specific cases in mind. It is purely a matter of general questions, of duties which, I repeat, are laid upon us by the very Constitution of Unesco.
4.8 These reasons alone, to the exclusion of whatever narrow or petty interpretations that may have been placed on our vote, have impelled Cuba, and will prompt it on future occasions to vote for the inclusion of these items of general interest which, as educators, scientists and men of culture, we have the duty of discussing and developing, without any let or hindrance on procedural grounds. Cuba is convinced that procedural law must never prevail over substantive law.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon H.E. Mr. Eduardo Pons, Head of the delegation of Uruguay.

6.1 Mr. PONS (Uruguay) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President and delegates, I should like to explain the two votes cast by the delegation of Uruguay at the plenary sessions on 15 and 16 November with regard to the inclusion of an item on disarmament in the agenda of this Conference.
6.2 My country has always been by tradition - and still is with heart and soul - a firm partisan of disarmament. It has supported the cause of disarmament whenever the subject has been raised at meetings of competent and appropriate bodies. In the votes that have been declared, we acted strictly in accordance with the substance of the proposal submitted to the assembly, considering that it would be out of place for Unesco, an agency primarily concerned with education, science and culture, to deal with a subject so complex and remote from its objectives as disarmament. That is our position and the significance of our vote.
6.3 Nor can we accept the argument advanced in favour of discussing this subject, that the arms' race will lead to war and thus bring about the downfall of education, science and culture. If we were to adopt so sweeping a criterion, Unesco would have to consider every international and political problem as a potential threat to peace and, therefore, to culture.
6.4 There are other international bodies which are competent to discuss these problems, and we should avoid at all costs turning Unesco into a political organ.
6.5 I am authorized to state, Mr. President, that this explanation of vote also stands good, as far as disarmament is concerned, for the other delegations and fellow-countries of Latin America, who, too, are staunch advocates of disarmament.

ADOPTION OF THE FIRST REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION (PART I)

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call on Mr. Dovey, Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission.

8.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:
Mr. President, I have the honour to present Part I of the first report of the Administrative Commission (11 C/14). The Commission has worked hard and rapidly in order that this report might be presented to you today. Its first working meeting was held only two days ago.
8.2 The document is numbered 11 C/14 Part I. Part II will be presented for your consideration at a later date. You will notice that in the text before you the first two paragraphs of Part II are included, but in fact we shall not be discussing these paragraphs this morning. Indeed, the Commission itself has expressed the wish to see them again before they are presented to you, so I would ask you to ignore paragraphs 12 and 13 in the text before you; these two paragraphs will be presented to you later on with the remainder of 11 C/14 Part II.
8.3 There is a small correction to be made in the French and Spanish versions: in the second line of paragraph 5 the word "political" should be deleted. This correction has been made in the English and Russian versions but has not been made in the French and Spanish versions, I shall be grateful if delegates will delete the word "political" from the second line of paragraph 5 of the French and Spanish versions.
8.4 The first part of the Commission's report deals with a number of questions related to the contributions of Member States. The various proposals which the Commission had before it are set out in document 11 C/ADM/5. The report (11 C/14) contains five draft resolutions and I will deal with the subject matter of each one in turn.
8.5 The first two paragraphs are purely introductory. Then paragraphs 3-7 deal with a proposal to reduce the percentage contribution of the Republic of China and to reduce and amortize its debt in respect of past years. This proposal was the subject of a report by the Executive Board which recommended

the acceptance of the proposal and a number of consequential measures. The Administrative Commission endorses the Board's view and recommends that the General Conference adopt the draft resolution proposed by the Executive Board and set out without amendment in paragraph 7 of the Commission's report (11 C/14).

8.6 Under the general heading Collection of Contributions, paragraph 8 (a) deals with the right to vote of two Member States - Honduras and Bolivia - whose contributions have been in arrears, but who have now taken steps to pay substantial portions of their arrears. The Administrative Commission recommends adoption of the draft resolution in paragraph 8 (a).

8.7 Paragraph 8 (b) deals with the special arrangements for the collection of the contributions of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. The circumstances which led to the making of special arrangements in the past for these three Member States are described in detail in paragraphs 9-13 of Part III of document 11 C/ADM/5. The Administrative Commission recommends that the General Conference should adopt the draft resolution in 11 C/14 paragraph 8 (b). This refers in fact to the main draft resolution on the currency of contributions set out in paragraph 9, and notably to the provision which authorizes the Director-General to accept payment from any Member States in the national currency of a Member State where he considers that there is a foreseeable need of a substantial amount in that currency.

8.8 Paragraph 8 (c) is the record of the statements made by a number of Member States in connexion with the payment of contributions.

8.9 Paragraph 9 contains the draft resolution on the currency of contributions. This draft follows the lines of corresponding provisions in earlier years and the Administrative Commission accordingly recommends its adoption by the General Conference.

8.10 Paragraph 10 deals with the scale of contributions, that is to say the list of the portions of the assessment level in the budget attributable to each Member State, expressed as a percentage. The Administrative Commission was faced with a choice between the two methods of calculating the list set out in document 11 C/ADM/5 Part I and Annex I. The Commission, like the Director-General, is in favour of the first alternative, under which assessments on new Member States will not be incorporated in the scale for 1961-1962 but will be treated as miscellaneous revenue. This procedure would be the same as the one adopted recently by the United Nations in respect of contributions for 1961. There will be no general revision of the United Nations scale until 1962. The proposed resolution on the subject of the scale is given at the end of paragraph 10 of the report (11 C/14) and the Commission recommends its acceptance by the General Conference. Paragraph 11 records a statement by the delegation of China.

8.11 In conclusion, it may be of assistance to the Conference to sum up the main provisions of this Part I of the Commission's first report (11 C/14). Paragraph 7 presents a draft resolution on the proposals concerning the contribution of the Republic of China. Paragraph 8 (a) presents a draft resolution about the right to vote of Honduras and Bolivia, whose contributions have been in arrears. Paragraph 8 (b) is a draft resolution about the special arrangements for the contributions of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Paragraph 9 presents a draft resolution about the currency of contributions. Finally, paragraph 10 is a draft resolution concerning the scale of contributions. These are the five draft resolutions which the Administrative Commission proposes that the General Conference should adopt and which I have the honour to commend to you in the name of the Commission.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I thank the Rapporteur for his statement. Discussion of the report of the Commission is now open. I call on H.E. Mr. Slipchenko, Head of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

10.1 Mr. SLIPCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President, fellow delegates, on behalf of the delegations of the Soviet Union and of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, I wish to state that the discussion of any question relating to China, without the participation of its lawful representatives, is inadmissible, and the Governments of our countries will consider any decisions taken on matters concerning China as illegal.

10.2 In the report which has just been submitted to the consideration of the General Conference, the Administrative Commission recommends adoption of a resolution regarding contributions and arrears in payments of contributions by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In this connexion, allow me to remind you that the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, together with many other delegations, when the agenda was being discussed, rejected attempts to place on the Member States, including the economically underdeveloped countries, the burden of paying the contributions of the Chiang Kai-shek people in Unesco. We firmly declare now, as we did before, that the Chiang Kai-shek clique can in no way be considered as representing China. We shall never grow tired of repeating that the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, elected by the Chinese people and exercising full authority over all Chinese territory, is alone entitled to represent China.

10.3 Many delegations here and at the session of the Administrative Commission strongly objected to the discussion of a question concerning China in the absence of its lawful representatives. Once again an attempt is being made to impose upon us an illegal decision, namely to consider the question of contributions in the absence of the representatives of the Chinese people.

10.4 It is also well-known to all that after the failure of the manoeuvre regarding "undistributed appropriations", a new method is now being imposed upon us, which is aimed at obliging the Member States, including the economically underdeveloped countries, to pay for the presence in Unesco of the Chiang Kai-shek ghosts. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic once more states categorically that the discussion of any question regarding China, without the participation of her lawful representatives is an absolutely inadmissible act.

10.5 Our delegation is authorized to state that the authorities of the Soviet Union and of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will consider any decisions taken on this question as unlawful; we have already spoken in this sense in the Administrative Commission. We shall therefore vote against the recommendation contained in the report of the Administrative Commission on the question of the contributions of the Chiang Kai-shek people.

10.6 Mr. President, permit me now to put forward our views regarding the scale of payments for 1961-1962. The Administrative Commission recommends adoption of a resolution which, in connexion with the reduction of the contribution of the Chiang Kai-shek people, will entail an increase in the percentage of the contributions of the Member States of Unesco, despite the increased membership of our Organization. One is bound to ask the question: why indeed should the countries, including the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are in great need of resources for carrying out the most urgent tasks in developing their economy, eradicating illiteracy, raising the level of the people's standards of life and of culture and training national key personnel, waste the money of the people for the sake of the political machinations of the United States of America? These countries, and especially the States of Africa, expect considerable help from Unesco in the field of education, science and culture, but instead of this they are being asked to pay for the Chiang Kai-shek people, these political and financial bankrupts.

10.7 We have already stated that these and similar questions arise here, only because the Chiang Kai-shek corpses are illegally occupying the place of the People's Republic of China in Unesco. If China were represented in Unesco by its lawful representatives, namely the representatives of the People's Republic of China (we shall go on repeating this) then no time would be wasted on discussing such problems, and, what is most important, we would never have to deal with the question of looking for funds at the expense of other States in order to cover a debt.

10.8 The Soviet Union and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will not pay into the budget of Unesco the part of their contribution which is to be used to cover the arrears of payment of the contribution of the Chiang Kai-shek people, who should be ejected from here without delay.

10.9 Our delegation is authorized to state that the Governments of the Soviet Union and of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will consider any resolutions regarding China, which are adopted without the participation of its lawful representatives, that is the People's Republic of China, as unlawful. As long as the Chiang Kai-shek people continue to occupy unlawfully the place of China in Unesco, enormous political, financial and moral harm will be inflicted on this Organization.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I would remind you that the Conference is now discussing the first draft resolution, which appears in paragraph 7 of the Administrative Commission's report, I call upon the delegate of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

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

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Head of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic clearly stated, on behalf of his Government, during the plenary meeting of the Conference on 15 November that our Government does not recognize any credentials of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Unesco and that in international organizations, including Unesco, the only lawful representatives must be those of the People's Republic of China, authorized by the Government of that country.

12.2 When the question of contributions and the arrears of payment of the Chiang Kai-shek clique was under discussion in the Administrative Commission, we likewise categorically protested against the adoption of any resolution, because the Chiang Kai-shek people represent no-one in Unesco. However, contrary to legitimate and just requirements, the Administrative Commission adopted a resolution giving the right to vote to one who cannot represent great China and its people at the Conference and in Unesco. Moreover, one wishes to impose on all of us Member States of Unesco, the burden of making up the arrears in payment of contributions of the Chiang Kai-shek people, which amount to a considerable sum. In other words, the purpose of approving the new scale of contributions and thereby reducing the contributions of the Chiang Kai-shek people is to maintain these parasites in Unesco at the expense of the Member States.

12.3 On behalf of the Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, I declare once more that henceforth it has no intention of paying for the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Unesco. Let the supporters of these political ghosts maintain them themselves. We shall give not one farthing towards paying the arrears of the Chiang Kai-shek people. Any resolution adopted here in the absence of the lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China, we cannot recognize as lawful.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon H.E. Mr. Cheng Tien-Fong, Head of the delegation of China.

14.1 Mr. CHENG Tien-Fong (China):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, my remarks will be very brief. Owing to conditions beyond the control of the Chinese Government, the payment of the Republic of China's contributions to Unesco has fallen in arrears. My Government, however, has paid a token contribution annually, and the amount has increased from US $15,000 to US $60,000. Yet my Government is not content with this situation and wishes to reach a solution of this difficult and vexing problem once and for all. Consequently, my Government proposed in March 1960 that China's assessment be reduced from 4.74% to 2.5% and starting from 1959 it will pay, not a token contribution, but the full assessment. The reduced amount for the period 1959 to 1960 will be paid immediately. The annual payments of more than $320,000 in both 1959 and 1960 are vastly disproportionate to the national income of the Republic of China and confirm my Government's sincere desire, at great sacrifice, to contribute our share to Unesco. With

regard to the arrears, my Government has proposed to amortize a reduced amount of such arrears in a period of 50 years.

14.2 I wish to thank the Executive Board and the Director-General for the report to the General Conference (document 11 C/ADM/5 Part IV) and to thank the Administrative Commission for its speedy adoption of the draft resolution contained in its first report (document 11 C/14 Part I, paragraph 7). I request that, in the interest of Unesco as well as of China, this draft resolution be immediately adopted by the General Conference.

14.3 Now I must say a word about the statements made by delegates from the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Although the question of China's representation has been settled by the General Conference they are raising it here again. They seem to have adopted obstruction tactics with regard to this problem; they obstructed its solution in the Executive Board and in the Administrative Commission and now they are obstructing it in the General Conference. I am completely at a loss to understand why they are repeatedly going against the wishes of the majority. They argue that by reducing China's assessment the financial burden of other Member States will be increased. The contrary is true; with a few exceptions, the payments of all other Member States will be decreased. Furthermore, the language they have used is extremely slanderous. While I do not wish to lower myself to their level by calling their leaders names, I do wish to make a strong protest and to remind you, Mr. President, that such language which insults the Head of a Member State should be forbidden in Unesco and should be deleted from the record.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translated from the French):
I call upon Mr. Siikala, delegate of Finland.

16. Mr. SIIKALA (Finland):
Mr. President, my statement concerns the scale of contributions. The delegation of Finland considers it unwise to depart from the scale of contributions adopted by the United Nations, except to take account of differences in membership. This opinion has already been expressed in the Administrative Commission. As you know, Unesco lacks the machinery to make the calculations necessary to fix the scale, which is based on a number of population and economic data, and it would be a very costly business to establish such machinery. We feel that the resolution contained in paragraph 7 of document 11 C/14 violates an important administrative principle for reasons that we cannot consider pertinent, as has been stated by several delegates in the Administrative Commission. We shall therefore vote against the adoption of the draft resolution in paragraphs 7 and 8 and we shall further abstain in the vote on the draft resolution contained in paragraph 10 (e) of the same document. Other parts and draft resolutions of the report we accept.

17. Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French):
The President has asked me to point out that, for proper conduct of business, the Conference should examine in order the five draft resolutions submitted by the Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission. Consequently, the President requests delegations wishing to speak to confine themselves, for the moment, to comments on the first draft resolution submitted to the General Conference, which appears in paragraph 7 of the Commission's report.

18. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon the delegate of Bulgaria.

19.1 Mr. PETROV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, my remarks concerning the first report of the Administrative Commission will be brief. I wish to speak on item 23.2.2 of the agenda, namely, "Communication from the Government of the Republic of China concerning the contribution and the arrears in payment of contributions of China". The delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic has already stated in the Commission that the latter has no right to discuss this question, as it was raised by a group which is unrepresentative of the Chinese people and is unlawfully occupying the place of the Chinese People's Republic in Unesco.

19.2 Our delegation stated quite clearly and definitely that the Bulgarian Government will not recognize the legality of any decision taken on this question in the absence of the lawful representatives of the Chinese people.

19.3 One further point I have to make is that only yesterday I asked that an amendment be made to document 11 C/14 (prov.), in which my statement on this question had not been mentioned. The Officers of the Administrative Commission promised to include my statement in the document, but we were sorry to see that the omission persisted in the report of the Administrative Commission in its final form (document 11 C/14). I once more ask that this statement be included, as it is the official statement of my Government expressing the position of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

19.4 The question of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, and its contributions prevents the General Conference from getting down to its proper work. I request the Conference to adopt a decision which would reflect the contribution situation at the present moment and to refrain from making any changes in the scale of contributions.

20. Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:
In response to a request for correction made by the representative of Bulgaria, I should like to draw attention to the footnote on page 4 of the report, which lists the countries who associated themselves with the statement to which he refers and which includes the name of his country.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I now call upon the delegate of Japan.

22. Mr. OKAMOTO (Japan):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, in order to help speed the progress of the work of the Conference I shall be brief in my statement. The resolution presented by the Administrative Commission, which

appears in paragraph 7 of the report, seems to reflect the common sense view on this difficult question. We are convinced that it is not our duty at this juncture to discuss the problem of the representation of China. We are dealing only with the question of the contribution and the arrears in payment of the contributions of China. I believe this resolution which has already been studied thoroughly by the Executive Board and the Administrative Commission is a sound one, and for this reason, Mr. President, the Japanese delegation would like to express its support for this practical and realistic resolution.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

24.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America): Mr. President, it seems clear to me that there are three main questions before us. Is it legal for the Conference to consider the acceptance of this settlement of the Chinese contribution? Is this legal? Does it establish a bad precedent, or is it a wise measure and what is the effect of it on the work of Unesco? Mr. President, as to the question whether it is legal for us to consider this question, there are some delegates who apparently are not willing to accept the decision of this Conference. They say it is illegal to consider any matter concerning China. But I submit, Mr. President, that what is law in this Conference is for this Conference to determine and cannot be determined by any individual delegation. And this Conference has determined that there shall be representation of the Republic of China.

24.2 Therefore, I would like to point out that this matter being brought to you today has already been settled on that score. Now the question is whether or not there should be a consolidation of Chinese indebtedness in an amount of 2 million 500 thousand dollars, to be paid in 50 instalments - the payment of 641,000 dollars in settlement of its 1959-1960 indebtedness and the establishment of a rate of 2.5% as China's share in the support of the 1961-1962 budget.

24.3 It is important to remember, Mr. President, that these recommendations were approved by the Executive Board after thorough discussion, by a vote of 16 to 2, and approved by the Administrative Commission after thorough discussion by a vote of 29 to 15, and referred to this body. Does this question establish a bad precedent or is it a wise thing to do? And what does it do? It assures a revenue of some 700,000 dollars per budget period. It assures that this revenue will be brought into the Organization. Adoption of this resolution would eliminate the necessity to make provision in the budget for China's non-payment to be borne by other Member States. The acceptance of this proposal by this Conference would also eliminate the necessity for this body periodically to adopt special resolutions granting the Government of the Republic of China the right to vote. Such acceptance would do away with political discussions on this issue at future conferences, thereby eliminating the waste of precious time and permitting this body to consider earlier the basic problems of education, science and culture which are its task. Moreover, the aggregate assessments of the smaller nations assembled here will be approximately 700,000 dollars per year less, corresponding to the contributions which China would in the future be making.

24.4 My country considers that the stabilization of income at this time is of crucual importance as Unesco faces the increasing demands of an expanding programme benefiting the newly-emerged countries. Yesterday afternoon I listened with great emotion to the speeches of the countries of Ghana, of India, of Mauritius, Cameroun, Sierra Leone and, this morning, to the speeches of some of the African countries describing their great needs in education and the magnificent things that could be done in their countries as the result of the work which Unesco is proposing to do. And this morning, from this rostrum, we heard the distinguished representative and Minister of Education of Ceylon describe some of the problems of his own country. Are we going to refuse to accept contributions annually that will enable us to continue this work?

24.5 The point has been raised that this is a deviation from the established United Nations system but, although this is to some extent true, Unesco itself has in the past granted special reductions to Austria and to Hungary. Other international organizations, such as the International Labour Organisation and the International Civil Aviation Organization, have granted reductions in the Chinese percentage of contribution. The legality of this measure is incontestable. Unesco is in fiscal matters, autonomous, and not bound by the United Nations system, as was recently confirmed by an exchange of letters between the Secretary-General and the Director-General who raised this very issue. Membership of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies differs and so there must be room for adjustment. More important, this Agency must assure itself of a margin of flexibility in handling its scale of contributions.

24.6 Mr. President, there are many members of this Organization with modest resources, there are many new countries coming into this Organization who possibly, from year to year, as they develop rapidly, and they will develop rapidly, are going to find themselves in financial distress. Are we to lay down a hard and fast rule which will prevent those countries from continuing in this Organization and not only reaping the benefits of our work, but also contributing all that they have to contribute of their culture and of their energy and youth to our deliberations? I say, Mr. President, that it is particularly important that we should not refuse to be flexible in the matter of these contributions, and important to every country of Africa and every country of the other parts of the world. The situation in which Austria and Hungary found themselves yesterday and in which China finds itself today, may tomorrow be faced by many others. Unesco must be able to adjust to such emergencies. For all the above reasons, Mr. President, I move that we accept the recommendations of the Executive Board, confirmed and approved by the Administrative Commission, and that the General Conference accept the resolution on Chinese contributions.

25. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
If there are no other speakers, we shall proceed to vote on the resolution in paragraph 7 of the Administrative Commission's report. At the request of a number of delegations, voting will be by roll-call.

26. (The vote was taken by roll-call:
Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroun, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iran, Italy, Japan, Korea, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Monaco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.
Voted against: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, Guinea, Hungary, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia.
Abstained: Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Denmark, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Israel, Ivory Coast, Laos, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, United Arab Republic.
Absent: Albania, Austria, Cuba, Dahomey, Gabon, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Liberia, Mali, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Tunisia, Upper Volta).

27.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
Here is the result of the voting on the resolution in paragraph 7 of the Administrative Commission's report: 37 votes in favour, 17 against, 20 abstentions, 19 delegations absent. The delegation of China will therefore be entitled to participate in all voting taking place in any of the organs of the General Conference.
27.2 The Conference is now called upon to vote on the resolution contained in paragraph 8 (a) of the Administrative Commission's report, unless some delegations wish to speak on this subject. The resolution is that by which the Conference would authorize the delegations of Honduras and Bolivia to vote at the eleventh session of the General Conference.
27.3 Do any delegations wish to speak? I see there are none.
27.4 I therefore put to the vote the draft resolution in paragraph 8 (a) of the Administrative Commission's report.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands).
27.5 The resolution is adopted unanimously.
27.6 I call upon H.E. Mr. Matsui, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

28. Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, in conformity with the decision just taken, I have pleasure in informing you that Bolivia has deposited provisional credentials accrediting the Bolivian Ambassador in Paris as his country's representative at the eleventh session of the General Conference.

29.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
The delegation of Bolivia and Honduras will therefore be entitled henceforth to vote in any of the organs of the General Conference.
29.2 We now come to the next resolution, appearing in paragraph 8 (b) of the Administrative Commission's report: Special arrangements for Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.
29.3 If no delegation wishes to speak, I shall put the resolution to the vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands).
29.4 The resolution is adopted unanimously, with 1 abstention.
29.5 We come to the next point, dealt with in paragraph 9 of the Administrative Commission's report, namely the currency of contributions (document 11 C/ADM.5 - Part II).
29.6 If no delegation wishes to speak, we shall now vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands).
29.7 The resolution is adopted unanimously.
29.8 We now come to the fifth resolution: Scale of contributions, given in paragraph 10 of the Administrative Commission's report.
29.9 If no delegation wishes to speak, we shall now take a vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands).
29.10 The resolution is adopted by 69 votes in favour, with 5 abstentions.
29.11 Ladies and gentlemen, Part I of the Administrative Commission's first report is adopted.
29.12 I now call on H.E. Father Rapailler, Head of the delegation of Haiti, who has to leave this afternoon and would like to say a few words to you before his departure.

ADDRESS BY H.E. FATHER RAPAILLER, HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF HAITI

30.1 Father RAPAILLER (Haiti) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, delegates, as the Haitian delegation is due to return home by aeroplane very shortly, it would like to express its thanks to the President of the General Conference for the privilege he has granted it in allowing me to say a few words to you today. My address will be less in the form of a lecture and rather reflect the desire to state briefly the cultural rôle Haiti intends playing in the great concerted efforts being made by Unesco in such a spirit of self-denial.
30.2 Anyone studying the vital problems of the contemporary world is aware of a black spot which commands the urgent attention of national leaders. I refer to the tragic depth of the ignorance that hangs like a black night over the sons of Man - the darkness in which the human mind, swathed in ignorance and weighed down with prejudices, now dwells, the darkness of a mind whose vigour is sapped by reactionary routines and taboos, the incoherence which is doing dreadful harm to the logic and healthy reason of transcendental humanism.
30.3 If the nations are struggling with a tangled skein of social difficulties, each more involved than the others, if the globe is in the fell grip of

the tentacles of poverty, greed and chaos, it is because the human mind, the lodestar of civilization, seems to be abandoning its supreme mission, it is because we often ignore the vital fact that all the problems of human society are mainly a cultural problem and that, for this reason, nothing is more important for a nation than to pay particular attention to the education of its people, with a view to basing such education on healthy principles and rational methods which will enable the young students to explore the avenues of the mind to the benefit of a higher educational system that will be all the more effective when its cultural superstructure is rooted in the deepest aspirations of the soul of the people.

30.4 If it is to fill with stars the spreading night which threatens to engulf the world, Unesco must not forget that education, considered from the standpoint of its intrinsic content and from the vital point of view of its aims, presupposes the proportional adaptation of subject to object and vice versa. At a time when the Unesco family circle has grown and now includes a rich mosaic of races, languages and ethnic groups, of the specific tonality of which we may obtain some inkling from the kaleidoscope of national costumes to which we have grown accustomed at this brilliant international gathering in the last week, it would not be out of place to emphasize, both for those Unesco experts who are already abroad, and for those who are about to leave for the new Member States, that their efforts will be doomed to lamentable failure, if their teaching does not respect the metaphysical imperative that all education must be conceived in the light of the origins, characteristic features and social, geographical and physical background of the people to be educated.

30.5 A black people of African origin, transplanted to America and given a French cultural background, the population of Haiti intends to foster a national culture which can point with pride to the undoubtedly valuable contributions of French Graeco-Roman culture, of American know-how and of the cult of chivalry among its Spanish-speaking neighbours. But, above all, fellow delegates, I think - and I ask all coloured delegates to this assembly never to forget - that the tutelage of the mind is at its worst when it seeks to stifle the education of a people by suppressing all originality and every individual manifestation of local colour. If we do that, we shall indeed flounder indefinitely in a borrowed literature, a soulless art and a characterless educational technique which would end by turning us into circus clowns desperately tricked out in skimpy finery, clowns whose tawdry plagiarisms would make them the laughing-stock of those very people we should, no doubt, imitate because of the greatness of their transcendental achievements without renouncing that sacrosanct heritage which no man is ever permitted to forget - the national spirit of his own fatherland.

30.6 Before leaving, the delegation of Haiti wishes publicly to thank Unesco for the moral and material aid it has always given our people in its struggle for education, particularly fundamental education. At the same time, we venture to hope that we shall receive even more help during the period you are now considering since, isolated - not to say abandoned - by its neighbours, Haiti still trusts in the sincerity of Unesco.

30.7 Haiti believes that Unesco is no mere paper factory or talk-shop. It is sure that Unesco is devoting itself to the world's cultural problems with the heart of a mother and the brain of a father. It believes that Unesco will remain worthy of its mission to wipe out hate through the spread of education. But it is also convinced that Unesco cannot remain indifferent to the discrimination of all kinds which handicaps the application of those principles of solidarity and fraternity for the triumph of which the international agencies are working. Unesco cannot ignore the handicaps which still exist in some areas of the world and which constitute a genuine obstacle to the dissemination of culture - for example in the schools where, in the middle of the Twentieth century, human beings are spurned, hunted, lynched and stabbed in the back merely because they belong to the black race.

30.8 I cannot end without expressing my cordial good wishes to all the delegates at this Conference, my meeting with whom has undoubtedly enriched my life and that of my country, and whose wise addresses are an invitation to believe more firmly in the great universality of mankind, in spite of the terrifying things which threaten the world - for the poet was probably right in saying that terrifying things are really helpless things waiting for us to aid them.

30.9 I should like to give special thanks to this generous land of France, for its warm hospitality and its distinction of mind which make it one of the finest adornments of the human spirit.

31.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, before closing the meeting you will permit me, on your behalf, to thank Mr. Dovey once again for the clear and full explanation he gave us of Part I of the Administrative Commission's first report - a very complicated report, as you were able to judge for yourselves.

31.2 This afternoon's meeting will be devoted to the election of members of the Executive Board. In this regard, I draw your attention to Rules 87 and 89 of the Rules of Procedure and to Appendix I which contains the rules for the conduct of elections by secret ballot.

31.3 The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

18 November 1960, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

Election of 12 members of the Executive Board 119

ELECTION OF 12 MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the seventh plenary meeting is open. The General Conference will deal this afternoon with item 8 of its agenda: election of 12 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 12 vacant seats, having regard to the principles laid down in Article V.A.2 of the Constitution.

1.2 I therefore call upon Mr. Sharif, 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. SHARIF (Pakistan), Chairman of the Nominations Committee:

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is my privilege to present to you the report of the Nominations Committee which met this morning to consider the nominations for the 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 this Article should be applied, together with the names of all the candidates.

2.2 The delegations of Lebanon and Uruguay withdrew the candidature of Mgr Maroun and of Mr. Pons. The delegates of the following States made observations on the criteria which should govern this election of members of the Executive Board with due regard to Article V.A.2 of the Constitution: Australia, Austria, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Mexico, Senegal, Switzerland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, Upper Volta. In the course of discussion the following points were made. The increase in Unesco membership should be taken into account in determining the composition of the Executive Board. In this connexion, reference was made to the proposals by various Member States to amend the Constitution and Rules of Procedure to permit an increase of membership of the Executive Board, to allow for a better representation of Member States from both the cultural and geographical points of view.

2.3 It was regretted that during this session, the Conference could not amend the Constitution to reflect this increase and it was hoped that the next General Conference would do so. Even though the membership of the Executive Board would not be enlarged at this session, every endeavour should be made to ensure that an opportunity be given to the new African Member States to have a voice in the Executive Board, particularly since Unesco has a special responsibility to meet the needs of these States. In determining the composition of the Board, an effort should be made to ensure fair representation of the different geographical regions, with due regard to the diversity of cultures within a given geographical region. The importance of representation of the great cultures of the world was particularly stressed. It was pointed out that some geographical regions had had extensive representation and it was urged that the need for correcting this imbalance be borne in mind. The desirability of a revision of the representation within the various regions was emphasized as was the need for representation of great and small States.

2.4 Finally, Mr. President, in accordance with the Constitution, the paramount importance of the personal competence and experience of candidates was stressed, and the need for a proper balance in the representation of the various disciplines with which Unesco is concerned, for example, the arts, the humanities, the sciences and education. The duty of governments to ensure that members elected were available to serve the Board was also emphasized.

2.5 Mr. President, fellow delegates, I have the honour to present the names of the candidates for election to the Executive Board: H.E. Mr. Ziada Arbab (Sudan); H.E. Mr. Georges Averoff (Greece); H.E. Dr. Rodolfo Barón Castro (El Salvador); H.E. Dr. C.E. Beeby (New Zealand); Shrimati Indira Gandhi (India); H.E. Mr. Julien Kuypers (Belgium); H.E. Dr. G. Malalasekera (Ceylon); H.E. Mr. Akira Matsui (Japan); Dr. John P. Mitchell (Liberia); Professor Joaquín Pérez Villamueva (Spain); H.E. Mr. Mariano Picón-Salas (Venezuela); Dr. Albert Rakoto-Ratsimamanga (Malagasy Republic); Dr. George N. Shuster (United States of America); Professor Otto von Simson (Federal Republic of Germany); Professor Sissakian (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics); Professor Radivoj Uvalić (Yugoslavia); H.E. Mr. Stefan Wierblowski (Poland).

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I thank the Chairman of the Nominations Committee for his clear and brief statement. We shall proceed forthwith to elect 12 members of the Executive Board, 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.
3.2 In accordance with Rule 2 of the latter, I will ask Miss Abou Ezzeddine, of the delegation of Lebanon, and Mr. Touré, of the delegation of Guinea, to be good enough to act as tellers.
3.3 The head of the delegation of Laos having asked to speak, I call upon her to do so.

4. H.R.H. Princess SOUVANNA PHOUMA (Laos) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, before proceeding to the vote, I simply wish to raise a point which I am not quite clear about; other delegates may be in the same position. Should the name of the country or only that of the candidate, or both, be entered on the ballot paper?

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon the Secretary of the Conference, who will briefly explain the voting procedure.

6.1 Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, the Secretariat has had ballot papers and envelopes distributed to the delegations. Each ballot paper bears the reference 11 C/Form. 1. This paper has 12 lines on it, numbered 1 to 12. 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 voters 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.
6.2 Thus, 12 names, and only 12 names, must be inserted on each ballot paper.
6.3 The names of candidates must be chosen from the list submitted by the Chairman of the Nominations Committee. It is essential to insert 12 of these names and optional to add, beside each, the name of the candidate's country.
6.4 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.
(The vote was taken by roll-call, in the French alphabetical order of the names of countries, beginning with Cuba.)

7.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
The ballot is closed. The votes will now be counted.
(The tellers proceeded to count the votes.)
7.2 Here are the detailed results of the ballot: number of Member States entitled to vote 95; absent 4; abstentions 0; number of invalid ballot papers 2; number of votes recorded 89; majority required 45.
The 12 candidates who have obtained the largest number of votes and who are therefore elected are as follows: H.E. Mr. A. Matsui (Japan) 88 votes; Mrs. I. Gandhi (India) 86 votes; Mr. G.N. Shuster (United States of America) 84 votes; Mr. N.M. Sissakian (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) 76 votes; H.E. Mr. R. Barón Castro (El Salvador) 76 votes; H.E. Mr. C.E. Beeby (New Zealand) 73 votes; H.E. Mr. G. Averoff (Greece) 70 votes; H.E. Mr. S. Wierblowski (Poland) 70 votes; H.E. Mr. J. Kuypers (Belgium) 63 votes; H.E. Mr. M. Picón-Salas (Venezuela) 59 votes; Mr. O. von Simson (Federal Republic of Germany) 58 votes; H.E. Mr. A. Rakoto-Ratsimamanga (Malagasy Republic) 58 votes.
Next come: H.E. Mr. Z. Arbab (Sudan) 56 votes; H.E. Mr. G.P. Malalasekera (Ceylon) 47 votes; Mr. R. Uvalić (Yugoslavia) 46 votes; Mr. J. Pérez Villanueva (Spain) 41 votes; H.E. Mr. J.P. Mitchell (Liberia) 27 votes.
7.3 The 12 candidates who have obtained the largest number of votes are thus elected members of the Executive Board for the next four years.
7.4 The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.

EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

19 November 1960, at 11.10 a.m.

President: Mr. A.J. DUWUONA-HAMMOND (Ghana)

CONTENTS

Address by H.E. Mr. Lapin, Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Leo Tolstoy 121
Adoption of Part II of the First Report of the Administrative Commission 122

ADDRESS BY H.E. MR. LAPIN, HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF LEO TOLSTOY

1. The PRESIDENT:

Ladies and gentlemen, I declare the eighth plenary meeting open and I call upon H.E. Mr. Lapin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federative Republic. Mr. Lapin has expressed a desire to say a few words on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Leo Tolstoy.

2.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translated from the Russian):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, there has grown up in our Organization the excellent tradition of observing significant dates in the history of literature, culture and science. Only a short while ago, we had the great satisfaction of participating in the ceremonies commemorating the great Rabindranath Tagore.

2.2 Today I have been given the opportunity to say a few words from this exalted tribune concerning the great Russian thinker and writer, Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Tomorrow, the 20th of November, it will be exactly 50 years since the day of his death. The splendid genius of Tolstoy is being honoured not only by the Soviet people but by the whole of mankind.

2.3 In my country Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy is remarkably popular. During the period of Soviet rule alone his works have been published in editions comprising altogether over a hundred million copies. Tolstoy's books have been translated into the 82 languages of the peoples inhabiting the great Soviet Union. During these days numerous ceremonies commemorating the great thinker and writer are taking place throughout the Soviet Union. In works and factories, on collective farms, everywhere lectures are being delivered and artistic evenings held in honour of Tolstoy. Recently the fullest edition of the collected works of Tolstoy, which had already been commenced at the suggestion of Lenin, has been completed. This edition is composed of 90 volumes of the works of Leo Nikolaevich. The theatres are presenting plays by Tolstoy and dramatized versions of his novels, the cinemas are showing films inspired by the subjects of his novels, the radio and all the other cultural media have been popularizing on a wide scale the creative work of Tolstoy, the most popular writer of the Soviet people and a favourite writer of the peoples of the whole world.

2.4 The interest in Tolstoy is so great that it is now difficult to visit any of the Tolstoy museums. I must point out that all the memorable places connected with Tolstoy have been turned into museums. The estate of Yasnaya Polyana, where he spent a considerable part of his life, has been turned into a museum. The apartments in which he lived in Moscow have also been turned into museums. The schedule of visits for those wishing to visit Tolstoy's house in Moscow is already being made up for January. So great is the interest in his memory.

2.5 The greatness of Tolstoy also lies in the fact that he displayed an immense interest in the great culture of the East. He did an extraordinary amount towards popularizing the literatures of India, the Arabic East, Persia, China, Japan, etc. His ties with the great creative contemporaries of those nations were extraordinarily solid. People were anxious to visit Yasnaya Polyana in order to meet Tolstoy, to talk to him, to shake his hand. Many publications due to Tolstoy's initiative, in particular, his Spelling book, his books for everyday reading, in which he sought to pass on to mankind the most significant ideas, drew upon the very rich heritage of the works, ideas and statements of the creative minds of the East. In this regard Tolstoy did very much indeed.

2.6 Tolstoy is also very popular in the West. There is no need to speak about this in detail. We know from Unesco documents that the works of Tolstoy, like those of Dostoyevski and Gorky, those great Russian writers, have repeatedly been translated into European languages and that they are foremost among the world classics most frequently translated. In these lists the name of Tolstoy ranks with that of the great Shakespeare.

2.7 In marking the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Tolstoy, we cannot help directing our attention also to his philosophy, to his dauntless fight against all forms of persecution and injustice. You recall and are familiar with Tolstoy's philosophy, connected with the principle of not resisting evil by violence. For all its weakness, that philosophy is based on the great idea of love for mankind. And Tolstoy remained throughout his whole life an implacable opponent of all oppression, no matter what form it took. He condemned all the wars waged in his time and always gave moral support through his words to the struggle for the liberation of mankind. Tolstoy said that preparations for war and armies were as much an evil as war itself.

2.8 I would like to tell you about one little episode. In the last days of his life, while going through his vast mail and talking with his secretary, Tolstoy said: "If a man from Mars happened to descend upon our earth and saw that 99% of the people here labour incessantly and live in want, deprived of the riches and joy of art, while at the same time one per cent of the people are able to enjoy all the benefits of science and art, what would this man from Mars say?" According to Tolstoy the man from Mars would say: "It is bad; life is still badly arranged on the earth." And it is true, mankind cannot be happy if only a small part of it is able to enjoy the benefits of science, culture and art, while at the same time a considerable part is still deprived of all this, still remains illiterate and is subjected to oppression.

2.9 Tolstoy was a firm opponent of all forms of oppression, and his implacable fight against this still illuminates the path for the Soviet people and all mankind. The splendid genius of Tolstoy, his great artistic works, his profound ideas, directed towards bringing the peoples closer together so as to bring about greater trust, greater love, greater mutual understanding among them, will serve mankind for ever in the cause of progress.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon Mr. Julien Cain of the French delegation to speak on the same subject.

4.1 Mr. CAIN (France) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, our thanks are due to our colleague, the Head of the Soviet delegation, for having drawn our attention to the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the death of Leo Tolstoy.

4.2 In so doing, he has followed the policy laid down by Unesco some years ago with regard to the commemoration of important anniversaries of this kind.

4.3 Indeed, Tolstoy's work and ideas, transcending the boundaries of his country - that great Russia which he taught us to know and love better - belong to the whole world and it may be said that several generations of men, almost everywhere, in the most diverse countries, have derived much wisdom from them.

4.4 His death left a great gap, but, fortunately, his work has survived and, as far as my own country is concerned, is still very much alive, as the enormous number of translations shows.

4.5 We, in France, do not revere him only as a great writer, as the incomparable author of "War and Peace", but also as a man, who set a magnificent example. Writers like Romain Rolland literally lived on his ideas. That is why a committee has been established to organize a tribute to Tolstoy and his work in a few weeks' time. The Chairman of this committee is Mr. André Maurois of the French Academy. A formal meeting will be held at the Sorbonne and presided over by the Head of our delegation, Mr. Louis Joxe, Minister of Education, and by Rector Sarrailh. In addition, the National Library will be holding an exhibition with the help of collections provided by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4.6 My country's tribute should show that Tolstoy's memory still lives in France, as I am sure it does in all the countries of the Western world.

ADOPTION OF PART II OF THE FIRST REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION

5. The PRESIDENT:

The Conference is now called upon to consider item 16 of its agenda, adoption of the draft resolution on the provisional spending and assessment levels for 1961-1962. This item will be considered on the basis of Part II of the first report of the Administrative Commission, document 11 C/14, Part II. I now ask the Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission, Mr. Dovey, to present his report.

6.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:

Mr. President, I have the honour to present the second part of the first report of the Administrative Commission. Since the purpose of this report is solely to provide the General Conference with the material for its discussion today the report is brief and there is no need for my remarks to be prolonged. Paragraphs 12 and 13 of the report are an account of the way in which the Commission dealt with the preparation of the draft resolution which it now submits to the General Conference and which will be found at the end of paragraph 13.

6.2 In preparing this resolution, the Commission took into account the Conference's decisions with regard to contributions from Member States, and in particular the decision to bring to account as miscellaneous revenue the assessments on new Member States. The Commission has not of course suggested any figure for the spending level or the assessment level, since that is the task of the General Conference itself. But, to assist the Conference in making its choice, the Commission has annexed to its report a table setting out some information about the four proposals for budget levels which are before the Conference.

6.3 These four proposals are: that described in the resolution of the Executive Board in document 11 C/5 Addendum 1, paragraph 14; the Director-General's proposal presented orally to the Conference on 16 November and now circulated in document 11 C/41; the proposal made by Brazil in draft resolution 11 C/DR/32; and finally, the proposal made by the United States of America in draft resolution 11 C/DR/50. These four proposals are set out in the table annexed to the report in order of the size of the figures proposed, starting with the smallest. The table shows for each proposal not only the spending level but also the corresponding

amounts to be contributed, first, by old Member States and, second, by those new Member States whose contributions, in accordance with yesterday's decision of the Conference, will not for the time being be incorporated in the scale but treated as miscellaneous income. The total of these two amounts, that is to say, first the amount contributed by old Member States, then the amount contributed by new Member States, together with other income which is a fixed amount of 1,600,000 dollars in each case, equals the spending level. In the table annexed to the report, none of the figures for the spending level makes any provision for any sums that might be required for further headquarters accommodation. The draft resolution and the table are the essence of the Commission's report and I have the honour to commend them to the attention of the General Conference.

7. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Director-General.

8.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):
Mr. President and delegates, I believe that this is a suitable moment for me to repeat the arguments in favour of the proposals which are now before you - in other words, the Director-General's proposals. The Chairman of the Executive Board and I have already had an opportunity of outlining them at the beginning of the work of the General Conference.
8.2 It is my duty - and a very pleasant one - to thank the Administrative Commission, and particularly its Rapporteur, for the clarity of its report and for the trouble which it has taken to present the various aspects of the problem in a coherent fashion, as it has done in document 11 C/14, Part II, Annex I. The proposals I made during my speech at the beginning of the Conference's work are contained in document 11 C/41, which has been distributed.
8.3 I should therefore like to confine my remarks now to three observations and one conclusion. My first observation is one which I have already had the honour of presenting to you. It relates to the extremely swift tide of events and the complexity of the efforts required on the part, not only of Unesco and its Secretariat, but also of the other organizations with which our activities must be co-ordinated. These rapid developments, calling for urgent action by the Unesco Secretariat, have caused difficulties which I should very much like you to bear in mind. To act efficiently and speedily, one must have a large enough staff and that staff must be able to work under the best possible conditions. This is my first observation.
8.4 Its purpose is to inform you that the total of the provisional spending level which I propose is, in my opinion, the minimum required to ensure the efficiency of our work.
8.5 This brings me to my second observation: I would point out that the problem of the space necessary to ensure proper working conditions for the Secretariat has been clearly stated and that this is not a question of secondary importance which can be discussed at a later stage. That is why I should like to thank the Administrative Commission for having referred to it both in the resolution before you and in the note at the end of the table contained in Annex I of the document. May I add that this explicit reference to a need which I consider vital does not in any way prejudice the discussions which will shortly be taking place, when I have secured all the necessary data after my negotiations - which are absolutely necessary - with the French Government. This in no way jeopardizes the freedom of the Headquarters Committee or the Administrative Commission, which will have to discuss this subject and submit their recommendations to you, to make their own assessment. Meanwhile, I shall try to clarify the various aspects of the problem, with particular reference to the financing of the new building. I mean to say that I have already started to make a careful study of the possibility of drawing on the Working Capital Fund during the 1961-1962 budgetary period, which would obviate the necessity to include additional amounts in the Regular budget. I shall be submitting my proposals to the Headquarters Committee and the Administrative Commission with a view, I repeat, to making it easier for the General Conference to take a decision on this question, which is of vital importance to the Secretariat.
8.6 My third observation is to remind the General Conference, before it reaches a decision on the provisional spending and assessment levels, that the Programme Commission has already begun its work and that, in addition to the proposed programme and budget, it has to consider all the new draft resolutions submitted by Member States, which are extremely interesting and varied and will certainly lead to adjustments and amendments to the programme proposals I have submitted. However, it is not possible at this moment to anticipate the budgetary implications of such changes in relation to the final spending level, which will emerge from the discussions of the General Conference.
8.7 In conclusion, I should like to express my most sincere thanks to two Member States - Brazil and the United States of America - for their proposals to raise the budget ceiling to an amount higher than that which I myself proposed. I think I should emphasize this, since it illustrates my first observation concerning the swift tide of events and the urgency of the needs which we have to meet. I therefore thank these two Member States and hope that the General Conference will agree to accept the highest ceiling proposed, as set out in the table annexed to the document before you.
8.8 I should also like to mention the Special Account which has been opened for the voluntary contributions of Member States willing to participate in it. These contributions may enable you to accept such new proposals as the Programme Commission may submit to you at the end of the Conference.
8.9 I should like to conclude this short statement by expressing my feeling of great confidence, and my profound gratitude for the proposals that have been made.

9. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Head of the delegation of the United States of America, Mr. Thayer.

10.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America):
Mr. President, it is always a great temptation on

mounting this rostrum and noting the representatives assembled at this Conference, to launch into a general discussion of what we can all do to assist the new peoples of the world. May I also express my pleasure at seeing in the Chair today another representative of the great continent of Africa.

10.2 But there comes a time, Mr. President, when we must get down to the hard facts and talk about dollars and cents, which is what we are here to do today, in performing the all important task of deciding upon the amount of money necessary to carry out our objectives and maintain the operations of Unesco for the next two years. You are all fully aware of the dramatic incidents which have been occurring in the world and which provide the basis for the budget proposals that have been made and that are before you today. I am sure you will all have noted the draft resolution placed before this Organization by the Government of the United States of America. In addition to the money requested by the Director-General and recommended by the Executive Board, my Government is not only recommending, but urging, that the Unesco budget be increased by $1,000,000 above that amount to a total sum of $31,597,628, to provide specifically for educational assistance to the countries of Africa. Their needs, and the position of the United States regarding those needs, I set before you a few days ago in the Programme Commission. We have all been dramatically aware of the increased needs of this area and have noted Mr. Hammarskjold's effective leadership in meeting the crisis which arose suddenly in Africa during the summer. We may all take great pride in the fact that Unesco was called upon to furnish aid and counsel during that period and to assist the United Nations to provide in some measure for the continuation and the possible improvement of education in the Congo. We are indeed much indebted, Mr. President, to the Director-General and his staff for their ability to rise to this crisis and face it, and for making such an important contribution in that emergency.

10.3 As I said in the Programme Commission, on 22 September 1960, President Eisenhower made a strong recommendation to the United Nations General Assembly that a major effort be made by all nations, unitedly, to further the development of African countries. In the fifth point of the President's programme, a proposal was made for an all-out United Nations effort to help African countries launch such educational activities as they may feel to be appropriate. And I wish to emphasize that it was the President's proposal that the African countries should co-operate and come to us and to all the United Nations to allow us to know what their needs were. This was the clarion call for nations to forget their political differences and to unite in aiding this area where millions of people are taking their first independent steps in self-government. In addition, on 13 October 1960, five of the African Member States introduced to the Assembly of the United Nations a resolution expressing three principal hopes in so far as education is concerned: that the Member States in question make "an assessment of their immediate requirements"; secondly, "that the Secretary-General confer with the Director-General of Unesco with a view to preparing a programme of practical action in the field of education" and, lastly, that "any resources made available to the United Nations be used to assist Africa without prejudice to assistance to other countries". The challenge has been laid before us and it is up to us to meet that challenge when we consider the budget that has been placed before Unesco by its Director-General.

10.4 Now to his recommendations we have added the request for $1,000,000. So great is the need that the budget increases advocated by the Director-General and the additional million dollars must seem inadequate. Of course they are inadequate, there is not enough money in the world to supply the present needs of all of these countries.

10.5 But our first considerations in this matter are that, heavy though the burdens of international assistance may be on the more affluent countries, there can be no doubt that by the improvident raising of the Unesco ceiling we would be placing additional financial responsibilities on the shoulders of nations less prosperous than ourselves, and would thus be likely to create strains on their economies. After all, Mr. President, Unesco cannot do everything, it cannot fill every need, it must restrict itself to those things which it can do most effectively. In arriving at the budget figure of $31,597,628 my Government feels that this would provide Unesco with funds sufficient for its use at the immediate moment without overburdening the Organization before it has time to secure the requisite staff, facilities and administrative skills demanded by the new rôle that it is being called upon to play.

10.6 Secondly, let us remember that Unesco is not a bank, it is not Unesco's job to meet the billion dollar needs of every area in the world. This can be achieved only by a common effort not only of the countries themselves but by a generously expanded programme of the international agencies concerned with multilateral aid, such as the United Nations Technical Assistance programme, the Special Fund, the International Development Association, the International Development Bank and others in these fields. Nor should we ignore the availability of private sources of capital, or the bilateral programmes which are now being carried out and which must be carried out in ever increasing amounts. As I said before the Programme Commission, Mr. President, there must be massive, multilateral, bilateral and private organization, and also individual government co-operation, in this great task that lies before us.

10.7 In proposing an expansion of the Unesco programme for Africa by $1,000,000 we simply wish to make sure that this Organization can play an effective rôle within the total effort by helping develop appropriate measures and programmes - of course, within the purview of its established competence in the fields of education, science and culture. Now, may I make it very plain that the United States has no desire whatsoever, in proposing this additional $1,000,000, to impose its will on this Conference as to how that money should be spent. We do not wish at this point to propose a specific programme of action for the use of this money, because the determination of the needs and the means of meeting these needs must be the responsibility of this

Conference which, with the help of the Secretariat and particularly with the help of the African governments concerned, should develop an intelligent and practical programme. We cannot walk into any country of Africa and say: "You will have this form of education or that form of education". Why should these countries gain their independence if they are going to be told by anybody, multilateral organizations or individual organizations, how to run their own affairs? It is up to them to determine what their needs are and to come to Unesco and to the rest of us and, sitting down with us, plan how we can help them. We suggest that the appropriate working group begin these deliberations without delay, we shall join our fellow delegates in a common effort to produce an efficient, constructive and statesmanlike programme. We further suggest that this working group give special attention to the type of activities discussed by the representative of the Director-General in the Programme Commission, specific activities such as teacher training, teacher recruitment, aid in the provision of textbooks, provision of basic and simple laboratory equipment. All these matters should receive the special attention of the working group.

10.8 May I say, Mr. President, that one of the most important elements to be considered at some later time must be the planning of our activities. I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of careful planning of all that we hope to be able to do, and I must take time at this point to say that we are happy to note that in this budget our other friends in the Far East, the Middle East, in the Arab world and Latin America are not being forgotten or slighted. The funds which have been provided in this budget will carry on the programmes in these areas that have been so successfully undertaken over the past budget period. I know that they will not begrudge the added emphasis that they, as well as we, feel is necessary to meet the most recent demand on Unesco resources from the newly emerged States in Africa. We have emphasized Africa in the Programme Commission, not because its requirements are more worthy of consideration than those of other areas in need, but because, as we have tried to show in the charts that we presented before the Programme Commission and which were reproduced in the Journal and will be available here today during the course of our debate, the African continent up to date has been the area of the world least favoured by Unesco in its programme. It is because we feel that the time has come to redress the balance that we are supporting the Director-General's budget as approved by the Executive Board, plus an additional $1,000,000 for Africa. And I believe, Mr. President, that it is of particular importance to bear this point in mind during our debate. Of course there are going to be resolutions put forward during this Conference which may require additional funds - they have already been tabled - which should be given every conceivable consideration, and we should not completely bind ourselves in any way. We should always remain flexible, but I submit that our flexibility will be destroyed unless we keep ourselves within reason and unless, also, we keep our eyes fixed on the present-day needs, in order that we can move forward together later on.

10.9 Therefore, Mr. President, I formally move that this Conference approve a spending level of $31,597,628 for the Unesco programme and budget for 1961 and 1962 - a budget that is aimed as never before at providing a balanced programme of educational, scientific and cultural assistance so desperately needed by so many nations in this new world community today.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. P. de Berredo Carneiro, Head of the delegation of Brazil.

12.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is traditional for the representative of Brazil to take part in the debate when it comes to fixing the budget ceiling of our Organization.

12.2 Since that ill-fated day on which a great Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Torres Bodet, was obliged to resign because he was refused the equivalent of a handful of matches to carry on the programme of this Organization, we Brazilians have made consistent efforts to reinforce, from one year to the next, the most pitifully small budget imaginable to satisfy the world's tremendous needs in the fields of education, science and culture.

12.3 People sometimes suppose that when we ask for an increase in the budget proposed by the Director-General, we are imposing sacrifices on our Member States; this is a basic misconception. Is any sacrifice involved in requesting that a contribution of some thousandth or hundredth of a dollar per inhabitant per annum be doubled or trebled? The poorest of us can easily contribute far more than this tiny fraction of a dollar for which he is asked.

12.4 The Government of Brazil, aware of the difficulty of securing increasing resources for the execution of Unesco's programme, proposed, at the Montevideo Conference in 1954, the establishment of a Special Account to receive the contributions of Member States whose annual per capita income was high enough to enable them to make a voluntary financial contribution to the Organization.

12.5 This Special Account, opposed for a long time, was finally approved in 1958. But unfortunately, as soon as it had been approved, after long and difficult negotiations, we listened to a series of statements to the effect that none of those to whom we were appealing felt inclined to contribute to the Special Account. Only the Government of Brazil and, I understand, very recently the Republic of Ghana, have so far contributed to it. This is not encouraging, nor is it uplifting for this Organization, to be deprived of resources to such a point.

12.6 Unesco has long experience in its own sphere of activities; it has an admirably trained Secretariat. Every contribution it receives will find the intellectual and material machinery necessary for it to be put to the best possible use through the medium of Unesco. It is a saving for us, in our several countries, to make use of Unesco to develop our educational programmes, research programmes or

programmes for the exchange of persons. It is not spending money or throwing it away to decide to contribute more to Unesco's budget.

12.7 This year, when we are particularly delighted to see the great republic of the United States of America join with those who have, for so long, been making strenuous efforts to increase the size of this Organization's budget, I shall be the happiest member of this assembly if I can support the United States proposal, after receiving some explanations.

12.8 The first proposal to raise the budget ceiling was submitted by the Government of Brazil, which asked for two million dollars more than the figure proposed by the Director-General in document 11 C/5. Since then, however, the Director-General himself - and he was certainly right to do so - has increased the total of his budget proposals by absorbing a part (about one million dollars) of the two million which the Brazilian Government had suggested.

12.9 Later, when the Director-General presented his programme, he drew attention to new increases. In fact, whether we base ourselves on the proposal of the United States or on that of Brazil, there is no longer any question of an increase of a million dollars over and above the figure given by the Director-General. We are now faced with an increase of $668,500 according to the proposal of the United States and $531,500 according to that of Brazil.

12.10 Leaving figures aside, what difference is there between the two proposals? An important difference, but the last speech made by the Head of the delegation of the United States leads me to hope that it can be smoothed out. However, before we commit ourselves officially, I should like some specific information regarding the spirit and scope of the United States' proposal. The Brazilian proposal introduced no discrimination; its aim was to provide an increased budget for Unesco's programme as a whole - and not for any particular region of the world - this budget to be fixed by the General Conference, its Administrative Commission and its Programme Commission in accordance with proposals made by the various countries and, if possible, in such a way as to ensure that all the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, the Arab world and Latin America would benefit by the increase.

12.11 For any discrimination in dealing with those who are poor is doubly unfair. The African countries can rely on the friendship of the Government of Brazil. They have, alas, been suffering too long from discrimination not to know that they themselves should not resort to it, even for their own benefit, and that they have far more to gain by identifying themselves body and soul, at all times, with the peoples of Asia and Latin America who share their anxieties and face the same difficulties, than by trying to obtain some 600,000 dollars for themselves alone.

12.12 We have before us approximately 160 new draft resolutions submitted by about 40 countries. Many of them are of very great interest and have been put forward by several States belonging to the underdeveloped regions. To mention some of the authors of these proposals, the Philippines has submitted 17 draft resolutions, Viet-Nam 14, India 11 and Japan 8 - not to speak of France, which has submitted 17. If we adopt the United States proposal, how can the needs expressed in all these draft resolutions be met, if the only increase provided for, apart from the Director-General's proposal, is earmarked in advance for a single region of the world? We shall find ourselves in the Programme Commission in the paradoxical situation of not having a cent available for these 160 or more new draft resolutions submitted by 40 Member States.

12.13 The delegate of the United States has told us that it will be for the General Conference, once the budget ceiling has been decided, to distribute the sums available as it pleases - that is, some $668,000, according to his own proposal. Personally, I ask for nothing better than to have the highest budget ceiling possible. I can even assure you that the Brazilian Government would be ready to go beyond the figures now before you. Why? Because something strange is happening in our Organization. For about ten years, most of us have been contributing less and less to Unesco. I will quote only one case, so as not to give the impression that I am being indiscreet, namely the case of my own country. In 1950, we contributed some $172,000 to Unesco while, for the last programme (1959-1960), we paid only $128,000, i.e. about $50,000 less. Why is this? What possible excuse can we have, after ten years of benefiting greatly, both morally and materially, by the services of this Organization, for reducing our contributions steadily? We have none at all.

12.14 Mr. President, if the Director-General and you yourself accept the proposal of the honourable delegate of the United States of America, leaving the Conference entirely free to use it as it pleases the small additional sums which will be added to your proposed budget, I shall be happy to support it. But should this suggestion be legally unacceptable, I shall be compelled to maintain the proposal submitted to you by the Government of Brazil because, in my view, it leaves a margin of some $500,000 which the Programme Commission and the Administrative Commission can really use to meet the needs of Unesco's programme, for Africa, of course - for Africa primarily, I quite agree - but also for all the underdeveloped countries, for that "third world" which is united in need and in friendship.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. Mac-Lean y Estenos, Head of the delegation of Peru.

14.1 Mr. MAC-LEAN Y ESTENOS (Peru) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the budget, as you already know, but I now feel it necessary to repeat it, is made up of the contributions of Member States, in other words, of the taxes paid by their citizens.

14.2 We can be generous with our own money, but we have no right to be generous with that of others. Therefore, as representatives of these Member States and in defence of the interests of our taxpayers, we can never be too zealous in repeating over and over

again, in the commissions and at the plenary meetings, our appeal for something which can be summed up in two words, namely budgetary austerity.

14.3 The proposed budget submitted by the Director-General is by no means austere; it is a project which, from beginning to end, embodies a whole series of progressive increases. We arrive then at the total, which is, as you know, $30,929,128 - an increase of 19%, or over 5 million dollars more than the previous budget. This affects the contributions of Member States, which have to pay an increase of $3,500,000, or 14% of the total. And this in turn implies fresh efforts and a further sacrifice for the man in the street, the humble individual who, in the last resort, makes it possible to finance Unesco's budget.

14.4 Peru is against any unnecessary increases and is therefore opposed to this spendthrift policy which is doing so much harm to the prestige of our Organization. But its opposition cannot be called blind or systematic, for it is lending its support to other increases which do not appear in the Director-General's proposals and are quite rightly being demanded by other delegations.

14.5 For this reason, Peru is supporting the proposal of the delegation of the United States of America for an appropriation of a million dollars to meet the educational needs of the African peoples, a proposal which was so brilliantly and convincingly put forward by the Head of the United States delegation.

14.6 It also supports the proposal submitted by the delegation of Brazil, which does not exclude the former, since the two can be reconciled, as the Head of the Brazilian delegation so eloquently pointed out.

14.7 My country also supports the proposal of the delegation of Mexico for the establishment of a Centre of International Studies, a project requiring a minimum appropriation of $28,000, but for one biennial period only.

14.8 Furthermore, it supports the proposal of Argentina to finance the Latin American Regional Centre for Mathematics, and will support both verbally and in voting all proposals that may be submitted by other delegations, provided, of course, that it agrees with the aims behind them and that they are within the budget ceiling approved by the General Conference.

14.9 Spending should not be confused with squandering. Peru strongly approves of spending where it is justified, but it cannot accept thriftlessness, which ought to be eradicated, unhesitatingly and relentlessly.

14.10 The Executive Board, at its 56th and 57th sessions, giving proof of its wisdom in the matter of policy, recognized the urgency of keeping administrative costs as low as possible. Some of its members at that time disagreed with the plan submitted by the Director-General and pointed out that not a few of the activities proposed were ineffective or of little use and should therefore be either suppressed or cut. These wise and prudent suggestions unfortunately went unheeded, with the result that, on the contrary, the most highly inflated budget that has ever been proposed in the fifteen years of the Organization's existence is now before you, a budget taking no account of the burden which these unjustified increases - as was repeatedly emphasized at the above-mentioned meetings of the Executive Board - place upon Member States which also have to meet urgent and vital needs at home.

14.11 In his speech a few moments ago, the Director-General made two observations which I should like to take up. He referred - and here I quote - to the "extremely swift tide of events and the complexity of the efforts required". Almost the same words have been repeated by members of the Secretariat in the different commissions: "the extreme rapidity with which events are moving and the complexity of the resulting problems." Fellow delegates, there is no need to fear the swift tide of events and although the problems arising may be of the utmost difficulty, this has little importance if one is determined to face up to the situation. Such situations terrify only the cowardly and the incompetent. But, using this "extremely swift tide of events and the complexity of the resulting problems" as a pretext, expenditure and waste are being proposed. We must therefore draw a distinction between the two.

14.12 It is perfectly obvious that the complexity of the problems justifies spending, but the complexity of the problems and the extremely swift tide of events can never justify, as the officials of the Secretariat would have it do, this inexcusable policy of thriftlessness.

14.13 In the second place, the Director-General referred to the question of working "space". He said that space was of vital necessity and he was right: space is a vital necessity for the Secretariat. It is correct that the members of the Secretariat should have ample space in order that their efforts may be productive and not sterile. Consequently, we have the project for the construction of a fourth building, the cost of which the Director-General did not mention. This cost is $4,500,000.

14.14 But when he referred to space, the Director-General gave a one-sided picture. He forgot to tell the General Conference what we have several times communicated to him in writing. Among the aspects of this problem of space, there is one which is not only depressing for Member States, but is also preposterous and inadmissible. I am referring to the possibility of the diplomatic missions being ejected from their present offices, so that these can be occupied by members of the Secretariat. The diplomatic missions also need premises, I will not say comfortable - for we, too, can endure discomfort - but at least decent.

14.15 The time has come to place the sufferings of Unesco in their proper perspective. The time has come to say that Unesco is made up of its Member States and, without them, would not exist. Consequently, the whole of Unesco is based upon the Member States, here represented by their diplomatic missions, and the Secretariat is but an adjunct, existing to serve them. But the position now is that the masters of the house, the Member States, the diplomatic missions, are to be ejected from these premises as undesirable tenants and are to be housed in goodness knows what kind of buildings in the neighbourhood. I remember with

shame, as those delegates who were members of the diplomatic missions before the change of premises will certainly remember too, I repeat - with shame - those filthy, unpresentable and drab premises in which we were housed in the Rue La Pérouse.

14.16 I must point out that this is not merely my personal opinion. I have discussed it with many heads of delegations, all of whom fully share my disapproval and refuse to accept the idea. I hope, therefore, that the Director-General will think the matter over and exclude this possibility, for whenever it is brought up here - if it should be brought up - I shall return to this rostrum to condemn it with the utmost vigour and to affirm that this absurd project deserves to be rejected by the assembly, as I am confident that it will be.

14.17 To justify this spendthrift policy, reference has constantly been made to the "organic growth" of Unesco. Fellow delegates, if Unesco is undergoing a period of organic growth, this is, for individuals as well as for institutions, a sign of health. But we must not confuse organic growth with hypertrophy, because this would be equivalent to confusing health with illness and Unesco, I must say, is not in good health. On the contrary, it is sick with inflation, with bureaucratic hypertrophy. To root out this evil is what all men of good faith want and expect from us. We shall not waver in this, fellow delegates, because it is our duty and also our responsibility.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon the Head of the United Kingdom delegation, Sir David Eccles.

16.1 Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, delegates, I have not the power of eloquence that the distinguished delegate of Peru has - I congratulate him on the vigour with which he supported his proposition. He said he was ashamed to remember that diplomats and ministers used to have bad accommodation. I am ashamed to remember how many children there are with no schools at all, and it is for that reason that, after much thought, because the United Kingdom has not in the past been an expansionist country in relation to this budget, we give our full support to the proposal of the United States.

16.2 We have to face here, two contradictory facts: the first is that Unesco's resources are terribly small, infinitely small compared to the needs of the children and the young people for education, science and culture. But we are all spending money on these great services through our own national budgets, and many, many times more millions than it is proposed to spend here. And a good many of us are also spending large sums of money through our own budgets on education, science and culture overseas. The Conference might be interested to know that the United Kingdom Government last year spent 30 million dollars on education overseas, nothing to do with the children or the young people in the United Kingdom. Our budget for international education for one year is the same as Unesco's entire budget for two years. And that is where the little taxpayer - to whom the distinguished delegate of Peru referred - comes in. Every little taxpayer wants more education for his children and his grandchildren, but he does want the money well spent. It is not that he grudges money on education - I think no taxpayers grudge money for education nowadays anywhere in the world - but he is at least entitled to ask whether, with the limited resources that they have, this Organization or some other organization will be a more efficient channel through which to spend the money he is prepared to put up.

16.3 Therefore I come to the second point that has been in the minds of the United Kingdom delegation. It is not really money which is the limit to what we can do; the real limit is the availability of experts. One can find the money by one means or another, but one can so seldom find the teachers to go from one country to another, the trained administrators, those who have the real knowledge which you can put at the service of some other country. And therefore, when one supports an increase in the budget of Unesco, it is in the faith that we shall be able to secure the services of the experts in these fields, and especially in the administration here at headquarters.

16.4 The distinguished delegate of Brazil and I find it very pleasant to be on the same side, in some respects, as the classical champions of expansion. I find that a very pleasant, somewhat novel rôle for the United Kingdom. The distinguished delegate of Brazil raised, I thought, a point with which we would all have some sympathy, namely, that the United States proposal concentrated a part of our expansion in one direction, in Africa. I think there is an answer to that. The first is that, as far as I have been able to read the history of the work of this Organization, Africa has not had a fair share. Up till now Africa has been somewhat neglected. On the other hand, I believe there has been a very important Major Project in Latin America and I should think that it was in the mind of the United States delegate that it was right to make a strong indication that for the moment we thought the emphasis ought to be shifted to Africa. Because, if we were to try to divide this extra money equally amongst all the projects which have been mentioned, we should do nothing well enough to make any impression on world opinion at all. I strongly believe that one of the reasons, if I may be allowed to say this, that the world in general does not know what Unesco is doing is precisely because we spread our money so thinly over so many projects. You cannot make propaganda, you cannot make any impression if you are not flying at least two or three big flags. Therefore, I rally to the United States proposal, although I have much sympathy for what the delegate of Brazil said, because I want Unesco to do something in a way that will really make an impression and I feel that, if we recruit the best experts, we could make of this extra money a real impression in a field in Africa where the need is so great. Therefore I support this increase in the budget and I greatly hope that the Conference will not try to reduce it. I think it would give a very bad impression outside, where people know how great is the need for more schools, if we were to try to chop little pieces off this budget. I think it

would be a pity if we were to spend a great deal of our time on internal matters which could be settled by the Secretariat in the appropriate commission, instead of passing this budget quickly today and then getting on with the job which everyone is expecting us to do.

16.5 Therefore, Mr. President, after careful consideration, the proposal of the United States has the fullest support from the United Kingdom.

17. The PRESIDENT:

Ladies and gentlemen, since our time is short I propose, provided there are no objections, to call only upon the Head of the delegation of Rumania and on a member of the delegation of France and then to adjourn the meeting. I call upon the Head of the Rumanian delegation, H.E. Mr. Ralea.

18.1 Mr. RALEA (Rumania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the budget of an organization is not merely a series of abstract figures. It is something more than that, a general conception, a table and scale of values, which enables the importance attached to some activities and the little importance attached to others to be gauged.

18.2 Starting from this point of view, it must be acknowledged that, in the past, Unesco has succeeded, to a large extent, in attaining some of its principal aims in the spheres of culture, education and science. Personally, we should have preferred the programme and budget to be discussed here in close conjunction with one another, in order to be able to decide on the utility and timeliness of some of the measures proposed.

18.3 The Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 contains a certain number of omissions to which attention should be drawn immediately. Firstly, the omission - I might even say the refusal to include - any resolutions dealing with the collection of outstanding contributions of Member States should be underlined. Although a great deal has already been said here on this subject, I must raise again the question of the reduction of the contribution payable by the China of Taiwan and amounting to some millions of dollars, and the delay granted for the payment of these sums. From a logical standpoint, it is difficult to justify and explain such an absurd - I would even say indecent - decision. We are dealing with a delegation, whose legitimate right to sit here has been contested by a third of the other delegations. And, to add insult to injury, it is allowed to sit here without paying any contribution. It is the only delegation sitting here among us "free of charge". We are even going so far as to force delegations which voted against China to pay for it - in other words, the taxpayers of other countries are to pay for the China of Chiang Kai-shek. One wonders what exceptional merit it possesses to be granted such a privilege. This is both absurd and inadmissible, and this simple gesture considerably lowers the moral standing and prestige of our Organization.

18.4 Secondly, the programme and budget submitted to us contains no critical analysis of the allocation of funds for major activities and includes projects which are by no means of vital importance. Unduly large sums are set aside for minor and even pointless objectives: too many experts, an administrative machinery that is too cumbersome, the construction of a new building which has been criticized by many delegations.

18.5 We are convinced that the experience gained by the Secretariat and the Executive Board, on the one hand, and the progress made by the National Commissions, on the other, should make it possible to improve the functioning of Unesco without its being necessary to increase the budget substantially and regularly. Some of the proposals to increase the 1961-1962 budget take absolutely no account of the way in which Unesco's funds were spent during the previous budgetary periods. Moreover, I would point out that activities relating to peace and intellectual disarmament are considerably reduced in this programme and budget; hardly any funds are allowed for these objectives, despite the fact that the Executive Board adopted a resolution on this subject.

18.6 With regard to the different chapters of the budget, the programme in the chapter on education is not allocated sufficient funds for a purpose which we consider to be of vital importance, namely the total eradication of illiteracy in a world where 30 to 40% of human beings are not yet able to read or write. Yet our own experience has shown us that it is possible to reduce the number of illiterates by 30% in a country where now only 2% of the population is illiterate.

18.7 In any event, more than a million dollars should be set aside for Africa. Practically nothing can be done with a million dollars. It is the duty of those nations which, as colonial powers, drew on the resources of these countries that are now independent, to contribute a far larger sum, a sum representing at least 1% of the profits they derived from them. The increased funds for education should be used first for primary schooling, and only afterwards for secondary education. At present, secondary education is sometimes a luxury. Our first thought should be to teach people to read and write and make it possible for countries to reduce illiteracy, or even abolish it completely.

18.8 With regard to the natural sciences, some of the projects proposed are excellent and justify the sums proposed for their implementation. More particularly, I believe that the Soviet proposal for a world conference on semi-conductors deserves support and that, at the same time, pamphlets should be published to popularize the recent achievements of science.

18.9 We believe that everything done under the heading of the social sciences until now has been too academic and theoretical. We must be more practical. It is not only a question of financing or subsidizing a particular institute for sociology in Cologne or elsewhere. We are concerned to do everything possible to intensify and support propaganda for peace and peaceful coexistence, to combat racialism and to use the somewhat abstract findings of certain committees and surveys as a basis for really practical action.

18.10 We still have some remarks to make on the cultural aspect, which we shall go into when the programme is discussed. In the meantime, I repeat that we should try to increase our prestige and moral and financial standing by recognizing some of the useful activities that Unesco has carried out successfully and, at the same time, by forbidding certain

delegations, such as that of Chiang Kai-shek, to sit here without even discharging their financial obligations.

19. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon Mr. Julien Cain, of the delegation of France.

20.1 Mr. CAIN (France) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the French delegation has studied with particular attention the table annexed to the report submitted to us.
20.2 It understands the reasons that led the Secretariat to consider and then to take emergency measures. It has approved them from the very beginning. It is therefore obliged to accept their budgetary implications, which it does willingly. It will therefore vote in favour of the proposals submitted.
20.3 We shall support the United States proposal to make a special effort for the benefit of the countries of Africa all the more readily in that such a programme will reinforce the activities which we are already carrying out in several of the countries that have recently become independent; thus, in future, we shall continue our activities tenaciously, side by side with those which Unesco itself intends to undertake with the new means at its disposal.
20.4 I should like to confirm here the information given us by the delegate of the United Kingdom. Our respective countries are certainly earmarking considerable sums in their budgets for the promotion of education in the countries of Africa. France is, today, setting aside 2% of its national revenue to extend and improve the training both of key personnel and of teachers in the countries overseas. It is my duty to make this remark after the statement of Sir David Eccles.
20.5 The representative of the United States pointed out a few minutes ago that it was our duty to make good use of the new means which will be available to Unesco in the near future, and that planning seemed to him to be necessary for that purpose. I can only agree with him fully.
20.6 At this moment, the Programme Commission is examining a number of proposals to this effect. I should like to tell the General Conference that one of these proposals was, only very recently, being carefully prepared by that outstanding man and educator of exceptional calibre, Gaston Berger, who was so cruelly snatched from our midst a few days ago and who is such a loss to us in our work.
20.7 His idea was that we should carry out large-scale activities in a methodical manner and backed by the most up-to-date technical means. Whatever happens, once we have reached our decisions, the Secretariat will have to make a choice, and that choice may well be difficult and often painful. Above all, we must avoid dispersing our efforts and sacrificing large-scale action for the sake of a crop of small, even minute projects. This must obviously not be allowed to happen. Once again, I can only support what some of the previous speakers have said in this respect.
20.8 Our projects can be effective only if they are first studied and then carried out by the Secretariat, which must possess accurate information, constantly brought up to date, and must keep in touch the whole time with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Here again, I would emphasize the need to avoid any kind of dispersal of efforts, particularly at the administrative level. The headquarters must be equipped to send its representatives on mission everywhere, whenever necessary and to every kind of country. We must therefore avoid using these new funds, undreamed of even a few weeks ago, for the proliferation of permanent administrative posts, or the creation of peripheral posts and satellite centres.
20.9 These are the few remarks it was my duty to make and in the light of which the French delegation will vote for the proposal contained in 11 C/DR/50.

21. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Secretary of the General Conference to make several announcements.

22.1 Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French):
The President of the General Conference has requested me to communicate the following information to the Conference regarding the work done by the General Committee at its meeting this morning. The Chairman of the Programme Commission informed the Committee that his Commission, on 18 November, had decided to request the Committee to consider the receivability of twenty draft resolutions involving the undertaking of new activities or a substantial increase in budgetary expenditure. By 18 votes, with 1 abstention, the General Committee decided to refer these draft resolutions back to the Programme Commission, requesting that the Bureau of the Commission study them, in conjunction with the delegations submitting them and the Secretariat, in order to assess their scope and their budgetary implications. Afterwards, the Commission will have to decide whether or not these draft resolutions are receivable.
22.2 Secondly, in accordance with the provisions of Rules 14 and 36 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, the General Committee examined Cuba's request for the inclusion of a new item on the agenda (documents 11 C/39 and 11 C/39 Addendum). After hearing the reasons given by the delegate of Cuba, and after an exchange of views, the General Committee decided: (1) by 13 votes to 3, with 3 abstentions, to close the debate on this request; (2) to recommend to the General Conference that it should not include on its agenda the item proposed by Cuba in documents 11 C/39 and 11 C/39 Addendum. This decision was taken by 9 votes to 3, with 9 abstentions. Finally, the General Committee agreed that this decision should be communicated to the General Conference, if possible during the afternoon's plenary meeting, when the Conference would have taken a decision on the second part of the Administrative Commission's report and on the provisional budget ceiling. In accordance with Rule 14.2 of the Rules of Procedure, and having been informed of the General Committee's recommendation, the General Conference will have to decide on this point by a two-thirds majority.

23. The PRESIDENT:
Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting will now adjourn until 3.30 this afternoon.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NINTH PLENARY MEETING

19 November 1960, at 3.40 p.m.

President: Mr. K.L. SHRIMALI (India)

CONTENTS

Address by the Minister of Education of Ghana 131
Adoption of Part II of the first report of the Administrative Commission (continued) 134
Request for the inclusion of a new item in the agenda . . . 141

ADDRESS BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION OF GHANA

1. The PRESIDENT:

The meeting will come to order, please. The Hon. Mr. Duwuona-Hammond, Minister of Education of Ghana, has to leave Paris soon and therefore desires that he may be given the opportunity to address the Conference. I call upon Mr. Duwuona-Hammond.

2.1 Mr. DUWUONA-HAMMOND (Ghana):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I am grateful for the opportunity given me to speak this afternoon. Allow me first to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this very important post. To the Conference I extend the sincere thanks of the Government and people of Ghana for conferring upon the continent of Africa such an honour this year, by electing H.E. Mr. Akale-Work Abte-Wold of Ethiopia as President of the Conference and by electing two Vice-Presidents from Ghana and Sudan.

2.2 Two years ago the Hon. C.T. Nylander, the then Minister of Education, had the honour of leading the Ghana delegation to the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco, when Ghana became a full member of the Organization. Since that time great changes have taken place in Ghana, the most significant of which have been the adoption by Ghana of a republican constitution and the election of the Hon. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as the first President. The Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has asked me to convey to this Conference his personal good wishes for the success of our deliberations and his hope that thanks to the services and achievements of this Organization, tangible progress will be made towards the attainment of understanding among the nations of the world through the agencies of education, science and culture.

2.3 I would like also to express my personal satisfaction on being here as the leader of the Ghana delegation and to pledge my support and that of my Government for the principles which Unesco upholds.

2.4 In Ghana today there are visible signs of steady and peaceful progress everywhere. Never before in our history has a more strenuous and systematic endeavour been made by the Government and the people to stimulate the development of the country's natural resources and manpower, to increase its wealth, and to equip it with the requisite material apparatus of a modern State. In Lewis Carroll's "Alice Through the Looking Glass" the Red Queen tells Alice: "Here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that". In Ghana, in our effort to get somewhere, we are attempting to run thrice as fast as we can in order to open the way for our whole people to a better and fuller life through abolishing ignorance, poverty and disease and promoting measures which make for cultural advancement. In our endeavours to achieve this purpose we need all the assistance that Unesco can offer us.

2.5 I am happy to say that our status as a full member of Unesco has afforded us fuller participation in the work of this Organization and, in this regard, I would like to mention the positive advantages which the presence of H.E. Mr. Wilfred Benson, Resident Representative of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, has given us. In the field of technical assistance we have maintained our reciprocal arrangements with Unesco and, while accepting the help of experts, we have also provided facilities for holders of Unesco fellowships to pursue interests in those fields which are open to them in Ghana. It is our hope that the operations of the Technical Assistance programme will be intensified in Ghana, where, I can assure you, the possibilities for constructive achievements are very considerable. In this regard, I refer to an appeal I made last Thursday at the meeting of the Programme Commission for the establishment of a "Research Centre in Ghana to deal with contemporary problems in the field of education, science and culture in Tropical Africa, and thus to provide a forum for mutual knowledge and exchange of information on such activities, and also provide statistical data for sound educational planning". As I said then, my Government is prepared "to provide the land, buildings and the finance necessary for the upkeep of the Centre. Unesco's part in the project will be the provision of experts to plan and initiate the project,

to train personnel and provide funds for specialized equipment".

2.6 As the Minister of Education and the Chairman of the National Commission for Unesco in Ghana, it gives me very great pleasure to recount here briefly some of the improvements which have taken place in the educational, scientific and cultural fields in Ghana since the last Conference. The Government has more fully co-ordinated the work of the various educational agencies and has sought to promote education on a national basis. An organizer of day nursery schools has been appointed to regulate and co ordinate the work of these schools and make available the full benefits of these institutions to the children who attend them.

2.7 Much progress has been made in the provision of primary and middle school facilities. I must here state that it is the intention of my Government to introduce universal compulsory primary and middle school education as soon as practicable. We consider the provision of primary education for every child in the community as a responsibility of the highest importance; the rudiments of literacy as the gateway to the enjoyment of a fuller life may be gained through primary education and this, in turn, will help to enrich the rural life which is the lot of a large number of my countrymen. We have recently conducted a population census under the able guidance of Professor Gill, a Unesco expert. Full advantage will be taken of the detailed results of this census in initiating and implementing the plans for universal compulsory primary and middle school education. Plans have also been made to revise the primary and middle school course in order to provide adequate facilities for practical training for all pupils who do not take secondary grammar school courses. The new courses will have a strong bias towards practical science, agriculture, mathematics and manual training. A Textbooks and Publications Committee has been set up to assist in the production of suitable textbooks with a Ghanian and African background. It is intended that the subjects of health and nutrition shall receive due attention in the appropriate textbooks.

2.8 The provision of universal compulsory primary and middle schooling demands a commensurate increase in the number of trained teachers and of teacher-training facilities. We are fully aware of the situation and I am glad to say that the sum of £G 2,746,000 has been set aside for the provision of teacher-training facilities during the period 1961-1964. The proposals include the establishment of a Rural Science Training Centre for the training of teachers of agriculture for the middle schools. This step is calculated to meet the demand for the introduction of modern methods of scientific farming into our middle school curriculum. Co-ordination of the work of teacher-training colleges and the assessment of the results achieved by these institutions have been made possible through the establishment of a National Teacher-Training Council. The research work in the Institute of Education of our University College has led to the establishment of valid selection procedures for several careers and also to the development of effective methods of teaching English as a foreign language.

2.9 The main objective of my Government's Second Development Plan in relation to education is the expansion of secondary school facilities, so that by 1964 an annual intake of 6,000 into the first form and of 1,000 into the sixth form will be achieved. We consider secondary education per se as a level and type of education which has its own purpose. Its usefulness lies not only in raising the culture of a nation but it is also a factor in economic, social and political development. I am pleased to be able to report that considerable progress has already been made in the expansion programme for secondary schools; the number of secondary schools in the public system has increased from 39 in 1958 to 59 in 1960. This outstanding increase demonstrates very clearly the importance the Government attaches to the development of education. In the development of secondary education in particular, the Government's efforts are supplemented greatly by the Ghana Educational Trust which was founded by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as far back as 1948. As regards the curriculum of our secondary schools a further useful development has been the provision of a school certificate examination more closely related to local needs. This new examination will be introduced in June 1961.

2.10 Great progress has been made in the field of technical education. The Unesco Regional Conference for Administrators of Vocational and Technical Education in Tropical Africa, held in Accra in March and April this year, amply repaid the time, energy and funds expended on it. There has been very considerable expansion of our College of Technology which is producing gratifying results in engineering. We have embarked on the training of our own technical teachers at a Technical Teacher-Training Department recently established at Kumasi with experts provided under the United Kingdom Technical Assistance Programme. It is our wish to develop this institution into a regional college and we intend to seek assistance from the United Nations Special Fund for this purpose. Apprenticeship, craft and technician courses have been increased and streamlined in the interests of industry and general development.

2.11 My Government is also aware of the need to provide adequately for the many young people who are handicapped - the deaf, the dumb and the blind. Funds have been provided for extending our schools for the blind and for starting a school for the deaf and dumb. It is realized, however, that much more remains to be done in these fields and a committee has been appointed to estimate the size of the problem and to suggest to the Government ways of dealing with it on a national scale.

2.12 Our University College today has over 600 students nand the programme to provide for 1,000 students in all is nearing completion. A Department for African Studies has been established which we hope will, in due course, become the rallying point for all who wish to understand and appreciate the rôle of Africa in the modern world. I am glad to state that a Women's Hall has been provided in the University College and is meeting a long-felt need. The Institute of Extra-Mural Studies continues to flourish and together with the People's Educational Association is doing good work in the field of adult education. It is hoped that very soon our University College, which operates under terms of special

relationship with the University of London will become autonomous and, together with the Kumasi College of Technology, will form the University of Ghana. A special commission has been appointed to examine the draft constitution and make recommendations for the setting up of the University of Ghana.

2.13 It is my Government's strong resolve to expand education at all levels, quantitatively and qualitatively, and as speedily as possible. In this endeavour we need all the help we can get. Here I may endorse the view that has been expressed elsewhere that an investment in education is also an economic investment. We will be happy therefore to see the extension of the scope of the United Nations Special Fund to cover educational development.

2.14 An Institute of Public Administration has recently been established to train prospective administrative officers for the civil service. Hitherto, a good number of candidates for senior posts in the civil service have come to these posts without previous administrative training, and it is our determination to make good this defect. Since the last Conference we have set up two institutions for the promotion of research and learning. The Ghana Academy of Learning has been established and the Ghana Research Council has been set up to co-ordinate research work in the fields of agriculture, medicine and industry.

2.15 Our Community Development Programme continues to make satisfactory progress in all the four main fields of adult literacy, self-help construction projects, home economics, and extension services in rural areas.

2.16 Since the last Conference 21,300 Ghana literacy certificates have been awarded to new literates in the Ghana languages and 4,700 in English; and 18,800 women have completed courses in home economics. Over 1,200 self-help construction projects have been completed and just over 1,140 are now in progress. A sum of £G 2 million has been set aside for the next five years to support self-help construction projects throughout the country. Extension campaigns have been carried out on behalf of other government departments, principally in the fields of agriculture and health, with very satisfactory results. Our progress in community development work has attracted the attention of the world and a considerable number of foreign visitors have come to Ghana for the specific purpose of studying our methods. At present there are five fellows from other African countries studying community development with us under the CCTA/FAMA Technical Assistance Scheme. It was also our very great privilege last year to sponsor a CCTA seminar which was attended by representatives from African and other countries.

2.17 The Bureau of Ghana Languages continues to fulfil its purpose of increasing and sustaining the level of literacy throughout Ghana so as to enable more people to acquire the habit of reading for a variety of useful purposes. Production of follow-up literature for new literates and extension campaigns are continuing and plans are being made for extending and improving the work of the Bureau to meet the growing needs of the country.

2.18 The Ghana Library Board continues to expand and improve its services owing to the increasing number of professionally qualified Ghanaians on its staff. Considerable attention has been paid to the needs of children and of rural communities in the expansion which has taken place.

2.19 The Ministry of Education has supplied sets of story books to all the primary schools and to most of the middle schools. In order to ensure a regular supply of books, a scheme for a country-wide mobile school library service has been drawn up which is to be put into effect next year. Other plans for the next five years include an extension to the Central Library in Accra, the construction of five new branch libraries, the provision of microfilm equipment, librarian scholarships, the establishment of a research library on current African affairs, and the opening of a School of Librarianship at Accra in September 1961. Our National Museum and the Ashanti Cultural Centre continue to expand and to attract visitors from all over the country and abroad.

2.20 In response to an appeal from Unesco, Ghana is also financing an expenditure of £G 7,000 for rescue excavations and research in that part of the Nile Valley soon to be flooded by the waters of the Aswan Dam. It is hoped that the findings will prove of immense value to the cultural history of Ghana, as we believe that we have close cultural and religious ties with the ancient kingdom of the Nile.

2.21 The Ghana Arts Council has been set up for the promotion, development and appreciation of all forms of art, and for the preservation and encouragement of the traditional arts and culture of Ghana. The Arts Council of Ghana will welcome offers of assistance from other Member States of Unesco, particularly by way of sponsoring visits to Ghana by national orchestras, dramatic and dance companies, artists and craftsmen. Since the last General Conference there has been a striking increase in the radio audience from 600,000 to 1,000,000. This means that more than 14% of the population are able to listen to the radio. Radio Ghana now broadcasts for over 100 hours a week in English, French and the six main Ghanaian languages and about 20% of this time is devoted to adult educational programmes. Our schools broadcast now caters for primary, middle and secondary schools and teacher-training colleges. As part of our contribution to the Unesco Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, we continue to exchange recordings of traditional and popular music with other broadcasting organizations of the world. Radio Ghana has sent 249 recorded materials to 28 other broadcasting organizations of the world and has received 566 similar materials from 26 broadcasting organizations since January 1960. Plans are being made for the establishment of a Television Service.

2.22 Mr. President, fellow delegates, the progress I have outlined so far is but a brief summary of the changes which are taking place in educational, social and cultural spheres in my country. By the nature of things, the significance of these changes cannot be fully conveyed in such an account as I have given. But this I can say, seldom has any society undergone within so short a time a greater change in structure as well as in spirit. The triumph of science and of democracy has come about almost at the same time. To meet the demands of both science and democracy a community must be educated. We have set out to bring our nation to the level of education which will enable us to take advantage of the full benefits of science and democracy.

2.23 Constant revision of means and methods is vital if we are to attain our objectives. The forum that Unesco supplies for this purpose is one that we greatly appreciate and are determined to use to the best advantage. What we and other Member States achieve by means of this healthy co-operation will become the common heritage of civilization, and this I consider is the greatest and noblest contribution to the unity of the world and to the achievement of the purposes for which Unesco stands. The Government and people of Ghana have the deepest respect for Unesco and, to cite the words of our President before the United Nations General Assembly, we "look upon the United Nations as the only organization that holds out any hope for the future of mankind". In this context, United Nations should not mean only the parent organization, but all its Specialized Agencies.

2.24 The Government and people of Ghana have noted with deep concern the unfortunate position in which the Republic of China has been placed by circumstances beyond their control in the matter of arrears in payment of their contributions to this Organization. On the other hand, the Government and people of Ghana note with deep regret that the People's Republic of China, as a member of the community of nations, should be deprived of the benefits of the activities of the United Nations or any of its Agencies. On that score, Mr. President, with your permission, I beg to quote our President in his speech before the United Nations General Assembly last September.

"I feel constrained to pass a few remarks on the continued existence of the People's Republic of China outside the framework of the United Nations. The Government of Ghana has always supported the view that the People's Republic of China should be admitted to the United Nations so that the representation of China in this Assembly will be more realistic and more effective and useful.

We believe that the People's Republic of China, representing some six hundred and thirty million people, and with the vast economic, scientific and technological resources that she is rapidly developing, can have a useful and constructive contribution to make towards the maintenance of peace and the advancement of civilization in our time".

2.25 Ghana has no axe to grind in this matter and it is hoped that our comments will be taken in the spirit in which they are made. Our concern is for a situation to be created in which all nations will benefit from the work of Unesco. Many a speaker from this rostrum since the Conference began has pointed out the need for us to explore all avenues to remove fear and distrust which divides one nation from the other today. As I said from this rostrum a few days ago, it is only when hate, fear and greed are removed and peace and understanding established that the billions, if not millions of dollars used in the manufacture of weapons for war can be turned to the service of mankind. The Government and people of Ghana believe that Unesco can in a way help promote this needed understanding among nations of the world through education, science and culture.

2.26 Mr. President, one point and I am done. The Government and people of Ghana regret very much that Portugal is not a Member States of Unesco because we feel that there is a great need of the activities of Unesco in the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. Here is a glaring example of the evils of colonialism and imperialism. While on one hand Angola and Mozambique are suffering from the ill-effects of colonialism - of oppression and suppression, exploitation and degradation - they are prevented on the other hand - because their "so-called" masters are not a Member State of the Organization - from enjoying the fruits, the blessings of Unesco which lead to advancement of education, science and culture. As an African, I cannot help but appeal to Unesco to explore all possible avenues in giving help to these our unfortunate brothers.

2.27 I cannot end, Mr. President, without thanking Unesco for its contribution to the United Nations efforts in the Congo. I wish also to thank Unesco once more for document 11 C/PRG/3 on the programme for Tropical Africa 1961-1962, introduced in the Programme Commission last Thursday by Mr. Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General. As I said then, whatever comments some delegates may perhaps make on the inadequacy of the amount, it is gratifying that such a move has been made towards Africa. In his statement to the Commission it was appreciated that the vital need for us in Africa is advancement of education. This advancement of education not only in Africa but in the whole world, I am sure, is one of the main functions of Unesco. It will be in order therefore that in the administration of Unesco an Assistant Director-General solely responsible for education should be appointed. This will enable the Organization to pay greater attention to and concentrate on the various aspects of educational programmes which are needed by the Member States, especially the underdeveloped countries. Concerning this programme for Tropical Africa, I cannot hesitate on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana to express our warmest thanks to all governments of Member States which have donated so generously and have therefore made this financial aid possible for Africa, and particularly the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany for their generous contributions.

ADOPTION OF PART II OF THE FIRST REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION (continued)

3. The PRESIDENT:

The Conference is asked to consider item 16 of the agenda - Adoption of the draft resolution on the provisional spending and assessment levels for 1961-1962. I shall call on H.E. Mr. Matsui, delegate of Japan.

4.1 Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (Translated from the French):

Mr. President, I do not know what contribution I can make to the discussion but I shall try to submit a few relevant findings. The first is this: if the activities of the Organization increase, it is natural for its budget to increase also. And surely, in all conscience the existing situation, not only in Africa but in other regions too, calls for a considerable expansion of Unesco's activities. New action is necessary in other fields as well as in education. It is therefore natural for the budget to be increased. We are often told that administrative costs should be

reduced as far as possible, and some members have even referred to a saving of from 10 to 15 per cent. But it is obvious, if activities are undertaken in new fields, that administrative costs must increase proportionally. It would be too much to ask the Secretariat to do more work at lower administrative costs. This is the first point I wanted to make.

4.2 Here is the second. The representative of Peru observed that the Unesco budget was dependent on the contributions of Member States, which is as much as to say that it falls upon the shoulders of the taxpayers in those States. The watchful spokesman of the taxpayers is, of course, the Minister of Finance, who is continuously appealing to us to make every effort to economize. We cannot commit ourselves to considerable increases in the budget unless the expenditure is justified, and this brings me to my third point.

4.3 It is clear from the two previous points that a happy mean must be found in satisfying the claims of Member States. In the present situation, a fair balance must be maintained between Unesco's planned activities and the emergency expenditure forced on it by circumstances. At the same time, we should try to make justifiable savings in the Organization's expenditure. It is in this spirit that I should like to support the United States proposal, on the understanding that the figure of $ 31,597,628 is the budget ceiling and that the million dollar increase proposed by the United States will be devoted more particularly to education in Africa, but without prejudice to any decision that the Programme Commission might reach on the fair distribution of this sum and its use for other purposes that might be considered necessary.

4.4 I would be very loth to accept the argument that this budget ceiling is provisional and that as a result other valid reasons might be found to tell us that we must accept another increase to satisfy the requests of Member States. In short, I repeat that the total of $ 31,597,628 must be a maximum, if I am to be able to justify my approval of the United States proposal to the taxpayers of my country.

4.5 I should like to take this opportunity to appeal to the Director-General to make constant efforts during the 1961-1962 period itself to economize as far as possible in the use of the financial means at his disposal - and not only in the administrative sphere but in all those fields where he would have valid reason for so doing. I am sure that he will give my appeal very serious consideration.

5.1 The PRESIDENT:

Before calling upon the next speaker I have an announcement to make. It was expected that the Administrative Commission would meet at 4.30 this afternoon, but since we have not been able to vote on the spending and assessment levels, the meeting of the Administrative Commission has been cancelled.

5.2 I now call upon the Head of the delegation of Mexico.

6.1 Mr. YAÑEZ (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, those countries whose resources are insufficient to meet their own needs are hesitant - and this is understandable - with regard to the budget increase of an international organization like Unesco.

6.2 But this increase is justified in order to meet the urgent educational and cultural needs existing in different parts of the world and, more particularly, in the new Member States whose needs we fully recognize.

6.3 If the majority of the delegations are in favour of the increased budget, Mexico will vote in support. However, we consider that an increase in the Unesco budget, to which all the Member States contribute, should be used for the needs of the world as a whole and not devoted to a single region, even if it may happen to be one's own.

6.4 Unesco already has adequate institutional channels available including the Special Account, for cases in which individual States or groups of States need additional resources in order to intensify operations under existing regional projects.

6.5 The extraordinary contributions from States possessing greater resources might be received by Unesco and earmarked for special projects, without prejudice to the world-wide activity proper to the Organization's programme.

6.6 For these reasons, the delegation of Mexico, if a decision is taken to increase the budget, will support the Brazilian proposal which, by calling for a general balance, is more in line with the universal objectives of the Organization.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon H.E. Dr. Ronald Walker, Head of the Australian delegation. Dr. Walker is not a stranger to this Conference, he was the President of the fourth session of the General Conference and also one-time Chairman of the Executive Board of Unesco.

8.1 Mr. WALKER (Australia):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is an honour and a pleasure for me to appear again at a Unesco Conference after an absence of quite a number of years. The subject on which I speak for the first time in the plenary session is that of our budget ceiling. The viewpoint of the Australian delegation on questions of a budgetary nature has always been one of careful scrutiny and one of appeal to organizations for economy. We have always taken the view that everything possible should be done to avoid overlapping of the activities of different international agencies and to concentrate the available money and resources on really important international projects. We have always stressed also how essential it is to have regard to other programmes and responsibilities that are being undertaken by Member States in the international field.

8.2 Today, Mr. President, we have before us four different proposals regarding the provisional spending level for the next two years. I am very happy to say that it is the position of the Australian delegation that the General Conference should adopt the highest of these four figures, $ 31,597,628 as the provisional spending level for the next two years.

8.3 Mr. President, the Executive Board had proposed a figure of a little more than $30,500,000 and the Director-General had proposed certain additions. We were already favourable to some increase above the figure provisionally suggested by the Board, which of course was subject to any decisions to be

taken by this Conference, because of the operations undertaken by Unesco in relation to the problems of the Congo. It is the view of the Australian delegation that some of the attendant administrative expenses could appropriately be carried under the budget. However, Mr. President, the basic reason why we support the highest of the four figures submitted to the Conference is our recognition of the urgency of the needs of Africa and of the supreme importance of this Organization playing its part in helping the countries of Africa with their programmes of educational development.

8.4 As a country just on the edge of Asia, Australia has in the past always been particularly conscious of the needs of Asia, not only in the field of education but in all the various aspects of economic and social development. We have ourselves made considerable efforts to assist our neighbours in Asia: at present in Australia there are some 6,000 Asian students in Australian schools, colleges and universities; in our universities and higher institutions there are some 3,000 Asian students, many of whom are on scholarships provided by the Australian government; and the position today is that every twentieth student in an Australian university comes from Asia. We shall continue to give this and other kinds of assistance to Asia and we look forward in the future to increased activity also on the part of Unesco in these countries that are neighbours of Australia.

8.5 But at this stage in the world's history, when in this Organization as in others we are welcoming so many newly independent nations of Africa, it is only natural that the whole world and that Unesco should be prepared to concentrate a substantially larger part of its programme towards meeting the urgent needs of Africa. And although Africa is far from Australia we have already taken certains steps in this direction. Just recently we have had two educational missions visiting a number of countries in Africa, studying their problems and investigating the ways in which Australia in the future can directly assist those countries in specific aspects of their educational development.

8.6 At this time, Mr. President, we are welcoming to our midst new members from Africa. It would be a very natural thing that our programme should reflect the increased African membership, quite apart from any other consideration of the special needs of this area.

8.7 For these reasons, the Australian delegation has great pleasure in supporting in general terms the United States proposal to devote an extra million dollars or thereabouts to the educational programmes of this Organization in connexion with Africa. What we are voting on, of course, at this session of the General Conference is the budget ceiling, not on the detailed allocation of the funds. In voting for this figure of $31,597,628 the Australian delegation understands that we are setting the framework within which the Programme Commission will consider various projects with a view to bringing forward to the General Conference recommendations as to the programme and the budgetary arrangements that are necessary to give effect to them.

9. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon Mr. Lavrichenko, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

10.1 Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the General Conference has been presented with proposals regarding the Organization's budget for 1961-1962, which envisage a considerable increase in Unesco expenditure as compared with the previous budget. In discussing such an important question as the Organization's budget it is essential to know for what purposes and in execution of what concrete measures it is planned to spend these Unesco funds. It would therefore be advisable for the Conference to begin by thoroughly discussing the Director-General's proposals for the programme of activities of the Organization for the two years concerned, and only then, after the proposals of all the delegations have been taken into account, would it be possible to make a reasoned decision on whether the Organization's budget should be amended. However, since the Conference has adopted a different procedure for examining these questions I should like to put forward some of the Soviet Union delegation's points concerning the proposal for the total amount of the budget for 1961-1962.

10.2 The Head of the Soviet Government, Mr. N.S. Khruschev, in his message to the eleventh session of the General Conference, which was read out here a few days ago, said that "Unesco can make a significant contribution to the glorious task of building up a world without war, a world without armaments, a world without oppressed and enslaved peoples. Only under conditions of lasting peace", he stressed, "can there be really fruitful collaboration between scientists, cultural workers and educators in all countries with a view to solving the many weighty problems confronting mankind". The Unesco Constitution also speaks of the necessity for consolidating peace and raising the level of well-being of nations, of respect for the human personality without regard to race or to political or religious convictions.

10.3 What successes has Unesco so far achieved in this noble and humane task? It has to be recognized in answer to this question that the Organization has certain successes to its credit. Useful work is also envisaged in Unesco's programme for 1961-1962 in the field of educational development in Africa, Asia and Latin America and in oceanography, seismology etc. At the same time, it has to be stated that Unesco's programme of activity takes no account of the need for active participation in the solution of the most urgent problems of the day, namely, the application of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and economic systems, the struggle for general and complete disarmament, the elimination of the shameful colonial system, and in particular the removal of the after-effects of colonialism in the fields of education, science and culture.

10.4 How deeply colonialism has left its roots in the formerly oppressed countries is apparent, gentlemen, from the documents distributed to us at this Conference. In the report on the needs of Asia in primary education, it is pointed out that in order to eliminate illiteracy among children of school age, funds are required to a total of $56,000 millions. Upwards of 70 million Asian children of school age

are not attending school. In the African countries - I take my figures from Unesco documents - there are over 15 million children of school age in the same position.

10.5 One of the speakers declared during our discussions that the world did not have the funds available for solving these problems. I beg to differ, however, the world has the available funds for rapidly eliminating the shameful system of colonialism. Please remember that $ 100,000 million are wasted every year on armaments. I reiterate, the amount wasted on armaments every year is $ 100,000 million, of which about $ 46,000 million are squandered by the United States of America. It is clear therefore, that the creation, with the support of Unesco, of an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of general and complete disarmament is the key question which will effectively enable us to make headway, with seven-league strides, in the matter of eliminating illiteracy and providing instruction and education. Is it not clear, fellow delegates, that only under conditions of peace can there be a real flowering of science, education and culture and a speedy solution of the problems confronting the economically underdeveloped countries? How can the work of Unesco be effective if it does not strive to create the basic conditions essential for the successful fulfilment of its programme?

10.6 Furthermore, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the General Conference is presented at each of its sessions with proposals for increasing Unesco's budget without any sufficiently marked improvement ever occurring in the Organization's work. Just as before, the Organization's funds are being scattered on a host of insignificant undertakings. Just as before, considerable sums are being spent on conducting all manner of protracted investigations and surveys that produce no practical results. In such circumstances, every new proposal for increasing the budget inevitably causes uneasiness among the Member States, which ask themselves how long the budget is to go on increasing without any radical improvement taking place in the Organization's work.

10.7 It is essential, in the opinion of the Soviet Union delegation, to establish firm figures for the Unesco budget. We are convinced that even within the framework of a fixed total budget there would be wide scope in Unesco for augmenting the allocations for programme activities without an increase in the contributions of Member States. The Unesco Secretariat should accordingly make a determined effort to improve its working methods, simplify the organizational structure of the apparatus, reduce administrative costs and achieve the goal of carrying out all its activities with a smaller staff.

10.8 In the meantime, the Proposed Programme a and Budget for 1961-1962 provides for an increase of almost 100 in the Secretariat staff. The expenses for temporary staff, for staff travel and for services is inordinately high. Can it be considered normal that the staff engaged in what is called General Administration, under which come the Office of the Director-General, the Bureau of the Comptroller, the Bureau of Personnel and the Bureau of Conference Planning and General Services, should amount to 250, as compared with a total figure of 650 in the programme departments? Is it normal that a quarter of the Organization's budget should be spent on administration and common services? The present outlay on office supplies, furniture, communications and freight etc., is far too high.

10.9 Instead of taking measures to reduce these expenses, the Director-General proposes to increase them by almost $ 1,000,000. We see no justification for example, for the steep increase of nine in the staff of the Office of the Director-General, or for the additional seven posts for the Bureau of Personnel, or for the additional staff for the International Exchange Service, and so on. Our aim should be, not to expand the staff, but rather to improve the organization of work. Staff costs, which are already excessively high, should not be indefinitely increased. We cannot waste half the Organization's funds on staff salaries and on the construction of the new building. It is time to put an end to this waste of the Organization's funds to little purpose.

10.10 Fellow delegates, in making these criticisms the Soviet delegation is moved by only one desire: to help the Organization to expend the funds contributed by the Member States wisely, rationally and to good purpose. Every rouble, every franc and every dollar represents human labour, remember, and we have no right to spend the people's money without profit to the essential cause in view.

10.11 The Soviet Union is giving disinterested aid to the underdeveloped countries of South East Asia on a considerable scale in order to help foster their economy, culture and science. The Soviet Government has allocated thousands of millions of roubles for these purposes in the conviction that they are being used for the most vital needs of those countries on the road to independent development. Our Organization's aim should also be that budget allocations should be used directly for the development of education, the elimination of illiteracy, the creation of a body of skilled local workers and the promotion of science and culture in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and especially in the African States which have recently achieved political independence.

10.12 The Soviet Union delegation considers it necessary, in this connexion, to instruct the Director-General to formulate concrete proposals to reduce administrative expenditure and staff employed in the general administration of the Secretariat by 15%, so that all the funds released could be used for educational requirements and the elimination of illiteracy in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

10.13 Mr. President, in view of the fact that many countries are faced with vitally important problems in regard to the speedy elimination of the after-effects of colonialism, and that it is incumbent upon Unesco to take a most active part in solving these problems, and bearing in mind the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the representatives of the sovereign States of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who have applied to our Conference with requests for effective and concrete aid, the Soviet Union delegation expresses its readiness to vote for the proposed level of the Unesco budget for 1961-1962. At the same time, we hope that the increased budget will, in fact, be spent on the paramount essential needs of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon H.E. Dr. Raadi, Head of the delegation of Iran.

12.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the delegation of Iran, in accordance with the instructions it has received, will be able to vote for the budget increase proposed by the Director-General within the framework of document 11 C/5 Add.

12.2 We should have liked to do the same in the case of the other increases proposed, with which we have every sympathy, but the fact that these proposals were communicated to our Government belatedly, thus making it impossible for it to examine them in detail either from the budgetary angle or from that of the planned use of the funds concerned, compels us, while awaiting new instructions which we hope will be positive and favourable, to adopt an attitude of reserve for the moment.

12.3 I take this opportunity to make a general observation of a somewhat technical nature on the question before us in the hope that it will be considered by the competent organ of the General Conference when directives for the future programme are being drawn up, as well as by the Executive Board and the Director-General.

12.4 It is high time for Unesco, in the light of the experience gained, to seek a rational solution to the problems of financing its budget, both on the procedural level and from the standpoint of resources. There is no doubt that Unesco's activities are expanding and that its budget is growing, as it inevitably must, from one session to the next. But history of the previous sessions - especially those of Florence and New Delhi - and also the experience of the present session, to some extent, provide plenty of evidence that all these increases have been proposed, debated, opposed or adopted in an atmosphere of uncertainty, not to say confusion and improvisation.

12.5 To avoid these drawbacks and to ensure Unesco's harmonious development and a regular but not unexpected increase in its budget, would it not be possible to introduce a rule whereby the Director-General would be authorized in advance to prepare the future programme, in the course of each budgetary period, within the framework of a budget automatically increasable by a reasonable percentage, say 10, 15 or 20 per cent over the previous budget? In this way, with the ceiling for regular and ordinary increases in the budget being fixed in accordance with a pre-established principle, the Director-General, the Executive Board and the Member States would find it easier, in preparing the programme, to reach agreement on priorities and on the scope of new activities; and the consultations, more fruitful if less numerous, would take place in an atmosphere of complete understanding.

12.6 In other words, if this principle is adopted, the provisional ceiling for every budget will henceforward be known at least two years in advance, the Director-General will take it into account in drawing up his future programme, and the Member States will be able to draw the necessary conclusions from the latter in good time in making an approximate estimate of their contributions.

12.7 It goes without saying that this regular increase would be devoted to the normal and anticipated expansion of the programme, and would be met by the contributions of Member States.

12.8 However, to make it possible for the Director-General to act with reasonable speed in the case of certain important and exceptional problems - as was the case this year after the recent decisions of the Economic and Social Council on Tropical Africa - it would in our opinion be advisable to consider setting up an emergency fund. This fund would receive its resources not from the contributions of Member States for the Regular programme but from extra-budgetary sources such as voluntary contributions, the Special Account and, if possible, from savings made on previous regular budgets.

12.9 Finally, subject to a thorough examination and later negotiations, Unesco, in order to finance this emergency fund and for certain other operations, might possibly seek a loan from the International Development Association in accordance with Article V.2.C of the latter's Articles of Agreements.

12.10 As to the methods used in preparing the programme and budget, we agree - pending the response evoked by our modest suggestions - with the new system proposed by the Director-General in document 11 C/29, with one reservation.

12.11 It is essential that the proposed programme and budget be sent to Member States - always within the framework of the present system or that proposed by the Director-General - at least two months before the opening of the session of the General Conference, without any possibility of submitting corrigenda or addenda involving a rise in the budget ceiling after that date. We believe that in any case, the Director-General would have no need to have recourse to addenda if the principle of automatic increases recommended by us is applied.

12.12 However that may be, it has to be recognized that as matters stand these corrigenda, sometimes pouring in in successive waves on the eve of Conference sessions, take not only the Executive Board but even more the delegations and ministries of education of the Member States, unawares and compel them to engage in repeated negotiations with their ministries of finance in order to obtain their successive agreement on a budgetary plan which changes from one day to the next.

12.13 There have, of course, been exceptional circumstances which have justified the preparation of corrigenda and the delay in communicating the proposed programme and budget this year, but these exceptions must in no circumstances be allowed to become the rule. In conclusion, Mr. President, and without disputing Unesco's competence in the field of music, we trust that in the future the accordeon will not be the only instrument providing the leit-motiv in estimating the budget ceiling for each programme.

13. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the Head of the delegation of Nicaragua, Dr. Quintanilla.

14.1 Mr. QUINTANILLA (Nicaragua) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, to begin with I have much pleasure in welcoming the entrance of the independent States of Africa into this great family of Unesco.

14.2 As the representative of Nicaragua, a Latin American country which has had in the past to fight

for its national independence and which is now fighting to safeguard the basic values of its culture and spiritual heritage, I can only welcome the arrival of the young African nations which are joining our Organization in order to assert their vocation to freedom and to defend their right to education, science and culture.

14.3 My attitude here should not be interpreted, therefore, as opposition to the basic aid which the African nations need, look forward to and merit, but as a whole-hearted wish to find an equitable solution to the important problem of the Organization's budget ceiling for the 1961-1962 period.

14.4 The delegation of Nicaragua views sympathetically the proposals submitted by the delegations of Brazil and the United States of America respectively. They each represent a substantial increase which will reinforce Unesco's work, open new possibilities of action to this great international institution, and involve financial responsibilities which all countries should face up to in a noble spirit of co-operation and international solidarity.

14.5 However, my delegation has certain reservations, Mr. President, as regards the purpose for which these budget increases will be used. We are afraid that the additional resources may be diverted unilaterally to the detriment of the increases required for other programmes initiated by Unesco in other parts of the world.

14.6 The delegation of Nicaragua will support any increase in the Organization's budget which is based on the equitable distribution of its resources, on a sound administrative policy, and on adequate financial support for the new programmes of expansion.

14.7 We are of the opinion, Mr. President, that the projects initiated by Unesco in the Western hemisphere, among which the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, is an outstanding example of effectiveness, should be maintained and developed in order that the effort should not peter out in lack of interest or abandonment.

14.8 We believe that our Organization owes a debt to Africa, and that the United States proposal will help to rectify a great wrong; but we think that the Brazilian proposal more closely matches the interests of the Latin American peoples, who are now engaged in an unremitting struggle to overcome the results of underdevelopment, to raise their living standards and to rescue 70 million Latin Americans from the moral destitution to which illiteracy subjects them.

14.9 Mr. President, we should like to vote for the budget with the highest ceiling, and would therefore suggest that agreement be reached between the delegations of Brazil and the United States, so that a unified and satisfactory formula can be found which would reconcile the generous motives inspiring them both.

14.10 Perhaps the Director-General should be given some latitude in applying the new resources to be used so as to place the main emphasis on Africa but without disregarding the programmes now developing in Asia, the Arab States and Latin America.

14.11 I have every confidence, Mr. President, in the Secretariat's ability and in the Director-General's sound judgement, prudence and wisdom. They should be left to establish the necessary priorities between the needs of Member States and present us with a balanced programme with its general lines revised.

14.12 I am also convinced, Mr. President, that Brazil and the United States of America, those two great countries of the new world, to whose initiative we owe this major step in placing greater resources at Unesco's disposal, will find a common path and thus enable the Latin American delegations to this Conference to approve the budget ceiling unanimously. In this way, fellow Latin American delegates, the spiritual unity of the continent will be vigorously maintained at this memorable Conference of Unesco.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon Mr. Klibi, of the delegation of Tunisia.

16.1 Mr. KLIBI (Tunisia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour and pleasure of speaking for the first time at a plenary meeting, on behalf of the Tunisian delegation, in order to express its attitude on the proposals made with regard to item 16 of the agenda.

16.2 I shall be brief, and shall confine myself to a few observations giving the reasons for my delegation's support of the United States proposal in document 11 C/DR/50. In the first place, it seems to me that since we have admitted a large number of newly independent States this year, and since most of these are African, it would be logical for us to be able to meet our responsibilities towards these new Member States. Their needs are urgent and are confronting our Organization with a new situation which we cannot ignore.

16.3 In addition, reference has been made to discrimination. I think that the word was mistakenly used, for there is no question of discrimination but rather of the scientifically and clearly recognized urgency of certain needs which it is for us to satisfy. What we are faced with, therefore, is a duty of human solidarity, as it were, which we would be fulfilling for the benefit of a group of formerly underprivileged countries. It would be more accurate, I feel, to speak of a priority given to a geographical region, the needs of which are apparent to all. This form of priority can be compared, moreover, to that granted by a country for the development of a particular region within its borders so as to enable it to overcome its backwardness as compared with the rest of the country. Any action which seeks to be effective must proceed on these lines, and must therefore be planned in accordance with orders of priority and urgency.

16.4 Comparing the two proposals before us - those of Brazil and of the United States of America - we see that the total sums referred to in both are much the same. A decision to use them simultaneously for a great number of tasks inevitably involves a risk of dispersal of effort, and ultimately of ineffectiveness.

16.5 Mr. President, it has been repeatedly said that this is Africa's year, and even that this present session was being held under the sign of Africa. I believe it is our duty to see that this claim is concretely reflected in our actions.

17.1 The PRESIDENT:

The General Conference is now asked to vote a figure which will represent the provisional spending

level for the budget for 1961-1962. The vote is on the proposition furthest removed from that of the Director-General, namely the proposal of the United States of America for the provisional spending level of $ 31,597,628. It will be the task of the Programme Commission and Administrative Commission to work out the details of how this sum is to be utilized, taking into special account the educational needs of Africa.
17.2 I now call upon the Head of the delegation of Brazil, H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro.

18.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, the sole object of the point of order I wish to raise is to make quite clear to the meeting the sense of what you have just said concerning the vote we are about to take. If I have understood aright, you are asking us to decide on a budget ceiling which would be that proposed by the United States delegation - $ 31,597,628, it being understood that the Programme Commission will be able to take this figure into account in considering the programme as presented by the Director-General and in the form resulting from the new proposals presented to the General Conference, without any other conditions being attached to it at the moment than that, of course, of paying special attention to the problem of Africa, with which we are all concerned.
18.2 If this is the case, Mr. President, I should like to make an earnest appeal to this gathering to approve the budget ceiling proposed by the United States of America, if not by acclamation, should our Rules not permit us to do so, then at least by a very large majority.

19.1 The PRESIDENT:
I think the position has been made very clear. We are voting on the figure as a whole proposed by the United States of America. It will be for the Programme Commission and the Administrative Commission to work out the details of how this amount will be utilized, of course, taking into account the needs of new Member States. Since a two-thirds majority is required to pass this budget, it will be necessary to take a vote by roll-call.
19.2 The delegate of Uruguay wishes to speak on a point of order.

20.1 Mr. PONS (Uruguay) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, the delegation of Uruguay regards the proposals for a higher budget ceiling presented by the United States of America and Brazil as very commendable, for they increase the volume of Unesco's expenditure and resources, with the consequent possibility of enlarging the scope of Unesco's work.
20.2 While fully appreciating the lofty motives inspiring the United States proposal, Uruguay will vote for that submitted by Brazil, which it regards as taking more effective and equitable account of the universality of the objectives for which this Organization was founded.

21.1 The PRESIDENT:
I am afraid this is not a point of order. You may speak only on the point of order now. The delegation of Uruguay is quite free to vote as it wishes, but you may now speak only on the point of order.
21.2 We shall now take the roll-call vote.

22. (The vote was taken by roll-call.
Voted in favour: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, India, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan Jordan, Korea, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Federation of Malaya, Mexico, Monaco, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States of America, Viet-Nam, Yugoslavia.
Abstained: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Iran, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela.
Absent: Burma, Cambodia, Dahomey, Dominion Republic, Gabon, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Upper Volta, Uruguay).

23.1 The PRESIDENT: The result of the vote is as follows: 63 in favour; none against; 12 abstentions; and 21 absent. The resolution is thus adopted in full.
23.2 I call upon the Director-General.

24.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, may I be permitted to say how greatly heartened I am by the result of this vote, which constitutes a basis of work for the Conference.
24.2 Some days ago, several delegates requested that the General Conference should get down to work by examining in detail the programme and its administrative implications. This work has already begun, but the result of your vote now gives it a solid basis, which cannot but augur well for the Conference's activities.
24.3 I should like to add one point. In view of the fact that several delegations referred, during the discussion, to certain aspects of the programme and to certain aspects of administration, and also alluded to certain pointers which they wished to give the Director-General for the future, I should like to say that I have already taken careful note of the remarks and recommendations formulated, and shall make it my bounden duty to base myself on them during this Conference in considering and interpreting the directives that you may be good enough to give me.
24.4 More particularly, I thank the delegations of Brazil and the United States of America for their proposals for increasing the budget which have culminated in this extremely stimulating result. I also express my thanks to the General Conference on behalf of the Secretariat as a whole.

REQUEST FOR THE INCLUSION OF A NEW ITEM IN THE AGENDA

25.1 The PRESIDENT:
With reference to the new item introduced by the delegation of Cuba, the General Committee has ruled that the item should not be included in the agenda. According to the Rules of Procedure we shall have to take a vote by roll-call, since a two-thirds majority is required for the inclusion of a new item.
25.2 The delegate of Cuba wishes to speak.

26.1 Mr. FERNANDEZ RETAMAR (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco has opened with a chorus of welcome to the new African countries, countries recently decolonized, to which my country, like the whole of our America, is united by so many bonds, just as my country is united to all those fighting against imperialism and colonialism.
26.2 This welcome, which has been repeated over and over again and in which we seem to be unanimous, will be no more than an empty phrase if it is not accompanied by an agreement to help maintain all nations in conditions of true freedom and to condemn any attempt at intervention by one country in the affairs of another on account of economic, social or cultural differences. Such was the sense of the Republic of Cuba's proposal.
26.3 The new item proposed by Cuba is the natural corollary to this welcome to the new countries.
26.4 Allow me, fellow delegates, to quote from memory, for I have not the text before me, from a notable lecture by the great poet Paul Valéry on the origins of the First World War, in which he said that the reasons which might lead contemporary writers to turn towards those of classical times were not imaginary but were to be found in the newspapers.
26.5 In the same way, fellow delegates, the reasons which should compel this distinguished gathering to accept so vital an item as the Cuban proposal in its agenda are far from imaginary; they are to be found in the newpapers, if I may quote Paul Valéry.
26.6 Hence, the rejection of this item, and by an intellectual organization at that, would be tantamount to closing one's eyes to an extremely serious fact which affects precisely those nations whose admission we have just greeted with such feeling.
26.7 We did so only a few hours after expressing our keen satisfaction at the final stage marking the twilight of colonialism.
26.8 Fellow delegates, we now have an opportunity of testing the sincerity of those words, the sincerity of the welcome extended in this very hall, before this very gathering.

27.1 The PRESIDENT:
I should like to remind the Conference that the question before the Conference is the very limited question of whether this item is to be included in the agenda or not. The item was referred to the General Committee which ruled that it should not be included. Since two delegations have asked for a vote by roll-call I now ask for a roll-call vote to be taken.
27.2 The delegate from the United States of America wishes to speak but I should like to make it clear that we are not discussing the merits of the case, we are only discussing whether this item should be included in the agenda or not. I call upon Mr. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

28.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America):
Mr. President, the General Committee this morning voted against including this item on the agenda, by a vote of 9 to 3, with 5 abstentions; thus nine representatives felt that this item should not be included upon the agenda. The United States delegation was one of this number, and I think, Mr. President, that it is fair that this Conference should know the reasons for the United States' vote in this matter. First of all, as most delegates here realize, the United States is party to an agreement with the Organization of American States, and in that Agreement there is a specific provision that no member of the Organization of American States shall intervene in the internal affairs of any country. Therefore, Mr. President, I speak as one who is bound by an agreement.
28.2 In any event, however, it is needless for the United States to have an agreement to prevent it from intervening in the affairs of any nation. It is with the deepest regret that I am compelled to appear before you this afternoon, to urge that this matter not be put on the agenda. It is at this moment that my worst fears that something would bring the cold war into this Conference of Unesco are close to being realized. That the political relations between Cuba and the United States are in a state of extreme tension is obvious to everyone in the world. But, as I have said many times, when political tensions are at their worst, that is the time when educational, scientific and cultural relations should be increased and concentrated upon. At a time when many harsh words were being said in Havana about the United States by the Cuban Government, the Cuban people were cheering and throwing flowers at the feet of the American Ballet Theatre, then playing in Havana. Here in Unesco, where we are concerned with the relationship of the people of one country with the people of another country rather than that of the government of one country with the government of another country, there is no reason why we should censure anyone.
28.3 I submit, Mr. President, that no word of censure, no word to the effect that someone is reprehensible, belongs on the agenda of this Conference, and I urge that this item be removed so that we may eliminate forever the discussion of political tension and remain entirely in the realm of those things which bind people together. If we put an item of this kind on the agenda, we are immediately running the danger of turning this Organization into another cold-war political forum. It is a very serious danger; if it happens the United States will have no other recourse than to use everything in its power to preserve its rights, and to wage a cold war into which it will have been unwillingly forced.
28.4 I think this is crucial, I think we are on the very brink of something that may destroy this Conference, I think this is one of the most important issues that have come before us. We have our choice to make, either we can eliminate this from this Conference entirely and go on with our work after approving the budget, or we can put an item on the

agenda which will plunge us into a long political squabble which will take up our time and ruin our efforts. The choice, Mr. President, is with the delegates of this Conference; I am confident that they will make the right choice.

29. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

30.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, no country, I consider, has the right to present our Conference with ultimatums of any kind. Neither is there any need, surely, to address us in a threatening tone, and talk about leaving or not leaving the Conference. This is no way to discuss problems. It is not my intention to plead in favour of the retention of this question on the agenda in the form in which it is put here: I merely wish to draw attention to the fact that Cuba has submitted a resolution which is of great importance for our times. As can be seen from a scrutiny of document 11 C/39, it calls no country whatsoever into question.
30.2 For reasons of formal procedure, the resolution was not included in the agenda but was transmitted to the General Committee, every one of whose meetings I attended. Today, it is true, the resolution was discussed, but it was disposed of in 20 minutes as all the delegates were in a hurry to get to the plenary meeting. And now they would like to tell us that the delegates are in a hurry to have a break. It is quite wrong to treat the discussion of important principles in this manner. It is not a question, in the Cuban proposal, of intervening in the internal affairs of any country, but on the contrary, of no country intervening in the affairs of another. That is what the Cuban proposal is about.
30.3 I should therefore like to submit an amendment which might set all parties at rest: in view of the fact that neither in the General Committee nor here today have we had time to discuss this question in detail, I recommend on the basis of Rule 32 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, that the question of the proposal introduced by Cuba be referred to the Legal Committee for consideration and study. Until it has been carefully studied, we are in no position at the moment to judge whether the formulation of this question is in order or not. I appeal to all of you to consider this question calmly, without haste or unnecessary irritability, for it is of vital importance both for the present day and for the future.

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

32.1 Mr. KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, the General Committee has decided to turn down the Cuban delegation's request that proposal 11 C/39 be included in the agenda. As I have already stated at the meeting of the General Committee, the Czechoslovak delegation considers this ruling unsound. It takes the view that Unesco should act in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and its own principles, which apply to all nations and require them to live in peaceful coexistence and not to intervene in each other's affairs. These principles call for compliance with the request of the Cuban Government, as of any other government which demands discussion of phenomena in conflict with the basic principles set forth in Unesco's Constitution.
32.2 The President proposes that we proceed to vote and decide immediately on the question of whether Unesco should examine the Cuban Government's proposal. As the Czechoslovak delegation regards this question as a very important and complex one, we feel that in such circumstances it would be preferable, before the matter is put to the vote by the Conference, to refer it to the Legal Committee for consideration. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia accordingly supports the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union delegation.

33. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Poland.

34.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, I appear to be the first speaker who was not present at the General Committee meeting where the discussions on this question took place. I am therefore unaware of what took place there, but I must say that I am amazed at this tendency at a General Conference to reject proposals submitted by individual Member States for the inclusion of items in the agenda. In the course of the present session we have rejected several proposals for the inclusion of highly important items in the agenda, to my mind, this is a bad system which infringes the explicit moral rights, if not the formal rights, of individual Member States, and we should not have taken that line.
34.2 As to the agenda item proposed by Cuba, I shall not go into the substance of the question, since all we are discussing at the moment is its inclusion. However, I should like to say that questions connected with the cold war, as was here the case, should not lead to a rise in the temperature of the cold war. It seems to me that what is now being suggested to us here is the rejection of a proposal by Cuba to include in the agenda the question of non-intervention in the fields of science, education and culture. The rejection of this proposal has the effect of warming up the cold war, and I am in complete agreement with the United States delegate that the cold war should not be warmed up.
34.3 But in that case we should together find some means or other so that Member States are not deprived of the possibility of placing questions on the agenda which they consider to be urgent and important from their own standpoint. I consider it necessary to find a way out that would satisfy these Member States. As far as the substance of the question is concerned, I happen to support the text of the proposal. In my opinion we must find a way out that does not run counter to the rights of Member States. The latter must feel themselves fully competent members of our Organization, and it therefore seems to me that the question submitted by Cuba should be discussed. However, in view of the

opposition of the United States delegation to the inclusion of this question in the agenda, I feel that a compromise solution could be adopted: namely, that the legal aspects could first be considered by the Legal Committee of the General Conference.

35. The PRESIDENT:
The delegate of the United States of America rises on a point of order.

36. Mr. THAYER (United States of America):
I rise on a point of order, Mr. President, to say that it seemed to me that no legal question was involved and to ask the Director-General, if no legal question is involved, whether it is appropriate that the proposal should be referred to a Legal Committee? It seems to me that if it is referred to the Legal Committee it must come back to the floor again. I would like to put the question, must it not come back again to the Conference and are we not merely delaying something that is unpleasant?

37. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Director-General.

38. The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):
If I understood correctly, the United States delegate wishes to know whether, from the Secretariat's viewpoint there is any obligation to refer the proposal under discussion to the Legal Committee. That Committee is normally seized of questions having legal implications when they are included in the agenda. The point now under discussion is the inclusion of a new item in the agenda. That is all I can say as regards the usual practice.

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

40.1 Mr. FERNANDEZ RETAMAR (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, I am beset by two feelings at this moment; on the one hand, a feeling of bewilderment which impels me to use my right of reply and contest the reference made to my country, and on the other, a feeling of slight amusement which all of us have shared on account of the circumstances preceding this second occasion on which I have mounted the rostrum. Would that all the serious problems examined at such international gatherings could be approached in the same spirit!
40.2 The reason why I feel myself compelled to reply is that I was surprised at the specific reference to my country in the United States delegate's intervention, although our own proposal is of a general nature, and I have no recollection of having referred to any country whatsoever in my previous speech.
40.3 The United States delegate stressed, if I understood him correctly, the pleasure with which the people of Cuba welcome artistic and cultural performances by artists from the United States, as they do those from any other country of the world, for it is the policy of our Government to stand for the friendship of all nations, for everything that is positive, for everything of a creative nature, for everything related to culture. Many of us have benefited from the culture of the United States and from that of all the peoples of the world, and will continue to benefit if we can manage to go on living, as Bernard Shaw put it; and hence we eschew the error of confusing political circumstances, which are always accidental, with human, intellectual and cultural circumstances.
40.4 The United States delegate also said that no word of censure should be included in the agenda of this meeting, and that our proposal implied such censure.
40.5 I should like to ask, fellow delegates, if we in Unesco do not censure illiteracy, if we do not implicitly censure colonialism when we warmly welcome the peoples who have recently been freed from colonialism, and, on the same level, if we are not obliged to pass censure on intervention by one country in the affairs of another?
40.6 Censure can be positive: that of illiteracy is one example, and that of intervention is another.
40.7 I was also surprised to see the United States delegate apply the tremendous weight of his country in the sense of threatening this gathering if it included in the agenda the item proposed by Cuba.
40.8 Lovers of democracy such as we are, fellow delegates, believe that it is this gathering which should decide in the last instance, and not the weight exerted by any nation or group of nations, however great, whether an item recognized by several delegates as being of vital importance should be included in the agenda or not.
40.9 What would it profit us to eradicate illiteracy if the literates are doomed to perish in a war caused by intervention?
40.10 Fellow delegates, if the proposal to include this item in the agenda raises legal questions upon which its acceptance or rejection may hinge, I agree without hesitation that it should first be considered by the Legal Committee.

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

42. Mr. GANOVSKI (Bulgaria) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, the question which has been raised by the Cuban delegation, and which constitutes the subject of our discussion and our vote here, seems to me to be an extremely interesting and important one, and we should not be in such a hurry to reach a decision on it. The problem of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States does not concern Cuba alone. Again, it is not merely a political question but also a question of culture, science, co-operation, independence, mutual respect between nations, the implementation of the very principles of Unesco's Constitution. And it therefore seems to me, fellow delegates, that we should be in no hurry for otherwise we shall be greatly at fault. Not a single argument has been presented to us here, whether it be political, legal, scientific or moral. We are being asked to vote straight away. It seems to me that the Soviet Union proposal to refer the question under consideration to the Legal Committee, where it can be discussed calmly and thoroughly is the most sensible step that we can take at the present moment. I urge that this proposal be accepted.

43. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I would request the delegates to be brief as we must finish this business as early as possible.

44. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, allow me to quote an extract from the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference. It is stated in Rule 32.2 that the Legal Committee shall consider "any legal question which may be referred to it by the General Conference". In other words, the Legal Committee is required to consider questions of this kind. I therefore request that my amendment to the General Committee's decision be voted on first, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

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

46.1 Mr. MALINSKI (Rumania) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, the sentiments with which the newly independent countries attending the Unesco Conference were greeted gave reason to believe that no question connected with the progress of science, instruction and education would find any obstacle placed in the way of its solution at this Conference. As far as the actual proposal by the Cuban delegate is concerned, we support it in so far as it reflects the problems confronting Cuba. Notwithstanding the fact that this question has already been discussed in the General Committee, I consider that the only competent gathering fully possessed of the prerogative and right to solve this or any other question is the General Conference, which is entitled, as the final and highest instance, to examine and make decisions on this or any other matter.
46.2 The United States delegate recommended that we reject Cuba's proposal in view of the fact that some agreement or other exists, according to him, which already guarantees non-intervention. I feel that the question, if put in this way, is being interpreted in a very narrow sense. For the question is not exclusively one of the relations between the United States and Cuba. It has been raised as a matter of principle on broad lines and from the standpoint of the tasks confronting Unesco.
46.3 The Rumanian delegation earnestly requests, therefore, that this question be examined, in this case as in others, by the committee most competent to do so. As legal issues are involved, it would be the Legal Committee. There is the additional fact that we have nothing to lose, but only stand to gain, if we adopt a decision which has been the subject of further study. We shall then be able to vote in a full knowledge of every aspect of the subject under discussion.

47. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Head of the delegation of Brazil.

48.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Republic of Cuba is part of the great Latin American family; it is part of the community of American States. It would be strange if only one Latin American voice were to be heard in this discussion, and that voices from outside this community should be the only ones to touch on a problem which, by affecting one member of our family, affects us all; and this fact authorizes us to address this member of our family in that brotherly, although clear and outspoken, language which is used so forthrightly in family councils in the Latin world.
48.2 Would it be in order for us to submit a motion to the General Conference of Unesco condemning murder or theft? Are we a court of justice, empowered to consider the whole calendar of possible crimes of humanity so that special proposals can be passed condemning them? My country does not even admit the possibility of intervention in the internal affairs of another country. It simply does not admit it; and all the charters of the international organizations to which we belong, including the Organization of American States and the United Nations, formally condemn the idea.
48.3 It seems to me, my dear Cuban colleague, that it is inappropriate to raise a problem of this kind within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Allow me to say, in all sincerity, that this is neither the place nor time. We Latin Americans - all of us - have too much pride to conceive of the frontiers of one of our countries being violated without our forming a solid front in face of danger. But there is no reason to submit to such a gathering as this, in anticipation, a proposal which is completely outside the scope of our activities, our interests and the instructions we have received.
48.4 Had I had occasion to be present at the General Committee meeting this morning, I would have asked the Cuban delegate to withdraw his proposal. There is no reason at all, in our opinion, why it should feature in the agenda of our Conference, for none of us could possibly agree, ever, to intervention by any State in the affairs of another, on any pretext whatsoever.

49.1 The PRESIDENT:
I think in this matter we must be guided by the Rules of Procedure. In accordance with Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure, new items of an important and urgent character may be added to the agenda by approval of a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. But, in accordance with Rule 36, such new items shall be referred to the General Committee of the Conference for its report before the vote is taken. In accordance with this Rule, the item under discussion was referred to the General Committee and the General Committee has given us a ruling that the item should not be included in this agenda. It is now for the Conference to decide whether to include this item or not. A two-thirds majority will be necessary for approval. I shall now ask for a roll-call.
49.2 The Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wishes to speak on a point of order.

50. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Fellow delegates, we had the honour to propose an amendment to the General Committee's ruling

I request that we vote on that amendment. This, I believe, is completely in accordance with the Rules of Procedure: first we should vote on the amendment to the ruling and then on the ruling itself.

51.1 The PRESIDENT:
According to my understanding of the Rules this is not a legal question. It is for the Conference to decide whether this item should be included in the agenda or not, and there is no point in referring it to the Legal Committee. We shall now take the vote on this item.
51.2 The Head of the delegation of Poland wishes to raise a point of order.

52. Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, with all due respect for your decisions, I feel that the question you have ruled on has not been fully dealt with. It is not clear to me why you gave that ruling. An amendment has been moved that the question be referred to the Legal Committee. The question is indisputably a legal one. According to the Rules of Procedure, the amendment has to be voted on first. I urge you, Mr. President, bearing in mind the observations of the Soviet delegation and myself, to reconsider your ruling. In my view, the amendment should be voted on first. In any case, the Conference has the right to refer any question to any of its committees.

53. The PRESIDENT:
The Head of the delegation of the Philippines wishes to speak on a point of order.

54. Mr. ROMERO (Philippines):
Mr. President and delegates, I rise to a point of order, the only question before this Conference is to determine whether we are going to include this item in the agenda. Thus, any proposal to refer it to the Legal Committee is out of order because that would constitute an admission that the item is already on the agenda. I repeat, Mr. President, I wish to raise the point of order that the only question for determination before this Conference is whether this matter is to be placed on the agenda.

55. The PRESIDENT:
The Byelorussian delegate wishes to speak.

56.1 Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, I am leaving quite aside the substance of the proposal submitted by the Cuban delegation for consideration by the General Conference. On this question, of course, all truth and humanity is on the side of the proposal. Our delegation is extremely disturbed and indignant about the attempt made by the United States representative to force its views on our Conference, to dictate to it and constrain it, to shy away from the solution of vital questions agitating the whole of mankind. Anything in the nature of threats or reservations or provocative conduct is incompatible with the spirit of such a responsible international gathering as our General Conference.
56.2 Our delegation considers it absolutely necessary to support the views of the Soviet Union and other delegations which regard this as a highly important question warranting the closest and most searching study by the Conference. We are entitled to instruct the Legal Committee to examine all these aspects in order that a truly correct and rational decision can be reached. Our delegation insists that the vote be taken first of all on the amendment submitted by the Soviet Union.

57. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Ukrainian delegate.

58. Mr. LITVIN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):
The Ukrainian delegation would like the Legal Adviser to give his opinion on which should be voted on first - the amendment or the proposal.

59.1 The PRESIDENT:
I have given very careful consideration to all the points of view in this matter and I give my ruling that this is not a matter for the Legal Committee. It is for this General Conference to decide whether it wants to include this item or not. If my ruling is not accepted, the only alternative is to put it to the vote.
59.2 I take it then that we put this issue to a vote.
59.3 The delegate of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic wishes to speak.

60. Mr. LITVIN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):
Forgive me, Mr. President, but I made a quite distinct request that the Legal Adviser should clear up the point of whether the amendment or the proposal should be voted on first.

61. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Legal Adviser.

62. Mr. SABA (Legal Adviser) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, according to Rule 86 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, when an amendment is moved to a proposal, the amendment is voted on first. However, I think that in order to avoid any misunderstanding, it should be made clear what the amendment is. Since the substantive proposal is to include the item in the agenda, the amendment, in my opinion, is to add to that substantive proposal the specification that the item would then be referred to the Legal Committee. In any case, the scope of the amendment must be exactly stated.

63.1 The PRESIDENT:
Is anyone prepared to make a formal motion for the amendment?
63.2 The delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I take it, moves the amendment formally. Will he kindly explain to us what the amendment is?

64. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, I have already formally moved the amendment three times. We have the General Committee's ruling concerning the Cuban proposal.

The General Committee ruled by 9 votes to 3, with 3 abstentions, that the Cuban proposal should not be included in the agenda. We are now asked to vote on this ruling. I am a member of the General Committee and a member of the Conference, and with the support of others here I am moving an amendment to the General Committee's ruling so as to provide that the Cuban proposal be not placed on the agenda but referred to the Legal Committee for consideration. That is the sense of my motion.

65.1 The PRESIDENT:
Before the amendment is put to the vote someone must formally second it.
65.2 I call upon the Ukrainian delegate.

66. Mr. LITVIN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)(Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, the Ukrainian delegation seconds the Soviet Union amendment.

67. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Head of the delegation of Canada.

68. Mr. CADIEUX (Canada):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, I will intervene very briefly to make three points. One is that I am completely and utterly confused as to just where we stand at this point. The other point that I wish to make is that we have a report, as I understand it, from the General Committee, which states that a certain item is not to be inscribed. How can that be amended? A proposal that something that should not be inscribed should be referred to the Legal Committee? That I do not understand. And my third point is a request that before a vote is taken we might be given a clear explanation as to what we will be supporting by voting yes or rejecting by voting no.

69. The PRESIDENT:
I would ask the Legal Adviser to explain the situation again.

70.1 Mr. SABA (Legal Adviser) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, the situation is indeed confused. The question was raised a moment ago of the order of priority in voting when an amendment has been moved. I then asked for exact details of the amendment. It now appears, however, from the explanation given by the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that what he is really submitting to the General Conference is a procedural motion to adjourn the vote on the inclusion in the agenda of the item proposed by the delegation of Cuba until such time as the Legal Committee has decided on a legal question placed before it by the General Conference - it being understood that the Legal Committee would report to the Conference itself on its reply or on the opinion it might give. The question, therefore, is to know what is the legal question which would be submitted to the Legal Committee.
70.2 I must point out, Mr. President, that according to the practice of intergovernmental and international meetings - more particularly that of the United Nations - when an organ refers a question to another organ for its opinion - more particularly, when the United Nations General Assembly refers a problem to the Sixth Committee, which is the legal committee, for its opinion - that question is set out in a letter which the chairman of the organ seeking advice sends to the chairman of the organ giving advice.
70.3 It is therefore necessary to put the question in such a way as to enable the Legal Committee to know exactly what it is being consulted about and the type of reply requested.

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

72. Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I confess that I am rather nonplussed about what I am supposed to do. On what must we vote? I have the impression that the members of the other delegations are in much the same boat as myself. If I understand aright, the Soviet Union delegate has submitted a motion of adjournment. If this interpretation is correct, perhaps we could vote on that motion. If not, I think we could vote immediately on the item submitted to us.

73. The PRESIDENT:
I would request the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to explain in very precise terms the juridical question which is to be referred to the Legal Committee.

74. Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, you wish to place me in the rôle of a lawyer, but I am no lawyer. We are prepared, if you like, to set out the legal basis of our proposal in writing for the next meeting. If you give us your permission to do so, we will. But if it is a question of procedure that we are discussing, I shall repeat once more my proposal concerning the General Committee's ruling: we should not decide at present on the question of accepting the Cuban proposal, and, inasmuch as it is of a legal nature, we should refer it to the Legal Committee for study. Not only I, but many others who have spoken, including our Legal Adviser, have confirmed the correctness of this procedure. You may vote against the proposal, or in favour of it, but the amendment remains an amendment. Let us refer the question to the Legal Committee so that it can decide on the legal soundness of the proposal submitted to us.

75. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

76. Mr. THAYER (United States of America):
Mr. President, I am afraid I am going to differ somewhat from some of the other speakers by saying that the situation seems completely clear to me and I will try, if I may, Mr. President, to explain why I think it is clear. The General Committee has sent back to the Conference its recommendation that an item not be placed upon the agenda. The delegate from the Soviet Union has tried to amend this item,

but such an item is not amendable. Therefore his efforts must be interpreted in some other light. These efforts can be interpreted as an effort to say that the Conference shall adjourn and postpone the question until the Legal Committee has decided upon the legal question. But there is no legal question. Therefore the Chair had already ruled that the Soviet Union's suggestion is out of order and unless the Chair's ruling is challenged by anyone in this body, the Chair's ruling must prevail. Now if anyone wants to challenge the ruling of the Chair, my understanding is that it is perfectly proper to do so, and then the Conference votes upon that challenge. But no one has challenged the ruling of the Chair and the delegate from the United States is certainly not going to do so.

77. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Head of the delegation of Poland.

78.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, I am not going to avail myself of the kind offer of the Head of the United States delegation by challenging the President's ruling. I am quite sure that so far there has been no final ruling by the President, and that the subject of discussion at the moment is the amendment moved by the Soviet Union representative. I wish to stress once more that I am in no way challenging the President's ruling - and there has been none so far. That is the first point. Secondly, I should like to state that I know of no case where delegates were prevented from moving any amendment they wished to a ruling of the General Committee or of the General Conference itself. Always, at all conferences, including the United Nations General Assembly, General Committee rulings are subject to discussion and open to any amendment. To my mind, the legal aspect of the question is perfectly clear. Every delegation has the right to move an amendment to a General Committee ruling. We deeply respect the General Committee's ruling in this case, and we have all taken it into consideration, but this does not mean that we cannot most respectfully move an amendment to it.
78.2 The amendment says that we should refer to the Legal Committee, not a resolution submitted by Cuba - for it is not a resolution - but a proposal for including an item in the agenda, so that the Legal Committee can go into all aspects of the matter.
78.3 I should like to remind you of the words of the esteemed Head of the United States delegation. He was referring to agreements between American States and to provisions laid down by inter-American Conferences. I am not familiar with these international instruments, but I should say that the relationship of definite agreements between American States to the present matter represents in fact a legal aspect of the question. That is not my argument, but that of the United States representative. I am only supporting him, although I do not know the exact significance and bearing of those agreements in relation to our Constitution.
78.4 Let the competent jurists decide whether there are any legal impediments here or not. I am speaking only of the single aspect which has been raised by the United States delegation. But there are others. If anyone were to say that the question of intervention in the internal affairs of States is not a legal one, it would be very strange indeed. It therefore seems to me to be perfectly clear that this is a question for the Legal Committee to solve. It is not concrete questions that have to be put to the Legal Committee, but rather the general one: what are the legal aspects of the Cuban proposal for the inclusion of a new item on the agenda? The amendment is a thoroughly sound one based on common sense, for the question of intervention or non-intervention in the internal affairs of any country arises in fact.
78.5 I cannot understand why there are any objections. Now that the United States representative has advanced legal arguments touching on agreements between various States, it means that the legal experts would need to examine that question also. I consider, therefore, that the General Conference and our President - who, I regret to say is not listening to me - will give proof of objectivity if they rule on this question as they ought to: by putting the amendment to the vote.

79. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, Chairman of the Executive Board.

80.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:
Mr. President and fellow delegates, I would hesitate to impose myself upon the General Conference, and to interfere in a discussion that has caused a good deal of amusement and given a lot of fun to some delegations, judging from the amount of hilarity that has prevailed at different times.
80.2 But I would suggest, Mr. President that if we return to the original position, it is as follows: there is a recommendation before the General Conference that this matter be not inscribed on the agenda of the General Conference. That is the position from which we start.
80.3 It was then suggested that it was possible to refer this matter to the Legal Committee, and here I would remind members of the Conference that you yourself, Mr. President, quoted - indeed other people also quoted - Rule 32, Section 2. On that occasion you ruled, I emphasize this, that this was not a legal question. I would invite members of the General Conference to take up the documents 11 C/39 and 11 C/39 Add. and, in all conscience after having read them, to ask themselves the question whether this does raise a legal question. I must say that I find myself completely in support of the President, that the words in these two documents, if they have meaning - and I am assuming that in this particular matter I am reasonable and that words do have a meaning for me - do not raise a legal question. Therefore I would say that the President was perfectly right when he ruled that no legal question was raised, and therefore there was no occasion to refer this matter to a legal committee.
80.4 Now, ladies and gentlemen, a procedural question then arises. You may challenge the President's ruling, and I would suggest to the President that he might accept that challenge. It can be decided by a simple majority vote, so that if any persons here disagree with the President's ruling, they are then able to show that they do so. Once we show

whether we agree or not with the President's ruling that this does not raise legal questions and therefore cannot be referred to the Committee, the main recommendation of the General Committee to this Conference may then be taken. I therefore suggest Mr. President, in order to help us in our orderly proceedings, which, while they have created amusement, have not altogether elevated our prestige, that you invite the Conference to express its view as to whether or not it accepts your ruling that this is not a legal question.

81.1 The PRESIDENT:

I have been trying to understand whether any legal question was involved. If we refer the matter to the Legal Committee we must pose a definite legal question, a juridical question. As far as I have been able to understand, nobody has been able to explain why this matter should be referred to the Legal Committee, why it is a juridical question. Now in view of this, I am afraid I have to stick to my ruling that this is not a case for reference to the Legal Committee, and if my ruling is challenged then that will have to be put to the vote.

81.2 I call upon the delegate of Morocco.

82. Mr. EL FASI (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I believe that, to finish with this long discussion on questions of procedure, the solution has been presented very clearly and very definitely by the Chairman of the Executive Board. In the first place, Mr. President, the General Conference must be asked whether your interpretation of the question raised is acceptable or not. If it is acceptable, we can proceed to vote. If not, then it is absolutely necessary to vote on the amendment submitted by the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I think that at this juncture we should first express ourselves on Sir Ben Bowen Thomas's suggestion.

83.1 The PRESIDENT:

I think we must close the discussion now and I would like to know whether you are in favour of my ruling. I shall now put my ruling to the vote.

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

83.2 The result of the vote is 52 in favour, 11 against, with 13 abstentions. My ruling is then accepted.

83.3 We shall now proceed to vote on the recommendation of the General Committee that the new item proposed by the delegation of Cuba should not be included in the agenda.

84. (The vote was taken by roll-call:

Voted in favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iran, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Monaco, New Zealand, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Viet-Nam.

Voted against: Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Lebanon, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstained: Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), El Salvador, Guatemala, India, Ivory Coast, Libya, Madagascar, Federation of Malaya, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

Absent: Bolivia, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Colombia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Gabon, Ghana, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Korea, Kuwait, Laos, Luxembourg, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Panama, Saudi Arabia, Upper Volta, Venezuela).

85.1 The PRESIDENT:

The result of the vote is as follows: 36 in favour; 13 against; 21 abstentions; 26 absent. The recommendation of the General Committee is thus carried by a two-thirds majority, therefore the new item proposed by the delegation of Cuba is not to be included in the agenda.

85.2 The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

TENTH PLENARY MEETING

21 November 1960, at 10.55 a.m.

President: Mr. D. Agustín Yañez (Mexico)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General, of the Executive Board and of Member States 149
Presentation by the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Report on the activities of the Board in 1959-1960 149
Presentation by the Chairman of the Reports Committee of that Committee's Preliminary Report 152
General discussion 155

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL, OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AND OF MEMBER STATES

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): The meeting is called to order.

1.2 This morning, we shall begin our general discussion of the Director-General's Report on the Activities of the Organization in 1958-1959 and during the first eight months of this year. Delegates will remember that the plan for the organization of the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference drawn up by the Executive Board (document 11 C/2 Rev.), which was adopted by the General Conference at its sixth plenary meeting, limits the general discussion on this item to ten plenary meetings.

1.3 This discussion will begin today, 21 November, and end on 25 November. There are 75 speakers on the list. I should like to draw the attention of the Conference to the Executive Board's recommendation to limit speakers in this general discussion to fifteen minutes. I am sure speakers will adhere to this recommendation.

PRESENTATION BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE BOARD IN 1959-1960

1.4 The first speaker this morning is the Chairman of the Executive Board, whom I now call upon.

2.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General and fellow delegates, since the last meeting of the General Conference, the Executive Board has met on five occasions and there has been one special meeting of the Bureau. These meetings have occupied a total of 96 calendar days, during which we have held 99 plenary meetings, 43 meetings of the Administrative Commission and 24 meetings of the External Relations Commission, not counting those of other subsidiary organs of the Board. I give the General Conference these facts in order that it should realize that Executive Board meetings have made quite considerable demands on the time of Board members and the time of the Director-General and the Secretariat.

2.2 The officers of the Board for the period now ending were as follows: Vice-Chairmen, Dr. M. Awad (United Arab Republic) and H.E. Mr. A. Matsui (Japan); Chairman of the Administrative Commission, H.E. Mr. R. Barón Castro (El Salvador); Chairman of the External Relations Commission, Mr. G. Averoff (Greece). To these members, the Board owes a great debt for the efficient way in which they discharged their offices. There have been four changes in the membership of the Executive Board. At the 54th session we appointed H.E. Dr. M. Picón Salas (Venezuela) and Professor N.M. Sissakian (USSR) to replace H.E. Mr. C. Parra-Pérez and H.E. Mr. V. Kemenov, respectively. At the 56th session, Mr. R. Soebroto (Indonesia) have notice of his impending resignation and, at the current session, the Board appointed Mr. Sumrito Reksodiputro to replace him. Finally, all too suddenly, death has deprived us of Dr. Pedro de Alba (Mexico).

2.3 During this two-year period we appointed the following committees and working parties. A Special Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. S.M. Sharif (Pakistan) prepared comments for the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. These were based on the annual reports of the authorities administering Trust Territories. A working party under the Chairmanship of Mr. Julien Cain considered the organization of the work of this General Conference. The report of this working party has provided the basis for our present arrangements, and we have every reason to be grateful to them for their work. Mr. Julien Kuypers, Mr. J. Martínez Cobo and Dr. M. Schlueter-Hermkes represented Unesco on the Joint Unesco/IBE Committee for 1959-1960.

2.4 I should like to interpolate here a remark of a somewhat personal nature. In May of this year, the Executive Board visited London. I venture to say

in Paris, and with the agreement I believe of my colleagues on the Executive Board, that there is something to be said for London - the place of Unesco's initial inspiration. I shall always remember that my Minister, the Leader of the United Kingdom delegation, was the host of the Executive Board during my term of office as Chairman, and that His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh honoured us by participating in our meetings.

2.5 Throughout this biennium we have enjoyed the full co-operation of the Director-General and his colleagues, in particular the efficient assistance given to us by our Secretary, Mr. Jiménez, and his staff deserves an acknowledgement and our best thanks.

2.6 After consultation with the Executive Board, the Director-General instituted changes in the organization of the higher directorate. Probably the most important was the revival of the post of Deputy Director-General. He nominated Mr. René Maheu for this post, a nomination which received the full support of the Executive Board. The Board, during the last two years, has had ample proof of Mr. Maheu's administrative gifts, his great energy, powers of perception, lucidity, grasp of details and high qualities of leadership.

2.7 The Executive Board would also wish me to comment upon the impending retirement of one of the senior officers of the Organization. I refer to Mr. Jean Thomas, who will be retiring at the end of this year. Mr. Thomas has been a well-known figure at all General Conferences. He has served the Organization from its inception and, successively, has been Director of the Cultural Activities Department and Assistant Director-General. Members of the Conference will know how Mr. Thomas combines ability with charm, efficiency with wisdom, graciousness with firmness, and patience with determination. These qualities have meant much to us within the intimate circle of the Executive Board. We have appreciated them greatly and it is nice to know that the General Conference agrees with us.

2.8 The last two years have again shown the extent to which the work of the Organization depends upon the goodwill and conviction of Member States if its programme, particularly within their own borders and in collaboration with their neighbours, is to be implemented. The Executive Board has, therefore, welcomed every piece of evidence that more Member States are organizing efficient National Commissions and that they are giving them increasing responsibilities.

2.9 In September 1959 at the request of the Board, I attended the conference of the United States National Commission at Denver, Colorado. This was a conference organized by a single Member State. Its scope was, however, regional; it was attended by representatives from the whole American continent. Its theme was the culture of the Americas, and its proceedings have been published in an impressive report which will do much to extend the influence of Unesco in the Western hemisphere.

2.10 Two other regional conferences were held early this year, and I attended them on behalf of the Executive Board. The National Commissions of South East Asia met in Manila during the second half of January on the invitation of the National Commission of the Philippines. The European National Commissions gathered in Taormina late in February of this year on the invitation of the National Commission of Italy. These conferences left a clear impression of their value as aids to mutual understanding and co-operation in grappling with specifically regional problems. They can be an inspiration to the work of the National Commissions themselves and a spur to their sense of responsibility to press forward with Unesco's work in their own countries.

2.11 During my term of office I have also been privileged to visit other Member States on behalf of the Board. These include the United Arab Republic, Thailand and Japan, and it was with great regret that the Director-General and I agreed to abandon a projected visit to Tropical Africa. We had expected to have the pleasure of calling on some of our new Members to assure them of the welcome that would await them in Paris. By now they realize how cordial that welcome is.

2.12 The Board has continued to attach great importance to Unesco's close association with international non-governmental organizations. Their constructive advice on matters concerned with the programme is much appreciated and their co-operation in executing many parts of it remains indispensable. We have devoted much time to reviewing the directives concerning Unesco's relations with them and to the extension of their range of influence, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mr. Averoff, as Chairman of the External Relations Commission, represented the Board at the 7th Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations, held in Paris last June. We also authorized the Diretor-General to conclude a new agreement of most promising significance, that with the International Association of Universities to carry out a research programme in higher education. This was made possible by a special grant of $500,000 from the Carnegie Corporation.

2.13 Mr. President, you will not expect me to make any assessment or appraisal of the application of the programme authorized by the tenth session of the General Conference. The material for these is in the Director-General's own reports and I have no doubt that this theme, with variations, will run through many of the speeches to which we shall listen during the next few days. It will be sufficient that I give a few examples of some enterprises the success of which commended itself to the Executive Board. I would like to mention in the first place the survey that Unesco carried out in 1959-1960, on the needs of education in Asia, in the Arab States and in the countries of Tropical Africa. These surveys were the theme of three regional conferences in Karachi, Beirut and Addis Ababa, and as a result of them Unesco has been able to present concrete plans to this Conference for national and international action on a large scale in order to develop education in those regions of the world. Their significance for the programme now under discussion is obvious to all.

2.14 The world conference held in Montreal last year will also mark an important stage in the development of adult education and it will contribute greatly to this important aspect of Unesco's work.

2.15 The same can be said of last July's conference

in Copenhagen on oceanographic research. The preparatory work for this conference was most carefully undertaken in a series of important preliminary studies and promising results are already being seen in this field of international scientific co-operation. I should also like to recall the successful Bangkok Conference of January 1960 where a short and long-term plan of action was adopted for the development of press, radio, cinema and television services in South East Asia.

2.16 The Executive Board has also congratulated the Director-General on the successful outcome of his negotiations with the Mexican Government regarding the future maintenance of the Community Education Centre at Patzcuaro. This furnishes an excellent example of the way in which pioneer enterprises initiated by Unesco can, in the fullness of time, be accepted by Member States either singly, or in association with their neighbours, as permanent educational institutions. The Board would also wish me to mention the Director-General's initiation of the international campaign to safeguard the monuments of Nubia. This campaign is inescapably presented to all of us who enter these buildings. The Executive Board has unanimously decided that Unesco should respond to the appeal of the Governments of the United Arab Republic and Sudan and it has been very deeply impressed by the determination and imagination with which the Director-General and the Secretariat have carried out their decisions in this matter and by the measures that they have taken to ensure that this campaign should have the best possible chance of success.

2.17 The Board followed the usual procedure of examining the Director-General's proposals on the preparation of the programme and budget now under consideration by the General Conference. This has taken a terrible lot of time, some of which the Board could use more profitably in other ways. Let me remind the General Conference what the present procedure requires. There was the first preliminary discussion at the 54th session of the Board in the spring of 1959 when the Director-General outlined to us his proposed general design of the programme for 1960-1962, and the Board gave due time to this. Then came a second stage at the 56th session in the spring of this year when the Board considered the provisional draft programme in detail, taking into consideration the observations of Member States, United Nations Specialized Agencies and international organizations. At this stage it established a drafting committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. El Fasi to prepare its comments. The Director-General took account of the recommendations of the Board and embodied many of them in his final document (11 C/5). We did not complete our final stage of the discussion of the programme and budget until this current 57th session. Before the Conference met we examined the important additional proposals now before the General Conference and completed the final comments which we have submitted to the Conference in document 11 C/5 Add. 1.

2.18 The General Conference will realize that these discussions were inescapably detailed and thorough. In undertaken them we enjoyed the fullest co-operation of the Director-General and of his staff. It is right, however, that I should tell the Conference that the Board is now convinced that the methods which we have been required to follow raise serious administrative problems for the Organization in general, and for the Board in particular. We believe that a new time-table for these programme and budget consultations is urgently necessary, and we have welcomed the form in which the Director-General is submitting experimental proposals to this Conference for the next two years, as outlined in document 11 C/29. It is intended that these should apply for the next two years. I repeat that they have the full support of the Executive Board and we hope that they will be acceptable, too, to the General Conference. Collaboration with the United Nations and Specialized Agencies has grown tremendously during the last two years. We submitted an appraisal of Unesco's programme to the Economic and Social Council. This has been widely circulated and has already been discussed in the Programme Commission at this Conference. We also examined two comprehensive reports, the first undertaken by Dr. Auger, former Director of the Natural Sciences Department, on the main trends of inquiry in the natural sciences, the dissemination of scientific knowledge and the application of such knowledge for peaceful ends. The second report, a survey on international relations in education, science and culture, will have full treatment in debate in this hall on 7 and 8 December. The operation of the Special Fund of the United Nations assumed increasing importance during these two years, and Mr. Narasinham, the Associate Managing Director of the Fund, addressed the Board at its 57th session. He explained the priority to be given to education in Special Fund programmes and the new responsibilities which Unesco would consequently be asked to assume. At the current session of the Board we also welcomed Mr. David Owen, the Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations, the pioneering authority for the provision of extra-budgetary funds for Unesco. These consultations between the Executive Board and the principal officers of other agencies with which Unesco is increasingly brought into contact foreshadow significant developments which may be further accelerated by relations with new international organizations, such as the International Development Association and the Inter-American Development Bank. As far as we have been able to see, co-ordination between the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies and Unesco is proceeding harmoniously.

2.19 The Economic and Social Council has recognized and stressed the need for international co-operation to help newly-independent territories, particularly those of Tropical Africa, and we have examined at our recent session the new suggestions which the Director-General is now making for the expansion of the Unesco programme in these countries. They are now before you, together with the entirely favourable view expressed by the Board regarding the insight, initiative and resourcefulness shown by the Director-General in these matters. This also applies to the proposals that he presented to us for meeting the educational emergency which has arisen in the Congo. I have tried to keep in personal touch with these developments throughout the last six months.

2.20 The work of the Executive Board, Mr. President,

has been increasing as the work of the Organization has increased. It is destined to grow still further. My colleagues and I have done the best we can as the watchdog of the General Conference during the last two years. I think they would wish me to tell the General Conference that we believe that we could do better if the interrelationships of the principal organs of Unesco were looked at afresh, in view of the great increase of range, size and complexity of the operations for which they now become responsible. This inescapable fact carries with it the implications that the working methods of the Executive Board itself also need examination. That is why we think that the time has come for the Executive Board to study this matter, so that within two years the General Conference may be able to authorize changes that will make possible administrative improvements in the ways and means that we adopt of helping international co-operation in education, science and culture.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): We have listened attentively to the very informative and full report of the Chairman of the Executive Board, to whom we express our thanks.

PRESENTATION BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPORTS COMMITTEE OF THAT COMMITTEE'S PRELIMINARY REPORT

3.2 I call upon the Chairman of the Reports Committee.

4.1 Mrs. KAMINSKA (Poland), Chairman of the Reports Committee (Translation from the French): Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, as you know, the terms of reference of the Reports Committee were set out in resolution no. 54, adopted by the General Conference at its tenth session.

4.2 In accordance with the decisions taken, the Committee met six days before the opening of this session, in order to present its comments to the General Conference and the Programme Commission in good time.

4.3 The task facing the Committee was immense and complicated. It had to examine the Director-General's reports on the implementation of the Organization's Programme for 1958 and 1959, the reports of Member States for the same period, and the analytical summary of these two series of reports and assessment of the work carried out by the Organization, prepared by the Secretariat.

4.4 The Committee also had to consider the action taken by Member States on conventions and recommendations adopted by the General Conference, as well as the special reports on Human Rights.

4.5 Mr. President, as you may have noticed, the report submitted to you carries the reference 11 C/11 (prov.). This is because our Committee has not finished its work and will have to meet again later to consider a number of questions it has not yet touched upon. To do so, it needs to have a general idea of the salient points emerging from the discussions of the General Conference. So far, its work has been confined to the item now before the plenary meeting, namely the general discussion on the reports of the Director-General.

4.6 In a later report, the Committee will discuss the future, i.e. the form and content of the reports to be submitted for the next two years.

4.7 I should like to deal immediately with the second part of the document before you, which contains the Committee's comments on the way in which the implementation of the programme in 1958 and 1959 has been presented in the reports of the Director General and of Member States.

4.8 The Committee noted that the reports had to satisfy two demands which were difficult to reconcile: Member States were entitled to and needed detailed information on all the activities undertaken, but, at the same time, they required an overall picture, a wider panorama of the work of the Organization. The Committee therefore proposed that, in future, the introduction to the Director-General's reports should contain a summary of the major lines of development of Unesco's activities, whilst the details of their implementation would be found in the body of the report.

4.9 With regard to the reports of Member States, the Committee was disturbed to see that only 49 Member States had submitted reports in due time. Since 13 Member States had submitted reports after the date limit, 19 had thus failed in their constitutional duty to report to the General Conference.

4.10 In these circumstances, it is obvious that information required for a complete assessment is lacking and the Secretariat has therefore had some difficulty here in carrying out its task.

4.11 The Committee will return to this problem when it submits its comments with regard to the future. But I ventured to refer to it because these observations explain some of the difficulties which the Director-General had to face in preparing these documents and which the Committee also experienced later on in its work, when it had to consider the implementation of the programme on the basis of the part of the reports dealing with items destined to be given special attention at the eleventh session of the General Conference.

4.12 In its examination, the Committee took as a basis for discussion the Director-General's parallel analytical summary of the reports of Member States and of his own reports, contained in document 11 C/9.

4.13 I shall now review briefly the six items to which the Committee devoted particular attention. The first of these was the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. The Committee noted with satisfaction the very encouraging results achieved in the execution of the project and paid particular tribute to the support given by Member States not directly involved in the project.

4.14 The Committee came to the conclusion that the experience gained in the successful work done in Latin America would be of great value to similar projects in other parts of the world. The Committee has submitted detailed comments on this item to the Programme Commission.

4.15 The second item considered by the Committee was the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands. The Committee emphasized the very great importance of this project, not only for the future of the countries concerned, but for mankind as a whole. It felt that this aspect had not been

sufficiently clarified in the reports, although the latter did give an adequate picture of the results achieved. The Committee decided to draw the attention of the General Conference to the findings of the general symposium on arid lands, held in 1959, which show clearly how important and many-sided the project is.

4.16 It is also important that, during the execution of the Major Project, strong public support for the objectives of the project should be secured, so as to facilitate the continuation, after the project has come to an end, of the work started by Unesco.

4.17 With regard to the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, the Committee noted that the keen interest shown by Member States in this project was demonstrated by the fact that every one of the 49 Member States who had reported to the General Conference had included information on it.

4.18 The Committee considered that, in the execution of this project, the active interest of Member States had been the prime factor in ensuring its undoubted success; it wished, however, to pay due tribute to the part played by the Secretariat in co-ordinating and stimulating activities.

4.19 The Committee noted with satisfaction that it had been possible to establish direct co-operation between various Member Staten and National Commissions. It considered that this was an important step forward and that efforts should be continued in that direction. It also thought it important to redouble efforts to secure the co-operation of an increasingly wide public in the execution of the Major Project, to devote greater attention to school curricula and to associate authors of textbooks and former fellowship-holders with the project. In efforts to reach the general public, great care should be taken to see that material based on superficial information and faulty conclusions does not jeopardize the very aims of the project. The Committee considered that, when reporting on the Major Project, its ultimate aim should always be borne in mind; that aim, as stated by the Director-General in paragraph 11 of document 11 C/9, is world peace through international understanding.

4.20 Finally, the Committee was of the opinion that developments in Asia and in Africa should be taken into account in the execution of the Major Project and should be dealt with fully in future reports.

4.21 The fourth item examined by the Committee was that of international scientific and technical co-operation by the convening of conferences, congresses and other international meetings. The Committee noted that the directives given by the General Conference to the Director-General on this item had not been couched in specific enough terms and that the reports consequently contained comparatively little information on the subject. The Committee took the view that this very failure was a measure of the importance and difficulty of the problem. In a world in which scientific and technical co-operation is becoming increasingly wide in scope, there are great dangers of overlapping. Similarly, much waste occurs through the random diffusion of the findings of the various conferences and congresses. The Committee noted with satisfaction the efforts to improve this situation, described by the Director of the Department of Natural Sciences in his supplementary oral report.

4.22 It has been found extremely difficult to make concise, yet intelligent, reports out of a multitude of scientific data. It was suggested that, in order to relieve future reports on the activities of the Organization of this additional burden, it would be expedient to print reports on scientific conferences and other meetings in "Impact of Science on Society".

4.23 The Committee then considered the question of scientific co-operation in the social sciences through the improvement of documentation and promotion of teaching and research. It observed that, on this important subject, the Director-General had not found it possible to report in a way entirely in accordance with the suggestions of the General Conference. The Committee thought, however, that the patent success in applying the social sciences to problems of social and economic development was encouraging. It considered that progress achieved in social science documentation, which is the very basis for all undertakings in this field, was satisfactory in view of the limited funds assigned to this part of the programme by the General Conference. One delegate, though sharing the views of the Committee on the results achieved in this field, felt that certain problems vital to the future of mankind had not been given enough attention. He mentioned particularly the problems of disarmament and peaceful co-existence and referred to paragraph 11 of the Introduction to the Director-General's assessment of the work done by the Organization (document 11 C/9), in which it was stated, inter alia, that "Unesco is, and must remain, what its founders intended it to be - an instrument for the promotion of world peace". Further, this delegate held that there was discrimination, in the Department's publications, against social scientists in the Socialist countries and against the results which they had achieved.

4.24 With regard to the sixth item studied with particular interest by the Committee - namely the programme of Participation in Member States' Activities - the Committee noted that the document submitted to it did not give it the possibility of studying the question, since it only mentioned it very briefly, although Member States had been specially invited to report on their experience of the Participation programme. In his oral statement, the representative of the Director-General drew attention to the printed reports of the Director-General for 1958 and 1959, which contain complete documentation and detailed information on the Participation programme. These reports describe two important developments, namely the simpler, faster and more effective administrative procedures for the examination of requests for aid under the Participation programme, and the distinct improvement in the requests themselves, due to the fact that the Participation programme has now entered its fifth year.

4.25 While taking note of these developments and expressing appreciation of them, the Committee regretted that the Director-General had not found it possible to deal with the Participation programme more explicitly in his parallel analytical summary. The Committee considered it essential that, in future, the Director-General should try to show clearly how far the Participation programme responds to the requests for aid submitted by Member States. It is obvious that as the budgetary provisions for this

programme were exceedingly limited, a large number of requests could not be satisfied. The Committee fully realized that the Director-General's task would not be an easy one but might possibly be facilitated if the Member States themselves were more specific on this point in their reports and if they gave particulars of the requests which had not been met.

4.26 This point led the Committee to go into the problem of the development of National Commissions more thoroughly. It found that, on the basis of the information available, it was not in a position to give a definite opinion on the development and work of National Commissions, but it once again emphasized how important it was for these Commissions to operate effectively if the programme activities of the Organization were to be properly carried out. More particularly, it drew the attention of the General Conference to the importance of giving maximum assistance to the newly independent Member States, so as to enable them to set up such national co-operating bodies, which might, of course, assume different forms according to circumstances.

4.27 The Committee also thought that the decisions of the various Regional Conferences of National Commissions should be taken into account in drawing up the Organization's future programmes.

4.28 I should like now to pass on to the fourth and last part of our report, relating to the assessment of the work of the Organization in 1958-1959.

4.29 Resolution no. 54, adopted by the General Conference at its tenth session, invited the Reports Committee to submit a report "on the implementation of the programme, containing in particular an analysis of the way in which it takes account of the interests and needs of Member States".

4.30 The Committee considered it impossible for any committee whatsoever, in a short session preceding the General Conference, to assess a volume of documentation as great as that which had been submitted to it.

4.31 Moreover, in view of the immensely varied work accomplished by the Organization, the Committee was not in a position to do all that the General Conference had requested it to do. As we know, the Committee consists of only a few representatives of Member States and therefore cannot speak of the experience of all of them. Further, to make a detailed analysis of the way in which the needs and interests of Member States have been taken into account in the execution of the programme, the Committee would have had to know, not only what has been done, but also in which instances the Organization has not been able to meet the requests of Member States. Now, as I said a few moments ago, such information was not available to the Committee.

4.32 It considered, however, that in the light of its debates and the conclusions it had reached on the specific items it had studied, it could attempt to make, if not a detailed analysis, at least a general assessment.

4.33 It was particularly anxious to draw the General Conference's attention to the fact that its assessment was based on limited factual knowledge and was therefore no more than a generalization.

4.34 On the substance of the question, the Committee came to the conclusion that, on the whole, the interests and needs of Member States have been reasonably well met in the implementation of the programme.

4.35 One delegate, however, while sharing the view that some sound work had been done in trying to take account of the needs and interests of Member States, pointed out that the needs and interests of some of them had not been taken into account enough.

4.36 In his opinion, the reports were inadequate and the programme had not been fully executed.

4.37 The Committee then examined Parts I and III of document 11 C/9, in which the Director-General gave an assessment of the work done in 1958 and 1959.

4.38 This document represents a first attempt to assess the activities of the Secretariat and Member States over a two-year period and links up past problems and the directives given by the General Conference at its last session with the new situation arising out of changes that have taken place at the international level since 1958.

4.39 In presenting this document to the Reports Committee, Mr. Adiseshiah, the Assistant Director-General, briefly described the most important features of the international situation which should determine the future policy of our Organization.

4.40 "In the first place", said the Assistant Director-General - whose address I take the liberty of quoting here - "on 20 November 1959, the Member States, meeting in the United Nations General Assembly, unanimously approved the principle of general and complete disarmament, thus demonstrating that the major concern of all the Member States and of all the peoples they represent is to maintain peace and to eliminate the most serious threats to peace. This is the essential aim of Unesco, as proclaimed in its Constitution".

4.41 "The Executive Board - acting through the Director-General - requested our Organization to continue to take all appropriate steps to create in all the Member States a climate favourable to the achievement of the objectives defined in this important United Nations resolution."

4.42 "This is henceforth", said the Assistant Director-General, "the first and most constant concern of the Secretariat of our Organization."

4.43 The second obligation incumbent on the Organization arises out of the entry into the international community of a large number of newly independent countries, particularly in Africa, to whom I take pleasure in extending a warm welcome.

4.44 On the basis of the Director-General's assessment, the Committee considered the following items, which it considered to be the most vital factors in the development of the Organization's activities; these factors are the outcome of the very events that have created the needs to which Unesco has had to respond - events likely to have a strong influence on its future development.

4.45 These items are as follows: firstly, the launching of large-scale programmes, financed from extra-budgetary funds; secondly, the trend towards regionalization, brought about by the need for practical achievements; and thirdly, the need to maintain and consolidate the Organization's general activities.

4.46 As a result of the conclusions it drew from its work, the Reports Committee adopted a draft resolution which it submits to the Conference as an annex to document 11 C/11, and which will be discussed by the Conference in due course. With

this observation I shall conclude the remarks I have had the honour of submitting to you.

5.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I thank the Chairman of the Reports Committe for her report.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

5.2 I call upon Mr. R.H. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

6.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of América): Mr. President, before beginning my address I have the pleasure of announcing that this morning the distinguished senator from the State of New York, the Hon. Mr. Kenneth Keating, has just arrived to join the United States delegation.

Message from Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America

6.2 Mr. President, and distinguished delegates to the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco, I have the honour to read to you the following message from the President of the United States of America:

"It is a pleasure to send my greetings to all assembled in Paris for the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco, and a special welcome to the delegates from the new Member States. Dedicated to broadening man's understanding of himself and the world about him, Unesco encourages the peoples of many lands to open wide the doors of educational opportunity. Achievement of this goal will speed the progress of mankind and strengthen the foundation for a just and lasting peace. In this critical hour, as nations press forward to assure the highest development of their peoples, Unesco can provide an outstanding service for all. I am delighted to add my congratulations to the leaders of Unesco and my best wishes for the continuing success of their endeavours. - Dwight D. Eisenhower."

6.3 I have been waiting, Mr. President, with much impatience for eight long days for this opportunity to extend warmly, from the United States, the warmest possible welcome to the delegates from the newly-independent nations of Africa, and to delegates of other nations who have joined Unesco for the first time. This message of welcome which I bring is a rather special one because of the unusual relationship which exists between the peoples of Africa and the peoples of the United States. First of all, as I mentioned the other day, the people of the United States are the first colonial people in modern history to have gained their independence, so that we in America have a feeling of understanding and satisfaction when we hear that other nations have joined us. But we have another special relationship with the peoples of Africa which lies in the fact that the United States numbers amongst its citizens the second largest African population in the world. The Federation of Nigeria has a population of 30,000,000 Africans; in the United States we have almost, if not more than, 17,000,000 citizens whose ancestors came from Africa many years ago. They and their children and their children's children have made substantial contributions to the development of the United States, and those of us who are now inheriting the benefits of these contributions owe them a very deep debt of gratitude. There is, therefore, a strong bond of kinship between us and I am proud, in recognition of that bond, to be able to bring to the delegates of the new countries assembled here a very special greeting which carries with it not only the hope, but the conviction, that our relationships as individuals and as nations will grow closer and closer in the days and months ahead.

6.4 It is a very exciting experience, Mr. President, for an American to stand upon the rostrum at an international conference as such as this, and to realize that every single continent represented here has in one way or another contributed to the prosperity and strength and vigour of the United States today. The people of the United States are descendants of every country in the world, people of different races, origins, colours and religions have flocked to the shores and plains and mountains of my country, and by contributing their energy, their imagination, their skills and the magnificent elements of their cultures, have made my country what she is today. Every American citizen in the world owes a debt of gratitude to the people of every other country in the world - a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid. It is certainly fitting that the good fortune - social, political and economic - that has come our way as a result of the contribution of the cultures of your countries, should be shared by us with you. I myself am proud of the blood that runs in my veins from the great countries of France, Italy and the United Kingdom. We Americans can join hands with Africa, the Arab States, with Asia, Europe and Latin America in the pride of our common heritage.

6.5 I dwell upon the origins of my country, Mr. President, because it seems to me that in the United States of America, and its origins, lies the greatest testimony to the ability of people of different races, religions and origins to live together harmoniously in one great united group. The great German poet, Goethe, remarked in 1830 that in America at that time people of 90 different religions and almost an equal number of different races and national origins were living in amity. This situation, he said, marked a turning point in the history of mankind.

6.6 I wish to speak today on the question of whether it is not possible for us, at this Conference in Paris, to make a beginning of showing how representatives of some 90 different nations in the world can find a common ground in which to work for the good of humanity, and thus to set an example, which in its turn, can be held to be a turning point in the history of mankind. The peace and harmony described by the great German poet was not a stroke of fortune, it was the result of hard work, of the control of human prejudices and passions, of the binding together of peoples in a common urge for development.

6.7 The people who came to America were human beings and thus not without likes and dislikes and prejudices. It may never be possible fully to eradicate prejudice and discrimination, but we in the United States have been working hard for the elimination of discrimination on the basis of race,

religion or national origin. We are proud of the progress we have made so far and we are fully conscious of the scope of the task that is still ahead of us. We are determined to increase our efforts and to accelerate the process. I personally had the honour, Mr. President, of serving for two years on the New York State Commission against Discrimination, a body set up to devote its full time to enforcing the laws of the State of New York which prohibit the refusal of employment to anyone on the basis of race, creed, colour or national origin. This is only one of a very large number of efforts still being carried out in every sphere of American life by both State and Federal Governments. These efforts involve the co-operation of all Americans, regardless of the country of their origin, and we are making progress every day of every month of every year.

6.8 Why do I stress these matters at this time? Why do I bring up this example of the people of my country, who, although they are of different races, creeds, colours and national origin, have successfully found a way to live together in peace and harmony? It is because I believe from the bottom of my heart that the nations of the world can achieve this same unity. And I believe further that Unesco can play the leading rôle in this achievement which would indeed be a turning point in the history of mankind. What is this rôle of Unesco? The international relations of one country with another in the world today are, I submit, on the verge of a new era. The military relations of the Middle Ages, the political relations of the Renaissance and the economic relations of the last few centuries have not brought peace to the nations of the world. Civilization has survived wars since the Middle Ages, it will not survive war today. Some new form of international relationship must be devised to lay a firmer foundation for peace than in the past. I believe this new form can be found in those areas which are naturally conducive to binding people together rather than in areas that are conducive to dividing them. I believe it can be found in the relations of the people of one country to the people of another country, in the fields of education, science and culture. I believe it can be found in those fields which are far removed from the tensions of international political relations. In the domains of education, science and culture, people of different races, creeds, colour and national origin, and of widely differing political beliefs, can come together in closest harmony. Teachers and scholars, scientists and artists are all deeply absorbed in interests of great variety and depth. And in this vast, complex, modern world, ever-broadening horizons of human knowledge, new and exciting visions, the massive void of outer space, the deep recesses of the ocean are beckoning for the uninterrupted concentrated effort of human minds, unassailed by political tensions. So also are beckoning the adult populations in Africa who cannot read or write; the children who have no schools or hospitals; the struggling masses who have neither animals nor machines to help them in their daily labours of living and improving their lot.

6.9 There is a common denominator for all people, irrespective of their political beliefs, in the advancement of human knowledge. This common denominator is, in the words of the Constitution of Unesco: "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".

6.10 I have just quoted from the Constitution of Unesco. This common denominator lies in the objectives of Unesco, this is Unesco's rôle today. Is this not the hour, Mr. President, when all nations of the world can work together in a single organization where representatives of all mankind can come together and concern themselves with things of the mind and spirit in seeking solutions for their common problems? Should not this organization be Unesco, and this place Paris, at Unesco's General Conference every two years? But, Mr. President, this possibility lies solely in the hands of the delegates to this eleventh session of the General Conference. There will be cynics who will say that such an idea is idealism. But this is a new world in which we are living and in which every day new ideas are bearing fruit - ideas which many hundreds of years before had been labelled "too idealistic". This is a time for new frontiers not only in geographical distances but above all within our own communities. This is the time for massive experimentation in the relationship of man to man. I have more than once emphasized my belief that when political tensions are at their worst in the world the time has come to concentrate on the cultural relations of the people of one country with the people of another country. I referred on Saturday to the fact that, at the very time that the relations between the Governments of Cuba and of the United States were at a very low ebb, the Cuban people in Havana were showering applause and flowers and other evidence of affection on the performers of the American Ballet Theatre. When the Summit Conference had given way to bitter wrangling in Paris in May of this year, the people of the Soviet Union were standing to offer tumultuous applause to the American actors and actresses at performances of "My Fair Lady" in Soviet cities. I did not come here, Mr. President, to make speeches criticizing the behaviour of the delegates of the Soviet Union and other Communist countries or the delegate from Cuba. I came here for the purpose of stretching out my hand to them to draw them close to me in matters which do not divide us.

6.11 Soviet and American professors, teachers, students, scientists and artists are, at this very moment, working in close collaboration on matters concerning which there is no division - matters involving human knowledge. I have been compelled much against my will to make some very strong statements from this rostrum on the subject of the cold war coming into Unesco. I said then, and I would say now to the delegates of this Conference, if they wish Unesco to survive as the most promising medium in the world for bringing the peoples of the world together in common understanding, if they wish Unesco to seize the rôle that history offers her, the delegates of this Conference will have to take aggressive and concrete action to keep political questions out of this Conference. I shall continue to oppose the introduction of these questions with

every power at my command. Why are these questions introduced? Certainly not for the purpose of bringing the nations of the world together to solve common problems. Certainly not for the purpose of helping the nations of Africa establish educational systems which will develop their countries with the rapidity which they demand and deserve. Are they introduced to cause confusion and disorder and dismay? These are harsh questions Mr. President. But the prospect of the gradual reduction of Unesco to another platform of the cold war is also a harsh prospect. We cannot shirk these questions because they are harsh or unpleasant. We must face them and face them from a practical point of view. As the distinguished Vice-President of India said last week: "Unfortunately we know there is no such thing as a basic rationality of human nature". The human being is a political being and a controlled political instinct requires concentrated and continued effort. The delegates of this Conference must decide whether they are going to seize the opportunity of a lifetime to maintain an organization which can make a finer contribution than has ever been made in the past to helping the peoples of the world, or whether they are going to allow Unesco, with its high purposes and objectives, to become just another political forum - another place from which political propaganda can be spread in interminable speech after interminable speech.

6.12 Unless every delegate to this Conference joins in a concerted effort to oppose, at every step along the way, the introduction of political resolutions, the making of political speeches, the use of this forum as a place for political propaganda, and the spreading of political ideology, unless every delegate here dedicates himself to fight this throughout the Conference, Unesco is doomed to lose the support, both financial and intellectual, of all the nations of the world who subscribe to the high principles and purposes of its Constitution.

6.13 I would like to suggest to the delegates of Africa and of Asia, the Latin American States and the Far East that Unesco belongs to them, it is their forum, it is the basis of their hope for their future development. Here they can join all peoples of the world in discussion and plans and action which can be constantly developed for the advancement of education, science and culture within their territories and for the social, political and economic development of their countries.

6.14 What is our purpose at this Conference? We are here to devote our full attention to the programme of Unesco. For, whatever may once have been the case, this programme is no longer, anything less than a well-thought out plan for co-operative international attack on problems of central importance to the peoples of the world. What are, in broad outline, our major objectives and the major ways of reaching them? In my view they are very simply these: first, to respond to the appeals of emerging peoples to assist them in planning and, in so far as possible, establishing school systems which, through able administrative leadership of able teachers, can, over a period of years, train literate and skilled populations. Second, to help achieve, through the friendly co-operation of scientists and social scientists working together regardless of national boundaries, the use of knowledge gained in a variety of fields such as the resources of the seas, the conquest of aridity, and the adjustment of man to technological progress. Third, to keep alive in a period of applied science, an awareness of the cultural values we all share, and the mutual concern through which we can severally enrich human culture, achieve understanding and promote peace. Here, of course, the Major Project in East-West cultural understanding is an excellent example. Fourth, to serve as the educational instrumentality of the United Nations in all its far-flung efforts carried on through the United Nations Special Fund and in other ways to lift the social and economic potential of gifted peoples. And may I say, Mr. President, that during the course of this Conference and very soon, I hope, the United States of America will ask permission to present a very concrete proposal concerning education in Africa. Fifth, to create a carefully planned and guided network of scholarly or artistically creative private organizations which will bring together skilled and learned men and women the world around, for the pooling and extension of insights into the various component parts of the spiritual and intellectual enterprise on the fruitfulness of which must ultimately depend the stature of man and his ability, in the deepest sense, to understand and govern himself. And finally, Mr. President, to maintain in as many parts of the world as possible forums of free discussion, in the hope that, as rapidly as feasible, barriers to the free flow of information and the exchange of views will crumble, giving way to international recognition of liberty to think, speak and act which a community of peoples must enjoy if it is to be strong and free.

6.15 Certainly, Mr. President, such a programme is so challenging and so promising that it would be calamitous if we here did not now proceed to rivet our entire attention on it, and cease to be diverted to areas of concern which, however important they may be, are not ours here.

6.16 May I, Mr. President, be permitted to close as I began, with the words of the President of the United States in his recent speech to the United Nations General Assembly: "We of the United States will join with you in making a mounting effort to build the structure of true peace, a peace in which all peoples may progress constantly to higher levels of human achievement. The means are at hand, we have but to use them with the wisdom and energy worthy of our cause. I commend this great task to your hearts, to your minds and to your willing hands. Let us go forward leaving none behind".

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): We have listened with pleasure to the message of the President of the United States of America to this Conference, read out by Mr. Thayer at the beginning of his speech. I call upon H.E. Mr. Roberto MacLean y Estenós, Head of the delegation of Peru.

8.1 Mr. MAC LEAN Y ESTENOS (Peru) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, I should like to begin by expressing, on behalf of my country and in my own name, our profound satisfaction - which I am sure is shared by all Latin Americans - that this plenary meeting should be presided over by one of the most distinguished citizens of Latin America, Mr. Agustín Yañez,

Head of the delegation of Mexico, that great nation and bulwark of democracy, the protagonist in so many important chapters of world history, and so much admired and respected by all the peoples of Latin America.

8.2 Fellow delegates, when Unesco was founded, it stood for the highest hopes of mankind, it was one of the most dazzling adventures of the human mind, a splendid promise held out to humanity, a powerful tool, forged in the heat of passionate ideals, working for the dissemination of culture and, through it, for the advent of a happier world.

8.3 Fourteen years have since gone by - quite long enough for the green buds of promise to have blossomed and yielded fruit. Our distinguished colleague, Paulo de Berredo Carneiro, the delegate of Brazil, recently stated: "Since the creation of Unesco in London, we have lived through many years of high hopes, which are now frozen by the cold war", and on another occasion: "Confidence in Unesco is lacking". This was the case and unfortunately still is. The road along which we have travelled has been strewn with disappointments and disillusionments. Fellow delegates, it is vain for us, within these four walls, to sing lyrical songs, like that of the swan, swing the censers or redouble, for diplomatic reasons, our hymns of praise, salaams and compliments to the Organization, when, outside, an entirely different, more prosaic and harsher reality awaits us.

8.4 Let us, not imitate the ingenuous, stupid behaviour of the ostrich, which buries its head in the sand as though the storm overhead would not break if it did not see it. There is no point in hiding the facts, which are internationally notorious. The army of the disillusioned is growing daily - the army of those who have lost their faith and hope in Unesco - of those who accuse it of having been incapable of carrying out its aims and of having distorted its mission - of those who assert that, in this miniature Tower of Bable, although people speak all the world's languages, they are incapable of reaching friendly understanding in any one of them - of those who assert that Unesco, as an intellectual tool, has become rusty. We do not share this cynical pessimism. We still nurture uor hope and our faith - although both are sometimes sorely tried - in the principles proclaimed at the foundation of the Organization, fourteen years ago. Yet we cannot deny nor hide the facts, because that would mean closing our eyes to what is perfectly obvious.

8.5 The most serious and perilloue crisis experienced by mankind throughout its history is now shaking the world to its very foundations; the whole human race is caught in a web of fears and hopes, haunted by the dread of extermination, overwhelmed by what has been called "The balance of terror". At the same time, we are not simple-minded enough to assume that Unesco is a paradise in the midst of a universe in eruption. Our Organization is passing through a tremendous crisis, as a result of which its Member States, whose interests and rights are defended here by their delegates, cannot adopt the passive attitude of an audience watching a play, for it is their duty and responsibility to strive with determination to ward off that crisis.

8.6 I hope that I may be allowed, with the President's consent and the indulgence of the assembly, to speak for a little longer than the time allotted to each delegate. This I request in view of the importance and magnitude of the problem which it is our urgent duty to tackle, not with fine phrases but with complete frankness, without euphemisms and with the unshakeable determination to find the solution demanded and desired by all men of goodwill.

8.7 Therefore, fellow delegates, I appeal to your indulgence and your kindness and can assure you that I shall try to be as brief as possible, that I shall adhere strictly to the item under discussion and that, like everyone else, I am anxious that the precious time set aside by the Conference for this debate should not be wasted.

8.8 There are two reasons for the crisis through which Unesco is passing: firstly the budget, its structure and the way in which it is spent, and, secondly, the increasing hypertrophy of the administration.

8.9 Let us consider them separately. With regard to the budget, Peru once again urges the adoption of a policy of austerity which would justify spending but condemn extravagance; for this budget is absorbed by three so-called "major" projects, by an almost infinite proliferation of other unconnected, dispersed and heterogeneous projects, which are in many cases the result of individual pressure and not of legitimate collective interests, and by the high cost of the Secretariat, resulting from the administrative hypertrophy from which Unesco suffers and which must be curbed as soon as possible, in the interests of the Organization's prestige.

8.10 Someone has ingeniously calculated that every inhabitant of the world donates to Unesco the equivalent of barely ten Swiss centimes per annum. But, in return, I should like to ask what each of the 3,000 million individuals inhabiting the earth receives from Unesco?

8.11 Let me narrow down the question: What does each of the 650 million inhabitants of China receive from Unesco. To narrow it down even further, what does each of the 30 millions hungry, opressed and poor Indians, eking out a meagre existence in the mountains, high plateaux, tablelands, valleys and gorges of Latin America, receive from Unesco? At best, a drop of water to quench the thirst of centuries, and this little drop of water is all they receive out of the Organization's budget of $31,000,000.

8.12 Whilst an allocation of $1,132,000 is proposed in the Budget under review for the "Major" Project on Research on Arid Lands, there is no provision for Latin America proportionate to its urgent needs.

8.13 Today, we have the paradoxical situation in which overproduction and hunger exist side by side. A few rich countries are not consuming all they produce, yet the far more numerous poor countries lack the financial resources to buy their surpluses and are suffering from hunger.

8.14 One of every three human beings is hungry - two-thirds of humanity is undernourished. In every country - including the United States of America - there are large numbers of people who are not properly fed. In China, the mortality rate from malnutrition is 170 per thousand, one of the highest in the world.

8.15 According to statistical calculations, at the end of this century the population of the world will be

6,000 million, or double what it is now. While in the last hundred years (1850-1950), the total world population has grown by 122%, the rate of population growth of Latin America for the same period was 384%. In the ten-year period 1950 to 1960, the population of South East Asia has increased by 100 million.

8.16 The population of India, with one of the highest infant mortality rates in the world, is increasing by 50 million every ten years. The Chinese population is increasing at a similar rate and that of Mexico by one million per annum. The population of the undernourished countries has grown by 50 million in the last twenty years.

8.17 In order to tackle and solve this tragic problem, bound up with the earth, production and the arid zones, the United Nations established a special agency, namely the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), whose task is familiar to all - to increase production, fertilize the arid lands, stimulate technical development and plan distribution on a rational basis throughout the world.

8.18 Therefore, there is no need for Unesco to interfere in these activities, which are outside its scope, especially if such interference bleeds our budget unnecessarily to the extent of over a million dollars.

8.19 To pour a jug of water on a vast desert dying of thirst is not to irrigate the desert but to waste the water. Moreover, it is just as incredible for Unesco to invest more than a million dollars in a study of the arid zones as it would be for the FAO - something which it has not occurred to it to do - were to invest a similar amount in the establishment of primary schools.

8.20 The East-West "Major" Project, like the former project, has existed for four years without its benefits having so far been felt; yet, in the proposed budget, a sum of almost a million dollars is set aside for it - an increase of $250,000 over the previous budget.

8.21 In the fifty centuries before Unesco came into being, exchanges of art and culture and reciprocal influences between East and West existed, and they will continue to do so as long as the world goes on. To quote only a few of thousands of cases, I would mention the immortal names of Rabindranath Tagore, Tolstoy, Gandhi and Dostoevski, who attained international renown without the slightest help from Unesco.

8.22 Attempts are made to justify this project by attributing to it a noble and magnificent aim - to abolish, by means of cultural exchanges, the "cold war" between East and West. Yet the facts prove irrefutably that the position has not improved: the cold war - surely it goes without saying - is now more dangerous and more firmly rooted than ever.

8.23 Unesco's good intentions are having results no more significant than a tiny grain of sand in the infinite vastness of a desert, than a small olive-branch in the uproar of a world cataclysm. But these good intentions, which are outside the range of the Organization's terms of reference, are costing us a million dollars - a terrible drain on the budget which might well have been avoided.

8.24 The third "Major" Project concerns the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America. It was started precipitately and, as the Ibero-American Bureau of Education has quite rightly observed, without previous planning, without any statistics on educational conditions in the region relying upon improvisation and losing its value in a mass of unrelated activities.

8.25 Nor was this deadly sin, although very serious, the worst. What is worse is that Unesco has tried to build a beautiful skyscraper, starting with the third floor, without realizing that it is essential to begin with the foundations.

8.26 In the world today, of the 550 million children between 5 and 14 years old, almost half are illiterate. 90,000 million dollars would be required to solve this serious problem. 800 million people cannot read. Statistics show that illiteracy has been increasing in the last 14 years, the very period of Unesco's existence.

8.27 The extraordinary population growth in Latin America - the total number of inhabitants having passed the 300 million mark in the last 15 years - raises fundamental problems for our continent, that is, the adaptation of millions of individuals to new living conditions, and the training of the younger generation to face up to the responsibilities of the new world, so different from that of the past.

8.28 There are now 20 million Latin American children attending school; but 15 million are deprived of education through lack of schools. All men of goodwill should feel ashamed. When there are so many million children without schooling, we should be implacable in our demand that all bureaucratic waste and prodigal spending be rooted out and that the sums saved be used for the education of these millions of unfortunate beings.

8.29 The taxpayers, the common run of people, simple and unaffected, who are making sacrifices to pay for Unesco's budget, would make them more willingly if they knew that the sums so obtained would be used to establish new schools for their children. But they rebel against it, and even feel that they are being defrauded, when they are convinced that such sacrifices, which mean less and less bread for their children, are to be used only to increase waste and the salaries of a handful of privileged bureaucrats.

8.30 At least half a million more teachers are needed. The Inter-American seminars on education held by the OAS, have shown that in the next 15 years there will be 20 million illiterate children, a figure which is in itself a cry of alarm, and that adult illiteracy in Latin America has now increased to a total of 48 million. As a result of the efforts made over the past 25 years by the Governments of Mexico, Peru, Cuba, Argentina, Venezuela and others, 90,000 new teachers' posts have been established and 4 1/2 million children have been enrolled in schools.

8.31 The respective universities of almost all our countries have faculties of education, where teachers in all subjects are trained, and also teacher-training institutes or schools for the training of primary school teachers. The OAS, the Ibero-American Bureau of Education and the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Chile have, in the last two years, established

a total of 580 fellowships for the training and further education of teachers.

8.32 The Director-General of Unesco, in the Proposed Programme and Budget we are now examining, could do no less than acknowledge that "these and other improvements (since 1956) cannot, of course, be considered as resulting exclusively, or even directly from the Major Project".

8.33 It is an excellent thing that Unesco should be investing part of its funds for the training of sociologists in Santiago de Chile, social science research workers in Rio de Janeiro, journalists in Quito, and mathematicians in Argentina. It is better still, obviously, that the training of primary school teachers in Latin America should have been given the status of a "Major" Project. But all this is only the third floor of the magnificent edifice. The architect has forgotten to begin at the beginning - with the foundations. The tackling of the Indian problem is the essential and inevitable primary stage; unfortunately, the organizers of the project have until now failed to understand this.

8.34 Thirty million Indians, fellow delegates, thirty million Indians, forming the national majorities in some countries and being a powerful population element in others, live miserably in inhuman conditions, scattered from one end of America to the other, from pole to pole, from Alaska to Patagonia, forgotten, oppressed and abject, dying of hunger when they are not dying of cold or the effects of filthy conditions.

8.35 Before thinking about giving an individual an education, it is essential to enable him to live like a human being. Before they need sociologists, social workers, teachers, mathematicians, journalists and primary school teachers, these thirty million Indians want to be able to live - to live as human beings and not as beasts of burden as they do now. Before teaching these thirty million pariahs the alphabet in a language which is not their own, it is of prime urgency to revive their human qualities, to rescue them from serfdom, from the oppression of a feudal system which has robbed them even of the capacity to think.

8.36 We cannot shelve a problem of this tremendous magnitude any longer without incurring serious responsibility for the present and future of Latin America.

8.37 The worthy efforts of the Regional Fundamental Education Centre for Latin America (CREFAL), which is studying the economic, social and cultural life of the rural communities of the Patzcuaro region in Mexico, are most laudable, as is also the work being done on the Nicaraguan Rio Cocos and the Peruvian Vicos and Puno-Tampobata Projects, that being carried out by the Indian Co-ordination Centres and Cultural Missions in Mexico, the Andean Mission (Peru and Ecuador) and the Rural Schools (Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia) and the wide range of provisions made within the framework of their limited budget by the various States who are tackling this tremendous problem. But all this is but a scarcely perceptible glimmer of light in the deep and fearful darkness of a stormy night.

8.38 Fellow-delegates, it is wonderful indeed that Unesco, with a voice resounding throughout the world, should be campaigning for the salvation of the sublime monuments of Nubia, threatened with submersion in the waters of the great river which the men of antiquity raised to the rank of a god and which the men of our century are going to tame and convert into a mighty instrument for the progress and prosperity of the peoples living on its banks.

8.39 It would be no less wonderful if Unesco, without the blaring of publicity campaigns and the solemn formality of committees of patrons, were to undertake a similar campaign to save from poverty, abjection and death those thirty million living monuments - the Indians of the New World, cosmic fragments of Latin America's mountain ranges - without waiting for the day, which is gradually drawing nearer, when these thirty million oppressed people, already driven to the limit of their patience and despair, resolve to embark on the dangerous course of seeking justice for themselves.

8.40 Bureaucracy: Unesco is suffering - and this is one of the chief causes of the crisis going on within the Organization - from progressive bureaucratic hypertrophy and I therefore urge that Peru's proposal for budgetary austerity be applied as strictly as possible. At previous sessions of the General Conference, the delegations of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France and other countries have urged that a brake be put on the increasing bureaucratic inflation which is doing our Organization such harm.

8.41 This year, the Executive Board, at its 56th and 57th meetings, recognized the urgency of "reducing staff costs through improved distribution of work and the most effective use of available staff" in order to "keep administrative costs as low as possible". Up till now, at this session of the General Conference, both at the plenary meetings and in the meetings of the Commissions, several delegations have emphasized the need to remedy this bureaucratic hypertrophy, among them those of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Japan, Greece, Rumania, Venezuela, Peru, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland and Finland. The last four delegations mentioned expressed their surprise at the fifth meeting of the Administrative Commission, at the marked increase in the number of staff in the Office of the Director-General and the establishment of a post of Director of the New York Office, "all of which", they said, "was contrary to the decisions of the General Conference".

8.42 As on previous occasions, those called upon to find a remedy for this excessive bureaucracy replied that they would study the question. They are still studying it. In spite of all the promises, the evil is gaining ground. The illness is getting worse. The time has come to extirpate it in order to avoid the damage and harm being caused to the Organization.

8.43 The Proposed Programme and Budget we are now discussing does not give details - an inexplicable anomaly - of the salaries received by staff members. It gives only the posts, with their corresponding grades, without specifying the salary carried by each. Why has so vague and inconvenient a system been adopted? Why place this gathering in the position of discussing a project without knowing the exact figures on which delegates will have to vote? Why not allow the Conference to study the other budget which gives the details of the salaries received by

each and every one of the employees of the Organization? Is there by any chance a secret budget?

8.44 I do not wish to refer to that proposed new outbreak of bureaucratic inflation represented by the chapter on "Co-operation with the Inter-American Development Bank", since I criticized it, backed by a series of unanswerable arguments and with as much downright frankness as good faith, at the first plenary meeting of the Programme Commission. The Latin American group gave me invaluable support and we were informed, at one of the meetings, that, as a result of my intervention, the Director-General had tactfully decided to withdraw this extremely unwise project which, part from causing a drain of more than $180,000 on the Organization's budget, implied the weakening of the sovereignty of Member States and was prejudicial to the whole spirit, system and institutions of the Pan-American world.

8.45 The permanent staff at these Headquarters numbers over 1,200. Moreover, there is a large number of temporary staff members. The bureaucracy is continuing to expand ad infinitum with cheerful impunity. This harmful inflation can easily be stopped without any loss of efficiency by improving the distribution of work, using the staff more effectively, eliminating all favoritism, taking the system - now discredited - of selecting candidates more seriously and tolerating no laziness or inaptitude. And let it not be said, as it already has been, that other international organizations, such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the International Labour Organisation and the Food and Agriculture Organization, have an even greater degree of bureaucracy than ours. The sins of others should not be used as a pretext to perpetuate our own. Because others have leprosy, there is no reason for us to be proud of having it too.

8.46 Moreover, this is a good opportunity to point out that, at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, authoritative voices have been raised in condemnation of the excessive costs and incompetence of that Organization's administration. In addition, a few weeks ago, the Uruguayan economist, Rey Alvarez, resigned his post as Director of the Division of Economic Development of the OAS in protest against "increasing and sterile bureaucracy". That is what he called it. At the same time, the Director of the Economic and Social Welfare Department, the Argentinian Cecilio Morales, added that "the bureaucracy rife in the OAS is making all plans for inter-American economic co-operation sterile".

8.47 Fellow delegates, Unesco, too, is suffering from this illness.

8.48 I congratulate, warmly and whole-heartedly, the efficient staff members who are an honour to this institution and enhance its prestige. We derive much satisfaction from our almost daily dealings with them in the course of our duties. But unfortunately, there are not many of them, whereas there are plenty of the other kind, who consider their jobs as sinecures, making use of Unesco rather than serving it. There is an increasing number of minor "chiefs" at all levels, in reality servitors, who take on the airs and graces of lords and masters. Among those known as "experts" - and I know some of them - there are a great many who lack the wisdom gratuitously attributed to them; take, for instance, the insignificant pocket library that gives no service, where books are spoilt or lost and would-be readers are headed off in an undemocratic manner; these other officials, servants who do not serve, with an antediluvian mentality, absurd and intolerable, who think they are hiding their incapacity of laziness by placing, systematically, a hundred and one little obstacles in the way of the permanent delegations' work, because none of their administrative superiors has taken the trouble to correct or rebuke them.

8.49 How splendid it is, too, that all the employees of Unesco, in addition to their base salaries, which are not exactly small, enjoy a wonderful range of allowances: family allowances, education grants, a non-resident's allowance, a language allowance, adjustments to the cost of living at the duty station, a medical service and medical benefits - the latter having been extended to the widows and children of deceased officials or those killed on mission - French social security services, a per diem allowance when on mission, reimbursement of income tax, free travel - which also includes their families - upon appointment and separation from service; free travel - again including their families - for periodic visits to their home countries, an installation grant, indemnities for termination of appointment, payment for accumulated leave in the case of termination, transport of furniture and personal effects, housing loans - which have already benefited over 60 families - indemnities for risks attributable to the performance of professional duties, plus adjustments to the cost of living, which have already reached 17% of the base salary. All this is very fine. But, in the light of this wonderful system of benefits, unequalled anywhere else, employees of every category, from directors to messengers, should be reminded of what a good many of them forget: their duty to carry out their functions to the letter.

8.50 The plan of budgetary austerity to which we should commit ourselves would also require that "travel on official business" be cut as much as possible. In the last year, the Director-General has visited India, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Libya, Mexico, the United States of America, Canada and the United Kingdom. Until now we have not been informed, as we should have been, of the practical results and positive advantages accruing to Unesco as a result of these journeys. We only know that in the next two years it is proposed to increase such travel even more and that, in the budget we are discussing, there is an increase of $6,750 per annum over the current budget for jurneys to be undertaken by the Director-General.

8.51 But then, in exchange, the other absolutely unnecessary and competely useless form of travel, which might be described as "organizational holiday trips" should be completely abolished. A large number of Unesco officials go on these trips, at the Organization's expense, to nearly every country and far too often; they do so on all sorts of pretexts and without any benefit at all to Unesco. These trips are all the more unjustified and pointless - although they take up over half a million dollars in the budget - in view of the fact that, in the countries concerned, there are

ministries, government offices, National Commissions for Unesco and their permanent officials, intermediaries between Headquarters and the bodies responsible for the direct performance of technical projects in those areas. Moreover, in Paris, there are permanent delegations of all the Member States, which keep Unesco informed of the opinions of their respective governments.

8.52 Fellow delegates, I cannot end this dismal list of our Organization's shortcomings without thanking you deeply for your patience and kindness in listening to me. We are neither impatient idealists nor hardened cynics. We are but men of goodwill who are trying to see things as they are and we cannot resign ourselves to the fact that Unesco, in its 14 years of existence, still in the initial period of its activity, is persisting in its childish extravagance and, instead of correcting its mistakes, is making more and more.

8.53 We all have a duty to perform and we are doing ours, however painful it may be. We are all trying to prevent the failings and anomalies that I have listed from becoming a permanent discredit to the Organization. We are all trying to prevent the twilight in which we are now living from turning into a dark night; we are striving to make it, on the contrary, the prelude to dawn, promising a sunny day. Let night not yet fall upon Unesco!

8.54 On behalf of Peru, I reaffirm our loyal adherence to the universal principles on which Unesco is based. It is the duty and responsibility of all of us to defend these principles and not to remain passive spectators of the crisis through which the Organization is passing. We must save them in order that Unesco may not be a negligeable factor in the radical changes taking place in the modern world, in the advent of a new era for mankind; we must cast away the heavy burden which is paralysing its wings, so that it may become more than a mere dazzling hope sinking into obscurity and, through our common efforts, be converted into a splendid reality, harnessing the moral forces and technical resources of mankind in the service of all the peoples of the world. In order to remove misunderstanding, prejudice and hatred, the first step is to eliminate them from the minds of men. For, as our Magna Carta states, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I should like to thank the delegate of Peru particularly for the tribute to my country with which he began his speech. I call upon the Director-General who wishes to clarify certain points.

10.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I have no intention of holding up this debate, which I am trying to follow with the closest possible attention, by replying now to the criticisms and remarks of Member States concerning the criteria that should guide me in the immediate and more distant future. I shall answer them all at the end of the debate.

10.2 But there is one point to which, in all conscience, I must reply immediately. I refer to one of the statements made by the Head of the delegation of Peru. He spoke of the Secretariat, of its incompetence and, more particularly - and it is on this point that I wish to reply - of the fact that only a minute proportion of the Secretariat is conscious of its duty to serve the Organization, and does in fact do so, whilst a very large part exploits Unesco for the sake of goodness knows what personal or group interests. Allow me, in full awareness of my responsibilities as head of the Secretariat, to reject this statement and to express my deepest conviction that, from the Director-General down to the most junior member of the Secretariat, there is not a single person in this house who does not work for the benefit of the Organization and of its Member States.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): Thank you very much, Sir. I now call upon H.E. Mr. Lazo, Head of the delegation of Cuba.

12.1 Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, fellow delegates, in a world full of prejudices, in which people are wont not to judge but to prejudge, and not to assess and appreciate ideas as such but as distorted by the prejudices of those propounding them, Unesco has a noble and most worthy mission to fulfil. Cuba is ready to co-operate in that mission to the full extent of its potentialities, sincerely and without any mental reservations, without those prejudices that generate misunderstanding and every type of aggressive attitude which we ought to abolish for the good of mankind.

12.2 Cuba has come here not to raise political, but human, problems and I believe that, on behalf of my delegation, I can and must say this, and, in so doing, am completely in line with all its proposals.

12.3 Cuba, which has often found locked doors when it has made an approach in the name of peace and understanding, has never abandoned this peaceful attitude. This has been proved by its behaviour in this assembly and all its future activity will be guided by the same principle.

12.4 The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, interpreting the sovereign will of its people, their ideal of freedom and creative work, cultural and material progress, human brotherhood and peace based on justice, conveys, through the medium of its representatives here, its cordial good wishes to this General Conference of Unesco and particularly to the representatives of the new Member States. On behalf of my Government, I should now like to give you a brief account of what has been accomplished by the Cuban revolution in education, science and culture in the short space of twenty months. I shall attempt to formulate, albeit very rapidly, the principles and aims of Cuba's active and far-sighted co-operation in the international sphere of Unesco; and, finally, I shall explain what measures my Government suggests that Unesco should adopt in order to carry out to the full the tasks assigned to it.

12.5 Cuba is not a great power whose activities in education, science and culture are familiar to everyone. The great powers can allow themselves the luxury of philosophizing about the principles of Unesco; but small nations are bound to bring their

achievements in this sphere to the notice of the world. Since the Cuban Revolution triumphed on 1 January 1959, it represents the sovereign will of the people of Cuba transformed into action; Cuba wants the facts to be known and wishes to keep and strengthen its moral prestige, not by making empty, routine speeches, but by showing what it has actually achieved.

12.6 When the Revolutionary Government came to power on 1 January 1959, Cuba, a country with over six million inhabitants, had a school-age population (between 5 and 15 years old) of 1,600,000 children, of whom 800,000 were receiving no schooling at all. This figure is even more significant when it is realized that only 75% of these enrolled actually attended classes. With regard to illiteracy, an inevitable result of the situation described above, the position was equally depressing. In 1899, at the end of Spanish rule, 56% of the total population was illiterate; in 1907, at the beginning of the Republic, with an annual education budget of 4,200,000 pesos, the illiteracy rate was a little over 31%. Fifty years later, in 1958, when the budget was over 88 million pesos, in other words twenty times more, the illiteracy rate was almost at the same level, i.e. 31%, and in the rural areas it amounted to more than 80%. To complete this sombre picture of the educational situation in Cuba before 1959, I would mention that, of the 600,000 children between the ages of 15 and 19, only 90,000, i.e. 15% attended secondary schools.

12.7 As these figures and any others which might be collected should not be used merely to arouse vain regrets, I shall first explain the real, underlying cause of this backwardness in a nation which is intelligent, hard-working and admirably served by nature with varied and plentiful economic resources. It is important to emphasize here not only the disastrous results of the corruption of a political regime ironically described as democratic and representative, but also the influence of powerful economic and social factors which were at the root of these and other evils swept away by the Revolution.

12.8 The dramatic case of Cuba is indeed proof positive that nothing constructive can be achieved in education, science and culture unless the peoples enjoy true political freedom which, in its turn, cannot exist without economic freedom.

12.9 In over half a century of Republican rule, many different projects to improve the educational system, beginning with the essential basis of primary education, were launched in Cuba. Leading national and foreign experts worked on this and a certain number of school buildings were constructed. But these efforts found no echo among the population, had no appreciable influence or positive effect in a society where the wealth was exceedingly badly distributed, where the majority were starving or lived in chronic unemployment - the unemployment figures in 1958 were 700,000 - or, working in conditions that were extremely precarious or insecure, went without the most basic essentials of life - among which unfortunately must be included food and clothing - in order that their children might go to school. In the vast majority of cases, the schools were housed in old tumbledown buildings in the urban areas or in the typical Cuban peasant huts of the period, with a roof of palm leaves and an earthen floor.

12.10 This distorted economic and social system, due to the monopolizing of natural wealth by a native minority and to powerful foreign interests (it will suffice to mention as an example that 1% of the population owned 60% of the land and that the average per capita income in Cuba was seven times lower than that in the United States of America, only 90 miles away), this chronic and insurmontable economic crisis which divided the Cuban people into a rich and powerful minority and an immense impoverished majority, did not allow them to enjoy the benefits of educational, scientific and cultural progress to which they were entitled. The Revolutionary Government therefore had to begin by introducing the necessary economic and social reforms, followed by the reorganization and development of primary education, which had, above all, to be extended to every part of the country. This work has not only been done most effectively by the Ministry of Education and its Cultural Department, but also by the Rebel Army, the Land Reform Institute and all kinds of official, semi-official and private organizations, united in a common effort to make 1961 the "Year of Popular Education".

12.11 Only by contrasting this with the previous situation already described is it possible to understand the significance of the results which the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has achieved in education, science and culture in the short space of twenty-two months, and which I shall now try to summarize. The Ministry of Education has established 10,000 primary school classes, most of them in rural areas, and is planning to establish 5,000 more. In all, this will be double the number of thos established in the whole 58 years of Republican rule. The annual budget for school material has been increased from 500,000 to a little over 6,000,000 pesos.

12.12 The educational system has been transformed, with greater decentralization and planning, and, where the shortage of school buildings makes it necessary, the solution of holding two sessions has been adopted in order to extend the benefits of education to larger numbers of children.

12.13 One of the most striking signs of the fundamental importance with which education is considered in Cuba today is the conversion of a large number of expensive military buildings into schools, as a result of which over 20,000 Cuban children - exactly the same number as that of the victims of Fulgencio Batista's efforts to maintain his usurped, tyrannical power after the military coup d'état of 10 March 1952 - are now receiving schooling in decent buildings.

12.14 Reforms have also been introduced in secondary education, especially technical education, and priority is given to the establishment of technical secondary schools. Pre-university education is being improved and, for the training and further training of teachers, a Higher Institute of Education has been established and is now functioning. Provincial and municipal authorities, together with other institutions, are taking part in this educational work.

12.15 Parallel with the impetus given to education, a cultural programme has been put into practice. This is particularly designed to benefit the entire nation, throughout the whole of our territory, but without detriment to activities relating to the more

advanced forms of culture. In the first place - I give this as an example - the General Directorate of Culture of the Ministry of Education is endeavouring to revive national cultural traditions and national competitions have been held to stimulate the development of journalism, creative literature and literary and art criticism. The project for the publication of books by Cuban authors is developing regularly and these books are reaching the public. Periodicals and bulletins are published and exhibitions of paintings, engravings, architecture and sculpture have been held. The theatre run by the General-Directorate of Culture has put on 23 plays by representative Cuban and foreign authors. Some of these performances have drawn audiences totalling over 30,000 people.

12.16 The dissemination of culture by theoretical or purely descriptive means includes lectures by Cuban and foreign artists and intellectuals. A National Theatre has been established and is functioning actively as an independent body. Another independent agency is the Cuban Cinema Institute, a new institution which aims at enabling Cuba to express its own particular national genius in this sphere of art.

12.17 One of the most important cultural achievements of the Revolutionary Government has been the National Press which, in addition to lending its services to all State offices and departments, serves as a vehicle to bring to the public a series of works planned to provide a basic cultural training; it also makes it easier for Cuban authors to publish books intended for specific sectors of the public.

12.18 As an indication of the results obtained, cases can be quoted of works published in 100,000 to 600,000 copies, approximately 90%, or nearly all of these, being cheap editions.

12.19 With regard to higher education, I shall, in this cursory summary, at least mention that the universities of Havana, Las Villas and Oriente are considering a general, co-ordinated reorganization of their work, with the aim of modernizing their methods, increasing their resources and doing everything possible to meet the needs of the nation in the spheres of culture, research and the training of technicians.

12.20 A new department, the Cultural Affairs Service, is being set up in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

12.21 The National Commission for Unesco has been reorganized and its activities have been put in order and increased. It is now an effective body for co-operation with Unesco in all the latter's fields of work. The periodical entitled "Cuba en la Unesco" gives an idea of the work done by the Commission. In its direct dealings with Unesco, the Revolutionary Government has three very important achievements to record: the liquidation of Cuba's debts to the Organization, contracted by the previous Government; the doubling of the size of the premises (the rent having been paid by the Government) of the Havana Regional Office, and consideration of the possibility of giving this Centre still better premises in what will be the Unesco Palace in Havana; and finally, the organization in Cuba, paid for by the Government and sponsored by Unesco, of an international conference to study ways of improving the international transmission of news, inspired by the obvious principle that a misinformed world is a troubled world.

12.22 Cuba is thus responding in a practical way to the assertion that the barriers to the free flow of information must be removed; it has proposed the practical project, which it has defended in this Organization, of holding a World News Conference in Havana, but this project has been inexplicably held up by procedural delays.

12.23 All this work done by the Revolutionary Government in education, science and culture since it came to power on 1 January 1959 provides the most positive evidence of Cuba's faithful pursuit of the ideals and aims of Unesco. The Government's educational and cultural policy is based on awareness of the interdependence of the peoples of the world and of the need to extend to all the benefits of education, science and culture, and on the desire for peace through better international understanding.

12.24 But precisely because we can offer a record of positive achievement, Cuba, in formulating - for the consideration of this Conference - its opinions on the methods and activities of this Organization, wishes to place special emphasis on the need for Unesco, if it is to fulfil its mission properly, to face the facts and find out more and more about the real economic and social situation of every country.

12.25 For it serves very little purpose to send experts to countries which are still in a chronic state of underdevelopment and unable to take advantage of their advice. As the Prime Minister of Cuba stated at the last United Nations General Assembly, we might ask ourselves here what use it is to build schools in the middle of a country where the children are undernourished at home and their families, suffering from unemployment and in a permanent state of economic insecurity, cannot even supply them with the clothes necessary for them to attend the schools planned by the experts.

12.26 Therefore, we should like to propose that Unesco proclaim to all the international organizations - and more particularly to the United Nations which has the weightiest influence - and to the world in general that the raising of economic and social standards is the essential basis for any progress in education, science and culture. We should take this criterion as our guiding principle in carrying out our tasks and devote the best and most enduring of our efforts to ensuring its implementation.

12.27 Interpreting what is not only the profound conviction of my people but an ideal which is forcing its way to the fore in our times, I say that Unesco should categorically proclaim that the world, disillusioned and tired of formal solutions, is moving towards real and practical solutions of the problems facing mankind.

12.28 Cuba offers the fruits of its short but rich experience and expresses its unshakeable conviction that there can be no law, resolution, definition or agreement that is not based on pure truth, on exact information, on a direct, intelligent and fearless approach to human problems.

12.29 Today, Cuba brings this perfect correspondence between principles and acts, between the proclamation and recognition of the right and the realities on which the right must be based as an essential precondition for its very existence, to playing its part

in Unesco. The culminating proof of this new policy, the international application of which I am urging, where sincerity, action and a real understanding of things are blended, is the Havana Declaration of 2 September 1960, a document which goes beyond the sphere of American policy and can be classed among programmes which are universally applicable.

12.30 What is interesting to us in this Declaration is the direct, frank and realistic way in which it tackles human problems. Thus, in the Havana Declaration, the condemnation of illiteracy and of the shortage of teachers and schools would have been merely one of those purely verbal, routine demonstrations - so common in international life - if the stricture had not been clearly, directly and explicity extended to the corresponding economic and social conditions in the underdeveloped countries, if the Declaration had not proscribed the system of land ownership, the starvation wages and all the injustices and privileges which are the sources of poverty. The right of children to education, the right of students to free experimental and scientific education, the right of intellectuals, artists and scientists to strive through their works for a better world, categorically postulated in the Havana Declaration, would in themselves - as in any similar document - be nothing more than fine, vague promises, if, at the same time, they were not accompanied by public denunciation and condemnation, without hesitation or subterfuge, of the circumstances and conditions hampering the effective and total implementation of those rights.

12.31 Finally, we believe that, whatever results Unesco may have achieved for the benefit of mankind, the constantly changing circumstances of the world in which we live make it necessary for us to realize that this international Organization is not in a state of immutable perfection and that we should therefore feel obliged to review its methods and its machinery. Considering its noble and useful aims, it is our duty to reorganize it with a view to greater efficiency and intelligent realism and to increasing its activities, making them more effective and more universal.

12.32 We believe that the General Conference should have full authority and be given the utmost importance as a meeting in which all the views prevailing among the world's peoples on the subjects within our sphere may be duly heard and weighed.

12.33 The Executive Board should be enlarged and made as widely democratic as possible. If it is to play a real part in the direction and administration of Unesco, its sessions must be longer so that, with sufficient time at its disposal, its proceedings may not be reduced to taking formal decisions on matters that have already been fully settled. Instead, it should have a genuine opportunity of exercising its influence throughout the process of preparation, in close contact with the Secretariat.

12.34 Finally, we should make a particular effort to see that responsibilities and duties are more equitably distributed and that Member States are able to intervene more effectively so that they are not considered merely from the point of view of their financial contributions, but from that of their respective needs and the type of culture they represent; relations with them must not be reduced to a purely bureaucratic system of consultation and negotiation.

12.35 Thus we extend our cordial good wishes to all the nations represented here. We are ready to contribute our experience and affirm our will to cooperate with Unesco for the attainment of the noble aims assigned to it by its very nature and by the terms of its Constitution.

12.36 This speech of mine would be lacking in one essential element if I did not conclude by stating to this gathering that whatever Cuba has achieved and is still doing, and whatever it is planning for the future, it owes entirely to its own resources used to the maximum - the resources of a nation little developed and numerically small and, moreover, hampered by a tight and increasing international economic blockade and the menace of planned and repeated acts of military agression, as we have reported to the appropriate international agencies. Cuba is seeking not merely guarantees but the implementation of a principle and an objective which I have pleasure in mentioning here and which deserves to be noted - the principle of peace, peace founded on justice and on the will of the peoples of the world, freely determined.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): After having listened to the interesting remarks of the delegate of the Republic of Cuba, I shall, in view of the lateness of the hour, adjourn the meeting. At the eleventh plenary meeting, to be held at 3.30 p.m., the delegates of the Netherlands, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Spain and other countries will speak. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

XI

ELEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

21 November 1960, at 3.40 p.m.

President: The Rt. Hon. Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom)
later: Dr. KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General, of the Executive Board and of Member States (continued) . 166

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL, OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AND OF MEMBER STATES (continued)

1.1 The PRESIDENT:

Ladies and gentlemen, will the meeting please come to order. I would remind the Conference that the Executive Board set about fifteen minutes as an appropriate time for each speech. Indeed, if we are to fit in between 70 and 80 speeches this week, that is approximately the time we can afford. I hope, therefore, that we shall not fall behind this afternoon.

1.2 I now have pleasure in calling upon H.E. Dr. Cals, the Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences of the Netherlands, to address the Conference.

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

Mr. President, Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, as Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences in my country, I am responsible for the development of those sectors of national life which, at the international level, coincide exactly with the fields of activity of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

2.2 I am therefore in a position to appreciate the fertilizing effect of Unesco's contribution towards international co-operation in the educational, scientific and cultural fields on the national approach to the problems with which all of us are specially concerned.

2.3 This exchange of ideas makes it easier for us to understand our responsibilities at both the national and international levels, and it gives us a keener sense of the solidarity existing between nations and peoples, particularly at this time when so many new Member States in Africa are increasing the universality of our Organization by joining our ranks and enhancing the value of our work. I associate myself wholeheartedly with the expressions of satisfaction that have already been forthcoming in this connexion. The heavy responsibility henceforward devolving on Unesco in respect of these States has been repeatedly stressed, and very rightly so. We cannot sufficiently emphasize the fact that the birth of so many new countries increases the responsibility of our Organization, for Unesco's Constitution clearly defines the Organization's mission of promoting international peace and the common welfare of mankind.

2.4 It is our Organization's duty - its self-evident duty - to see that effective assistance is given to the newly independent States so as to enable them to develop education, science and culture in accordance with their character, individuality and legitimate aspirations, as the foundation for human dignity and national prosperity.

2.5 What I have just said, however, constitutes only one aspect - albeit an important one - of the entry of the new Member States into Unesco. For we must not lose sight of the fact that while Unesco can help give these newly independent States the means necessary for the flowering of their own individuality, it can also count on the contribution which they themselves are able to make. They have already demonstrated their willingness to co-operate closely in the common task, and Unesco will benefit in its turn, from the help they are able to give us in many fields by placing their spiritual heritage at the service of others.

2.6 The Conference has already shown its full awareness of this, indeed, by electing the representative of an old independent African country as its President and by electing a representative of a young independent African country as a member of the Executive Board.

2.7 The fact that the President of our Conference should be able, like Mr. Berthoin, to take an effective part also in the work of the Executive Board, gives welcome emphasis to the presence of Africa among the policy-makers of our Organization. My delegation is extremely pleased at this, and wishes to stress, in this connexion, that this happy state of affairs helps to give effect to the spirit of Unesco's Constitution. Do not some of its articles deal with the equitable representation of various cultures on the Executive Board and consequently with satisfactory geographical representation? Yet, if these new States are to have a permanent place among us, and if, at the same time, other important cultures are to be equitably represented, the Netherlands Government considers it essential for the Executive Board's membership to be increased from 24 to 26. For this reason, our delegation unhesitatingly supported the proposal submitted to that effect.

2.8 According to the agenda, the discussion now centres on the reports of the Director-General on

the activities of the Organization. I am very glad that we are in possession of these important documents. The Netherlands delegation, which has always claimed that Unesco should have adequate means of taking action, has more than once emphasized how necessary it was that the Organization should give a clear account of activities brought to a successful conclusion. However, no matter how long these reports are, they fail to provide - even with the proposed programme and budget covering a two-year period - the necessary picture of the long-term programmes showing the exact details of the priorities and increased allocations required. We therefore welcome the publication of the five-year appraisal of Unesco's programmes.

2.9 This report shows that serious stock has been taken of fundamental aims and methods of work of the Organization, and it provides a solid basis on which we will be able to construct our long-term programmes. I gather from the reports of the Economic and Social Council dealing with it that it produced an excellent impression at the Council session in Geneva last Summer. It constitutes a major contribution to what is termed the general report on the five-year appraisals of the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies - a report which obviously calls for close co-ordination - for it is difficult to delimit economic, social, educational and cultural problems, and the integration of the plans of the organizations concerned thus becomes of truly paramount importance.

2.10 I am perfectly aware, Mr. President, that in making these general observations I have wandered from the past and turned my thoughts to the future. The fact is that the only reports featuring in today's agenda are those relating to the past; and the five-year appraisal and the proposed programme and budget are being discussed in the various commissions in the meantime. Nevertheless, I feel I am keeping to the heart of the subject of this general discussion, which was to be reserved for absolutely essential points.

2.11 I have been profoundly struck by something I read during these past few days concerning Gaston Berger, our late illustrious colleague. One day he is said to have told his Minister: "Why not stop thinking for just one minute, Sir, about things that make you lose your time?". This keen-witted founder of the Projection Centre was certainly not intending to belittle the value of a knowledge of the past, or a close study of it, but was clearly trying to draw attention to the supreme importance in the first place, of thinking about the future. I cannot refrain from quoting something that he wrote in this connexion: "What I noticed, in administrative practice, was that plans were more often made for the past than for the future. I have also noted that the future was was conceived in terms of the present, as though it were merely a prolongation of it. We think of the future in the present tense, and fetter our actions by regulations thought out in terms of the present, if not of the past. Thinking ahead demands the exact opposite. We should look at the present in terms of the future".

2.12 How pregnant these words are for this Conference! The world of tomorrow is that of Unesco in its new format: not the 80 Member States of 1958 but the 100 and more of 1962, and it is in this light that we should consider the present also. That is why I feel that this general discussion, in the pursuit of which the heads of delegations would be well-advised to stop thinking for just a few minutes about things which make them lose their time, should be mainly directed to the future.

2.13 This makes me wonder, Mr. President, whether the procedure now followed is the best. I should therefore like to ask the Director-General and the Executive Board to consider - or, rather, reconsider - whether this general discussion in plenary meeting might not find a place elsewhere.

2.14 It would be improper for me to enlarge on this question at present. In any case I have noted from the documents before us that the forward-looking spirit of Gaston Berger also inspires the Director-General and his assistants. One of the best examples of this, I think is the remarkable efficiency with which the new States of Africa have succeeded, since attaining their independence, in drawing up an additional programme over the past few months in an attempt to solve the urgent problems confronting the countries of that continent. There are many other points which indicate the same preoccupation, but my delegation will revert to these questions at greater length in the various commissions if further clarification of certain aspects of them are considered desirable.

2.15 Mr. President, I have devoted a considerable part of my speech to Unesco's task of helping the new States in the efforts to promote the broad development of their culture. I have also pointed out that our Organization, when drawing up programmes, should above all deal with the future.

2.16 Before concluding, I should like to draw attention to another, and no less important, aspect of Unesco's activities - the safeguarding of the cultural heritage which the great civilizations have bequeathed to us. Interest in the heritage of the past is also, or rather particularly, important in a dynamic era such as the one we live in. The man who is ignorant of what happened before his time will always remain a child and will never awaken to that wisdom which contact with true civilization alone can impart.

2.17 May I be allowed, in this context, to draw your attention yet again to a project which my Government has very much at heart - the preservation of the Nubian monuments threatened with destruction as a result of the construction of the Sadd el Aali dam. This campaign, launched under the auspices of Unesco is the most important one staged for the preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind that our Organization has included in its activities since its foundation. My Government feels strongly that the disappearance of these monuments would be an irreparable loss for mankind, a loss which can be avoided only if large numbers of private institutions throughout the world as well as all the governments represented in Unesco concretely demonstrate their interest in the matter. I would welcome most heartily an appeal by the General Conference to all Member States of Unesco to make a reasonable contribution to the fund for safeguarding the threatened monuments, and my delegation will make more detailed representations on the

question when this item comes up for discussion. I would like to state forthwith, however, that if the Conference adopts a recommendation drawn up in the spirit of what I have just said, the Netherlands Government would be prepared to make a contribution to the trust fund in due proportion to the joint financial effort.

2.18 My Government has also responded to the Director-General's appeal in yet another way. In addition to financing an archaeological expedition, it has continued Netherlands traditions in the field of hydraulics by taking the necessary steps to prepare a preliminary plan in connexion with the hydraulic works designed to protect the Island of Philae from flood damage. The Netherlands experts were able to collect all the necessary information, thanks to the effective co-operation of the competent archaeological and technical services of the United Arab Republic and Unesco, with the result that a plan is already available in detailed form. I am very happy, Mr. President, to be able to present this preliminary plan to the Director-General on behalf of my Government on the occasion of this session of the General Conference.

2.19 In handing it to you, Mr. Director-General, I would like to express the hope that it will contribute to the success of the campaign which our Organization has undertaken, under your guidance, to protect the Nubian monuments. I would also like you to see in this Netherlands contribution, Mr. Director-General, Mr. President and colleagues, a token of the faith and confidence which the Government and people of the Netherlands have in Unesco and in its activities in promoting the welfare of mankind and the peace of the world.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I thank Dr. Cals for his speech and for submitting to the Director-General this report on the safeguarding of the Philae monuments. I now call upon H.E. Mr. Lapin, Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

4.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, our Conference has met at a memorable time, when profound political and social changes are taking place in the world. The struggle of nations for freedom and independence is irresistibly growing, and there is no power in the world which could hold back this great progressive movement of contemporary history.

4.2 Unesco has now been in existence for fifteen years, and during that time the world has changed considerably. But the most substantial change, without doubt, is the fact that the capitalist system has had to squeeze up even more and make way for the new socialist system in the vast expanses of Europe and Asia. Already over 1,000 million people or one-third of the human race, have set out on a new and more progressive path of social development - the path of socialism.

4.3 During these same years, many radical changes have taken place in the colonial empires. A population of over 1,500 million has thrown off the heavy yoke of colonialism, and new prospects of free development have opened up before them. As a result, new prospects have likewise opened up for Unesco, which is called upon to promote progress and the elimination of the serious after-effects of colonialism in the field of education, science and culture.

4.4 It is impossible not to see the changes which are taking place in the position of the colonialist-imperialist countries also. These countries no longer retain their former monopoly of scientific and technical achievement and have ceased to be the law makers in the fields of education and art, and in other fields of intellectual life.

4.5 The Director-General points out in the appraisal of Unesco's programme for the Economic and Social Council, that "throughout the world education is passing through a crisis". The appraisal, like a number of other Unesco documents, reflects the one-sidedness and narrowness of the conceptions held by many leading members of Unesco's staff concerning the state of education in the world.

4.6 We representatives of the socialist countries cannot accept such a pessimistic evaluation. In our country, for example, all children without exception receive schooling. All young people, all workers and peasants, have every possibility of raising their level of knowledge at both secondary and higher educational establishments. There can be no question, therefore, of a crisis in education in the socialist countries. Already more than one-third of the workers and the peasants in the Soviet Union have had a secondary education in other words, they have attended school up to grades 8-10. We have now set ourselves the task of providing all workers and peasants with a secondary education. I must point out that before the Revolution there was not a single worker or peasant in our country who had had a secondary education, not one! And now there are one in three.

4.7 The successes scored in education and scientific development have been particularly great in the Union Republics, the former border-regions of Tsarist Russia, where the population was almost entirely illiterate. Today all the Union Republics have their own academies of science, universities and higher educational establishments, and an adequate number of schools providing eight years' compulsory education in the national languages. I repeat, in the national languages. These Republics are developing their individual national cultures, and have their own operas and theatres, and can count upon the services of highly educated national staffs in all fields of State, economic, scientific and cultural activity.

4.8 Allow me to cite just one example: in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, there are 88 students to every 10,000 inhabitants, whereas the figure in the most advanced countries of Western Europe is only 30-40. Thus our national Republics have far outstripped the Western countries in this respect. It is a well-known fact that our educational establishments turn out three times the number of engineers produced by the United States.

4.9 We consider that the study of the rich and many-sided experiences of the national Republics of the Soviet Union is of exceptionally great importance for Unesco, particularly in view of the tasks now arising in the field of education in the new States of Africa and Asia and in Latin America.

4.10 In order to study, of course, a man needs to have the time, the material conditions and an inner intellectual urge. The successes achieved in education in our country are due to the superiority of the socialist system. Like health services, education in the Soviet Union is completely free. The working day has been cut to 6 ¾ hours and soon we will have the shortest working week in the world. It is the constant concern of the Soviet Government to raise the living standard of the workers, reduce prices and, more particularly, to improve housing conditions. It is also well-known that books in the Soviet Union are cheaper and are printed in larger editions than anywhere else in the world. Everyone who has been to the Soviet Union, including our esteemed Director-General can confirm that this is so. We have the cheapest television and radio sets, records and other cultural requisites. Cinemas, theatres and music are accessible to all, in the fullest sense. Herein lies the reason for our successes in the field of education, the reason for our sputniks, our rockets and our economic achievements.

4.11 The Soviet Union readily shares its rich experience in the fields of education, science and culture. We provide disinterested aid to the countries of Asia and Africa for developing their economy and culture and for training their own skilled workers. I have some gratifying news which I should like to impart: during the present session of this General Conference the opening took place in Moscow of the University of Friendship, which is now being attended by students representing 59 countries, with preference given to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. I must add that the University received 43,000 applications for admission. Mr. Khrushchev spoke at the opening ceremony, and messages of greeting were received from Mr. Nehru, Mr. Soekarno, Mr. Sekou Touré, Mrs. Bandaranaike, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and very many other representatives and leading statesmen throughout the world.

4.12 Gentlemen, we are called upon to examine the programme of activities of our Organization for the years 1961-1962. The programme contains much that is good. A certain amount of useful work has also been done in the course of Unesco's past activities. But before speaking about the programme, we have two important questions to ask: What has been done, and will be done, by Unesco towards easing international tension and removing the danger of war? And what has been done, and will be done, by Unesco towards eliminating the colonial system and its grave after-effects.

4.13 We are putting these questions because we are anxious to see the complete elimination of the cold war and the easing of international tension, and we want Unesco to help effectively in this connexion. Over one hundred million people are still languishing in colonial servitude and are deprived of rights. There is still much misery, much hunger, misfortune and illiteracy. The threat of war still overshadows the world. The frantic armaments race is still swallowing up colossal sums which could be devoted to the noble cause of improving living conditions of mankind in the material and spiritual sense.

4.14 Unesco cannot stand aloof from these questions. Such is our firm conviction. It is impossible for workers in the fields of education, science and culture, the people engaged in the various peaceful professions, whose representatives we are here, to work tranquilly and creatively while an agreement on disarmament has yet to be reached, while the armaments race continues, while the thermonuclear weapon - that frightful instrument of mass destruction - has not yet been banned and destroyed. This is why the Soviet delegation has attached, and still attaches, so much importance to the implementation of the resolution of the 55th session of the Executive Board on Unesco's contribution to the action taken by the United Nations in favour of general and complete disarmament.

4.15 We regret that the Conference disagreed with our proposal that we hear a report by the Director-General on this subject, and hope that in conformity with the wishes of most members he will take those wishes into account and pay greater attention to this question in practical work also. In Unesco's programme documents the questions of the struggle for peace and disarmament are given only formal mention, but in fact they are by-passed. It is incredible, but nevertheless true, that in the Director-General's report for 1959 you will find not a single word about the danger of war. It is this that disturbs us.

4.16 Many well-known scientists and cultural workers have made repeated representations in letters and public declarations concerning the threat of war, but never once has Unesco supported these representations.

4.17 At one time, there used to be a special section in Unesco's programmes entitled "Work for Peace", but it no longer exists. In the appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council the section on "Work for Peace" occupies only one page out of 182 - the last page, incidentally, and a fairly empty one as far as content goes. We simply cannot hold with such a passivity and indifference on the part of the Unesco Secretariat towards work for peace. Everyone can see that a war fought with modern means of destruction would spell the doom of the main centres of industry, science and culture and the world's most precious historical monuments.

4.18 It is unnecessary for me to labour the fact that our persistence in the struggle for disarmament and for the preservation of peace is by no means an indication of weakness on the part of the socialist countries. The Soviet Union has sufficient means at its disposal to deal a counter-blow against any aggressor, but we are sincerely concerned with the preservation of peace. The Soviet Union, as was stated in Mr. Khrushchev's message to our Conference, is doing, and will go on doing everything in its power to avert war and strengthen peace and international co-operation. We are impelled for that very reason, to refer to the danger which threatens the peace and security of the world.

4.19 Can we remain silent here about the fact that more than 300 military bases are directed against the socialist countries, that our proposals for general and complete disarmament and the abolition of atom and hydrogen bombs have still not been adopted, that in Central Europe the revanchists are again raising their heads? Can we remain silent here about the fact that in some countries

racial propaganda still exists, is still being spread and is growing in intensity, and that racial theories are being advocated?

4.20 Neither, gentlemen, can we help being concerned about the tense situation developing around Cuba. We well understand the feelings of the heroic Cuban people, who have shed their blood in order to win through to freedom and the bliss of independent life. Can the future of the Cuban people, their children, their culture and art be a matter of indifference to those taking part in this Conference? Can we be silent about the danger which at this very time is threatening the Cuban people? Is it not clear, finally, that in our day any local war can grow into a world war, with all its horrors and disastrous consequences? This is why our delegation, like many others, so persistently and resolutely supports Cuba's proposal condemning any intervention in the internal affairs of the Cuban people as of any other country. The prejudiced position of the United States delegation on this point cannot but inspire us with serious alarm.

4.21 Rest assured that we are not speaking about this in order to keep some quarrel or discord going, far from it, we would be happy if such quarrels and disputes did not exist. Our country has spared no effort - nor does it now - to improve relationships with the United States and other countries, and is always ready to stretch out the hand of friendship.

4.22 Mr. Thayer told us that it was necessary to organize a free exchange of ideas, a free exchange of information, and that this would promote mutual understanding. We agree with this, on condition that this exchange helps to consolidate friendship between nations and is not used for purposes of war-mongering or increasing tension. We should very much like to see good neighbourly and friendly relations established between the United States and Cuba; relations not involving the use of military bases, warships and military aircraft.

4.23 Yesterday I had the pleasure of meeting here in Paris one of our leading public figures, Comrade Korneichuk, who was returning with a large group of Soviet intellectuals from the United States, where he had had meetings with American intellectuals. They came away convinced that ways can be found of developing contacts between the USSR and the United States in all fields of culture, science and art. We are all very pleased at this, of course, and we look forward with interest to a return visit to Moscow by Mr. Thayer himself in order to discuss with him the practical points relating to cultural exchange between our countries. Our representative, Mr. Zhukov, has already conducted negotiations on the subject with representatives of the State Department in Washington. All this is excellent, but for the development of cultural contacts one condition is necessary: the liquidation of the cold war and the preservation of peace.

4.24 The Soviet Union delegation considers it essential that our Conference address an appeal to the governments of all States to support the proposals for general disarmament with every means at their command, and to take steps as soon as possible to draw up an agreement for general disarmament which would, incidentally, release vast sums for developing education in the underdeveloped countries. Just imagine, once these questions have been settled what broad vistas will be opened up for scientific and cultural exchange, what paths will lie open for many-sided co-operation between nations!

4.25 Only a settlement of the problem of disarmament and the observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence can today ensure the progress of education, science and culture. Humanity is faced with the choice: either peaceful co-operation and coexistence, or a devastating war. No third way exists. It is a well-known fact that some Unesco members avoid discussing the principles of peaceful coexistence - they are even scared of using the term and shy away from any talk on the problems of peace. The Soviet Union delegation considers that the idea of peaceful coexistence, unanimously supported by the United Nations, should form the basis for the whole of our Organization's practical activities. We hope that the General Conference will support the Soviet Union proposal on this question.

4.26 All participants in this Conference were duly sent the memorandum and declaration on the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples submitted by the Soviet Union delegation at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Unesco is faced with tremendous tasks in eliminating the grave after-effects of colonialism. It is difficult to describe the horror and misery left behind by the colonial powers in the countries which they were forced to leave under the blows of the liberating movement. According to United Nations data, the illiteracy rate for the adult African population amounts to 80-85%, and to 90% in individual territories. In the Portuguese colony of Angola, only 2% of the African children go to school, and so on.

4.27 After this, can we wonder at the intensity of the hatred of colonialism that has gripped all peoples? We can understand the feelings of the liberated peoples, who reject with scorn and anger the assertions by the colonizers about their civilizing mission and their philanthropic generosity towards their former slaves. Attempts are being made at present to quench this hatred by making donations to Unesco's Special Account, but it can hardly be imagined that such gestures can diminish responsibility for the tremendous economic, cultural and moral damage caused to these peoples subjected to long, long years of brutal exploitation.

4.28 I shall recall only one fact mentioned in United Nations records. It is known that between 1950 and 1958 the United States increased its private capital investments in the economy of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by 4,100 million dollars and withdrew profits from those same countries amounting to 11,300 million dollars. During only nine years of monopoly, therefore, it pumped 7,200 million dollars out of them. It is United Nations material that I am quoting. It would only be fair for the colonial powers to repay to their ex-colonies even part of the stolen income and profits pumped, over the years, from the countries that were under their domination. And this is why the Soviet Union delegation has introduced a proposal regarding the restoration to the ex-colonies, for the purposes of instruction and education, of part of the wealth grabbed by the monopolists.

4.29 It is a regrettable fact that up to now Unesco has done nothing, or practically nothing, to provide the new States with really effective help. Moreover, the actions of the few senior Secretariat members who visited the Congo, for example, irresistibly call for a vigorous protest on our part. The visit of these leading Unesco officials to the Congo, has led, in the final analysis, to proposals which amount to an attempt to revive the former colonial conditions rejected by the Congolese people. In point of fact, the Unesco staff members who have visited the Congo have acted, and act, in such a way as to by-pass the legitimate government of Lumumba and support the upstart adventurer Mobutu, thereby discrediting our international Organization in the eyes of the Congolese and other peoples. It is characteristic that the visits to the Congo and the negotiations that took place there proceeded under conditions of secrecy. The proposals made by the socialist States for help to the Congo were rejected. Hence, the Unesco Secretariat bears direct responsibility for the fact that the school year in the Congo was disrupted and that precious time was lost in bringing the schools back into normal operation. We request that the Director-General give the Conference an account of what was undertaken in the Congo in the name of Unesco behind the back of the legitimate government of Lumumba, and that actions of this kind be discontinued and condemned.

4.30 It has to be stated, without mincing matters, that on the question of relations with the Congo and with her legitimate government, just as in the attitude adopted on a number of other crucial questions of the day, the one-sidedness of the Unesco Secretariat and its leading members is clearly apparent. Unesco is still not a universal international organization, and its work suffers accordingly. Through the fault of governments which have largely subordinated Unesco's activities to their own ends, the lawful representatives of the great country of China are still absent from our Conferences. We are sometimes reproached for a proneness to political discussion, but we would ask you to put the responsibility for the discussion on China on another country, whose name you all know. It is perfectly obvious that the participation of the Chinese People's Republic in Unesco's activities would lend a vital new force to the Organization and would increase its authority.

4.31 We also consider completely irregular the fact that the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Mongolian People's Republic have so far not been drawn into Unesco's activities. The German Democratic Republic is an active participant in 180 international organizations. Can any justification be found for the fact that that country, with its academies and universities, its establishments for education, culture and art, does not participate in Unesco activities as the result of an anti-democratic policy of discrimination? The participants in this Conference have been sent a memorandum by the German Democratic Republic expressing its willingness to co-operate with Unesco. We hope that this proposal will find favour, and that the practice of discriminating against the German Democratic Republic will cease.

4.32 The time has also come to change Unesco's attitude to a number of international non-governmental mass organizations. We cannot accept as arguments against co-operation with certain democratic organizations the criticism levelled against them that they are fighting for international peace and security, on the strength of which they are classed as communist. We communists are proud of the fact that the idea of communism is indissolubly linked with the glorious aims of the struggle for peace. Herein lies the invincible strength of communism. But it is obvious to all, of course, that being a supporter of the ideal of peace does not at all mean being a communist. Those who oppose Unesco's co-operation with non-governmental democratic organizations fighting for peace, reveal themselves as enemies of international co-operation.

4.33 It has to be stated that Unesco's bias is also particularly marked in matters relating to the geographical distribution of posts, a fact which undoubtedly impresses the stamp of political partiality on all the Organization's activities. More than twenty States, for the most part in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe, are completely unrepresented in the Unesco Secretariat, whereas France, Belgium, the Netherlands and other countries have taken the lion's share of the posts.

4.34 We likewise condemn biased and tendentious practices in Unesco's publishing activities. The Soviet Union representatives have repeatedly protested against the appearance in Unesco publications of calumnious anti-scientific fabrications. The "International Social Science Journal", and the "History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind" are particularly outstanding in this respect. It is perfectly obvious that this practice saps confidence in Unesco and its publications.

4.35 The bias is reflected in the proposed programme and budget which has been submitted to us. It is apparent in the desire to divert our attention and funds from the most vitally important problems and to occupy the Organization and its machinery and material resources, with minor projects of secondary importance. We cannot approve of the way in which the administrative apparatus has so rapidly and needlessly expanded. And now we are again being presented with proposals for a considerable increase in the budget and a further increase in the size of the staff.

4.36 We are completely in agreement with the frank and profoundly true statement by the Peruvian representative, Mr. Mac-Lean y Estenos, to the effect that Unesco is suffering in the highest degree from administrative hypertrophy. The Soviet Union delegation proposes that administrative expenses should be cut down by at least 15%, so that the funds released (amounting to 2-3 million dollars) could be directed to the development of education, science and culture in the countries of Tropical Africa and Asia, the Arab countries and Latin America. Let us wait before constructing the new building, let us cut down the number of staff, and there will be room for them here. Perhaps we can also examine other expenses: there is a very great deal of correspondence, for example. We should be able, in this way to slash expenses by 15% and direct them to the needs of education.

4.37 At the present time, in solving any international question, it is necessary to proceed from the

real relationship of forces. Three groups of States have come into existence in the world; the socialist States; the countries that do not belong to any military bloc and maintain a policy of neutrality; and the colonialist-imperialist nations united into military blocs. Unesco is obliged to conduct its activities in the light of the interests of all three groups, bearing in mind that the socialist and neutralist groups are playing an even greater part in international life.

4.38 We therefore consider that the time is ripe to replace the office of Director-General of Unesco by a three-member executive body representing respectively the socialist countries, the neutralist countries and member nations of the military blocs of the Western powers. This form of leadership in Unesco would ensure an impartial and objective approach to the solution of the tasks facing our international Organization, and its real universality. This principle should also be laid down for the membership of the Executive Board, and the Soviet Union delegation has therefore proposed that the Board should have 30 members instead of 24, and that the countries of the different groups should also be equally represented on it.

4.39 Mr. President, I have merely touched upon the most essential questions concerning Unesco's activity. If Unesco fails to link its daily work with the tasks of fighting for peace and peaceful coexistence, for disarmament and the elimination of the after-effects of colonialism, it runs the risk, in my opinion of lagging behind life and losing its influence and authority. Not, of course, that it should be a purely political organization - of that there can be no doubt. But it must clearly see the link between scientific, cultural and educational questions and the burning problems of the day. Unless this is done, the nations will cease to place their trust in it. Unesco will be able to carry out the tasks before it only if it becomes a really universal organization and takes account in its activities of the changes proceeding in the world.

4.40 In critically examining Unesco's past activities, we voice the hope that the new Executive Board, the Secretariat and our Director-General will bring about radical changes in the work of the entire Organization and transform it into a viable and truly international Organization in tune with the needs of our own times and capable of serving the high aims of the struggle for peace and international co-operation in all fields of cultural and scientific life.

5. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon H.E. Mr. Rubio y Garcia-Mina, the Minister of Education of Spain.

6.1 Mr. RUBIO Y GARCIA-MINA (Spain) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the delegations which regularly attend this General Conference every two years are able to note on each occasion, and especially on this one, the steady progress being made by Unesco towards universality of membership and the increasing richness and variety of its content.

6.2 But the success, or at least the efficacy, of our work seems to depend on a fundamental condition which is no doubt common to most international organizations today but which is particularly applicable, I think I am right in saying, to Unesco. It consists in a nutshell, in effectively combining the general with the concrete.

6.3 In coming here, we are co-operating in a universal task but are also participating in some small measure in the life of each Member State, and this undoubtedly brings us closer to life in its most material and essential form.

6.4 Unesco's tasks are general; they cover humanity as such, but usually they reach that goal, or at least advance towards it, by way of concrete objectives achieved within a particular country.

6.5 In concerning ourselves here with the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the Programme of Participation in Member States' Activities and United Nations Special Fund projects, we are entering into the real life of each of these countries, which means that we are taking an effective part in activities that rebound on living people, people with their separate identities, through whom alone we cover the great world of culture that is Unesco's province.

6.6 Not only is this so, but whatever measure is taken here, whatever word is spoken, can raise or conversely, dispel, the hopes of unsuspected groups of fellow human beings in some corner or other of the globe.

6.7 This means that we are living a full life of human solidarity within the framework of our Organization, but the road which has led us to that life passes through the real world of men and women. International co-operation through Unesco manifests itself in one way or another in the cultural outlook of millions of persons and in the national life of almost every State.

6.8 This very projection of our Organization creates a problem in its work which the Director-General's reports have repeatedly underlined: the problem of concentration, concentration of aims and concentration of means to achieve those aims. It was this trend towards concentration which gave rise to the system of Major Projects, but the rest of our activities must also comply with that necessity, including those which come into the category of special activities.

6.9 This implies, of course, a considerable effort on the part of the Secretariat in selecting and matching aims and resources between the endless variety of educational or cultural questions, involving as they do the risk of dispersal of effort, especially in view of the world-wide scope of the Organization, with its present membership of well nigh one hundred countries.

6.10 I would like, in this connexion, to extend my cordial greetings to the new Member States which are coming forward to take part in our work with fresh and vigorous enthusiasm, and to welcome their distinguished representatives, our new colleagues at these working meetings.

6.11 The larger we have grown and the broader our horizon, the greater our need for ensuring concentration; and the key to the problem is a system of concentrating on a small number of undertakings so that we can all take an active part in them.

6.12 This, we feel, is the heart of the matter as far as the life of Unesco is concerned - concentration, beyond doubt, but with the participation of one and all, as a means of linking ourselves together

organically in an effective community of individuals and nations.

6.13 With concentration alone, then, we shall not achieve our aim; for our work to be effective, we have to organize and plan. I am not far wrong, I believe, in stressing these tasks as something that we must bear strictly in mind in examining our programme of activities.

6.14 In the first place, there is the general planning of education: planning with a view to raising the intellectual level of the broad masses of the population on a world-wide scale.

6.15 We have to remember that one-third of the world's population is at present living in a state of deprivation in this respect which we cannot tolerate. We must strive to achieve tighter planning and co-ordination of our work. It is not enough, for example, to carry through a considerable number of activities during a given period within the context of a Major Project.

6.16 The result might be, in that case, that we would achieve nothing but a proliferation of disconnected efforts, of isolated actions, of tasks that barely touch upon the true themes on which our co-operation must be based if it is to encompass its objective. And to reach that objective is the task facing Unesco.

6.17 The interesting phenomenon signalized by the Director-General in his notes on the structure of the proposed programme and budget reflects the dynamics of our time. The clear-cut differentiation between the international and collective nature of the Secretariat projects and activities carried out under the Organization's Regular programme and the particular nature of the activities carried out under the Participation and Technical Assistance programmes, characterized by their national inspiration and limited scope, is now giving place to a more intimate interpenetration of both these spheres, with the result that all Unesco activities, no matter what programme they belong to, are tending, as the Director-General told us, to become interrelated and to merge with one another.

6.18 To merge, perhaps, is not the case; but certainly to dovetail and to become integrated into a common whole; and that should be our aim, in fact. In order to achieve this, the system of Major Projects, with their nature and scope as defined in the introductory note to the proposed programme and budget presented to us by the Director-General, appears to me to be most adequate.

6.19 In Spain, we have been able to get down to work and make use of all the means at our disposal for furthering these projects. One contribution towards developing co-operation in the Major Project on Arid Lands, for example, was the meeting of the Advisory Committee which was held in Madrid during the last two year period, thus providing us with the opportunity of profiting from the presence of its members, as distinguished experts in this field, by acquainting them with problems and achievements in our country and learning from what they had to say.

6.20 Our research centres and engineers, guided and instructed by the results of the Unesco projects, are constantly at work on these questions.

6.21 As regards the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, our aim has been to devise the most sober and effective forms of collaboration; we have organized a course on educational statistics, another on the system of single-teacher schools (the results of which we have published in a handy volume) and a third on school buildings. All of these courses were attended by large groups of Latin American fellowship holders.

6.22 Finally, as regards the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, we have conducted various activities listed in the report of the Spanish Government included in document 11 C/7, "Reports of Member States".

6.23 I would like to supplement the data assembled there by noting the steady increase in the scope of information about the Orient imparted at the various educational levels. We have incorporated a considerable number of books on Eastern subjects in our school libraries, and are now arranging for an important symposium on certain aspects of this problem to be held shortly in Cordova, that extraordinary crossroads of history, which was for centuries the meeting-place of the cultural trends of East and West.

6.24 We are glad to note in the proposed budget, as a pointer, an increase in the allocation for this project, which surely indicates that Unesco intends to treat this undertaking more intensively.

6.25 Lastly, still on the question of Major Projects, we cannot but praise the prudence which the Director-General has shown in curbing his desire to consider a fourth Major Project. We appreciate the fact that it would be risky to set out to explore other heights so long as one of the projects now in operation has not been concluded; but perhaps it would not be superfluous to consider the selection of a broad theme for the future. By way of suggestions, I would like to propose to you the following theme: The critical review of national stereotypes. This is a typical interdisciplinary problem in which the Organization's five Departments would have to participate and which would be in line with Unesco's ultimate objective of international understanding and a spirit of peace between peoples.

6.26 At the tenth session of the General Conference two years ago, the speech in which I expounded the views of the Spanish delegation made a point of stressing the importance which the Montevideo Conference had for us in Unesco's history. We are glad that the Director-General singles out that session as the starting point of a second phase, and that the positive nature of the innovation introduced into the work of the Organization of dividing our tasks into general activities, special activities and major projects that grow with the Organization's general progress on the international level is being adhered to.

6.27 We appreciate the importance of the general activities (I have already referred to the activities connected with the Major Projects) but to be fully effective, of course, they must be combined with special activities; counter-balanced by the latter, they assume a concrete character, and Unesco's collaborators themselves - officials, experts and delegates - also become used to working at tasks that are entirely concrete and empirical.

6.28 If the Director-General is able in his assessment of the work carried out by the Organization

(document 11 C/9) to state that there is now a distinct tendency to place increasing emphasis on action, it is due, in our opinion, to this well-proportioned combination of the general and of the particular in our activities. With the partial change in structure of the programme and budget presented to us, accompanied by a tendency to merge these two types of activity, we consider it advisable to point out the advantage of having them integrated, indeed, but with the two principles they represent retained within the system.

6.29 We consider the list of projects set forth in the basic document 11 C/5 under general activities to be of manifest importance, and have very carefully studied the various documents distributed by the Secretariat regarding them.

6.30 I wish to express our keenest support for all the efforts being made to eliminate discrimination in education. While it is true that in the field of women's education there have been certain vocational differences which may have been preserved in some respects, varying from one historical period to another, we cannot accept such distinctions when it comes to rights or social status, or anything that may be considered as a basis or a means for the full development of human life.

6.31 In our country there neither is nor has been, any discrimination, even in the highest offices: women are active, and have been in the past, in the spheres of government, literature and art. Women are now working as teachers, doctors and lawyers and in all branches of science. The proportion of women students at Spanish universities at present amounts to 20.12%. In some faculties, such as pharmacy or literature, it is over 60%. In the science faculties it is 25.24%. The opinion of a famous contemporary economist who states that women are now able to earn as much as, or more than, men, was quoted here on one occasion. We would go further and add, on the basis of our past and present experience, that they can also rise as high as, or even higher than men - a fact readily apparent in the country which gave St. Teresa birth. We can point, in reference to what sociologists call the new family cell of modern times, to the Spanish home, that product of culture and humanity, as a magnificent example of man and wife teamwork. Perhaps this explains why the figures for juvenile delinquency in Spain are so low.

6.32 The draft international recommendation on technical and vocational education merits our special attention. We have realized for some time in my country that the theoretical and practical education of engineers and all those involved in industrial activities constitutes, indeed - as asserted in the programme and budget submitted to us for discussion - a pre-investment for economic development, and we also believe that raising the level of that education is just as important a factor for the free and forthright development of the consciousness of technical staff at all levels. The impetus given to scientific and technical education is reflected in the fact that during the past few years the number of students has doubled at the faculties of science and tripled at the engineering and agricultural colleges, while the allocations for the operational costs of these establishments have quintrupled. In addition two new types of institution have latterly been established at successive levels: Workers' Institutes and Workers' Universities, where we plan to give the students the most adequate and effective technical training possible, as well as a clear idea of their place in society and the rôle that technicians are called upon to play in the life of mankind.

6.33 Two aspects are mentioned in the proposed programme and budget as coming within Unesco's province in this connexion: the elaboration of standards and principles, and the development of a programme of assistance to Member States. As far as the first is concerned, we shall take a most lively part in the discussion of document 11 C/3, while as to the second, we shall make a point of giving the plan of assistance to specified Member States our whole-hearted support.

6.34 We recognize as a general principle, that the Organization's multilateral system of assistance to States that need it springs from the very "raison d'être" of Unesco. At the same time, however, that integration of the general and concrete which is the source of Unesco's strength infers the advisability of not renouncing bilateral aid where a State is generous enough and able to offer it.

6.35 The human experience and professional skill of our technicians will henceforth always be available to those who may need them. And in that connexion I am happy to offer all the means at our disposal for the training of administrative and executive personnel, in accordance with the project contained in the document which has been distributed to us.

6.36 We are impelled, for the same reason, to express our gratification at the development of educational planning, and look forward to hearing of the success of the plans which have been drawn up to meet the educational needs of Africa, Asia and the Arab countries.

6.37 We are also gratified at the substantial progress made in primary education in Latin America, as described in the Director-General's report to which I have previously referred, in direct connexion with the development of our Major Project on the subject.

6.38 In our country we have tackled these same problems on a modest scale but with firm resolution, and have studied the situation in the light of the needs, economic resources and time required, for it is neither easy nor desirable to improvise hasty solutions.

6.39 I should like to give you a few isolated figures: 8,000 school buildings were latterly under construction, and on the first of October another 7,300 were started. Last year, 11,000 new teachers began work at primary schools, while school attendance rose by 320,000 or by 10%.

6.40 We consider very appropriate the further attention which Unesco proposes to pay to the problem of developing higher education, and feel that in the past Unesco has paid too little attention to this sector, which is most definitely in need of its support and which will undoubtedly provide occasion for fruitful co-operation in the study and dissemination of Unesco's ideals for it is in these higher educational establishments, in the final analysis, that the spirit of national leadership is formed.

6.41 If, furthermore, Unesco proposes to pay increasingly greater attention to the various aspects of scientific development, it is on the universities and the centres of higher studies that it will have to rely. This new disposition at least in its major development, likewise represents a novel aspect of the programme: concerted action in the field of oceanography, the development of marine sciences, the encouragement of scientific research and the survey of the main trends of inquiry and other documents which the Programme Commission will have to consider, indicate a new aspect of the Organization's activities worthy of our closest interest. I would like also, to express my extreme pleasure at the announcement in the Director-General's report concerning the creation of an International Brain Research Organization.

6.42 In conclusion, I have one or two brief comments to make. The Director-General's note on the structure of the programme expresses the desire to move in the direction of wider geographical representation as far as the non-governmental organizations are concerned, but we also hope that the manner of solving this difficulty will be given closer consideration and that the handing over of particular Unesco activities to non-governmental organizations does not result in any fundamental change in the geographical distribution of Unesco's own activities. In other words in distributing work and subventions, in the appointment of experts and in the preparation of surveys, studies and reports of all kinds by non-governmental organizations, there should be no reduction or radical change in what we have come to call geographical distribution within Unesco itself.

6.43 We believe that the main instrument of Unesco should be the National Commissions, and we also feel that their services are not sufficiently called upon. We therefore beg to suggest that of the two networks which Unesco makes use of as a means of spreading its influence, that constituted by the National Commissions should be strengthened and enlarged.

6.44 During the last two-year period, the Spanish National Commission participated in the organization of an international symposium in Madrid on the preservation of monuments and of the Arid Zone Advisory Committee meeting; in the study on the standardization of educational statistics; in the symposium on the teaching of Arabic in non-Arab countries; in the preparation of a dictionary of social science terminology; in the publication of a telecommunication directory; in the publication of RUDA (copyright laws and treaties of the world); in the Bibliografía del Caribe; in the continuation of the "Index Translationum"; in the exchange of young students; in receiving and assisting fellowship holders arriving in Spain and in the selection of experts.

6.45 It has created a National Committee for the Visual Arts which actively co-operated in the meeting of the International Association of Plastic Arts in Vienna; while a National Music Committee organized the participation of the National Orchestra in the recent Paris festivals. Finally, I would like to mention the work done by other Committees, such as the Historical Committee which is preparing interesting contributions for the international commission dealing with that field; the East-West Committee, whose interesting symposium I have already referred to; the Scientific Committee, which operates in the many scientific fields where Unesco is active; the Youth Committee, which has taken part in a large number of international activities; the Committee for the International Campaign for the Safeguarding of the Monuments of Nubia, which succeeded in obtaining a substantial allocation from the Spanish Government and Parliament, towards financing the Spanish contribution.

6.46 As you can see, fellow delegates, we are succeeding in the national context, albeit within the limited range of our possibilities, in developing an ever more intensive rate of activity, like Unesco itself; and we are heartened in our efforts in this direction when we find that the Director-General's reports confirm the impression of the almost infinite scope of expansion which daily unfolds before Unesco in pursuing its work.

6.47 This means, in fine that Unesco is steadily becoming rooted in the consciousness of peoples - a fact whose causes we should analyse and whose consequences we should evaluate; a fact which might be said to govern, while at the same time irreversibly promoting the progress of that international consciousness.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon the Head of the Greek delegation, H.E. Mr. Averoff, who is a member of the Executive Board and a permanent delegate of Greece to Unesco.

8.1 Mr. AVEROFF (Greece) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Greek Government has once again instructed me to address this distinguished gathering and interpret its feelings as regards Unesco's progress, with particular emphasis on the proposed programme and budget for the two years ahead.

8.2 I take particular satisfaction in doing so, for apart from certain reservations made by my Government - I might almost say traditionally, and to satisfy our treasury bigwigs - regarding the constant increase in the budget (which in any case is understandable in view of the natural extension of our Organization's activities), I have nothing but praise to bestow on all those who took part in drawing up this plan of action.

8.3 We can only note with satisfaction that this wide-ranging document entitled programme and budget embodies a very wise principle which has often been put forward by the Director-General, namely, that new ideas prompted both by experience and by recent events in international life must be introduced - with due care and flexibility, of course - into our activities and integrated into the permanent and well-established doctrine which has already stood the test since Unesco was first founded.

8.4 For example, I note two main innovations in the formulation of the new programme. One relates to its form of presentation, and reflects the natural need for unity. It is what is described as the "two-fold integration of types of activity and sources of funds", making it possible to assess more rapidly and easily the various Unesco activities whether financed from the Organization's own resources or

from those made available to it by the Technical Assistance Board, the Special Fund or other bodies which have recently been set up.

8.5 The second innovation appears to be more in the nature of an intensive development of existing activities - a development resulting from the rapid tempo of cultural and national emancipation in the present age, and reflected in a most marked expansion of the Regular programme as manifested in the field of education in Tropical Africa, the Arab States and Asia.

8.6 Greece, faithful to its glorious traditions which have always led it to seek higher standards for the intellectual and moral development of the individual, can only applaud such measures. It firmly holds that obscurantism is invariably the cause of the major troubles threatening the world, and that its suppression is the best guarantee of social and international peace.

8.7 Our ancient nation, laden with 3,000 years of history, which created its own civilization, in a manner which has perhaps set an example to the whole of the West, by basing it on respect for human dignity and on the exalting concept of liberty, cannot but greet with enthusiasm the African peoples' achievement to independence - a highly significant event pregnant with responsibility for all of us, who welcome those peoples as brothers in the international community.

8.8 In the name of the Greek Government, therefore, I most warmly welcome these new countries which have just joined the family of the United Nations.

8.9 You will readily understand, too, that it is with very particular emotion that I welcome the accession to independence - and the entry into the family of the United Nations, although not yet into that of Unesco - of the Island of Cyprus, for which in the past I have already had the honour of soliciting your sympathy and active help. I believe I am justified in saying, incidentally, that on the human and international level, Cyprus can today present itself as an example of friendly co-operation between two different, even formerly hostile, peoples within the framework of a new independent State. We can do no better than wish it a brilliant and peaceful future.

8.10 My country is also pleased to be associated with the international campaign launched by Unesco to safeguard the archaeological treasures of Nubia - unique treasures which are threatened as a result of the very understandable need to provide fertile new land for the industrious peoples of Egypt and the Sudan. We Greeks feel a particular attachment to some of these Nubian temples, for they belong to Hellenic civilization and symbolize the first meeting between Greek thought and that very ancient Egyptian culture which Plato already recognized as one of the most vernerable sources of universal wisdom. Ought we not to see here, gentlemen, one of the first examples of East-West contact, the promotion of which Unesco has been glad to take on as one of its noblest and most important tasks? Greece's interest in the undertaking is evidenced by Her Majesty the Queen's participation in the Committee of Patrons and by the measures which will shortly be taken to raise funds in support of the campaign.

8.11 Such, gentlemen, are a few of the ideas which the Unesco activities described in the new programme for 1961-1962 have inspired in my country.

8.12 But before leaving this overall consideration of Unesco's current activities and immediate prospects, I must mention my Government's desire that the number of seats on the Executive Board should be increased, so that all cultures may be represented on it and a fairer geographical distribution may be achieved.

8.13 So far I have done nothing but praise the proposed programme. To be objective, and for form's sake almost, I should add a few critical remarks. I still think that it would be highly desirable for Unesco ducuments to be simplified, and that there should be a slackening in the flowing tide of publications.

8.14 From the economic, moral and intellectual standpoint, our Organization would have everything to gain by submitting concise and pointed documents which would not put off the harassed reader in this age of speed.

8.15 I would also have been happier had there been a more detailed study of Unesco's present and future requirements, which would have spared us the trouble, scarcely two years after the inauguration of the present sumptuous Headquarters, of considering the construction of new buildings at very considerable expense.

8.16 After these general remarks, it remains for me to refer - at no great length, I promise you - to my country's participation in the life of our Organization.

8.17 Here again I have nothing but praise for what has been done.

8.18 One field where co-operation between Unesco and Greece has been particularly fruitful is that of technical assistance, especially on the subject of adult education. I must really pay homage to the intelligent understanding which we have met with in our dealings with the Secretariat and Technical Assistance Board services; thanks to them, in fact, and also to the very fertile soil which the experts found in our country, I am in a position to tell you that astonishing results have already been achieved, and that the prospects of solving the problem of illiteracy now seem very favourable.

8.19 For example, the illiteracy rate has fallen by over 4% during the past few years. In fact, since school attendance is now 100%, it can theoretically be taken that there will cease to be any illiterates once some of the older age groups of the population have disappeared.

8.20 In between these two extremes - the young children who are now all attending school and the old people who will eventually disappear through the inexorable law of nature - there is the problem of illiteracy among adolescents between the ages of 14 and 21. This is gradually being solved thanks to the vigorous measures taken by the Greek Government, which, not flinching from any sacrifice and making an effort out of all proportion to the slenderness of its budget and the very low level of national income, has since the beginning of the current year set up 1,100 evening schools where attendance is compulsory. Last month it was decided to set up a further 500 centres of this kind, to be equipped with adequate book and other material.

8.21 A factor contributing towards these satisfactory results was the establishment, with the assistance of Unesco experts, of an adult education research centre at the Maraslion teacher-training college in Athens. Its aim is to collect all documentation existing on the subject both in Greece and in the rest of the world, to train a specialized staff and to integrate the problem of illiteracy in the context of a wider programme of civic, cultural and social training.

8.22 Results so conclusively demonstrative of the efficacy of international action are strong arguments in favour not only of a continuation of the joint work but also of its intensification, to the even greater benefit of both the receiving country and the Technical Assistance Board itself, which has the satisfaction of seeing its efforts crowned with such resounding success.

8.23 But the Technical Assistance contribution does not stop there: it has also produced promising results in the field of social sciences. A social science research and study centre attached to Athens University is in process of formation, and everything points to its brilliant future.

8.24 Another field of Unesco activity which has evoked a very lively response in Greece is the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values.

8.25 I have no need to remind you, gentlemen, that our country has traditionally served as a turn-table between Europe, Asia and Africa, synthesizing ideas and trends of diverse origin. Has it not been said that Hellenic civilization, by projecting the Greek polis on the scale of the then known world, foreshadowed the world of today?

8.26 As far as the immediate prospects of the East-West Major Project are concerned, keen enthusiasm has been developed, both in India and Iran and in my own country, for the implementation of a programme of cultural exchanges designed to promote a knowledge and appreciation of the contribution which every one of the three civilizations in question has made. A plan of work has already been drawn up to that end.

8.27 Our National Commission, which is untiring in its splendid efforts to promote Unesco's ideals in Greece, is confident that the competent services of the Secretariat will give it the encouragement and help necessary for implementing this plan.

8.28 As far as cultural activities undertaken in co-operation with Unesco are concerned, I am happy to announce that a large-scale symposium on the theatre will be held in the Summer of 1962 on the ancient and magnificent site of Epidaurus. Five non-governmental organizations, all of which cover various aspects of the theatre, are collaborating with our Government in the organization, under Unesco's auspices, of this notable event, marking the first occasion on which a study will be made of the various modern theatre problems of acoustics, architecture, music and psychological impact on mass audiences.

8.29 The Greek Government, which sets great store on this event, has already assumed full moral and financial responsibility for organizing the Epidaurus Festival.

8.30 The originator and director of this project is Professor Kitsikis, who was appointed President of the Festival by the five participating organizations, and who is with me today as a member of my delegation.

8.31 Lastly, thanks to the considerable widening of Unesco's field of activities owing to the Special Fund, Greece is in a position to consider infinitely wider possibilities than its own resources and those hitherto available to Unesco would have permitted and to carry into effect a plan in which it is also keenly interested and which is thoroughly in line with the spirit and requirements of our age. I refer to vocational and technical education, which is a field where the aid of the Special Fund and of Unesco will be invaluable to us.

8.32 I must state in conclusion that it is difficult to avoid a sense of emotion and a feeling of legitimate pride when we note the progress achieved by our Organization since its inception and especially since the tenth session of the General Conference.

8.33 Unesco is, at present directed by a highly qualified man whose lofty intelligence is equalled only by the generosity of his feelings, and who is seconded by brilliant assistants who help him to keep a steady helm. Our Organization has now proved its maturity and is developing into an instrument capable of influencing the best brains in all parts of the world, and thus contributing not only to the cultural progress of mankind but also to its true and ultimate goal: the creation of understanding between peoples - an understanding on which the future peace of mankind will be established.

9. The PRESIDENT:

I wish to thank Mr. Averoff; for the fifteen-minute time-limit he is so far the winner. Through the kindness of the distinguished delegate from Germany in deferring his speech until later this afternoon, I am able now to call on H.E. Mr. Habibur Rahman, Minister of Education of Pakistan.

10.1 Mr. RAHMAN (Pakistan):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, first of all I would like to express on behalf of my delegation our pleasure and honour in participating in the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco, which is being held in this city of beauty, art and culture.

10.2 I would next like to express our joy at the accession of a number of new Member States which have gained their freedom recently. On behalf of my delegation I wish to extend to them our most cordial greetings. At this moment our thoughts are tempered with great regret at the loss which Mexico and France - and indeed Unesco - have suffered in the said deaths of two distinguished and devoted friends of international understanding, H.E. Mr. Pedro de Alba of Mexico, and Mr. Gaston Berger of France. In their death Unesco has lost two great men of letters, men of vision and wisdom. On behalf of my delegation I wish to express our heartfelt condolences to the delegations of Mexico and France.

10.3 Mr. President, historians of the future looking back on the contemporary period may well wonder how to term the present age. They may well describe it as a period of space, freedom and international understanding: space which today symbolizes the widening dimensions of scientific advance; freedom which denotes liberation from foreign domination; and international understanding which alone can ensure peace and the well-being of mankind and prevent the destruction of civilization.

10.4 We are living in an era of scientific technology. The discovery of nuclear power and the dramatic conquest of space have given man control over forces which, used in war, could destroy the fabric of civilization. On the other hand, if applied for constructive purposes these forces can be used to relieve man from degrading toil. We hope and pray that these forces may be used for the development of mankind and not for its destruction. In this age of science and technology the more advanced communities of the world, by using the wealth of scientific knowledge and harnessing the natural elements, have created for themselves means of great prosperity. They have raised the standard of living of their people and have reduced want and disease. Today they enjoy a standard of living which would have been beyond their reach without the technological revolution which they were able to bring about.

10.5 Unfortunately, this technological revolution has widened the existing gulf between the more advanced and the underdeveloped countries. This is a real threat to peace. Millions of people in different parts of the world are suffering from poverty, disease and hunger. In such conditions how can peace and goodwill be secured among peoples of the world? The main problem in these countries is the development of their human and material resources. They need means to modernize agriculture, to harness the waters of their rivers, to multiply the resources of power. Whether it is in the irrigation of arid wastes, or the eradication of disease or the battle against ignorance, no effective headway can be made without the help of modern technological advance. These countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, lack the means but not the will to develop their resources. I venture to suggest that it is the obligation of the more advanced countries to extend to them help to develop their economic resources and technical competence. It is my fervent hope that this help will be forthcoming in abundant measure.

10.6 Mr. President, this period of history will for ever be remembered for the emancipation of large areas of the world from foreign domination. Pakistan gained her independence some 13 years ago and many others have become independent since then. On the establishment of independence, the founder of our State, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared: "Our heart and soul go out in sympathy with those who are struggling for their freedom". Pakistan came into existence as a result of the desire of our people to preserve and foster Islamic values - to uphold Islamic traditions of the equality of man, of justice and fair play. As the inheritors of these glorious traditions, we welcome the freedom of the new States of Africa. We believe in the peoples' right to self-determination and it is the fervent hope of my delegation that the countries still under domination will gain their freedom soon. Freedom is the right of every country and, today, it is also the demand of history. Let us recognize these realities so that freedom can be born in a spirit of friendship and goodwill, rather than in violence and hatred. Let the parting be with dignity and cordiality. If peace is indivisible, as indeed it is, freedom cannot be otherwise. The world cannot live half starving, half thriving - half slave and half free; there is no other alternative but the brotherhood of mankind. We sincerely hope that the inevitable transition of countries to a status of freedom will take place not in rancour or bitterness but in amity and concord.

10.7 While science and technology have taken unprecedented strides, the attitudes of mind upon which depend the well-being of mankind have not kept pace with the rhythm of scientific advance. Change has become the keynote of the world of today, and we must ensure a balanced adjustment to it in our habits of thinking also. In this context Unesco has an essential rôle to play, it can help create conditions of understanding between peoples. Through the intelligent use of mass media, through its in and out-of-school activities, its cultural symposia and its programme of intellectual collaboration with Member States and non-governmental organizations, Unesco can create a body of informed opinion to promote international harmony. Never before in the history of man has international understanding assumed such urgency as it has today. It is no longer a mere lofty ideal, it is a necessity, a challenge to man to live in understanding or else perish. It is a remarkable feature of the Twentieth century that today the survival of the individual is so intimately linked with the survival of mankind as a whole. A peace of substance is possible only when people are able to know, understand, appreciate and respect one another's ways and values of life. Unesco, working in the fields of education, science and culture, is most suited to create such conditions of understanding. Today, its assets are even higher, for in our midst we have our brothers from many African States. By their presence, the ranks of the friends of freedom and humanity have been greatly strengthened. Our friends from Africa bring to Unesco cultural riches and talents which will widen the universal perspective of the cultural heritage of mankind.

10.8 Mr. President, we have studied with great care the Report of the Director-General containing his proposals for 1961-1962. It is precise, it is lucid and its presentation is logical. For this, I would like to pay my tribute to the Director-General, to his qualities of wisdom and vigour; and to the Secretariat for their devotion to duty. We appreciate the emphasis placed by the Director-General on the concentration of programme and resources, and I am happy that Unesco as a member of the family of the United Nations, was able to respond to the urgent call made for assistance in Africa. This testifies to the maturity of the Organization and to its ability to meet urgent demands.

10.9 Today, in vast areas of the world, social advance and economic welfare are directly tied up with the education of the people. Indeed, education is an indispensable means for the realization of national plans to raise the popular standards of living. My delegation will, therefore, support all proposals calculated to promote social and economic advancement, particularly in the developing countries of Asia and Africa. In this connexion, my delegation attaches great importance to the recommendations of the Karachi and the Manila Conferences. It was my privilege, as a Minister of my country, to inaugurate the Conference at Karachi, and I am glad that it was able to produce useful recommendations which were endorsed by the Conference at Manila. We trust that Unesco will not miss one of the most

challenging opportunities to contribute to the advancement of millions of people, by providing more adequate assistance to the national programmes of the Asian countries in the field of primary education, and that the recommendations of the Karachi Conference will find growing substance and effect.

10.10 My delegation also views with great interest and appreciation the proposed programmes of assistance to the emerging States of Africa. Freedom requires social and economic progress and it is our duty and obligation to help the new States to promote their well-being.

10.11 My delegation attaches equally great importance to the programmes of research in the arid zones, in soil salinity, underground water resources and geology. These are indeed pressing problems, on the solution of which depends the prosperity of many countries. In fact, Pakistan has been grappling with these problems for some time and has already undertaken a number of research projects in this field. It would, therefore, be able to participate effectively in any programme which Unesco may undertake in this connexion.

10.12 We also attach great importance to another aspect of Unesco's programme, that of cultural activities. Among these I may mention the East-West Major Project for the Mutual Appreciation of Cultural Values and the programme of humanistic studies and research. Indeed, in many ways they are vital for never before has science so much needed the tradition of humanism. There are great opportunities for setting up a two-way traffic, a give and take, in the field of cultural activities so as to provide a basis for better understanding between nations. Some countries need, as we do, technicians and machines for programmes of industrialization. But these countries have also a great deal to contribute in return, and the richness of their culture and civilization should serve as a powerful force in the promotion of understanding between peoples.

10.13 My delegation would like to stress the importance of Unesco's collaboration with international non-governmental organizations and hopes that these organizations, particularly those who receive financial assistance from Unesco, will continue their efforts in the direction of geographical expansion, not only to enlist members in these countries but also to secure their active participation in the policy-making bodies of these organizations.

10.14 Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Director-General for the initiative he took in responding to the call of the United Arab Republic and the Sudan to obtain "large-scale financial, scientific and technical assistance with a view to the preservation of all artistic and historical treasures threatened by disappearance as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam". I am indeed happy that the Director-General's appeal for help has received universal support. Egypt and the Sudan are rich in historic treasures and it would have been a tragedy if, with the construction of the Aswan High Dam, these treasures had been lost for ever. It would have been a loss not only to Egypt and Sudan but to the whole world, for historic monuments belong to all nations. My Government is taking a special interest in this project: we have made a cash contribution to Unesco and we are also sending a team of excavation experts, led by our Director-General of Archaeology. We are proud of our own historic monuments and I am confident that Unesco and the United Arab Republic and Sudanese authorities will find the collaboration of our experts useful. We have also set up a national committee to maintain close contact with this project.

10.15 I would like to express our appreciation and thanks to Unesco for the establishment of a Regional Centre for Reading Material in Pakistan. The problems of reading materials, more and better books, their publication and distribution are now being studied objectively, and I have no doubt that this Centre could help countries in that region to solve these problems effectively. During the last two years the Centre has made steady progress and we hope that Unesco will continue to give it support.

10.16 Mr. President, during the last two years Unesco has assumed a new responsibility as executive agency for the Special Fund. It is indeed gratifying that at long last the more developed countries should have recognized the importance of education as a factor in economic development and enabled the Special Fund to include it as one of its beneficiaries. It appears from the appropriate documents that Unesco has already processed a large number of requests from Member States and that, in some cases, a programme of implementation has already begun. Pakistan is one of those countries. It is undertaking, with assistance from the Special Fund, a major programme of engineering education in the context of the Indus water settlement. We are grateful to Unesco for processing our request with commendable speed and efficiency. My delegation fully supports the rôle of Unesco in this programme.

10.17 There is one matter to which I must draw the attention of the Director-General. In the view of my delegation it is essential that the Secretariat of Unesco should be truly international in the composition of its staff. This is necessary not only for political reasons, but for the very aims and objects of Unesco and for the implementation of its programme. We do not believe that the principles of competence and geographical distribution are incompatible. Talent for such varied programmes as those of Unesco is not restricted exclusively to particular areas of the world or to any particular country within a geographical area. We realize that it is the duty of Member States to put up the names of their most competent candidates and we are convinced that persons can be found in these countries who will satisfy both the criteria of competence and of geographical distribution. My delegation notes with appreciation that some improvement has been achieved but feels that the pace needs to be quickened.

10.18 Mr. President, the world is distracted, it is divided into conflicting groups. It is for Unesco, for all of us assembled here and many others engaged in the pursuit of education, science and culture to influence the minds of men and, more important, the minds of governments against political and economic domination. It is for us to preach the gospel of the equality of man, of justice and tolerance; it is for us to show to the world that man can live in peace with his neighbours, with understanding and respect for the rights of others.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. Tuncel, Minister of Education of Turkey and a member of the Executive Board.

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

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we are once again gathered in the name of a lofty ideal which brings together the best representatives of all nations of the world in order to study jointly the problems of education, science and culture and to promote judicious and fruitful exchanges in these fields for the greater benefit of mankind.

12.2 It is therefore a signal honour for me to greet, in the name of my country, all the representatives of the Member States who have met together here in such a noble and worthy endeavour. It is particularly agreeable to me, moreover, to greet you in the name of my colleagues of the Government of National Union, the Head of which has since 27 May last been striving unflaggingly, with the help of the whole nation, to re-establish a truly democratic régime in our country. For your reassurance, ladies and gentlemen, I may tell you that the revolution of 27 May is restoring to our country, after a lapse of ten years, that democratic régime whose guiding principles were very clearly and unambiguously laid down at the time of the proclamation of the Republic by Atatürk, the founder of the new Turkey, whose doctrines our people cherish as immutable. What might be called the royal road opened by that great guide's outstanding personality is now cleared of all the obstacles and impediments which threatened to involve our country in grave danger.

12.3 Immediately after the revolution, our Government, mindful of its international undertakings and faithful to the best democratic traditions, set to work on the problem of providing education for the whole of the population. I can state that problems of education, science and culture occupy a truly pre-eminent place in our Government's programme of activities, and that the work of Unesco interests us in the highest sense of the word. As between these problems, all the competent services of my Ministry very naturally focus special attention, on the eradication of illiteracy, fundamental education and adult education. I need scarcely add that the proposed programme and budget of our organization has our full support in this connexion, and that we ourselves are fully determined to implement whatever resolutions you see fit to adopt on those subjects. It is our conviction, furthermore, that education, science and culture are no longer the preserve of a handful of people traditionally regarded as the depositaries of universal values but should be brought within the reach of the whole population of our countries without delay. We heartily welcome, therefore, the participation of the new States of the African continent in Unesco: the time when their arrival at an international gathering might have been regarded, by sheer force of habit, as an invasion, is happily past and done with. We therefore greet them with the utmost cordiality, and with best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of their peoples, who will not fail - of that we are sure - to make an active contribution to world culture with all the human warmth of lively sympathy. Once again we experience that joy, so seldom felt, of being at long-last understood. This re-establishment of values will undoubtedly help to enrich our discussion to a notable degree.

12.4 Before briefly submitting a few comments on the Director-General's progress reports, I would like to pay tribute to the memory of three eminent men who have departed from us since the last session of the General Conference. I am sure that the delegation of Denmark will not fail to evoke the memory of Professor Jacob Nielsen who, from the very first days of our Organization's existence, devoted himself to its work with the utmost zeal. His friends on the Executive Board will, of course, be able to say more about the outstanding contribution which he made in the field of natural sciences. This assembly, and especially the Executive Board, have just been abruptly bereft of a truly attractive and warmly human personality - that great Mexican intellectual of the old school, our friend Pedro de Alba, who was always a whole-hearted champion of the communion of human minds and freedom of thought. He was as universal a thinker as could be wished, of the type which is always needed in an age so sadly divided against itself. And lastly, we would like to convey our sincere condolances to France, and especially to the French National Commission for Unesco, on the loss of Gaston Berger - a great scholar in whom strength of mind and clarity of thought were most admirably combined.

12.5 I now come to the evaluation of the work of the Organization in 1958-1959 and the first eight months of 1960. To begin with I find it difficult to express sufficiently our overwhelming satisfaction at the results achieved in the various fields of activity. Since the present is the stuff of which the future is made, it can be said the results are calculated from all points of view, to help forward the work and activities of the Organization. The concentration of activity on certain problems of primary importance - so often recommended by the Conference - has at last been achieved as completely as possible. The Director-General's reports bring this out, we think, fairly clearly.

12.6 It is right and practical to distinguish, in the Regular programme, between types of activity which are clearly different one from the other. The integration of activities financed from sources outside the Organization's budget has undoubtedly increased the effectiveness of Unesco's work during the past two years. This idea, which seems to be more marked in the new proposed programme and budget, has a definite practical value which may ensure real unity when it comes to implementing the various resolutions. But the fact remains, if I may be allowed to say so, that activities financed from sources outside the Organization's budget ought not to be regarded, merely because they are incorporated in the chapters of the programme, as forming an integral part of those chapters, which cover activities financed from the Unesco budget proper. In other words, integration ought not to affect, to any excessive degree, and to the advantage of general activities, the sums intended for activities financed from sources outside the budget.

12.7 Among the general activities, I would like to make particular mention of those based on collaboration between Unesco and the non-governmental

organizations. The Director-General's reports give a very favourable idea of them, and I would like to congratulate him on these examples of fruitful co-operation. However, I may perhaps be allowed to say in this connexion that it would be desirable to fix the amount of subventions in accordance with criteria which would offer greater possibility of working in the fields in which Unesco is competent by applying, say, a system of rotation. In other words, it would be correct and practical to make a strict choice between non governmental organizations so as to avoid enlarging the list indefinitely and to render this collaboration - so often advocated by our delegation - more effective. We also feel that this collaboration should be extended to specialized governmental organizations which could play a useful part in Unesco's activities. The International Bureau of Education in Geneva, might be cited as a striking example of an organization of this kind. We would consider it desirable, and even essential, in the interests of effective collaboration with that body, that the recommendations of the International Conference on Public Education should be brought to the notice of Member States as well as to that of Unesco, and that their special importance for the Organization's educational programme should be underlined.

12.8 While recognizing the significance of the special activities, I should like to urge the application of the principles adopted at the tenth session of the General Conference as far as assistance to organizations set up by Unesco, or under its auspices is concerned. We consider this to be of paramount importance for the general economy of the programme.

12.9 Turning to the Major Projects, we are particularly satisfied with the progress made during the period under review in connexion with the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. The plan of action, which had been drawn up with great care, has aroused a great deal of interest in the circles concerned in the Member States. I should like, on this point, to remind the assembly that a number of National Commissions - among which I am happy to mention those of Belgium, India, Italy, the United States of America and Poland - have published detailed studies and monographs which might serve as examples for publications scheduled under the general programme for the project in question.

12.10 As to the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands, we wish to stress the importance of the Organization's activities in this field over the past two years. The description of the work undertaken in this connexion during the period under review makes us very hopeful about the final stage, which should mark the natural culmination of all the experience acquired both by Unesco and by such other bodies as have been set up for implementing the project. Our feeling is that the national and local co-operating committees could assume a permanent character and continue to function in the form of research institutes so as not to allow the experience gained in carrying out the Major Project to go to waste.

12.11 The reports on activities are particularly full as regards work in the cultural field and the enumeration of what has been done provides fresh confirmation that the fine arts are the surest means of bringing peoples together and an effective way of spreading our Organization's influence. I would go so far as to say that if we desire the maintenance of spiritual values we must foster among our peoples a love of art, which is not always and necessarily aimed at the utilitarian and immediate, but at the universal, as the goal of Unesco's programme.

12.12 In education, our Government follows Unesco's activities with particular interest. Educational problems are at present of supreme importance for the advancement of our country. The document submitted to our Conference on Unesco's co-operation with the International Development Association will receive our full support in consequence.

12.13 I shall not try your patience by dwelling on the endless variety of resolutions which our Member States have been able to implement. I should like, however, to express my vast admiration for the work done by all the members of the Secretariat under Mr. Vittorino Veronese's direction. Having been in the privileged position of being able to judge the Secretariat's work at very close quarters, I can state that it is truly capable of implementing our programme resolutions to the hilt.

12.14 The new proposed programme and budget constitutes, in this connexion, a document worthy of all praise, both for the high intellectual qualities of our Director-General and his staff and for the devotion of the Secretariat members to the tasks entrusted to them.

12.15 In conclusion, I have pleasure in informing you of two decisions which the Government of National Union has just taken. The first relates to the international campaign for safeguarding the monuments of Nubia. Despite the difficult economic conditions we are experiencing, our country will make its very modest financial contribution to the campaign. The second decision relates to the twelfth session of the General Conference of Unesco. I know that our Executive Board has already recommended that it be held in 1962 in Paris. Owing to circumstances beyond our control, we were unable to invite you in good time to hold the session on the shores of the Bosphorus, in the ancient city of Istanbul. I nevertheless submit this proposal to you on behalf of my country, and so acquit myself of a very agreeable task. On the other hand I regret to say that I must take my leave of this assembly in order to return to my post tomorrow morning and temporarily deprive myself of the pleasure of being with you. And so in bidding you farewell, I ask you to accept my warmest thanks, and express my good wishes for the Conference's full success.

(Mr. Kahuda took the Chair).

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Esteemed delegates, let us continue our meeting. I call upon H.E. Mr. Yañez, Head of the Mexican delegation.

14.1 Mr. YAÑEZ (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, and fellow delegates, speaking at this international gathering, the Mexican delegation on behalf of the people and Government of Mexico, pays tribute to the memory of His Excellency Don

Pedro de Alba, who was snatched away from us in the full flower of his life, from that very field where for years he had tirelessly laboured in the service of the noblest causes of mankind.

14.2 At the same time, we wish to express Mexico's gratitude for the many marks of sympathy we have received on this occasion, culminating in the opening addresses at this Conference and splendidly echoed a few minutes ago in the remarks of the Head of the Turkish delegation. We are particularly moved by the fact that all these expressions of condolence are at one in extolling those qualities which made Dr. de Alba so exemplary a man, at once thoroughly Mexican and universal.

14.3 Yesterday, 20 November, Mexico commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Revolution, the programme of which is based on the principles of social justice, and in its outward projection upholds the principles of national sovereignty, non-intervention and the equality of all States in law.

14.4 Pursuant to this last-mentioned principle, Mexico is probably the first country to have raised all its diplomatic missions to the rank of Embassies. But the object of legal equality should be the achievement of economic and cultural equality and the transformation of international solidarity into mutual aid directed to the solution of problems of unequal development, an idea luminously expressed by Don Adolfo Lopéz Mateos, the President of Mexico, when he declared on taking office: "We join with the democratic powers in offering all peoples the possibility of obtaining a life free from tyranny, fear and injustice: for us, the ideal of international co-operation continues to be that of mutual aid against these common enemies of mankind".

14.5 As far as economic and cultural development are more particularly concerned, the President personally reaffirmed these principles at the Headquarters of the Organization of the American States on 12 October 1959.

14.6 Mexico has never departed from this doctrine, nor grudged its co-operation in carrying it into effect. Following on that great Mexican, Benito Juárez, styled "Worthy Son of America", who coined the aphorism: "Between nations as between individuals, peace means respect for the rights of others", Mexico today holds that peace between nations, as between individuals, is based on political, economic and cultural equality, and on mutual respect and aid.

14.7 Mexico accordingly welcomes the arrival, in the comity of nations of countries which have recently achieved self-government and is proud of having contributed towards this achievement.

14.8 For the same reason, the Mexican delegation approves in particular the section of the Director-General's report dealing with assistance to these new Member States, with due regard to the correct balance appropriate to an international organization and without forgetting that there are other regions where assistance is necessary at different levels in connexion with various categories of educational, scientific and cultural problems.

14.9 On the subject of cultural equality, the item concerning the prohibition of discrimination in education is worthy of Mexico's support in strict accordance with the definition given in Article 1 of the draft Convention and Recommendation.

14.10 However, we must express forthright reservations, which we intend to motivate, regarding the enunciation of certain paragraphs of the document. Our reasons are as follows: firstly, they go beyond the terms of the General Conference resolution which provided the basis for the draft texts now submitted for our consideration; secondly, they introduce questions which are controversial inasmuch as they affect the constitutional principles of States, and this fact would detract from their universality; and lastly, they turn aside, away from the simple and direct condemnation of discrimination in education, or at least make it less pointed.

14.11 An outstanding feature of the report of Mexican activities corresponding to the Unesco programme for 1958-1959 is the 11-year plan designed to solve the problem of primary education in the Republic. Under this plan, by 1970, the estimated needs of 7,195,000 pupils will have been met, involving annual increases to a final total figure of an additional 67,000 teachers, 27,440 classrooms and 18,000 teachers' homes in rural areas, 23,650 classrooms in urban areas, the renovation of 39,000 existing schools, and the supply of furniture and teaching material, all of which involves an extra budget of 4,804 million pesos. For the first time in Mexico's history the present education budget amounts to 18% of the Federal budget. The authorized expenditure up to 1 September 1960 amounted to 2,045 million pesos, which means that Mexico is providing 5,500,000 pesos a day for education, quite apart from the many large grants by the governments of the various Federated States and the municipal authorities, and the equally large ones by the private sector.

14.12 In the first year of operation of the plan, 4,294 primary teachers' posts have been created and 2,646 classrooms built in rural areas and 1,052 in urban areas. With the co-operation of the National Publicity Council, using the press, radio, cinema and television, a large-scale public campaign is being conducted to restore and equip existing schools.

14.13 One basic feature of the Plan is the free supply of textbooks and copy books (specimens of these have been presented to the delegates) to all primary school children in the country, a fact which opens up education to all and permits the spiritual integration of all Mexican children into communal life. Up to the present, 17 million volumes corresponding to the first four grades at primary school have been printed at a cost of 36 million pesos.

14.14 A study of this great effort on Mexico's part in connexion with the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, brings us to the problem of a population growth outstripping economic and technical resources in many countries. Meanwhile, it would appear that present teaching methods could benefit by making fuller use of the resources which science and modern techniques have placed at their disposal.

14.15 This indicates what a good thing it would be if Unesco saw the necessity of applying large-scale measures to expedite the task of investigating, discovering, trying out and initiating methods and techniques which in a dynamic, effective and revolutionary manner would increase resources, offset deficiences and satisfy the needs of populations growing too rapidly.

14.16 We had the pleasure in March of receiving the Director-General in Mexico. The postive results of his visit include the negotiations concerning CREFAL. Its budget is about to undergo a considerable reduction, although Mexico will benefit from the maintenance until the end of 1964, of the subvention granted - an undoubted mark of recognition of the Centre's utility.
14.17 It is understandable that aid furnished to operations of this kind cannot be unlimited; however, experience affords examples showing the unsatisfactoriness of setting fixed terms for major enterprises. Inspired by the lofty principle of solidarity, Mexico has proposed the setting up of a Committee to negotiate a new statute for CREFAL as an inter-American or Latin American body on the termination of the Unesco subvention in 1964. As a last resort, the Government would take over the Centre which would then become a national centre.
14.18 The projects dealt with in the Natural Sciences chapter, and particularly the provisions for the next two year period for fellowships and for research relating to natural resources seem overmodest and should receive greater attention from the Conference. In Mexico, the treatment of the indigenous communities is based on the principle of the absolute equality of all inhabitants of the Republic, and of the cultural rather than racial nature of the differences between them and of the resultant problems, which should be resolved by the methods of social anthropology.
14.19 During the past two-year period, three new co-ordinating centres for Indian affairs have been set up in Oaxaca, Yucatan and the Cora Huichol area. Like the centres already in existence, their aim is the complete acculturation of the Indians by the above-mentioned methods, and their integration in the social, economic and political life of the country by persuasion, example and assistance, but never by coercion.
14.20 In this connexion, we are happy to be able to cite the unanimous testimony of eminent investigators of various nationalities regarding Mexico's progress as regards the development of the indigenous communities and the use of techniques based on applied social anthropology. We therefore consider that it would be to the advantage of Unesco, through its Department of Social Sciences, to carry out a thorough investigation in certain regions of Mexico in order to make a comparative evaluation of this work.
14.21 It was pointed out by the Mexican National Commission that the Social Science programme occupied a secondary place in Unesco even when it came to Technical Assistance contributions. And this at a time when the importance of these sciences is growing in the Latin American countries, and when co-operation and contact with other parts of the world is essential for training specialists. It is hoped that these matters will be given careful consideration.
14.22 In Mexico's judgement, Unesco should consider the advisability of including on its permanent staff economists specializing in problems of economic development. The reasons are obvious.
14.23 The Mexican Government - and I am sure that the same applies to the governments of all the Member States - has attached great significance to the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, which it regards as the surest means of mutual understanding. The plan of the College of Mexico to set up a Centre of International Studies open to students from the 20 Latin American countries is in line with this noble aim, and the Organization of the American States has accordingly included the necessary funds for this purpose in its fellowship programme.
14.24 The Mexican delegation has submitted a draft resolution which would enlarge the "Participation" section so as to permit the presence of university level teachers who could explain the history and culture of China, Japan, India, the Middle East and Africa.
14.25 Despite signed agreements, moral obligations and practices to which members of this Organization should adhere, obstacles to the free circulation of books in different countries and even censorship causing particular hardship to Mexican publications, are increasing rather than disappearing or diminishing. We consider that Unesco should devote its efforts to guaranteeing the principle of the free circulation of books, subject only to restrictions on the introduction and circulation of works constituting a danger to national security, morality and public order.
14.26 Like all other countries of great artistic and archaeological wealth, Mexico is interested in the protection and safeguarding of its heritage. It accordingly proposes for consideration by the General Conference a draft resolution authorizing the Director-General to appoint a group of experts to study appropriate means of prohibiting the illicit export, import and sale of works of art and archaeological finds, with a view, in particular, to the preparation of a draft international convention.
14.27 A few years ago, the discovery of the Maya paintings of Bonampak caused a considerable stir in the world. The preservation of these treasures of Pre-Columbian art presents difficult problems, and our country has asked Unesco for technical aid. The work which the Organization is about to undertake through the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property centred in Rome, is bound to arouse world interest for the same reasons that caused the governments and peoples to be interested in the monuments of Nubia.
14.28 In conclusion, the Mexican delegation, mindful of certain dangers of which all of us are conscious, enjoins and urges that an effort be made by all to avoid raising topics which, coming within the purview of other bodies are liable to distort the nature of Unesco, an organization whose status as the supreme sanctuary of human concord and genuine peace we should defend.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):
I thank the Minister for his statement. I call upon Dr. Walker, the Head of the Australian delegation. Dr. Walker is Australian Ambassador to France. He was President of the fourth session of the General Conference in 1948, and has been Chairman of the Executive Board.

16.1 Mr. WALKER (Australia):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, first I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President on your

occupancy of the Chair at this session, and to express my appreciation to the distinguished delegates, who, at the end of this long and rather active day, are still prepared to sit here and listen for a few minutes to the observations of the Australian delegation.

16.2 The Australian delegation desires first to congratulate the Director-General on the record of solid achievement presented to this session of the General Conference. And on behalf of the Australian delegation, on behalf of the Australian Government, I wish to assure the Director-General and his colleagues of the Secretariat of the continued support of Australia in the great work that they are undertaking. I am sure that the vast majority of the delegations represented at this Conference would desire to join in dissociating themselves from the attack that was made earlier this afternoon on some of the activities of the Secretariat, particularly in connexion with the Congo. We, at least, and I am sure many others also would wish to dissociate ourselves completely from the suggestions that were made by one important delegation for reorganization of the Secretariat and the replacement of the Director-General by a commission of three drawn from different groups throughout the world. At this time I wish, and I know many other delegations wish, to express our confidence in our colleagues in the Secretariat and in the Director-General and to assure them of our continued support.

16.3 To return to Unesco after an absence of ten years is a stimulating experience, it is good to find again many old friends who participated in the early planning of the Organization and its programme. It is exciting to make new friends, including those from countries which were not members in the early days, and to share the task of reviewing Unesco's recent activities and discussing the new developments that lie ahead. The most striking change in Unesco since I last attended a General Conference is the growth of membership, not only in numbers but in its representation of the peoples of the world; the diversity of cultures, the variety of political and economic systems, and the differing degrees of industrial development of the modern world are more completely reflected than ever before. This trend is undoubtedly in accordance with the hopes of those who founded Unesco and opens up a wide sphere of service to mankind. On behalf of the Australian delegation, I wish to extend a warm welcome to the delegations of the Member States and Associate Members who have recently joined our number, and to assure them all of our desire to co-operate closely with them in the furtherance of the noble aims of this Organization. The association with our work of the newly independent States of Africa and other countries that are preparing for self-government will undoubtedly bring a valuable contribution to the cross-fertilization of the world's cultures, as well as offering a stirring challenge to us all to assist these newly independent countries to develop their educational systems and to raise their standards of living.

16.4 Along with the growth in the size of our Organization there has been a considerable increase in the participation of Member States in the work of Unesco. In the very early days of the Organization there was a tendency in some quarters to identify Unesco with its Secretariat alone, and to think of the Organization as a sort of central institution financed and assisted by member governments but largely independent of them in its operations. It took quite a struggle, for instance, in the early days to break down the idea that relations between the Secretariat and the Member States were part of the external relations of the Organization. Yet from the beginning it was apparent that Unesco's contribution to international co-operation in education, science and culture would be very limited unless, and until, Member States played their part in the execution as well as in the planning of Unesco's programme. It is encouraging to note, Mr. President, the greater scope that Unesco's present programme offers to Member States for participation in the Organization's activities and the extent to which the Secretariat today is occupied in providing services requested by Member States and by national and international bodies concerned with education, science and culture.

16.5 Of special interest is the development of Unesco's Participation programme, under which the Secretariat assists Unesco activities being undertaken by Member States on an individual or a regional basis. These methods of working in close association with Member States are all the more essential at a time when Unesco is called upon to assist the less developed countries of the world, particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America, in the gigantic task of educating their people. If Unesco were primarily a centralized secretariat or institute, it could make only a peripheral contribution to this problem. It is because Unesco can help to mobilize the generosity of wealthier, educationally more developed countries, and can help to organize international co-operation in this field, that its influence can be so effective.

16.6 In the last resort, of course, much of the burden and the costs of educational development will fall upon the people of the developing countries themselves. In the main it will be African teachers, for instance, who will teach African children to read and write, and in the long run it will be African taxpayers who will find the money for the teachers' salaries. The task of the more developed countries, and the international agencies such as Unesco, is to help the less industrialized countries to lay the foundations for their future economic and educational growth. The basic problem for these countries is to increase their productivity and to organize their economic systems and their apparatus of government in such a way as to ensure that, in due course, the necessary money and the human resources can continue to be found to support modern educational services.

16.7 International assistance, both in money and in men, can be of crucial importance in the early stages, but it should be directed chiefly towards initiating and supporting undertakings for which the country itself can progressively take the main responsibility. Unesco has already had a good deal of experience in initiating and fostering national and international programmes in education, science and culture, programmes which once they have a good start have attracted sufficient financial support from governments and other sources to carry on more or less under their own steam. It is of course important that Unesco's direct assistance and participation

in such undertakings should not be prematurely withdrawn; it should be continued until it is clear that sufficient momentum has been gained to ensure sustained progress in the future.

16.8 The Arid Zone project is an example of a successful undertaking that has stimulated much important work internationally and in Member States. It was intended to run as a Major Project until 1962 and has undoubtedly already gained much momentum. We hope, Mr. President, that its completion as a Major Project will not prevent further support from Unesco for such activities as circumstances may require.

16.9 Mr. President and fellow delegates, this is an exciting stage in the development of Unesco, because we see great new tasks looming ahead. The most significant historical development since the war has undoubtedly been the emergence of many independent States consisting of peoples who have for varying periods been under colonial rule. Some of these new States were ancient nations that have long nurtured the hopes of regaining their former independence and urdty. In other cases, the period of colonial rule has itself contributed to the promotion of nationhood and to the construction of political units that are now providing the framework for new States. In all cases, these emerging independent States have to find their feet in a world that has undergone vast changes. The progress of science and industry has made possible the raising of living standards and the provision of a better life for the masses of the people, and governments have accepted a much greater degree of responsibility for ensuring the economic and social well-being of their people. This is a double revolution, world-wide in its impact, and it is by no means confined to the group of countries that describe themselves as socialist, though there is much variation in the scope and nature of government action. The newly independent States, too, must accept similar responsibilities towards their peoples.

16.10 At the same time, while the assumption of responsibility by governments for the well-being of their people has been primarily on a national basis, there has also been a great advance in the sentiment of human solidarity, a growing recognition of the need for industrially advanced and highly organized countries to come to the aid of those that are at an earlier stage of development, so that they too may be assisted to modernize their methods of production and their economic and social structures in order to hasten the day when their peoples also can share fully in the better life that modern science and industry offers mankind.

16.11 In this transformation of the economic and social life of developing countries, education and science have a crucial rôle to play - one which is just as important as the accumulation of material capital. Indeed, the development of education and science may be regarded as a form of investment, of positive addition to the means of production of these countries. So it comes about that not only has the activity of Unesco gradually increased through the growth of its membership and through the participation of Member States in its Regular programme, but the world community has also placed at Unesco's disposal additional funds for specific projects contributing to the economic development of less industrialized and, in many cases, newly independent countries. In particular the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund have virtually doubled the financial resources for the use of which Unesco has become responsible. This is a major change in the rôle of Unesco and it reflects not only the world-wide acknowledgement of the significance of education as a factor in economic and social development, but also the recognition that Unesco, through its programme, has built up a body of experience and administrative structure and a capacity for action on an international scale. This growth in Unesco's responsibility is a very welcome one, but it poses some serious problems for the Organization; perhaps the most immediate and most obvious is the staffing problem. Unesco is already encountering difficulty in attracting and retaining the services of men and women of stature to direct some parts of the Regular programme. And it will be by no means easy to find the people with appropriate qualifications and experience in sufficient numbers to carry out the new action programmes.

16.12 Many countries are finding it difficult to staff their own expanding educational services. In Australia, for instance, which had six universities before the war, there are today ten universities; yet our Universities Commission has just recommended to the Government the establishment of three more universities over the next six years to provide for the expansion of student numbers. Where the extra teaching staff is to come from is another question. Many countries are facing similar problems and Unesco will have to make a special appeal to Member States to provide, even at real sacrifice to themselves, the personnel that will be needed both in Unesco Headquarters and in the field. Secondly, these new activities of Unesco raise problems for the general organization of policy planning. Unesco is still struggling with the problem of how to enable the General Conference to exercise effective control over the Regular programme while allowing the Secretariat to concentrate on its execution. In the earlier years of the Organization, when this General Conference met annually, the Secretariat often felt that it had to give so much time to preparing the following year's programme and to revising it in the light of the decisions of the General Conference, that it had little or no time left to carry it out. We have moved away from that situation, but the question must now be asked whether the General Conference exercises any effective control over the programme at all, except through the determination of the budget ceiling. Many governments include in their delegation specialists in particular fields of the programme who are closely associated with Unesco National Commissions. I am afraid, however, that most of these specialists find little opportunity in the complex proceedings of the Conference to apply their expert knowledge to the shaping of the programme. That some of them feel frustrated reflects a weakness in our methods, for Unesco's standing in Member States depends a good deal on the enthusiasm of experts in particular fields who are associated with the National Commissions.

16.13 The difficulty of defining the rôle of the General Conference in relation to the programme is

further complicated by the fact that Technical Assistance and Special Fund activities of Unesco are not part of the Regular programme, and are not submitted for consideration of an approval by the Conference. The control over these action programmes, in so far as it exists, lies with the Technical Assistance Board and Special Fund in New York and not with the General Conference of Unesco.

16.14 Mr. President, fellow delegates, possibly the solution of these problems is to recognize frankly that the general shape of Unesco's programme has already been defined and that it is not susceptible of detailed examination and revision at every session of the General Conference. Perhaps the Director-General and Executive Board should submit to the General Conference, together with reports on the work accomplished, only proposals for important changes in the emphasis of the programme, including any proposals for major new projects. At each session of the General Conference time might be devoted to a review, in some detail, of the work that has actually been done and of future plans in a few selected fields. This would give specialist members of delegations an opportunity to establish closer personal contact with members of the Secretariat and also to gain a deeper knowledge of what Unesco is actually doing, as distinct from the future programmes nominally approved by the Conference. Such review should include not only a few selected fields of the Regular programme (different fields being selected for successive sessions of the General Conference) but also the work actually being done under the new action programmes that Unesco is undertaking for the Technical Assistance Board and the Special Fund. Mr. President, I submit these suggestions to the Executive Board and the Director-General for their consideration in planning the next session of the General Conference.

16.15 It seems to me that the influence of Member States upon the Regular programme and upon these new action programmes is more likely to be exerted in the future through consultation and correspondence with the Director-General and the Executive Board between sessions of the General Conference than in the course of the General Conference itself.

16.16 At the same time, Mr. President, I think we should endeavour to raise the intellectual level of our General Conferences and the general reputation of Unesco by concentrating our attention on a more limited number of issues that are clearly within the competence of the Organization. We should resist the temptation to fight over again, in this forum, political and propaganda battles that have been lost or are still unresolved in other, more appropriate arenas.

16.17 Mr. President, Unesco has many concrete achievements to its credit, but perhaps one of its most significant achievements is something less tangible, namely Unesco's continued capacity to arouse hope. If, as the leader of the Soviet delegation rather surprisingly reminded us the other day, wars begin in the minds of men, so Mr. President, does hope; hope for peaceful co-operation in the building of a better world. Unesco must not only continue to nourish this hope; we must also see to it the hope that Unesco arouses does not go unfulfilled.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Thank you, Mr. Walker. Fellow delegates, today's plenary meeting has concluded. The next meeting will be tomorrow at 10.30 a.m. The first speaker will be Mr. Sattler Head of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany. I declare the meeting closed.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

TWELFTH PLENARY MEETING

22 November 1960, at 10 50 a.m.

President: Mr Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

Adoption of the Second Report of the Administrative Commission 187
General discussion of the reports of the Director-General (continued) 187

ADOPTION OF THE SECOND REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION

1. The President (Translation from the French):
I declare the twelfth plenary meeting open. Before proceeding to a general discussion of the Director-General's reports, I call upon Mr. Dovey, Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission.

2.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:
Mr. President, it is with pleasure that I am able to tell the Conference that the reports of the Administrative Commission are becoming more and more brief. This latest one, document 11 C/42, consists of one paragraph and one draft resolution. This is not a record which the Commission will be able to maintain indefinitely, but I am confident that the Conference will be appreciative of the results so far.
2.2 The report deals with the right to vote of Paraguay. The circumstances are very similar to those of Honduras and Bolivia which were reported to the General Conference last Friday, and the Commission's recommendation as expressed in the draft resolution is similar to the one put forward for those two countries. I have the honour, in the name of the Commission, to commend the resolution to the Conference.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I now put the second report of the Administrative Commission to the vote.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
3.2 The second report of the Administrative Commission is adopted unanimously. The delegation of Paraguay accordingly has the right to vote in plenary meetings and in all the Commissions and Committees.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

3.3 Ladies and gentlemen, we now come to the general discussion. I would ask speakers to be brief and to limit themselves to fifteen minutes, as recommended by the Bureau of the Administrative Commission. As you know, we are already very much behindhand and if speakers do not keep to this limitation on the length of speeches, I may be obliged to propose that we hold a night meeting.
3.4 I first call upon Mr. Sattler, Head of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

4.1 Mr. SATTLER (Federal Republic of Germany):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, since its foundation in 1946, Unesco has considered that its paramount task is to contribute to understanding among nations in the spheres of education, science and culture. For the first time in the history of mankind an endeavour of this nature and scope has been undertaken.
4.2 We know that many people were at first sceptical as to the possibilities of its realization. As the Director of the Department of Cultural Affairs in the Federal Foreign Office, I now have for the first time an opportunity to participate in the General Conference of Unesco, and with your permission, Mr. President, although you have just asked me to be as brief as possible, I may take two minutes more to say what I, as one who has come here for the first time, have found. I must confess that my first reaction about the family of Unesco was slightly sceptical, also, because I did not find a family in the sense of a family of only a few people; I found here a crowd of people - many nations, many people, many faces, and so many problems. But I have found here, too, the spirit of the family of men. I have found the opportunity to talk, to collaborate and to gain the confidence of representatives of other nations, including those whose convictions differ widely from my own. This, it seems to me, offers the only possibility of finding among the nations a new basis for relations in the domains of education, the sciences and culture.
4.3 We in the Federal Republic of Germany are particularly sensitive to and appreciative of the importance of this common aim. During 12 years, from 1933 to 1945, the German people experienced the most tragic spiritual and moral crisis in their

long history. We, who loved our country as the country of Goethe and Beethoven, experienced the tyranny of Hitler as a state of mental and moral disease. We have overcome this disease - but nothing could be more wrong than to belittle its fearful character, not only for other people, but for ourselves. If you ask me today which aspect of the disease was most fearful, I would say to be compelled to witness the injustice done to other peoples in the name of my own people, without being able to intervene; and to be unable to express my own conviction, even within the circle of my family, without the risk of grave danger to them. Even our small children thus had to learn how to distinguish between what they were told at school and what they were told by their fathers and mothers.

4.4 From these experiences we know what it means to live, to be forced to live, without freedom. Since 1945 we have endeavoured to overcome the remnants of this disease. The German Ministers of Education - we have 11 of them - are making every effort to strengthen the sense of freedom in our schools and in adult education. Means to this end are the revision of textbooks, particularly in history and geography, emphasis on political education, new teaching methods and other measures. I may recall in this connexion the constructive work of the School Book Institute at Braunschweig which, so far as I know, is the only institution of this kind. Its task, the continuous supervision and revision of textbooks, is carried on with the participation of many nations and with international help, especially from the Asian and Arab countries. It is a difficult job and we are therefore grateful for all the help that Member States can extend to us. I may add in this connexion that we are glad that, implementing the suggestion of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany the programme of Unesco for 1961-1962 provides for a number of sociological and psychological studies of the attitude of young people towards the race problem. The results of these investigations are to serve as the basis for a seminar to be held in 1962 at the Unesco Youth Institute at Gauting, near Munich, and which we hope will prove useful for the work of youth leaders. Within recent years, and this seems to me a hopeful sign, we notice an increasing interest among all strata of the German population, but particularly among the young, in the frank and unshrinking representation of the events of the Hitler régime. The crimes of this régime are treated in literature, the press and in films, and recently also in a special series of television programmes which has just started. It is to be hoped that all this will gradually help to eliminate the shadows of the past that have obscured our vision. At the same time, perhaps precisely because we have learned to understand the meaning of freedom and to recognize the debt we owe to other nations, there is an increasing interest within the Federal Republic in other nations, in co-operating with them in the cultural sphere and in the problems of development that many peoples face today.

4.5 Within the last two years the Federal Republic has doubled the amount spent for cultural relations abroad. In 1961, we shall be spending almost $30m. for this purpose, twice as much as two years ago. At the same time we shall, as the Federal Minister of Economics has recently stated, be spending nearly one billion dollars for development aid in 1961, a sum that is to be raised by Federal and State taxes, as well as by private initiative. Conversely, we are glad to encounter an increasing interest in the Federal Republic from abroad. Before the last world war there were only about 6,000 to 8,000 foreign students studying within the territory of the Federal Republic. Today about 30,000 young people from abroad are receiving their professional education from us, including university students and trainees in other fields.

4.6 We are all convinced today how indispensable it is in our shrinking world to assist nations that, owing to their industrial and economic structure, are unable to cope with the problems posed by the rapid increase of population. We know that such aid is not only a moral responsibility of those nations that are economically more prosperous, it is very much in our own self-interest. Such aid is most urgent for the young nations of Tropical Africa, because so far they have received least. But the people of Asia and Latin America must not be forgotten. Every one of us gathered here will have the task of convincing the public at home as well as their parliaments, that economic aid is senseless without educational aid. I want to underline this especially, because it seems to me that it is really not only economic help that we must give to our African, Asian and Latin American friends, but also educational aid which Unesco is best fitted to provide. I think that in the years ahead the co-operation which we can achieve in these fields will have an increasing influence upon the relations among nations.

4.7 It is here that Unesco's rôle may be of the greatest importance. There will always be different opinions and convictions in this world, and the most precious good of humanity is its ability freely to choose among these ideas. Man is free if he is free to decide, free to choose what he wants to believe in. There will always be different languages and cultures that will meet with, and influence one another, but it will and must be possible to approach different convictions with respect. What we need most of all is confidence and trust, and that we can achieve only through personal contact - which is one of the things I have found in these ten days here - and through patience.

4.8 The Federal Republic of Germany, since it became a member of Unesco, has endeavoured to make increasingly known among the German people the idea that we all belong to a great family of nations. Much has been done in this direction - institutes, conferences, exhibitions, publications, study tours have been arranged - and we are glad of it, but much more remains to be done. I hope that the Director-General during his recent visit to Germany may have been able to see for himself how much alive is the interest among our people in the cause and in the work of Unesco.

4.9 We appreciate the work done by Unesco and its entire staff during the last years and we want to extend our thanks to every member of the Secretariat. We have founded a German action committee for the project to safeguard the monuments of ancient Nubia, and we hope, with the consent of our Parliament, to be able to raise in 1961 a considerable sum as our special contribution to this project. Of course it is

understood that at the present General Conference other Member States, especially the United Arab Republic, the Soviet Union and others will reach agreement regarding the realization of these plans. The German Archaeological Institute, I might mention, is especially interested in the Temple of Kalabsha.

4.10 Within the field of education, the active and equal participation of women seems to us of particular importance, for the woman is the heart of the family. We also consider that adult education should receive a place within Unesco's programme commensurate with its importance in our present world. We welcome particularly the new educational programme for Africa which has been submitted to us within recent days. The German delegation has already pointed out that we hope confidently to make available 1,000,000 marks as a special contribution of the Federal Republic for this supplementary programme. If this plan meets the approval of the Conference, part of our contribution could be made available immediately and the rest would follow next year. The German delegation has already approved the increase of the Regular budget, and you know already of the very considerable increase in our contribution to the Special Fund and Technical Assistance.

4.11 I feel I should add a few critical remarks to our general praise; may I make these three brief remarks? First, in view of Unesco's gigantic task, its resources are far too small. Secondly, our Organization is too cumbersome in relation to these resources. Thirdly, and most important, we must be able to exclude from our work the political questions that obsess and oppress us. My country as you know faces such problems and deliberately refrains from presenting them to this assembly. Unless we in Unesco are willing and able to exclude these political problems, we shall neither have the time to do the business before us nor shall we be able to create the climate of mutual understanding and confidence without which we cannot hope to succeed. Last, but not least, we shall do such damage to the prestige of the work of Unesco outside that it will be impossible to convince the parliaments of our different countries of the importance of increased support for our programme.

4.12 To sum up, the Federal Government is in favour of the work and of the aims of Unesco. We believe that we could make a substantial contribution to this work not only in terms of money but even more so in terms of ideas and of personnel. The Federal Government welcomes the educational programme for Tropical Africa but we are equally interested in aiding Latin America, Asia and the Arab world, countries and continents with which we are linked by so many cultural ties.

4.13 May I close, Mr. President, with the words written a century ago by a great Austrian writer, Adalbert Stifter, that may perhaps serve as a motto for the work of Unesco: "The word is stronger than the slingshot and moderation will vanquish the world". May God help us to further the work of our Organization in the spirit of these words.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon H.E. Mr. Raadi, Head of the delegation of Iran.

6.1 - Mr. RAADI (Iran) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, it is a great honour for me to associate the delegation of Iran with the homage paid by previous speakers to our distinguished ex-President, to France, now receiving us for the seventh time in the Ville Lumière, to the Executive Board, the Director-General, the Secretariat and especially to you, Mr. President, whose election to this supreme office is a sincere proof of the respect and affection in which we hold your great country and the African continent.

6.2 In asking you to accept the warm congratulations of my country, whose friendly relations with yours go back to ancient times, may I be allowed to add my own, for I remember with pride that I had the honour of being entrusted with the first Unesco mission to Ethiopia in 1950, for the purpose of preparing the way for the admission of your country to membership of Unesco and its co-operation with our Organization.

6.3 It was on that occasion that I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance and undertaking with you, in your then capacity as Deputy Minister of Education, the first negotiations.

6.4 I shall never forget the wise words pronounced at that time by His Majesty the Emperor Haile Selassie when he granted me an audience; he said: "Having conducted great political and military campaigns for the independence of my country, I have come to the conclusion that real independence is won in the field of economic and social progress."

6.5 This statement by a revered champion of independence is a source of inspiration for all countries that are achieving freedom in the political field.

6.6 We extend a cordial welcome to the delegations of the new Member States, to Kuwait, a friend and a neighbour of ours, and the many African States which, by subscribing to the Constitution of Unesco, have strengthened the universal character of our Organization.

6.7 While the first half of this century was marked by the awakening of Asia, the second is placed under the sign of Africa. May I be allowed to greet that great continent by offering it a posy gathered in the garden of Persian poetry: "This is but the first pale light of dawn; await, the sun of thy happiness will rise."

6.8 When we study the Director-General's reports on the Organization's activities over the past two years, we note with satisfaction that a considerable proportion of the programme adopted has been put into effect, thanks to the combined efforts of the Secretariat, the Executive Board, Member States and non-governmental organizations.

6.9 Let us therefore be thankful to the Executive Board, and to the Director-General and his staff, who, facing difficulties without flinching, have ensured the implementation of the programme with wisdom and flexibility.

6.10 With a promptitude forced upon them by circumstances, they have not hesitated to take courageous and praiseworthy measures to save the monuments of Nubia and to provide, within the framework of the civilian operations, the educational assistance urgently required in the Congo.

6.11 With regard to the proposed programme and budget, may I be allowed to make a few comments.

I would crave the assembly's indulgence in taxing its patience a few minutes longer, especially as, while fully appreciating the Executive Board's recommendation concerning a time-limit for speeches, I consider that the States which are members of the Board have had many opportunities to voice their opinion on the general policy and programme of the Organization, whereas this present general discussion is the only occasion on which States which are not members of the Executive Board can express their views. They should therefore be treated more indulgently, as was indeed the case yesterday.

6.12 With regard to the budget figure, the Conference will recall that a few days ago, during the discussion of the provisional budget ceiling, the delegation of Iran, although in favour of the principle of raising it, adopted a reserved attitude for the time being by abstaining and explaining why.

6.13 I am happy to be able to state today that the further instructions which we were awaiting have since arrived and that my delegation now falls into line with the 63 delegations which have already voted for the increase proposed and approved.

6.14 As regards the proposed programme itself, subject to certain remarks which we shall make in the Commissions and the working parties, we consider that the chapters on education, natural sciences, social sciences and cultural activities are satisfactorily drawn up and, apart from a few details, well thought out.

6.15 When listening to the Director-General's introduction to the proposed programme and budget, we very much appreciated his remark that care should always be taken to maintain a balance from several points of view in preparing the programme - a balance between stability and evolution, a balance between the various chapters of the programme, and a balance in the amount of assistance which certain regions should receive.

6.16 In noting this declaration, we hope that, neither in theory nor in practice, will the real needs of any area of work, region or country be sacrificed to those of others.

6.17 We rejoice to see that, in accordance with the desire expressed at previous sessions of the Conference by the Iranian delegation and several others, it is proposed to increase efforts and funds considerably in the fields of education and scientific research. The plans for the extension and improvement of education in Africa, the Arab States and Asia will, I am sure, be received with much enthusiasm in those areas. My Government declares itself willing to assist in the implementation of the project for Asia and very much hopes that it will soon be raised to the status of a major project, in view of the vast requirements of that immense continent.

It is an undeniable fact that, in the less advanced areas of the world, international assistance in the field of education, although considerable, has at present only a stimulating effect. Moreover, the resources of national budgets are so limited that unless the various communities and municipalities participate to a considerable extent in the government's expenditure and efforts - and the ways in which they can do so, adapted to local circumstances, should be studied, compared, worked out and advocated by Unesco - the extension of education to the entire population will not become a reality for several decades, despite the urgency of the problem. I should like to point out in this connexion that, in Iran, although nearly 30% of the national budget is set aside for education, an experiment is now being carried out on the lines I have just indicated.

6.18 For in any campaign against illiteracy, it is not enough to assess requirements or give symbolical aid; first and foremost, the most effective methods of removing this scourge as quickly as possible must be applied. During the current and previous sessions of the Conference, we have been happy to learn that, throughout the vast area of the Soviet Union, and in certain other countries such as Rumania and Mexico, increasingly swift progress is being achieved in rendering large populations literate. Impressive figures have been quoted. It would be an excellent thing if, in addition to the figures of results achieved, the methods used in those countries could be communicated in detail to areas which are still fighting against illiteracy.

6.19 Would it be possible for these countries to invite a few Unesco experts to study on the spot the methods employed and the basic factors explaining the success achieved, and subsequently to communicate the results of their inquiries to the other countries concerned through the intermediary of the Organization?

6.20 The duration of the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands should be prolonged by at least four years as from 1962, so that the countries concerned can derive maximum advantage from the work done.

6.21 Those responsible for the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values are making cautious progress and are wisely consolidating the basis for its later development. The main lines of future action are being worked out as the project moves forward and methods are being improved. For various reasons, which I shall enlarge upon later, it is a matter of urgency that this project should be extended to Tropical Africa. Incidentally, I am particularly happy to announce that an excellent opportunity has arisen for my country to make a larger contribution to this project, since the 25th centenary of the foundation of the State of Iran is shortly to be celebrated. Ever since 1958, special committees set up in Teheran have been working out an extensive programme with a view to providing the world in general with information on the various aspects and typical features of Iranian civilization and its relations with other civilizations over the past 25 centuries.

6.22 Many Eastern and Western countries, aware of the beneficial effects which this programme can have on the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, have either set up - or are about to do so - national committees to take part in this event at the cultural level. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking them and asking the General Conference to consider draft resolution 11 C/DR.63 Rev., dated 16 November, which I have had the honour of presenting.

6.23 As its Chairman has just stated, the Executive Board, conscious of its responsibilities, both for direct action and for providing advice, with regard

to general policy and the execution and preparation of the Organization's programme, intends to submit to the General Conference, at its next session, certain recommendations for increasing the efficiency of the work of the Board, the Secretariat and the General Conference.

6.24 In this connexion, and whilst congratulating the Board and its distinguished Chairman on this welcome step, we would venture to make a modest contribution by the following suggestions and observations. They may not have the good fortune to meet with approval from all of you, they may give rise to controversy and be received with reservations. Nevertheless, where the highest interests of the Organization are concerned, it is sometimes necessary not to spare feelings and, indeed, to face unpopularity without fear.

6.25 So far as the General Conference is concerned, it might be well to consider the desirability of its meeting every three or four years instead of every two, since, as most of the projects are long-term ones, it would be easier to assess results or to alter policy at the end of a longer period. Moreover, the preparation of sessions of the General Conference always puts extra work on the Secretariat and the Executive Board, which, in the interests of the smooth execution of the programme, should be avoided as far as possible.

6.26 I may add that, apart from the heavy costs of sessions, most of the remoter or less prosperous countries find serious difficulty, often passed over in silence, in providing funds at short intervals for the travel expenses of a large enough delegation of good people. Unesco might, on the other hand, follow the example of the United Nations and bear the travelling expenses of some delegates, at least for certain categories of countries. It goes without saying that the adoption of a system of triennial or quadrennial sessions would necessitate taking appropriate measures. The Executive Board might, for instance, be authorized to act on behalf of the Conference, between sessions, with regard to certain matters such as the admission of new members, the conclusion of new agreements or the study and approval of interim reports and programmes.

6.27 This suggestion should not disturb the numerous supporters of a periodical increase in Unesco's budgets, with whom I have always made common cause; for, if exceptional circumstances were to necessitate such an increase between ordinary sessions, recourse could be had either to extraordinary sessions of the General Conference (which cost less) or to the Working Capital Fund, subject to later approval by the Conference.

6.28 Moreover, if action were taken on the suggestion which I had the honour to make at the ninth plenary meeting on 19 November, during the discussion on the budget ceiling, all cause for disquiet would be removed, since the adoption of the principle of regular and automatic increases in the budget, combined with the establishment of an "Emergency Fund" would provide, in advance, a double guarantee that the Organization's activities would develop normally and that it would be able to take immediate action in exceptional circumstances.

6.29 In the second place, there are various arguments, on which I shall not enlarge for the moment, in favour of holding the Conference in the spring. This change of season offers several advantages without entailing any insuperable difficulties.

6.30 In the case of the Executive Board, although we are not against a slight increase in the membership, we are convinced that enlargement would merely be a palliative, and would be liable to make the Board's machinery unwieldy and to reduce its efficiency, unless a strict rotation system were applied, combined with an equitable distribution of seats between clearly defined cultural regions and within each such region.

6.31 How could the rotation recommended by the Constitution be observed if, in addition to the permanent representation of the four major powers on the Board - which, though not provided for in the Constitution, is sanctioned, admittedly, purely by a well-established tradition - a number of other countries attempted to perpetuate or prolong their presence there?

6.32 Finally, how can the Executive Board become a true reflection of the various cultures and the various branches of learning, if some are over-represented by a number of countries, sometimes adjacent to one another, with the same language, civilization and traditions, whilst other cultures, despite their special features and importance are virtually excluded?

6.33 A simple analysis of document 11 C/INF/6 suffices to show how far the membership of the Executive Board, at present as in the past, falls short of meeting the criteria so clearly laid down in the Constitution.

6.34 The rôle of the Executive Board is, from day to day, becoming so decisive in the life of the Organization that we can no longer content ourselves with some sort of formal statement in the Nominations Committee, on the eve of the elections, in support of those criteria, without seeking some effective means of seeing that they are respected at the time of the ballot.

6.35 The General Conference, the Executive Board and the Director-General would therefore render a great service to Unesco if, without delay, they were to make a competent and impartial group responsible for studying and proposing methods to provide all possible guarantees of balanced representation and efficiency in the procedure for nominations and elections to the Executive Board, subject to the conditions prescribed by the Constitution. Otherwise, neither the membership nor the work of this vital organ of our agency can be kept free of the growing influence - and how dangerous it is - of emotional factors, spontaneous coalitions and passing political phases.

6.36 With regard to the preparation of the programme and budget, it is true that the Director-General consults all Member States thereon and gives consideration to all their observations and suggestions, particularly in the initial stages. But it is no less true that in practice suggestions and requests from States which are members of the Board receive special attention, if not a degree of favour, particularly as, during the later stages, they may be taken up again, reintroduced, defended and further defended by the representatives of those

States in that body. And I wonder whether this state of affairs has not some connexion with the insistence of certain countries on securing a semi-permanent seat, to the detriment of the principle of rotation.

6.37 At all events, it seems to me that logically we must either, in the preparation of the programme, abandon these general consultations which fail to produce the same treatment for all, or else, in the interests of equity and a balanced programme, seek a satisfactory solution to the problem. At the appropriate time, we shall be ready and prepared to offer suggestions in this connexion.

6.38 A further question worthy of careful consideration is whether it would not be wiser to reduce the length of the term of office of members of the Executive Board from four to three, or two years, as in the past.

6.39 Such a measure would have the advantage of accelerating the process of rotation and of avoiding a series of disproportionate enlargements of the Board, despite the steady increase in the number of Unesco's Member States.

6.40 As for the Secretariat, I shall only mention one point for the moment. The new system of geographical distribution of Secretariat posts appears to us to be just as far and even farther than the old one from being fair, realistic and efficient. For the two systems are both based on the inadmissible criterion of the amount of contributions, as if Unesco were a joint stock company. Yet the Organization's real efficiency is dependent upon the extent of its universality. The more qualified nationals of less advanced countries there are in the Secretariat, the better the ideas and activities of Unesco will be spread into those countries and, reciprocally, the more will be known of their culture and educational systems within the Secretariat. Only thus can Unesco fulfil its real function.

6.41 As a result of a proposal which I submitted in 1958 and which the Executive Board adopted, the old system was beginning to be changed and improved. This proposal was that a percentage, not to exceed half the posts in the Secretariat, should be distributed among Member States on an equal basis, the rest being dependent upon the amount of contributions. We were greatly surprised to note that, in the new system, this compromise improvement had been completely eliminated.

6.42 Mr. Director-General, aware as I am of your desire for balance and fairness, I should like to make an urgent appeal on behalf of the small countries and ask you to reconsider the new system or, at least, re-establish the old one in its latest form.

6.43 There was once a man who dreamt that he was being given money, but that it was all in small change. He protested and asked for gold coins Awaking with a start, he found that he had nothing at all in his hand So he closed his eyes again and, stretching out his hand, said: "Ah well! at least give me back the small change."

6.44 The recent establishment of the International Development Association and the Inter-American Development Bank should be greeted with immense joy, in the hope that these two organizations will soon make a valuable contribution to the cause of economic and social progress.

6.45 We warmly congratulate the Director-General and the Deputy Director-General for having immediately entered into fruitful negotiations with these two organizations and laid the foundations of collaboration between them and Unesco.

6.46 But we should like and earnestly recommend the Director-General to make a further approach to the International Development Association and try to persuade it to finance, not only projects in the field of technical education as agreed, but also, as the Inter-American Development Bank does, those dealing with general education at all levels and with social and natural sciences. For all these fields are closely interrelated from the point of view of economic and social development, and the exclusion of one must inevitably have an adverse effect on the others.

6.47 To return once again to a suggestion which I made on another occasion, I think it would be as well if the Director-General and the Executive Board explored the possibilities of obtaining a loan for Unesco itself, under Article 5, Section 2, paragraph C of the Articles of Agreement of the International Development Association, in order to finance certain important and urgent projects.

6.48 The facilities granted by these organizations and those available under the Technical Assistance and Special Fund programmes all furnish proof of appreciable progress in the field of international assistance.

6.49 Nevertheless, the peoples of the world are impatiently awaiting the day when, thanks to general disarmament, supervised by the United Nations, enormous financial resources will be freed and devoted to the financing of a gigantic world plan of economic and social progress.

6.50 That being so, how can we fail to deplore the slowness of discussions on this supremely important problem, which go on interminably while the stocks of weapons accumulate, the funds are swallowed up, and the population of the world increases, threatened by famine and poverty?

6.51 According to certain religious customs, those who persist in committing a sin must pay a certain sum to charity. And I wonder if, following this example, the great powers should not be obliged to pay, by way of a fine, a substantial tax in proportion to the amount they devote to armaments, to a world fund for economic and social progress, so long as they do not come to an agreement about disarmament. Perhaps such a measure would lead them to speed up the search for common ground, providing that they did not twist it to mean that by paying this ransom they could go on disagreeing with an easy conscience.

6.52 All the peoples of the world sincerely want and demand peace. But it is often forgotten that the same psychological and moral laws upon which the happiness of an ordinary family depends also govern the life of the great family of nations.

6.53 We all know by experience that in a household it is only possible to reach agreement by making mutual concessions, and through mutual confidence, understanding and courtesy among the individuals who live under the same roof. Otherwise not only the parents but also the children end in a state of unhappiness. How, then, can the rising generation

be brought up to love humanity and speed up the advent of universal peace, when the nations and governments who are seeking it mistrust, spy on, accuse, insult and threaten one another?

6.54 In a world where minds are shrouded in the darkness of group and individual vanities, nobody can claim to see clearly. Seven hundred years ago, one of our great thinkers told the story of a group of persons who ventured through curiosity into a very dark room where an elephant was shut up. Since none of them could see the elephant, each member of the group tried to distinguish its shape by touching it, but each could touch only a small part of that enormous body. The discussion then began in the darkness. One thought the elephant was shaped like a column, another like a trunk, a third like a large leather bag, and so on.

6.55 Thus, amidst the blindness of this century, whenever we hear diametrically opposed definitions or interpretations of the words Peace, Liberty, Democracy and Justice, we should remember the story of the elephant and share the sadness of Hafiz de Chiraz, when he said: "Be not amazed at the conflicts between nations: Not having perceived the truth, they chose fanciful conceptions."

6.56 Mr. President, my dear colleagues, once again I apologize for having overtaxed your patience and would like to finish on an optimistic note by echoing certain comforting statements made yesterday by the Heads of the delegations of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who, making a gesture of friendship, spoke of the possibility of fruitful co-operation, even under present conditions, in the fields of education, science and culture. In welcoming this cheerful prospect, I cannot resist the temptation to indulge in another quotation and recall the message of hope of another Persian poet:

"The world tomorrow would be a smiling face
If all the peoples, helping one another, walked
hand in hand."

7.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I should like to thank Mr. Raadi for his kind words about my country and myself.

7.2 I would ask speakers to be brief, otherwise we may be obliged to hold a night meeting. Nine speakers were down to speak this morning and only two have spoken so far.

7.3 I call upon H.E. Sir David Eccles, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

8.1 Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom): Mr. President, it is a very great privilege to address the eleventh session of the General Conference, and to add, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the warmest greetings to our new members.

8.2 Last week we heard some fine speeches from these new members, and two phrases still echo in my mind. First, a statement from the representative of Ruanda Urundi, "tous les visiteurs de l'Afrique" he said "sont frappés par la soif de connaissance de ses habitants". That is indeed true, anyone who goes to that awakening continent is overwhelmed by the burning intensity of their thirst for education. And one asks, "What can one do for all these people in Africa?" Then there comes to mind that thrice repeated call: "Tanganyika needs teachers".

8.3 These demands are not confined to Africa, they are world wide. And which of us here can say that in our country we have enough teachers? Every Minister of Education, north, south, east and west, knows he is responsible for many children who cannot yet receive the kind of education that would fully develop their talents and personalities. But, my friends, if everywhere we can find growing shortages of teachers and of schools, in some countries these shortages are far more desperate than in others. I would say that the wide differences in the provision of education are the greatest and the most dangerous of all international inequalities. For so long as these inequalities persist, the gap in the living standards between the old industrial countries and the less developed countries must inevitably grow wider.

8.4 And so I would like to put just one thought and one question before this General Conference. In the whole of Unesco's field of operations, the world's greatest need is for more and better primary and secondary schools, and we are not devoting nearly enough of our resources to meet that need. If you agree with that, is this Organization today, adequately staffed and equipped to give the minimum of help which the world expects of us in the field of education? On the problem of our own capacity to act with vigour, what is one to say about the effectiveness of this General Conference itself? As far as I can see, this Conference is the prisoner of a programme which has already been prepared with much care by the Secretariat and the Executive Board. I do not see the point of spending so much time doing again work which has been well done, especially when the programme itself has had to be planned to come into operation immediately, and therefore can only be changed at the fringes. And so I would support the Executive Board as the body which should review the programme in detail.

8.5 Sitting at home, at my desk, in London, I have in the last year very often grumbled that Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, one of my most valuable officials, has been so often absent on the business of Unesco. But I must say, although I knew he was doing a good job, I had no idea until I came here to Paris what the Executive Board has done for all of us in these last two years, and I should like to thank them very much on behalf of my Government. In my opinion, the rôle of the General Conference should be quite distinct from that of the Executive Board. As Mr. Cals, the representative of the Netherlands told us yesterday, our business here is long-term policy. We should be thinking about the strategy for 1953 and the years beyond, and I am confident that our very able Director-General would welcome firm guidance on where we want this Organization to go, and what we consider to be the directions in which an expansion of our work is now most desirable.

8.6 But, my friends, we have to be practical, we have to admit that we cannot expand in all directions at once. Unesco has very little money. As I ventured to tell the Conference during our debate on the budget, the British Government alone spends $30,000,000 a year on education outside the United Kingdom. Yet though one government, the United

Kingdom Government, is spending double Unesco's entire budget, what we are doing in the United Kingdom does not meet even a tiny fraction of the needs of the Commonwealth territories alone. France, as Mr. Julien Cain told us, finds a similar experience with her overseas territories, now so many of them independent and members here. Therefore it is not at all difficult to understand why many outside observers consider Unesco's contribution in the field of education insignificant and quite out of scale with the aims of our Charter.

8.7 Let me say that to find more resources for education, we should not cut out anything important that we have been doing or have decided to do in 1961-1962, though I fully agree with Señor Garcia Mina, the Spanish Minister of Education, that concentration is necessary in quite a number of directions.

8.8 But I do insist that since we now have a little more money, we should take the greatest care to expand our operations in the field where the world demand is most urgent.

8.9 I wish to say quite bluntly, that the United Nations as a whole have failed to appreciate how fundamental and intense is the world's demand for primary and secondary education, especially in the less developed countries. Take for example, the recent debate in New York of the Second Committee of the General Assembly on the subject of economic aid from the industrial countries to the less developed countries. Speaker after speaker representing the less developed countries pointed out that the rich nations were getting richer faster than the less developed nations, with the result that year by year the gap between the living standards of the two groups was growing wider. Every man who believes in the United Nations desires to see this gap narrowed. But what measures were proposed at the General Assembly? In that Second Committee only half the answer to the problem was given, for the remedies they proposed were all economic remedies. Almost everyone in the committee spoke as if money, dollars and pounds and so on, were all that was needed. Some speakers asked that the industrial nations should provide this money by paying higher and more stable prices for primary products. Others insisted upon an increase in loans and grants-in-aid to the development programmes of the poorer nations. Our very good friend, Mr. B.K. Nehru from India, called for $7,000 m. of aid a year. I shall return to his figure of $7,000 m. in a minute or two. First I wish to ask the delegates, do they really believe that money alone will close this widening gap in living standards, or do they agree with my delegation that financial help in the form of cash, credits, loans is only half the answer and the other half can only be supplied by Unesco or by other organizations working in the field of education? Surely this is the truth, the real cause for the widening of the gap is not so much lack of foreign capital as lack of technologists, technicians and other trained manpower, first to make good use of that foreign capital, and secondly, and far more important, to enable the emerging peoples to create their own supply of capital. In my judgement most of the speakers in New York had got their priorities wrong.

8.10 First, let us ask ourselves how fast can any nation progress without a growing number of civil servants, administrators of all kinds, doctors, teachers, engineers, business managers, and so on? And is it not a fact that the supply of such trained experts depends more than anything else upon the number and quality of the secondary schools?

8.11 You cannot give a child a good enough education in a primary school to become a scientist or an engineer, and you cannot equip a student to profit by a university course unless that student has spent five years or more in a good secondary school. Mr. President, it is quite useless to talk about making an unbalanced economy viable or to talk about making any nation capable of sustained progress when you have not laid the foundation in the primary and secondary school.

8.12 I have the impression that some of the older industrialized countries find it difficult to conceive the intensity of the hunger for basic public education in Asia, Africa and, as the distinguished representative from Peru reminded us, in South America too. We in Europe, in the United States and in the old Commonwealth, have taken centuries to educate ourselves in the art of self-government and business management. Our systems of education have grown slowly, and although they are not adequate to our needs, there has been at least some correspondence between the advance of science and technology and the improvement in our State schools and in our universities. The advance of education, in other words, has been broad enough to allow the ordinary citizen to participate in the astonishing age of material progress in which we live.

8.13 In Asia and Africa, it has just not been possible for such a gradual build up to take place. There the revolutionary discoveries of science and technology imported from the West have broken the mould of society. And as a result the time-table for finding new forms of government has been reduced in such a brutal manner that the provision of more and better primary and secondary schools becomes the paramount necessity for their further progress and, perhaps, even for their survival as independent nations.

8.14 I give you but one example. If we reflect upon what is happening in the Congo and look for the fundamental reason for all the confusion and the conflict, may it not be that the people of the Congo have desired and have obtained self-government without having enjoyed adequate preparation through primary and secondary schools and universities? I must at once point out, indeed every honourable delegate here knows it, that in the short time since science and technology began to break up the old patterns of society, it has been physically impossible - impossible in terms of trained manpower - for the colonial powers to establish systems of universal public education for the millions of people who as the result of Western medicine, Western science, have increased in numbers by leaps and bounds. Yesterday the delegate of the Soviet Union confirmed this when he stated that in the Asian Soviet Socialist Republics now only 1 child in 3 goes to a secondary school - a straight confirmation of the difficulties that we have had in many of the countries for whom we have been responsible. The

United Kingdom has done a great deal to prepare our territories for self-government; we wish nothing better than that they should be self-governing, but we are not prepared to seek cheap popularity by bringing them to that point before they themselves feel ready. Now in spite of what we have done and what we are now doing on an ever increasing scale - we are very glad to hear of the help that is coming from Germany - we cannot by ourselves meet all the needs of these territories. Such facts as these and the similar demands for education in all the less developed countries, which have been expressed here with such great urgency, constitute a colossal, inescapable challenge to this Organization.

8.15 Mr. President, I do not believe that Unesco is yet properly and effectively organized for this task. At present more money does not seem to me to be our chief need; essentially this is a problem of manpower, of recruiting the right experts here at headquarters and for work in the field on the planning of expanding systems of education. To choose the right priorities is very difficult and it requires in the Secretariat able men of wide experience in education. It also requires that the governments of the countries to whom they belong should be willing to release them. May I say here to those who want to see the Secretariat geographically balanced - and I quite sympathize with their view - that at this moment they may do well to think that the all too few experts in certain member countries are more needed at home than they are here, and that it is the duty of those of us who have had longer to train our experts to supply these people. The day will come, and I hope very soon, when there will be a sufficient number of experts for all the Member States of the United Nations to put forward good candidates for all posts. But let us be practical and face the fact that the day has not yet come.

8.16 I venture to say that the Secretariat is seriously overloaded with work, and one can deal with an overload in two ways: either by cutting down the work or by engaging more staff of the right calibre. I think we should be prepared to consider action in both directions, and I would like to see this Conference appoint a small high powered committee, or perhaps entrust the matter to the Executive Board, to see how we could free the Director-General and his top officials from some part of the burden of minutiae which they carry today. I hope the Conference may be led to agree that a reorganization of this kind is of the utmost importance if I may return, in my concluding remarks, to the volume of the resources which the members of the United Nations ought to provide for education.

8.17 The representative of India, in the Second Committee, in referring to the amount of economic and financial aid which should be provided each year, set the figure at 7,000 million dollars. That sum would be none too much, but perhaps it is safer and more realistic to take as the figure $5,000 m. Then, what proportion of that sum ought to be spent on improving the systems of basic education in the receiving countries? Let us take as our measure the proportion of their national budgets which those countries now spend on education, and apply that proportion to the aid which they should receive from overseas. If I said 10% was what ought to be spent on education out of international aid, I think nearly every delegate here would say the figure was too low. But then 10% of 5,000 million dollars would be 500 million dollars each year, as compared with the six million or seven million dollars which is all that we can afford out of Unesco's budget.

8.18 The members of the United Nations should take cognizance of this need; they ought to insist that something much more like 10% of their total aid should be spent on education. And I would like this Conference to send a very strong message to the Secretary-General in New York, requesting him to put before the General Assembly our view that much greater attention should be paid to education by those who are concerned with the giving and receiving of international aid. I would like to express to Mr. Hammarskjold the human advantages of giving aid to educational projects. But do not let us forget that the transfer of money from one country to another does not give any guarantee that those countries will be better friends. Let us not forget that when a receiving country has not the trained manpower to operate the capital programmes financed with the aid, this unpreparedness can lead to a terrible waste of money. And finally let us not forget that the transfer of money from one country to another will, if there is no widespread system of public education in the receiving country, lead to a few people in that country getting richer while the ignorant masses remain poor. Thus financial aid can be a great engineer of class divisions.

8.19 Let us contrast those disadvantages, those dangers, with the benefits of education. Education makes friends, you cannot teach without learning something yourself. There is always in the field of education a two-way movement of ideas and of understanding. Education heals class divisions and creates a capacity for men and nations to stand on their own feet. This is the direction in which my delegation hopes Unesco will grow.

8.20 The United Kingdom Government has had some experience in this field. Recently we have established, in partnership with all the Commonwealth, a new system of mutual aid in education and we are helping each other multilaterally to provide teachers and training facilities. If this experience is considered of use to Unesco, we will gladly give the Organization all the information it requests.

8.21 These then are my three propositions. First, Unesco should expand its work in the educational field with particular regard to the need for more and better secondary education in the less developed countries. Secondly, Unesco should inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of our urgent desire that much more attention be paid to education when aid to underdeveloped countries is under discussion. Thirdly, that Unesco's own organization requires to be strengthened and the overload of work on the Secretariat reduced. Now if those three aims could be accepted and acted upon, I am confident the eleventh session of the Conference would long be remembered.

8.22 Today Unesco has it in its power to become far better known and far better appreciated than ever before. Millions and millions of people know that WHO stands for health, that ILO stands for labour

relations, that FAO stands for food and agriculture. They don't quite know what we stand for. And if we want Unesco to be known and supported in the same direct, heartfelt way, we must stand for education. I do not, of course, forget science and culture. But to enjoy science and culture, man must first be educated, and Unesco must recognize that priority. My delegation, then, wants Unesco to become the world's chief adviser on educational systems, a sort of architect or engineer of the plans of expanding education, who will be called in by all those who have need of such expert advice. And the more successful we are in this rôle, the sooner science and culture could spread across the world, and the sooner that gap could be closed between the old industrial richer nations and the less developed and only temporarily poorer nations. That is the object for which I plead today.

9.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, it will advance the work of the General Conference if I now call upon H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, Chairman of the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. I therefore ask Their Excellencies Mr. Ralea, Head of the Rumanian delegation, Mr. Zanko, Head of the Yugoslav delegation and Mr. Furukaki, Head of the Japanese delegation to waive their turn to speak in favour of Mr. Carneiro.
9.2 I think everybody is in agreement, and I thank those who were down to speak for having given way.
9.3 I call upon H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro.

10.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, may I first of all thank my colleagues for their courteous gesture. This afternoon I have to take an active part in the proceedings of the Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. I am therefore extremely grateful to them for having allowed me to precede them in the debate this morning, for I could not have spoken this afternoon.
10.2 Two major events have occurred since the last session of the General Conference, which open up new and promising prospects for Unesco. First of all, the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1959 of a resolution on general and complete disarmament. Then again, this year, the attainment of independence by nearly all the African countries still subject to the colonial system.
10.3 Both of these great events deserve to be unanimously welcomed here.
10.4 Let us first of all consider the problem of disarmament. A permanent state of cold war, due to the terror inspired by the striking force of either side, is not likely to ensure for humanity the physical and moral balance which it so vitally needs.
10.5 Unesco should strive unremittingly for a true peace based on a profound intellectual and moral recovery. Any effort in this direction will, of course, cost a great deal, since the entire population of the globe will have to be provided with the necessary education at all levels. But how much less costly will such an undertaking be in the long run, when compared to the ever increasing and utterly wasteful expenditure required by modern armaments.
10.6 In an appeal addressed to the United Nations at the opening meeting of the present session of the General Assembly, the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Mr. Horacio Lafer, earnestly requested that military expenditure be reduced with utmost speed to a strict minimum so that the funds released could be used to raise the cultural and social level of all the peoples of the world. The immense sums thus gradually made available should be paid, by mutual agreement, into an international fund, managed by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, for the conduct of a campaign against ignorance and poverty.
10.7 The importance of the resolution unanimously adopted by the United Nations in October 1959 did not escape the Executive Board, which in turn unanimously adopted a similar resolution, bearing of course only on Unesco's activities.
10.8 The proposition submitted by my colleagues - Mr. El Fasi and Sir David Eccles - and myself was the subject of detailed discussion and was unanimously approved item by item, and I might almost say word by word.
10.9 What did the Executive Board ask of the Director-General? Essentially two things: first, that he should continue to take all appropriate measures to bring about the formation, in all Member States, of a climate of opinion favourable to the achievement of the objects of the United Nations resolution. Is it not up to Unesco to create this atmosphere of confidence? The preamble to the Unesco Constitution is perfectly clear on this point and states "That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." What is this intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind if it is not the very basis of this atmosphere of confidence which is essential if disarmament is to bring about a real peace? It is not asking Unesco to exceed the limits of its competence to ask it not to remain indifferent, not to remain neutral, with regard to this major problem which faces the world today.
10.10 Secondly, in the resolution which it adopted unanimously, the Executive Board requested the Director-General to submit to it, as soon as the United Nations had achieved agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, a report on measures which might be adopted by Unesco within its field of responsibility to collaborate with the United Nations in the implementation of the agreement. The draft resolution of the Executive Board therefore provides for two stages: one which can and ought to be started on immediately - i.e. the creation of this atmosphere favourable to disarmament, which is the preliminary stage; then, at the right moment, when agreement has at last been reached in the United Nations, a second stage consisting of information and reports. I am sorry that the Director-General and the

Conference have not seen fit to include an analysis of this problem and an open debate on the subject in the agenda. We gain nothing by being frightened of words, particularly when the words are essentially inspired by love. To talk of peace, everywhere and always, must be one of the basic tasks of Unesco. I do not believe that we can evade this duty, and I would like to see the Director-General himself taking the initiative as often as possible. Unesco cannot shut itself up in an ivory tower: there are too many winds, both good and bad, blowing from all quarters; we cannot simply listen to the benevolent voices of the past promising us a happier future, without fearing that our oft-time stormy debates may hamper the implementation of joint plans for the salvation of the human race.

10.11 Mr. President, there is another reason for rejoicing at this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco: that is the presence amongst us of the continent of Africa which you yourself so worthily represent and which we greet with affection and respect. By receiving into its fold so many newly independent countries, Unesco is taking another step forward towards universality, extending its field of activities to a whole new continent and taking on responsibilities which impose vast obligations upon it. These young Member States will, for their part, revive its energy and keep it for a long time on the alert, attentive to their needs, anxious to promote their well-being and prosperity, and ready to increase means of action in order better to justify the confidence which they have just shown it.

10.12 Africa, which was probably the cradle of mankind, encloses in its savannahs the most ancient examples of our species, going back perhaps some 20 million years. Negro Africa possesses the finest and most prolific rupestrian works of art known, and the whole of Tropical Africa is a vast museum of religious statuary. The terra cottas of the town of Ife, capital of the ancient kingdom of Yoruba, are comparable in all respects with the finest specimens of classical sculpture. If we add to these admirable forms of visual art, the musical wealth of Africa as a whole, its genius for dancing, its legends and fables, and its profound religious instinct, we shall be able to assess this continent at its true worth.

10.13 After centuries of the greatest hardships, all these creative gifts are still intact. Is not this African miracle just as moving and just as fine as that of Greece? First of all, it is a miracle morally, since hatred has not entered into the incessant strivings after freedom; but it is an intellectual miracle too, for the traditional cultures have managed to survive the emotional shocks caused by the breakdown of social and religious systems, without losing an ounce of their sensitivity or their wealth of imagination, their natural gaiety, and the artistic instinct which is characteristic of them. The peoples of Africa at the present time show nearly all the signs of an astonishing political maturity, keen understanding of the problems of our time and a magnificent spirit of solidarity and international understanding. We therefore count on them, on you, the delegates of these young Member States, to ensure that the proceedings here are conducted more and more in this constructive and human atmosphere which ought always to be that of Unesco.

10.14 Mr. President, I should have liked to devote a few moments to examining, if only briefly, certain aspects of Unesco's programme. The results obtained and future prospects, as described by the Director-General in his reports and in the remarkable introductory speech which he made the other day, would have made it possible in such an analysis to measure all the admirable achievements due to the efforts made over the past two years.

10.15 As it is, however, allow me simply, in turning the pages of my notes, to raise a few points on which, unfortunately, I shall not have time to dwell.

10.16 Congratulations to the Director-General on having at last carried out the inquiries which we were all awaiting on the educational needs of Tropical Africa, Asia and the Arab States and on having shown us, with figures in support, that 100 million children in that vast Afro-Asian world have no schools, no teachers and no future. Thank you, Mr. Director-General, for having pointed out that, during the meetings which were held at Addis Ababa, Cairo, Beirut and Karachi, experts from those areas suggested what measures could be taken to remedy - if that is possible - such a terrible situation.

10.17 Everywhere, the work of the Unesco Secretariat has testified to firmness and continuity. The old projects, begun almost at the same time as the Organization was founded, continue to expand. I am thinking of CREFAL in Mexico and your personal approach, Mr. Director-General, to Mr. Torres Bodet with a view to smoothing out the difficulties and opening up new vistas for this training centre for primary school teachers destined to continue the fight against illiteracy.

10.18 In the scientific field, I may perhaps be allowed to emphasize the importance of the establishment of the International Brain Research Organization - an event that all we scientists have been awaiting for a long time, shocked and scandalized by the fact that the prime mover of human conduct, both individual and collective, should not have been the subject of the sort of large-scale research which can only be undertaken, these days, on a basis of international co-operation.

10.19 An admirable report on trends in scientific research, drawn up by Professor Auger, former Director of the Department of Natural Sciences, to whom we have owed so much in the past, will be submitted for comments and analysis to a special committee of the present Conference.

10.20 I would merely point out that, having read it and learnt a great deal from it, I am certain that the Conference will derive great benefit from it.

10.21 As regards the arid zones, which are a matter of concern to about two-thirds of the human race - such is the extent of the corrective work to be done on this land which is withering and dying in many places - you are also proposing practical plans and solutions to us. The meeting which was held in Paris and gave the Secretariat guidance, taking past experience into account, justifies us in hoping that this project will not disappear from the list of Unesco's activities. It should even be developed and extended to include new plans for research in

other areas of the world, designed to meet needs which are being more and more keenly felt.

10.22 The results achieved in work done outside North Africa and South Asia will facilitate similar research which could be undertaken in Australia, Latin America and many other areas suffering from the same scourge. It may be necessary to call on resources outside the Unesco budget, but, for a problem of this nature, which is essentially an economic one, I am convinced that the United Nations will give us valuable aid.

10.23 In the social sciences, the harvest is no less fine. Here, I shall allude only to the two teaching and research centres - one in Santiago de Chile and the other in Brazil - which have been progressively developed in South America. In this sphere, we are perhaps still feeling our way, and the Secretariat has often found itself in difficulties when faced by one problem or another. It may be that we have not yet exploited all the possibilities in these two institutions, but considerable progress has been made, and we hope that the financial and technical assistance which Unesco has already given to these two institutions will not be diminished in the near future. We hope above all that the slight difference - which is unfortunate in my opinion, as I have already stated in the Executive Board - between the financial assistance granted to the Santiago Faculty and that granted to the Rio de Janeiro Centre will disappear without leaving any trace.

10.24 In the field of exchange of persons, we particularly appreciate the increase in the number of fellowships and the efforts made by the Unesco Secretariat to widen the field of study covered by fellowships, whether in the arts, sciences, literature or technical subjects. What has been done under the Latin American Major Project and since consolidated is truly worthy of attention and praise.

10.25 If you will excuse the length of my speech, Mr. President, I shall say a little more about this Major Project which Unesco has devoted to the problem of extending and improving the standard of primary education in Latin America. This project was recently the subject of a meeting held in Mexico, when a whole series of suggestions were drawn up and embodied in reports which the Director-General has submitted to us; it was suggested, for instance, that the membership of the Advisory Committee be increased from twelve to twenty-one members, and that an inter-American fund be established, so as to make it possible to meet the enormous needs of this region in the field concerned.

10.26 We have just heard from a highly authoritative source a few remarks concerning the inadequacy of financial resources set aside for education. I use the word inadequacy in the same sense as the distinguished speaker who preceded me: I mean that it is not enough merely to have financial resources in order to ensure a good standard of education. Nevertheless, perhaps if we compare the magnitude of needs with the resources available, in Latin America as well as in Asia and Africa, we shall attach greater importance to the financial aspect of the problem. I am not in a position to make a detailed analysis. May I simply remind you that, for the Latin American continent with its 200 million inhabitants, there are from 10 to 20 million children of school age who have no schools. When we consider that a minimum of education costs $40 a year per child, we can easily calculate the huge sums required not only for investment in school buildings and equipment but also for the annual financing of the teaching profession, which will, in any case, have to be increased enormously in numbers. Latin America does not think it has the right to ask for international aid for this purpose; it considers that this world-wide problem must be solved at the universal level and is ready to support everything that can be done to solve similar problems in Asia and Africa. But as a result of experience in its own territory, it can already perhaps provide the basis of an assessment worthy of being taken into consideration by the Secretariat and the various Member States.

10.27 We shall probably require 3,500 million dollars for investment in school buildings, and 2,000 million dollars per year for a period of ten to fifteen years if we are to banish illiteracy from our continent.

10.28 The Constitution of Unesco was the work of the Western countries; its guiding principles were laid down by a group of ministers meeting in London during the war. And the whole of this Constitution, which was neither written nor even suggested by the underdeveloped countries, reflects concern to solve the problems of what are now known as the "uncommitted nations". At the very beginning, it is stated that it behoves the nations to assist in the advancement of education, and that this is a sacred duty for every one of them.

10.29 Perhaps the West ought to recognize that it is largely responsible for the distressing state in which Asia, Africa and Latin America find themselves today. It is not for me to ask you to examine your consciences, but I would refer you to Father Lebret, a Dominican priest, who, in a remarkable book entitled La survie ou la mort de l'Occident, shows how many errors there are to be righted and efforts to be made. Three times in succession, since 1870, the West has been the scene of massacres, and for one hundred years colonial rule has exhausted the resources of distant lands without providing them with even a fair share of what was taken from them. It is therefore only right that the Western powers should realize that they must restore to those countries a maximum of what they have taken away - with the often staunch collaboration of the inhabitants. And it is important that this moral and intellectual appeasement should be accompanied by a maximum amount of aid, because it is also in the West that the major source of conflicts - the clash between the ideologies of the Socialist and capital countries - originated.

10.30 Think indulgently of those countries which have worked for centuries without obtaining practically any of the advantages of that civilization which is yours. But consider, too, that time moves fast, that we cannot wait any longer, and that although from many points of view we in Africa, Latin America and Asia are at the same stage of progress as you were in the 16th century, we cannot wait 400 years to reach the level which you have attained today.

10.31 Mr. President, a number of specifically Latin American projects have been submitted to you

by the delegation of Brazil. One of these has to do with the setting up of a Physics Centre for Training and Research, and the other requests the Conference to consider the immense damage suffered in tropical areas by books, manuscripts and archives and to do its utmost, by every means at its disposal, to ensure the establishment of a Regional Institute of Book Restoration, which would protect some of the richest treasures of the intellectual heritage of mankind. Special committees will deal with this matter. I merely wanted to point out what store we set by your support of these projects.

10.32 I should have liked, Mr. President, though I shall refrain from doing so, to dwell for a moment on certain problems which concern the very existence of Unesco. Allow me just to touch lightly on this matter. You have before you a proposal from the Brazilian Government concerning the procedure for the examination and approval of our Organization's programme and budget. This is an extremely serious question, which I beg you to ponder seriously. When the General Conference is considering the programme submitted to it, it must not be the prisoner either of the Secretariat or of the Executive Board. It is itself the sovereign authority; the Executive Board and the Secretariat can carry out only those tasks which it entrusts to them. It is not for the 24 countries represented on the Executive Board to take upon themselves responsibilities which in fact belong to the 97 or 98 States we already number. The General Conference, which brings here its experts, its educationists and its scientists, must give detailed consideration to the proposed programme that it finances, and must be able at any time, if necessary, to make amendments, improvements, additions or deletions; but it must not renounce its right to examine, as a whole, those projects which the previous Conference has, for specious legal reasons, split up into resolutions and work plans; our Constitution neither acknowledges nor prescribes any such division. Read it, and you will find throughout that it is the duty of the Executive Board and the Director-General to present the programmes of work to the Conference, and that the latter has to take a decision on them.

10.33 We have already been reminded that the Executive Board may shortly have its membership increased by two. May I say that we view this constant increase in the Board's membership with some anxiety, because we fear that its size may prevent it from working really efficiently, and also that its sessions may grow longer and longer, which would be unacceptable to most of the members.

10.34 How can we cope with this situation where we have 98 or 100 Member States and an Executive Board with a limited membership? The Government of Brazil suggests two possibilities: firstly, that the Executive Board be subject, without restriction or exception, to a principle of rotation. There is no reason why a few Member States, because of their wealth or political importance, should be permanently represented on such a body as Unesco's Executive Board, which is not the Security Council of the United Nations and to which each of us should have the opportunity of contributing the characteristic colour and tone of our own regional culture. Secondly, as the Board is now merely the representative of a minority of Member States - since its members no longer represent the General Conference, but their individual governments and are at all times subject to instructions transmitted to them along invisible wires - as the Board is so constituted and the choice of prominent figures which you make here no longer means very much (since many of them regularly hesitate to take the slightest decision pending the arrival of instructions by telegram), we consider that the functions and powers of the Board should be limited to the rôle prescribed in the Constitution.

10.35 Mr. President, allow me to say that the few reservations and criticisms which I have made do not in the least detract from the feeling of gratitude of my country and my people for this admirable Organization, nor from our feeling of gratitude towards the Director-General and the Secretariat, for whose nobility and devotion no praise can ever be sufficient; Unesco today spreads everywhere. You cannot go anywhere without finding, by the side of the flag of the United Nations, the symbols of education, science and culture which are ours.

10.36 Unesco is perhaps the only organization today in which all religions, races, peoples and ideologies are fused together, and this privilege of ours is at the same time our strength and the main justification for our existence. Many speeches are made here and many hopes expressed; it is not always possible to transform into reality what we dream of doing. Allow me to close with the words from the First Epistle General of St. John: "Let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed, and in truth."

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Ralea, Head of the Rumanian delegation.

12.1 Mr. RALEA (Rumania) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, this is the second time running that the General Conference of our Organization has met in Paris, at Unesco House. On behalf of the delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic, I therefore seize this opportunity to greet the French people and to thank the French Government for its traditional hospitality. It is a good omen that our Conference should be taking place on French soil, for once again we are gathered together in a city which symbolizes not only beauty and intelligence but also a splendid progressive tradition. I therefore hope that, in this city of Paris, rich in history and human conquests, the proceedings of the eleventh session of the General Conference will not merely be a cold, cut and dried series of reports and proposals, but that a new spirit will inspire our debates and make the resolutions which we adopt truly effective.

12.2 Before expressing our delegation's views on the Organization's activities and programmes, allow me to draw attention to the special circumstances surrounding this eleventh session of the General Conference, which is taking place at an historical moment of great importance in this changing world. Events rich in consequences have occurred recently. I would remind you that the

independence of several States which have recently entered a new phase of their existence is a fact of revolutionary importance. On behalf of the Rumanian people, I address a warm welcome to these new Member States of the United Nations, which either are, or will be, members of Unesco and will, we are quite sure, make a valuable contribution to the work of the Organization.

12.3 This eleventh session of the General Conference therefore begins its proceedings with the hope of increasing the prestige and efficiency of Unesco throughout the world. Unfortunately, I can only note, to my profound regret, that the universality of Unesco is still limited, owing to the absence of countries which have a great message for civilization.

12.4 We all know about the age old culture of China. European and world civilization have been influenced and shaped by three great ancient cultures - those of Greece, India and China. The philosophy, literature, visual arts, music and many inventions of these countries have had a great influence on our culture. How can we overlook all that in an organization whose main task is to spread culture?

12.5 The only true representatives of the Chinese people are not among us. Other States whose humanist and democratic spirit is the outcome of a permanent tradition are also excluded. I am thinking of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and the German Democratic Republic. The Constitution of the German Democratic Republic includes, as a prime aim, the "education of youth for peaceful and friendly coexistence among peoples, in a spirit of true democracy and sincere love of humanity." The law on education which was promulgated on 12 November 1959 contains the following guiding principle: "The development of the human personality through general education and a training conducive to love of peace and friendship between peoples and rejection of hatred, militarism, colonialism and Fascism."

12.6 In Western Germany, on the other hand, various institutions such as that for research on the East or the "Office for Psychological Warfare", millions of pamphlets and books - "Hitler loved us so much" or "Crusade for the West" - reviews and youth organizations sworn to revenge exist everywhere, and incite the people to war, Fascism and racialism. And yet Democratic Germany is not with us, whereas Federal Germany has been elected to serve on our Executive Board.

12.7 No doubt these barriers and deficiencies will soon disappear. If Unesco wants to go forward, it should take into account the fact that, in a changing world such as ours, its first task is to adapt its structure and activities to present-day requirements, to grasp the importance of great contemporary problems, and to contribute as much as it can to their solution. It should do away with all prejudices and without any hesitation, boldly tackle the paramount problem of our times - the securing of peaceful coexistence, understanding between peoples, a better knowledge of each other's lives and international co-operation through education, science and culture.

12.8 We must reject all laxity and resolutely set our course for peace and humanism, freedom and the material and spiritual advancement of the peoples of the world. And, to do this, we must analyse the achievements of our Organization, but also its shortcomings. We have heard with great interest the Director-General's Reports on Unesco's Activities in 1958 and 1959 and the first eight months of 1960. We have studied the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, which the General Conference is required to discuss and adopt. Unesco has clearly accomplished, and intends to accomplish, many more tasks than it had ever dreamed of ten or even five years ago. Thanks to its leaders and to the enthusiastic help given by many Member States, its activities have increased in scope and efficiency and its prestige has been enhanced throughout the world. We also warmly welcome the decision taken by the Executive Board at its 55th session in connexion with Unesco's contribution to the work of the United Nations for general and complete disarmament.

12.9 We rejoice that certain problems, formerly absent from Unesco's programme, take a leading place in it today. Unfortunately, the vote of the General Conference has ruled out a discussion of the disarmament problem. The attention given to higher education, sporting activities, and the mutual recognition of the cultural values of countries widely differing from one another all show that the programme is moving in the right direction. But the chief reason for our meeting here is to improve the present and future activities of the Organization. And to do this I cannot think of any better method than to discuss Unesco's deficiencies and suggest appropriate remedies.

12.10 The Rumanian delegation considers that, despite the decision adopted by the Executive Board at its 55th session, the present and future activities of Unesco are not yet sufficiently focused on the major problems of the contemporary world - those of general and complete disarmament and of peaceful coexistence. Let us be quite clear on this point; it is not a question of how many times the words "peace" "disarmament" and "peaceful coexistence" occur in Unesco's documents and programmes. It is a question of whether and to what extent Unesco is grappling successfully with the most important problems of our times. In our opinion, Unesco and its activities are still not facing up to reality. Many of the activities and draft resolutions which we shall be discussing deal with secondary matters as compared with the burning problems of the present day. Let no one reply that disarmament and peace are political matters which only concern the United Nations. We all know that there is not and can never be a "pure" culture, divorced from time and history, from day-to-day events and human interests. Unesco should not of course concern itself with the technical aspect of disarmament; but it should do everything possible to create the moral and spiritual climate required if millions of men are to be imbued with a peaceful and constructive outlook. The preamble to the Constitution itself bears this out; it declares that: "wars begin in the minds of men" and that "it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

12.11 Yet, in this connexion, Unesco, both now and

in the past, has only embarked timidly on certain activities which, alas, are mostly of a theoretical nature. It behoves Unesco, the greatest cultural organization in the world, to inculcate and spread humanism, love of peace, anti-chauvinism and anti-Fascism.

12.12 So far as Rumania is concerned, it has undertaken to pursue a policy in favour of general education in the name of humanity and peace. All our activities bear the stamp of this policy, from the work of our National Commission to the proposals made by our Government in the United Nations.

12.13 Unfortunately, Unesco is still subject to influences which militate against the attainment of this noble purpose. Peace and human, social, material and moral progress can be secured only on the basis of the scientific and humanist conceptions which represent the finest achievements of our age. But if you will look at the Director-General's report or the proposed programme, you will still find that special attention is given to the myths and traditions of primitive or ancient civilizations, and problems which are of minor interest only to the cause of peace and the welfare of mankind; you will also find that there is a marked concern for everything which is a manifestation of the missionary spirit, itself an aspect of colonialism.

12.14 But it is not by means of mystic organizations or symposia on the good influence of mystical concepts that it will be possible to banish illiteracy and initiate men in the secrets of science, thereby enriching them and enabling them to make their own happiness. We believe, therefore, that Unesco should be guided in all its activities by the scientific spirit of this day and age; otherwise it will be in danger of becoming an anachronism and of encouraging colonialist policy. These are the ideals which we should like to see inspiring all the activities of our Organization.

12.15 Secondly, may I be allowed to point out that the universality of Unesco and its impact throughout the world are far from satisfactory; there are at least three reasons for this. First of all, Unesco cannot hope to be universal unless it collaborates with every nation in the world, representing the interests of all peoples and turning their several contributions to good account. Cannot the African countries which have recently attained their independence benefit by Unesco's help and, in return, make their own particular contribution to the common heritage? I think that a self-evident truth should be emphasized: Unesco must really become a universal organization and gather together, for the material and spiritual well-being of us all, the living forces of millions of men working all over the world.

12.16 Secondly, if the universal character of Unesco is not to be an illusion, I consider that Member States should be fairly represented in the management and executive bodies of the Organization. But the present situation is by no means satisfactory: out of the 367 senior officials of the Secretariat, 296 - or 82% - belong to Western countries, 50 - 19.5% - to neutral countries and 21 - or 5.5% - to the Socialist countries. Out of the 24 Member States which have seats on the Executive Board, 13 - or 67% - are capitalist countries, 9 - or 25% - neutral countries, and only 2 Socialist countries. Out of the four members of the Directorate, three belong to the West and one to the neutral countries, and there is not a single Assistant Director-General from a Socialist country.

12.17 In this connexion, the proposal made by the Soviet delegation concerning the organization of the Administration, which I consider very fair, ought to be taken into consideration.

12.18 Thirdly, the universal character of Unesco is also diminished by the policy of discrimination which the Director-General has adopted towards certain great international non-governmental organizations; these organizations, owing to the impressive number of their members and their work in the cause of democratic and peaceful ideas, are fully entitled to benefit by consultative arrangements with Unesco.

12.19 If we were asked today whose activities are more useful to Unesco and its programme, those of the International Union of Students or those of the International Falcon Movement, those of the International Radio and Television Organization or those of the Soroptimist International Association, I am sure that all of us would vote in favour of the great democratic organizations. And yet the fact is that the Falcons and the Soroptimists have consultative status, and the others not.

12.20 The Rumanian delegation considers that this policy of discrimination against certain international non-governmental organizations is inadmissible and submits the question to the General Conference at this eleventh session; we are certain that the Conference will take a realistic view and a decision consonant with the true objectives of Unesco.

12.21 Another of our basic objections concerns the working methods of the Organization, though that does not mean that we are denying its achievements, which have been considerable. Bureaucracy is rife in Unesco. The 15% reduction in expenditure is welcome; there are too many reports, too many committees, too many officials and experts, and too much money and energy wasted on trying to find out how to do things rather than what to do. We are by no means opposed to expenditure for useful and justified purposes, but we cannot agree to budgetary increases for minor or administrative activities.

12.22 We were very impressed yesterday by the speech of the Peruvian delegate. In Latin America, 50 million human beings are dying of hunger, millions of illiterate children have no schools, and the most terrible epidemics are raging; and we talk about putting up another Unesco building or maintaining a horde of officials, many of whom are useless!

12.23 We consider that instead of a whole series of minor activities which eat up the budget, Unesco's attention should be devoted first of all to a widespread programme of education for youth in mutual understanding, international co-operation and peace. In this connexion, the Rumanian delegation has drawn up a draft resolution on the education of youth, which was submitted to the Secretariat within the prescribed time-limit. We propose the holding of an international conference on the democratic education of young people. At the request of the Rumanian Government, this proposal was included in the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

12.24 Secondly, considerable assistance should be given to the Member States of Africa and Asia in the

field of primary and secondary education; a million dollars would not be enough for this purpose.

12.25 Thirdly, we ask that more attention be given and more money allocated to scientific research.

12.26 Fourthly, we request that regional activities be organized to encourage and increase cultural and scientific exchanges and to stimulate co-operation and good understanding between the peoples of a given region. The Rumanian National Commission proposes to organize a symposium on this subject, in 1961, dealing with the Balkan civilizations. We are convinced that all the Balkan peoples will respond to this appeal.

12.27 Fifthly, we should like experts sent on mission by Unesco to assist in the implementation of the Organization's projects and help to affirm the scientific and progressive ideas of the contemporary world, as stipulated in the United Nations Charter and Unesco's Constitution.

12.28 Sixthly, we request that Unesco's publications policy be reviewed in the light of present-day requirements - a humanistic education, the progress of science, and the placing of culture at the service of the peoples of the world and of peace.

12.29 Before concluding, I should like to say a word about the activities of the Rumanian National Commission. I shall not repeat the facts and figures given in the report which was submitted by Rumania for 1959 and 1960. I shall merely point out that, since 1958, the Rumanian National Commission has tried to render increasing service to the major aims of the Organization. Two international meetings held in Bucharest - the Symposium on Romance Studies in 1959 and the Seminar on Adult Education in 1960 - the participation by Rumanian delegates in many meetings held by Unesco and, generally speaking, the interest taken in the Organization's activities by my country justify me in assuring you that our National Commission is working along the right lines.

12.30 We share the praise for this, of course, with the officials of the Secretariat who have given us valuable aid on Unesco's behalf.

12.31 The enthusiasm with which famous European and Latin American specialists in Romance culture greeted our Symposium on Romance Studies is also worthy of mention here.

12.32 But the fundamental reason for the success of our activities is the general line of foreign policy of our Republic, which has always done its utmost - and now more than ever - to widen the circle of international cultural exchanges, to work for co-operation and mutual understanding, and to leave no stone unturned to ensure peaceful coexistence and peace, which Montesquieu once defined as "la première loi naturelle de l'humanité".

12.33 We have made every effort to encourage cultural relations with other countries; at present, we are engaged in cultural exchanges with over fifty countries. We have concluded cultural agreements, not only with our neighbours, but with France, the United Arab Republic, India and Iraq, and are at present discussing an agreement with the United States of America. We have granted fellowships to foreign students from twenty countries, including many African States.

12.34 The Head of the United States delegation made a very fine and high minded speech here yesterday. He tried to raise us to the sublime heights of the loftiest principles; in another speech, he expressed his conviction that nobody in this hall was against disarmament. We then proceeded to vote, and 30 delegations voted against disarmament. The same attitude was adopted with regard to the Cuban proposal.

12.35 We applaud all efforts for peace, peaceful coexistence, and activities against racialism and colonialism; we hope, however, that the generous words pronounced by the United States delegate will be put into practice.

12.36 Fellow delegates, we earnestly hope, as the Bible puts it, that the day will soon come when our swords shall be turned into ploughshares.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.

THIRTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

22 November 1960, at 3.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the reports of the Director-General (continued) 203

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The thirteenth plenary meeting is open. I call on H.E. Mr. Matsui, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

2. Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (Translation from the French): Mr. President, this morning we took a decision on Paraguay's right to vote. In accordance with the decision previously taken, I have pleasure in informing you that the delegation of Paraguay has submitted its provisional credentials in the form of a telegram from the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The Conference takes note of the statement by the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.
3.2 We shall now resume the general discussion. I call upon H.E. Mr. Milos Zanko, Head of the Yugoslav delegation.

4.1 Mr. ZANKO (Yugoslavia) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation I should like first of all to emphasize my country's confidence in Unesco and its appreciation of the Organization's activities and to state that we are in agreement with the general policy of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962.
4.2 Looking back on the road so far travelled, we can say that Unesco has not only found its appropriate place in the life of the world community but that it has also found a practical programme for its activities.
4.3 The main problems on which maximum attention should be concentrated are clearly defined, the working methods have been satisfactorily tested, and a great many practical activities have been successfully carried out or are under way. We should also like to pay tribute to the good work of the Director-General and the Secretariat of Unesco.
4.4 This favourable appraisal of the work accomplished by Unesco in no way means that we are blind to the obvious fact that there is an enormous disproportion between humanity's needs - especially as regards those countries which are underdeveloped in the promotion of education, science and culture - and the very slow pace of international action which has wholly inadequate resources at its disposal. But - and we should like to stress this point - this disproportion, while it explains the inadequacy of Unesco's activities in this field - does not imply any weakness in the structure or programme of our Organization. On the other hand, it does draw attention to the state of affairs and, in itself, constitutes a grave criticism of the situation at present prevailing in international relations. That international situation diverts the efforts and resources of the world community towards armament, instead of concentrating them on the main constructive tasks of our time: the material well-being and the cultural progress of all peoples.
4.5 The Yugoslav delegation has come to the eleventh session of the General Conference with the profound conviction that, through its activities and the generous aims which justify its existence, Unesco too can contribute to the preservation of peace and the development of co-operation among the peoples.
4.6 We believe it to be extremely important to emphasize this, as this great assembly is meeting at a time marked by certain phenomena which are appreciably and rapidly modifying the activities, functions, policy and possibilities of our Organization.
4.7 Moreover, the new trends towards a return to the cold war - in consequence of the division of the world into hostile blocs and of ideological intolerance - are creating an atmosphere full of uncertainty for the days ahead. There is no need to emphasize how adverse this situation is to the interests of the world community; it is obviously at variance with the progressive trends towards a united world; it runs counter to the trend towards unification, which is surely coming, resulting from the economic, scientific and technical development of our world. These changes in the material conditions of mankind's existence give us a new background and call for an entirely new spirit in the mutual relations between all the peoples of the earth - relations which should be based on the principles of active and peaceful coexistence.
4.8 The extent to which the situation I have mentioned

and its corollaries - especially the armaments race - restricts the scope for effective action by Unesco and the full development of the Organization is obvious to all and there is no need, I think, to stress the point any further.

4.9 If the cold war is continued,renewed and maintained, our progress along the brink of the abyss is bound to lead us to disaster. And this would be, above all else, a certain and undeniable proof that the forces of peace and progress are unable to counter madness, irresponsibility and selfish interests with effective international action on behalf of human achievements and mankind's ideals.

4.10 We are, moreover, witnessing an unprecedented awakening on the part of the largest section of mankind which has hitherto been unable to take part in determining and directing its own destiny.

4.11 The task at present facing the international community, its members and organizations, is to help these peoples so that their newly won freedom may bring them its full economic, cultural and political benefits. Unesco has an obligation of its own as regards the development of education in Africa, for the new States' accession to independence makes it urgently necessary to provide increased international assistance in every field to help these countries in their efforts to avail themselves of the advantages of independence, to assume the responsibilities it brings with it, and to achieve rapid economic and social progress in stable conditions.

4.12 The gradual liberation of the colonial and dependent peoples is an historic event of the first importance, not only because it is leading to the ending of a system of exploitation, enslavement and humiliation for a great many people but also because it is introducing new and progressive forces into the active life of the international community. Their emergence is strengthening the forces on the side of peace and active coexistence, since the basic aspirations of these new members are naturally concerned with the consolidation of their newly acquired freedom and accelerated domestic development, along with the desire to take their place on an equal footing within the world organization and to contribute to the triumph of peace and the normalization of international relations.

4.13 For this reason, I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to extend the warmest greetings on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation to the new members of our Organization at this session and especially to the African countries. I am convinced that their contribution to Unesco's development will be effective, efficient and considerable.

4.14 We thought it necessary, for a number of reasons, to draw attention to the facts I have mentioned.

4.15 The negative trends to which I have referred, as well as the positive trends - the emancipation of the colonial countries and Trust Territories - have a considerable influence both on the general atmosphere and on the scope of those tasks which Unesco is dedicated to carrying out. The proposed programme and budget which we have before us gives us practical evidence of this. Under this programme, Unesco's main efforts and a large proportion of the means available to the Organization are directed towards the development of education, science and culture in the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and the Arab world. We support this programme policy because it is in line with the principles and trends we have mentioned.

4.16 But, on the other hand, this programme and the funds which have been provided for its implementation from the resources available to Unesco, Technical Assistance and the Special Fund, very clearly demonstrate the inadequacy of the means which the international community, and especially its economically privileged members, have put at our disposal for the carrying out of these tasks so as to discharge their debt to countries which, through no fault of their own, are living in wretched economic and cultural conditions. This inadequacy becomes all the more apparent if we compare the resources available with the immense needs of these countries with regard to education and with the very limited possibilities which these people have of remedying this critical situation through their own means. It must not be forgotten that 45% of the world's children have no opportunity of attending primary school And even this figure gives a misleading impression of the actual situation, since this very high percentage is mainly concentrated in Africa, Asia and Latin America. As regards some of these continents, as many as 70 or even 90% of the children have no opportunity for primary education.

4.17 Then again, in 14 Tropical African countries, the proportion of secondary school pupils is less than 5% of the total primary enrolment whereas the figure varies from 60 to 80% in the developed countries. In the highly developed countries, the percentage of the population attending higher educational establishments is greater than that of primary pupils in certain underdeveloped countries.

4.18 That is the situation in this field with which we are concerned. And the total amount which the world community provides each year, not only for the development of education in the underdeveloped countries but for assistance to those countries in general, is equivalent to the cost of one modern super bomber! Unesco's budget is very much less than this figure.

4.19 The present international tension is causing attention, intellectual efforts and material resources to be directed towards armament and nuclear tests, leaving on one side humanity's real problems and pressing needs. And among these needs, education and culture, as means of achieving well-being and a worthier life for men, are certainly not the least. If this is true in general, it is still more so as regards the underdeveloped countries.

4.20 Since we are looking at the situation in this light, perhaps I may acquaint you with our point of view, our attitude, as it was explained in a statement made to the General Assembly of the United Nations by the Head of our delegation, President Tito. This statement is directly related to the problems which affect us so closely.

4.21 "...The measures undertaken by the United Nations so far in this respect have undoubtedly been useful, but have by no means corresponded to the actual needs. If assistance through the United Nations were to continue on so limited a scale, at so slow a pace, and in the manner in which it has been given so far, its effect could hardly be expected to tally

with the interests of the consolidation of the countries concerned and of world peace. We should then still be faced with the wholly unwarranted situation where the highly developed countries spend on armaments a sum equal to the total production of the underdeveloped countries and where one tenth of the production of our planet is being thrown into funds earmarked for destruction and devastation instead of being directed towards the advancement and progress of mankind. One of the most urgent tasks of the present session of the General Assembly is therefore to hasten, extend and render more effective all forms of international assistance and of international financing of the development of underdeveloped countries, primarily through an increase of funds available to the United Nations for the purpose. This, in fact, means that our Organization should now undertake large-scale action for the purpose of providing broad and unselfish assistance to the newly independent countries so as to enable them to consolidate their independence and advance vigorously along the path of economic, cultural and general progress ..."

4.22 Considering Unesco's proposed programme in this light, and taking account of the difficult situation in which all the underdeveloped countries, and especially the newly emancipated African countries, find themselves, the Yugoslav delegation believes that Unesco should initiate a great international assistance campaign and that our Organization should boldly extend the proposed programme - which, moreover, we approve.

4.23 The development of education in these countries calls for much more substantial material aid, for the construction of school buildings, for equipment, for books and, above all, it calls for more effective assistance in the provision of teachers.

4.24 All this emerges clearly from the reports which have been submitted to us, and the same points were emphasized in the Report of the Meeting of Ministers and Directors of Education of Tropical African Countries, held at Addis Ababa in February this year. That report emphasizes that "most African countries have in recent years devoted to education a large proportion of their budgets. Although additional efforts in this direction are necessary, there is a limit to national budgets and governments are faced with the difficulty of having to develop all aspects of national life at one and the same time. It was suggested that traditional means of financing are no longer adequate and that new ways and means have to be devised."

4.25 Endorsing this appeal, the Yugoslav delegation has submitted to the General Committee of the Conference a draft resolution calling upon all Member States to provide immediate aid, both material and financial, in respect of equipment and teaching staff.

4.26 Such aid could be supplied either by means of a special Unesco account or directly, with due respect for the dignity and independence of the States concerned. Unesco's task would consist in co-ordinating such activities and serving as headquarters for the conduct of the campaign. The guiding principle in this international aid should be the Latin proverb "bis dat qui cito dat".

4.27 We believe that the success of such a project in Tropical Africa might provide the starting point for a wider undertaking in this field and encourage a bigger international assistance campaign which would take in underdeveloped regions in other continents, e.g. Asia, the Near East and Latin America.

4.28 Yugoslavia attaches very great importance to the action undertaken by Unesco to save the monuments of Nubia. Following the appeal launched by the Director-General, we formed a National Action Committee for Nubia and obtained the sum of 30 million dinars from our Government. A Yugoslav mission of inquiry recently visited the United Arab Republic and the Sudan and submitted a detailed report to the National Committee. As a first step in providing aid, it has been decided to send qualified specialists - architects and specialists in the conservation of mural paintings - to these two countries.

4.29 We are convinced that the work undertaken in Nubia calls for very great efforts and substantial funds. We feel, however, that the task begun must be completed at whatever cost. This is the first occasion on which we have been engaged in such an enormous international undertaking in the cultural field. We have a great responsibility and we must not allow this campaign to fail. For this reason, we trust that our Conference will give all due attention to the campaign and we are particularly pleased that a special working party has been set up for this purpose.

4.30 The Yugoslav delegation wishes to record its satisfaction and approval at the inclusion in the agenda of the draft convention on the various aspects of discrimination in education.

4.31 Recent manifestations of racism, and the brutal policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Union of South Africa, which has, this very year, shown its tragic consequences, prove that the struggle against discrimination in all its forms is unhappily even more of an immediate problem than in the past and that it is therefore right that Unesco should put all the weight of its moral authority on the side of those who, in the name of humanism, are fighting against these things which are unworthy of humanity. We therefore approve the resolution and all the measures adopted by the Executive Board in this connexion.

4.32 The Yugoslav delegation is profoundly convinced of the value of what Unesco has to do to bring the peoples together and to foster all forms of international co-operation, and it believes that constructive effort will be the keynote of the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference, that that work being based on a spirit of international understanding and moderation, will create a favourable atmosphere for the discussion of those questions of the hour with which Unesco is concerned, that it will provide a modest but useful example of constructive co-operation among the peoples.

5.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to draw delegates' attention to the report of the General Committee concerning the inclusion of a new item in the Conference's agenda - document 11 C/43. The question will be included in the agenda of the plenary meeting for tomorrow morning, Wednesday, 23 November.

5.2 I call on H.E. Mr. Furukaki, Head of the Japanese delegation.

6.1 Mr. FURUKAKI (Japan) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is a very great pleasure and honour to have this opportunity of personally conveying the basic views of my Government to the distinguished and enlightened members of this assembly.

6.2 Next year, Japan will celebrate the tenth anniversary of its admission to Unesco. I therefore find it doubly satisfactory that Unesco should this year be holding its General Conference in Paris, where I am the permanent representative of my country, so far away yet so close in spirit and in mind to France.

6.3 I should like to pay a most sincere tribute to France on this occasion. I am particularly happy that our Conference has such a worthy President in one of my esteemed Paris colleagues, the Ambassador of Ethiopia, that noble country of Africa, a continent full of hope and promise, from which several new States have now joined us. I bid them welcome and am certain that they will appreciate the mission which is theirs henceforward as members of Unesco. This, I am sure, will introduce a new phase in the Organization's activities.

6.4 Just two years ago, Unesco's new headquarters welcomed its new Director-General. Our Organization prepared to continue its work on a permanent basis, though we should never forget the merits of our predecessors nor their tireless efforts. At the same time, great technical developments made it possible to launch the first artificial earth satellites - the prelude to a new cosmic era. We were entitled to think that science, in the service of mankind, could secure it happiness and prosperity. We thought then that there could no longer be any question of a war involving the destruction of the whole world and we believed that Unesco's supreme duty was to devote constant and effective efforts to the fulfilment of that hope by turning the advances of science to advantage.

6.5 Today's happenings, however, reveal that the international situation has in no way improved. In some parts of the world, many States are seeking a new order and an improvement in their living standards - unquestionably legitimate ambitions but ambitions which sometimes bring with them disturbances and unrest which make one apprehensive for world peace.

6.6 Faced with this situation, Unesco, conscious of its great mission, has to work steadfastly and calmly for the solution of these problems.

6.7 But our house must not be too exposed to the winds which blow outside. Unesco must make a true appraisal of its practical possibilities, which are by no means limitless. Our house, moreover, is too precious and still very frail.

6.8 Today more than ever before, I believe, we must reaffirm the principles of this Organization's Constitution and remain above the turmoil of passing unrest. These principles are the source of all Unesco's activities and the very expression of the consciousness of all mankind's desires.

6.9 I would like now to say a few words in connexion with the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962. We must recognize with satisfaction the advances made and the results achieved in the past, especially what has been done for the underdeveloped countries. The Report on the Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes which was submitted to the Economic and Social Council further strengthens our conviction and, in this connexion, I should like to convey my warmest congratulations to the Executive Board and the Director-General, both of whom took part in drawing up these documents.

6.10 At the tenth session of the General Conference, our delegation, it may be recalled, expressed its satisfaction at the concentration and strengthening of Unesco's programmes; and, in examining the programme and budget for 1961-1962, we find that still more has been done to make the preparation of work more systematic.

6.11 The budget, drawn from the regular sources and from substantially increased extra-budgetary resources, has been perfectly balanced and is closely co-ordinated in structure. Together with an assurance of our general support, I should like once more to convey my compliments to the Executive Board and the Director-General. In our opinion, the latter has carried out his high and very heavy responsibilities with skill and success.

6.12 The substantial increase in extra-budgetary resources will, of course, mean a remarkable development of Unesco's activities but, as the fields eligible to benefit from these resources are limited, certain quantitative changes in the scale of expenditure will be unavoidable.

6.13 It is essential to balance the distribution of funds derived from the two sources. On the one hand, a new balance must be found between Unesco's regular activities and those which are financed from special funds - and, in my opinion, this balance can probably be achieved by increasing the proportion of Unesco's budget which is allotted to activities not benefiting from extra-budgetary resources.

6.14 On the other hand, it is no less essential to achieve a balance between Unesco's work to deal with problems of world-wide interest and the aid it affords in response to urgent requests received from individual regions.

6.15 The problem is to be seen at its clearest in the educational field. So long as the development of education remains one of the major, basic conditions determining our Organization's action, it is only natural that a good half of all the available resources should be devoted to it. We therefore regard these quantitative proportions as satisfactory. But the increased efforts devoted to educational development should not lead us to neglect quality - in other words, we must not lose sight of the importance in education of that international understanding and co-operation which constitute Unesco's essential goal.

6.16 The project for extending the education programme in the three regions of Latin America, Asia and the Arab countries is welcomed by our country, which, incidentally, has had many years of experience and results in this field. We can therefore assure you of our support and co-operation in this project. I should like, however, to emphasize the urgency of the project relating to the improvement of school curricula and textbooks. I also note with pleasure that, at the present stage of our civilization, it is of prime importance, for the healthy development of society and the State, that the rôle and significance of university education should be given due recognition.

6.17 In the sphere of science, which offers infinite possibilities for increasing the happiness of mankind and improving living conditions, Unesco should provide scope for international co-operation in the pursuit of progress, and it is right that this Organization should concentrate alike on automation and on tropical and arid zone and oceanographic research.
6.18 I am very happy to learn that a number of important proposals have been made in this field, which promise great advances in oceanography. International co-operation in oceanographic research is a problem with which we are greatly concerned.
6.19 We believe that it is also essential to ensure the progress of the sciences of man, which have unquestionably lagged behind the natural sciences, and to pay greater attention to social science research, where many problems - such as the social impact of discoveries in natural science - have not yet been thoroughly studied.
6.20 I should like now to say a few words about the East-West Major Project. Four years have already passed since we enthusiastically adopted this project. By reason of its very scope, there were those who entertained some doubts about its success, and we therefore feel great satisfaction today at the practical contribution being made by many countries and the very active way this project is being carried out. It very truly gives a practical example of the unbreakable link between intellect and spirit, in other words the basis of mutual international understanding - the very aim of Unesco.
6.21 Among the new projects which have been submitted, I am particularly interested in the establishment of a network of various research bodies. Such a network would make it possible to speed up general research on the different civilizations and, at the same time, would facilitate different nations' understanding of the authentic aspect of each civilization. This question is of special importance in our part of the world, in the East.
6.22 I have pleasure in informing you that, as a contribution to this project, Japan is at present making the necessary preparations for the setting up of an East Asian Cultural Centre.
6.23 We are not only co-operating directly in Unesco's projects but, on our own initiative and always in the spirit of Unesco, we are organizing meetings, conferences and symposia. Lack of time prevents me from quoting the long list of such meetings and the many other activities which have been undertaken in the same spirit.
6.24 I should like to mention in passing, however, that we have already begun a serious study of the desirability of seismological research.
6.25 Finally, I should like to emphasize the vital importance of exchanges of persons. The part they play in the dissemination and exchange of information is particularly important because they allow of direct contacts and, as a result, they are particularly effective.
6.26 A French philosopher has most truly observed that "nothing is more wonderful than man". For my part, I believe this. That is why I earnestly hope for a strengthening and expansion of the exchange of persons programme in those fields which I have mentioned, namely, the cultural, the scientific and the educational.
6.27 In conclusion, gentlemen, I should like to remind you of the ideas which inspired us and the aspirations we cherished when we joined you. Once again, on this occasion, we reaffirm our pledge to the Unesco Constitution. On behalf of my delegation, I declare that the Government of Japan is firmly resolved never to slacken its efforts for the fulfilment of Unesco's work and aims.
6.28 It is my most fervent hope that this noble institution, Unesco, through our sincere and constant efforts, may be the deepest source of consolation and comfort for the ideal and well-being of frail and suffering humanity, living, as it does, under constant threat.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on the Head of the delegation of the Federation of Malaya.

8.1 Mr. ABDUL RAHMAN (Federation of Malaya): Mr. President and fellow delegates, just two years ago my country had the honour and privilege of being accorded a very warm welcome when she took her seat for the first time as a full member at the tenth session of the General Conference of Unesco.
8.2 Today it is my pleasant duty and pleasure to extend, on behalf of my Government, the same warm welcome and greetings to those States newly admitted as full members of Unesco, and also to the Associate Members. This large increase in the membership, particularly in the number of members from the great continent of Africa, provides striking testimony to the growing strength of Unesco and an answer to those who doubt the universality of its character.
8.3 The members of my delegation and I were greatly shocked at the opening of this Conference, last Monday, to hear of the irreparable loss of two of our most distinguished colleagues, H.E. Dr. Pedro de Alba, the delegate of Mexico and a member of the Executive Board, and Mr. Gaston Berger, President of the French National Commission of Unesco. To the Governments of Mexico and France I express, on behalf of my Government and myself, our condolence and deep sympathy.
8.4 Mr. President, as the aim of the General Conference is to accomplish our business within the shortest possible time, it is not my intention this afternoon to dwell on irrelevancies; I shall confine myself to the few main observations made by my Government on the Report of the Director-General on the Activities of Unesco in 1958 and 1959, and interim report on the first eight months of 1960.
8.5 First of all I should like to congratulate the Director-General, who during his first term of office has, with great imagination and vigour, seen to it that all resolutions approved by the tenth session of the General Conference in 1958 were successfully translated into action. This achievement is a tribute not only to the Director-General but also to the Chairman and members of the Executive Board and to the Secretariat.
8.6 True, the Federation of Malaya has not received a great deal of assistance as yet from Unesco, nor does this mean that she does not require much help and advice. It has been the policy of our Government since our country became independent in 1957, to draw up plans and prepare the necessary blueprints

for economic, social and educational improvements. It is only when the plans are finalized that we shall know what and where our greatest needs are.

8.7 We believe that we have come to the stage where assistance from Unesco to help us to develop technical and higher education will be most appreciated.

8.8 In keeping with the purpose and spirit of the plan drawn up at Karachi, we have embarked on a definite policy of full participation in this dynamic and imaginative project. With effect from January 1962, free primary education will be provided for all children in the Federation of Malaya. Furthermore, the school leaving age will be raised from 12 to 15 for every child who wants to benefit from a secondary education. At the moment more than a quarter of our revenue is expended on education and it is evident that more money will be required when our policy on primary and secondary education is implemented in 1962.

8.9 We therefore note with satisfaction the strong emphasis placed on education in the programme and budget for the years 1961-1962. But, money alone will not provide the full solution to problems connected with the provision of primary education. More urgently needed is the training of teachers to staff the schools, and therefore any measures recommended to launch a vigorous programme of teacher training will have the full support of the Federation of Malaya.

8.10 We are also happy to note the attention paid to the development of technical and vocational education. In most countries of Asia the most urgent need today is for industrialization. But industrialization cannot be achieved without the necessary trained engineers, scientists, technologists and technicians. My country is confident that her needs in this particular field will be fully considered by Unesco and that the necessary assistance, when sought, will be given to her.

8.11 However, we are not content only to receive aid from Unesco. We are proud to announce that, since our independence in 1957, we have established in our capital city, Kuala Lumpur, a Division of the University of Malaya with the following faculties: Arts, Science, Engineering and Agriculture. Our country, situated in the humid tropical zone, affords an ideal opportunity for research into all problems connected with tropical areas, be they of science, education or culture. My Government is only too happy to welcome any experts who want to make full use of our facilities and resources to carry out research that will add to the sum total of knowledge of the world.

8.12 In the field of culture and international relationships, it is already well known to the whole world that the most precious asset possessed by Malaya is not its tin and rubber - though they are not unimportant from the materialistic viewpoint - but the art of living harmoniously together, developed by its three main races of people: Malays, Chinese and Indians, each with their own distinctive culture and religion, yet sharing a common way of life characterized by the qualities of tolerance, understanding and co-operation. Though the people that make up Malaya are Asians, we do not completely isolate ourselves from the good influence of the West. The very fact that we have 3,000 students in the United Kingdom alone, pursuing studies in higher fields of learning, another 3,000 in Australia, and a few hundreds in the United States of America, New Zealand, and other countries, is a clear indication that we do appreciate the cultural values of the West. What we hope to do in the Federation of Malaya in the field of culture is to achieve a synthesis of the best of the East with the best of the West, so that from this fusion a vigorous culture, Malayan in form but universal in content, will emerge. My country will strive towards this aim which is in conformity with the lofty ideals of Unesco.

8.13 I should like to make one more observation. In the immense programme prepared by Unesco for the next two years there is, and rightly so, a marked tendency towards regionalization. I use the term "rightly so" deliberately, because it is inevitable that if Unesco is to render concrete assistance that will meet the needs of the countries of a particular geographical or cultural area, regionalization would be the natural development. Some harbour the fear that regionalization might lead to fragmentation in the structure of the Unesco programme. This fear is quite unfounded because, as long as regional projects form part of the overall programme of Unesco, there is no danger that the universal aim of Unesco, to strive for world peace and co-operation, will be overlooked.

8.14 Mr. President, 1960 marks a turning point in the march of Unesco. It has gone a long way since its inception in 1945. The future of this world organization is bright and hopeful and the Federation of Malaya shares this optimism with the Director-General and all the other Member States. On behalf of my Government, Mr. President, I wish this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco a still greater success than has been achieved in the past.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Apithy, Head of the Dahomey delegation.

10.1 Mr. APITHY (Dahomey) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honour for my delegation to be received, a few months after Dahomey's accession to independence, within the great family of nations and to take its place here today as a Member State of Unesco. I should like to convey to you all the gratitude we feel. We are not, of course, unknown to your assembly: we have often taken part, as members of the delegations of the French Republic, in the work of international organizations. We did so, for instance, last February, at the Addis Ababa Conference, while, last May, in our own country, we prepared the Cotonou conference on the access of women to education.

10.2 But this is the first occasion on which we have taken part in the General Conference as the only spokesmen for our own needs. And this accounts for the extent of our inexperience which, I am confident, you will be willing to excuse.

10.3 Dahomey is a small country with a population of less than 2 million, and was long regarded as the "Latin Quarter" of West Africa, since the quantitative

and qualitative level of its schooling enabled it to be an "exporter of civil servants and senior staff".

10.4 Some 30% of our children attend school, and the number of girls, especially in the urban schools, is tending slowly but surely to equal that of boys.

10.5 Our secondary education system is expanding and at the same time is being decentralized through the establishment, in the larger centres, of complementary courses adapted to local needs. The number of our students enrolled in the university faculties of France or Dakar gives us assurance that our higher civil service will speedily be "Africanized" - an operation in which our prime consideration has been to maintain standards of quality.

10.6 In comparison with other countries, our situation may therefore be regarded as favourable; but these results, achieved at the cost of tremendous sacrifices which we cannot possibly increase, are constantly endangered because of the increase of population which, in recent years, in Dahomey as everywhere else, has been considerable.

10.7 In order to keep up our present standards at all stages of education, we shall for a long time to come need the assistance which France has always provided without stint.

10.8 If we are to move forward and give some elementary instruction to the great body of our adult illiterates, so that they can satisfactorily discharge their duties as citizens; to provide primary school facilities for more than 300,000 poor children who still have no opportunity for such education; to build the 6,000 or so classrooms that we need; to train the 6,000 teachers who are required; and to train the intermediate and senior staff which our young nation needs, we stand in urgent need of aid such as only Unesco is able to provide.

10.9 The programme of action in Tropical Africa outlined by the Assistant Director-General, which our representatives helped to draw up at Addis Ababa, seems to us to be the best starting point for the action planned. But we fear that this action may already be too limited.

10.10 For Unesco, as for other international organizations, 1960 seems likely to be Africa's year - or better, perhaps, 1960 seems to mark the beginning of an African era for the enrichment of world culture. A large number of resolutions, vying with each other in generosity, are evidence that our situation has been rightly evaluated and that substantial resources will be made available to assist us.

10.11 Nevertheless, I am afraid that these resources may prove inadequate in view of the seriousness of the situation. An exceptional situation requires exceptional measures.

10.12 Education may be an activity which has not yet been speeded up by automation but it is none the less necessary to adapt new teaching methods, both more economical and yielding a quicker return, to our present local conditions as speedily as possible.

10.13 If we are to avoid the mistakes and the process of trial and error which we cannot afford, we must be informed about the successful experiments already made by young States which achieved independence before ourselves.

10.14 Your action must therefore be, first and foremost, directed towards educational research, information and documentation. Action should next take the form of technical assistance: the provision of experts, the training of planners, administrators and teachers; the adaptation of curricula and textbooks for the various stages of education. If such technical assistance is worked out with sufficient realism, the first result should be a noteworthy improvement in the standard of our teachers, and at the same time, in the standard of the various courses they give. In this connexion, incidentally, we have submitted detailed observations to the various committees in whose work we have been privileged to take part.

10.15 Your investment or financial policy should, where we are concerned, be still more extensive and generous. It is the corollary to your technical assistance. For instance, we need buildings - our situation in this respect is sometimes catastrophic. We need textbooks, audio-visual aids, both for school and for adult education. And funds are urgently needed for the training of teachers for secondary, technical and higher educational establishments and of staff for teacher training schools.

10.16 I have given you, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the merest sketch of our enormous needs and I am somewhat embarrassed at being able to bring you so little in return.

10.17 Dahomey offers proof of what, within the limits of its modest means, it has already done in respect of education. Although already sharing in the humanism that French culture, to which, it must be acknowledged, Dahomey owes so much, has instilled in the country, we now offer to all men our own equally vital and original culture and art. This culture and this art are the products of an ancient national history which we intend shall continue. Dahomey brings you the traditional African wisdom which the modern world so greatly needs. It brings you its goodwill, which is considerable, its love of peace, which is no less so, its desire to encourage and promote international understanding so as to assist Unesco in reaching its goal - the advent of a world community of men and nations from the five continents of the globe in the service of peace and progress.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on H.E. Mr. Kiselev, Head of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

12.1 Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, in discussing Unesco's programme and budget for 1961-1962, the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to make a few observations on principles, and a few proposals and recommendations to our Organization and its governing bodies.

12.2 The Byelorussian people, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union, are sincerely interested in the achievement of the noble ideals of peace, international co-operation and mutual understanding, set forth in Unesco's Constitution.

12.3 "Only under conditions of lasting peace," as Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev said in his message to the General Conference, "can there be really fruitful collaboration between scientists, cultural workers and educators in all countries, for the solution of

the many serious problems facing mankind."
12.4 While recognizing that there are several constructive features in Unesco's work, we nevertheless consider that the Organization is failing to take account, in its activities, of the enormous changes that have taken place in international life in the last fifteen years. It has not become a genuinely universal organization. As a result of the opposition of imperialist forces, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are not yet represented in Unesco. Many large democratic international organizations do not have consultative status with Unesco, although these countries and organizations have shown their desire to co-operate with Unesco.
12.5 The programme of general and complete disarmament, proposed by the Soviet Government, is in line with the interests of educational, scientific and cultural development and with the hopes of all the progressive sections of mankind. Unesco is bound for the purposes of educational, scientific and cultural development, to promote the attainment of practical results in this field. Who can fail to see that the prohibition of thermonuclear armaments, the cessation of the production of all types of weapons, the disbanding of armies and the destruction of armaments in all countries would make it possible to outlaw war and would promote universal peace, i.e. the most essential condition for the educational, scientific and cultural development of all nations?
12.6 It is well known that the armaments race places a heavy burden on the shoulders of the peoples. The ending of the armaments race would release enormous sums for purposes of education, science and culture, for the elimination of the effects of colonialism, for literacy work, and for dealing with the economic and cultural backwardness of many parts of the world. The armaments race causes strain in the international situation, drives peace to the brink of war, and interferes with the normal work of organizations such as Unesco. It is known that, with the active help of imperialist circles in Western Germany, plans for revenge are being matured and a huge army, which they are seeking to provide with atomic and hydrogen weapons is being built up.
12.7 All this greatly disturbs the Byelorussian people, who, together with the other peoples of the Soviet Union, suffered enormous losses in the bloody battle against Fascism during the last war. The fiery devastation of war and the Fascist occupation of Byelorussia cost more than 2 million human lives, or over 20% of the population of the Republic, and thrust back the economy of Soviet Byelorussia to the level of 1913. In our country there is not one family that does not still mourn the loss of relatives and friends during that war. It is for this reason that we are so deeply disturbed by the attempts to place weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the brigands who, as Hitler's generals, carried out scorched earth tactics some fifteen to twenty years ago. The conscience of all humanity cannot accept the arms race and the resurgence of militarism, Nazism and revanchism in Western Germany and other countries.
12.8 We cannot shirk, nor have we the moral right to shirk, the problem of disarmament. The future authority of this international organization will depend on how the present session of the General Conference treats the key problem of our times, the question of ensuring international peace and security. Either it will raise its voice with all its strength in favour of the struggle for peace among nations and thereby fulfil its basic function as an instrument of peace and peaceful coexistence and enhance its authority in the eyes of all the nations of the world, or else it will turn from the main problem of the day to petty questions and general discussions and thereby dash the hopes of all the nations and undermine its own authority.
12.9 The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic supports the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union delegation at this session of the General Conference concerning Unesco's contribution to disarmament. We also firmly support the proposal that the General Conference condemn revanchism and Fascism as the source of the threat of another war. All peoples are vitally concerned with the prevention of war. Peaceful coexistence and co-operation between States regardless of their social and economic structure is a burning necessity for all peoples of this planet. The only alternative is a thermonuclear war and the destruction of human lives and the cultural values created over the centuries.
12.10 In this connexion, the Soviet Union draft resolution on peaceful coexistence and co-operation will enable Unesco to make its contribution towards protecting human culture from thermonuclear disaster. The acceptance of this draft resolution by Unesco would be a timely way of meeting its statutory obligations and the needs of contemporary life.
12.11 Mr. President and fellow delegates, one blot on the face of humanity is the existence of colonialism, which detracts from the dignity and rights of man. Over one hundred million people still languish in colonial bondage in various parts of the world. The monopolistic alliances of the capitalist States exploit the colonial peoples, exporting uranium, gold, diamonds, cotton and petrol, and leaving the indigenous inhabitants prey to poverty, illiteracy and disease. But history has already passed merciless judgement on colonialism. It will inevitably collapse under the pressure of the national liberation movement bearing on its banners the watchwords of peace and unity - the watchwords of Bandung and Accra.
12.12 It should be Unesco's duty to help bring about a reduction in the length of time and processes of liberation of the peoples from colonialism. However, the Unesco Secretariat, by its actions in the Congo, has adopted a position of supporting the colonizers. Unesco's mission to the Congo, the secret negotiations of Unesco officials directed against the legitimate government of Lumumba, the dispatch of Belgian teachers to the Congo, the ignoring of Soviet, Czechoslovak and other specialists, as well as other facts, all indicate the improper rôle played by the Unesco Secretariat.
12.13 Today the United Kingdom representative asserted (if his words were interpreted correctly) that events in the Congo had demonstrated that the granting of independence to the Congolese people was

premature. But you must agree, gentlemen, that this assertion is actually aimed against the granting of independence to the colonial nations. The granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is never premature. It is more correct to maintain the opposite, that it has been late in coming, by many years in fact, and hence it is now an act which cannot be deferred.

12.14 Unesco's task consists in condemning the colonialist ambitions of the monopolistic countries and in promoting in every possible way the attainment of independence by the nations which have taken the road of independent development. It is unpleasant, particularly within the walls of an international organization like ours, to hear arguments to the effect that the liberation of any people from the colonial yoke is premature.

12.15 Our delegation warmly supports the Soviet Union proposal that the present session of Unesco should adopt a resolution concerning the grant of independence to colonial countries and peoples. I would go further and say that Unesco should not only fight actively for the immediate grant of freedom to the colonial peoples but should assist in trying to get the colonial powers to hand back part of the plunder they have taken from their former colonies.

12.16 In order that the liberated peoples should be conscious of receiving tangible aid, there will have to be a considerable flow of funds to those countries. Unesco does not have these funds at its disposal. This is why the draft resolution submitted here concerning the restoration by the imperialist powers to former colonies of part of the resources plundered from them is just, and meets the essential needs of the countries liberated from colonialism as regards the development of education, science and culture. It is pleasant to note that many delegations support this proposal. Our sympathies also lie with the heroic Cuban people fighting for their national independence and freedom. We whole-heartedly support the proposal concerning non-intervention by any State in the internal affairs of Cuba.

12.17 Unesco does not at present reflect a true picture of the contemporary world. The facts are as follows: the Socialist world, under whose banner more than 1,000 million people have already rallied, is firmly established on this globe. Another 1,500 million people have thrown off the colonial yoke and have formed an extensive zone of neutralist States. There also exists the world where monopoly capital prevails. It is regrettable to note, however, that a bias exists in Unesco activities, in the work of the Director-General, the Executive Board and the Secretariat; the Secretariat staff at present consists mainly of people who in practice carry out the policy of the Western States. The post of Director-General is occupied by the representative of a country belonging to NATO, and the fact that the Secretariat acts in a one-sided manner is hardly fortuitous.

12.18 We feel that one man acting in the rôle of Director-General cannot objectively reflect the interests of the Socialist countries, the countries of the Western bloc and the group of neutralist countries. The time has come when, instead of the post of Director-General, a collective executive organ should be set up, as indicated by the Soviet Union delegation, consisting of three persons representing the Socialist countries, the neutralist countries and the monopoly capitalist countries respectively.

12.19 Fair geographical representation has to be achieved in the Unesco Secretariat, in which some regions of the world are almost totally unrepresented. It does not, for example, include a single representative from the Byelorussian SSR. Fair geographical representation of contributors should also be ensured in all Unesco publications; the circle of contributors should represent all States.

12.20 The proposal to change Unesco's structure is posited by life itself, by common sense, by the concern for strengthening Unesco's influence in the work of consolidating peace and developing education, science and culture. It is incumbent upon Unesco to promote the development of education, science and culture of all peoples in every way, and without discrimination of any kind.

12.21 Unesco should not ignore, but is in duty bound to disseminate widely, rather, the experience of the Socialist countries in the fields of educational, scientific and cultural development. The nations which have chosen the Socialist road of development are setting the whole world an example of high speed economic progress, a steady rise in general prosperity, the flowering of national cultures, genuine creative freedom, the flowering of the human personality, and friendship between nations. This is clearly demonstrated in the case of Soviet Byelorussia. Up to the time of the Great Socialist October Revolution in 1917, Byelorussia lagged behind Tsarist Russia in economic and cultural development. Over 80% of the population was illiterate, and there was not a single higher educational establishment in existence.

12.22 It was only as a result of the victory of the Socialist revolution in Russia and the establishment of Soviet power that the Byelorussian people achieved its Statehood and, with the fraternal aid of the great Russian people and other peoples of the Soviet Union transformed its Republic into a country with a highly developed industry and agriculture and an advanced level of culture. Byelorussia's industrial output this year will be 35 times the 1913 figure and nearly 4 1/2 times that for the pre-war year of 1940. As far as agricultural and industrial output per head of the population is concerned, Byelorussia is ahead of many capitalist countries both in Europe and America. For example, more metal cutting lathes are produced per 1,000 inhabitants than in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France and Japan, more lorries than in Austria and Italy, and more tractors than in the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. Our industrial products are now being exported to over 30 countries, the main items including tractors, automobiles and machine tools.

12.23 The Republic has been transformed into a completely literate country, covered by a dense network of elementary schools, secondary schools and higher educational establishments, and has developed its own genuinely national intelligentsia. In the 25 higher educational establishments and the hundreds of specialized secondary schools, skilled and semi-skilled workers are being trained for all branches of national agriculture and culture: engineers, agronomists, doctors, teachers, economists,

artists and writers. More students per 10,000 inhabitants are enrolled in the higher educational establishments in Byelorussia than in any capitalist country in Europe. Considering only those specialists with higher educational qualifications, more than 100,000 are today employed in the Republic's national economy. Byelorussia has an Academy of Sciences, an Academy of Agricultural Science and more than one hundred scientific research institutes and laboratories, and its scientists are carrying out extensive research work of vital theoretical and economic significance.

12.24 There have also been notable successes in Byelorussian literature and art. More than 16 million volumes were published in 1959: one Minsk printing house alone produced more than 130,000 copies of books a day, or far more than a whole year's output by the entire Byelorussian printing industry in pre-revolutionary days. There are more than 20,000 public libraries in Byelorussia supplying books to every family in both town and country. The Byelorussian worker enjoys free medical treatment, is provided with a wide network of rest homes and sanatoria, and has a 6-7 hour working day. Our people has access to all the riches of contemporary art and culture, cultural universities, national theatres, art museums and so on.

12.25 The Republic has extensive scientific and cultural links with many countries. At this moment, in Minsk, the Byelorussian capital, there are hosts of foreign tourists. Our city is an interesting and beautiful one, and I believe I am not wrong in saying that anyone of you, on seeing our city, would speak well of it. It was rebuilt fifteen years ago, after the war: during the war, it was 90% destroyed by the occupying Fascist forces. Foreigners ask us how we succeeded in resurrecting a new city from the ashes in such an incredibly short time. You Communists, they say, possess some sort of secret. But the secret is simple: the Socialist system, the friendship of the peoples of our great fatherland - this is the inexhaustible source of the strength and creative energy of Soviet men and women.

12.26 Affairs are going very well in our country. Life is becoming richer and more cultured day by day; we are proud of our achievements, and willingly share our experience with other peoples. Bright prospects lie ahead for us, we have faith in tomorrow. As sincere fighters for peace and peaceful co-operation, we propose competition in the development of education, science and culture in the interests of the civilization of all mankind. In the fraternal family of nations of the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian people is engaged in peaceful constructive labour and is successfully translating the great objectives of its Seven-Year Plan into reality.

12.27 Ladies and gentlemen, the General Conference has very important questions before it for consideration. They must be resolved in the interests of international peace and security. Unesco must work out its programme of activities in the realistic light of the contemporary international situation, concentrating its attention not on secondary and insignificant projects but on the basic problems involved in the promotion of peace and the development of education, science and culture throughout the world.

12.28 The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR declares that it will co-operate in every way in order to ensure that Unesco's activities strictly correspond with the high aims of its Constitution, in the interests of international peace and security. We hope that Unesco will be the first of the United Nations Specialized Agencies to take account of the real position existing in the international arena. May the hopes of the nations which look forward to effective action by Unesco in the service of peace, education, culture, science and prosperity not be disappointed!

12.29 The Byelorussian people, together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union and all the countries in the Socialist camp, will continue to fight unremittingly for international peace and security, for general and complete disarmament, for solid co-operation in the field of education, science and culture, and for the final liquidation of the shameful colonial system, in line with its policy, flowing from the very nature of Communism and the lofty principles of Marxist-Leninist teachings.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on H.E. Mr. Dieng, Head of the delegation of Senegal.

14.1 Mr. DIENG (Senegal) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, a few weeks ago, the Republic of Senegal was officially accepted into the great family of the United Nations, and its international political sovereignty is now established on the plane of civilization and culture by its participation in Unesco.

14.2 I should like to convey to all members of this distinguished gathering the thanks of the Senegalese people, which is proud to swell the ranks of those nations whose noble ideal it is to work unceasingly in the interest of the fundamental freedoms of the mind.

14.3 These fundamental freedoms are intimately linked to the essential values which constitute civilization, and the development of education is unquestionably one of the noblest and surest means of forcing back misery and ignorance. The struggle against ignorance must be pursued until re-education is complete throughout the world, just as the fight must be waged against those endemic diseases and epidemics whose ravages are unhappily only too well known. At the height of the French Revolution, Danton affirmed that education, next to bread, was what the people most needed, and this is a truth which has eternal validity.

14.4 When the Abbé Dard opened the first school in Senegal in St. Louis in 1816, he chose to use the vernacular as the language of instruction. He made this decision in accordance with his sensibility, so as to avoid divorcing the children from their family, their race and their past. He was probably moved by considerations of common sense, and argued that learning in a foreign language meant entering a world of uncertain realities. He probably also argued that the language of the heart and of truth is the one which children learn from their own people, and that it would be contrary to all reason to replace the humble local speech by the incantatory rites of a universal language reputed to be the most rational language in the world. The work undertaken by this

good man ended in failure, despite the wisdom and love which he devoted to it. It left out of account the passionate unreasonableness of a people eager to pursue the mass migrations of conquest of African man in the realm of the intellect and of culture. It likewise left out of account the fact that this African man aspired to change his status from that of a person explored into that of an explorer, to take part himself in the glorious conquest of the unknown with all the means provided by modern culture and especially the French language. The result is that this language, the means and the instrument of our emancipation and subsequently of our independence, was not imposed on us by a conqueror's will but was desired by us - was conquered by us, I would say.

14.5 Far from alienating us from ourselves, this language enabled us the better to find ourselves, to find our place in the world scheme, and to enrich modern culture with the newly expressed concept of "negritude". Out of gratitude for the past no less than for future needs, we consider ourselves committed to its defence within the framework of the French linguistic community.

14.6 Like every national language, French is for us the primary instrument of our unity and freedom. Was it not, in fact, the French school which forged our national unity, and is it not ultimately thanks to the teaching of that school that we have achieved independence in dignity and order? The work of the French school in Senegal deserves a public tribute, and among our often unhappy memories as a former colonial people, as in our faith of a revealed humanity, the humble French schoolmaster stands out as a dedicated man who taught us to read, to think, to teach our own children, to administer the State. France can justly be proud of its educational work in Senegal.

14.7 Our school system, dating back to 1816 and initiated by the Ploërmel Friars in St. Louis-du-Sénégal, a town which to this day has retained the grandeur and richness of its past, gradually spread to the rest of the country. Progress was slow, admittedly, and in 1950 there were still only 24,000 pupils. But from that date onward, under the influence of the generous ideas of the Brazzaville Conference which preceded and prepared autonomy, followed by independence, the rate of school enrolment increased. There were 80,000 pupils in 1956, 94,000 in 1958, 107,000 in 1959 and 125,000 in 1960. In ten years the number of Senegalese children attending school had increased fivefold.

14.8 This quantitative development has reduced the scope of elementary ignorance; it has undoubtedly facilitated understanding and co-operation between black and white in practical everyday activities, but it still does not give a complete idea of the breadth and boldness of the work done to provide a humanistic education aimed at producing the ordinary, decent African of the Twentieth century.

14.9 In addition to the primary school, Senegal has 14 general and technical lycées and almost as many private secondary schools. Some 15,000 pupils attend these institutions where the staff, standards, curricula and examinations are similar in every way to those of French institutions.

14.10 This gives an indication not only of the quality of the education provided but also of the determination to reject any dangerously tempting formula of education "on the cheap" which would produce nothing more than a sort of superficial veneer liable to peel away quickly and lacking any possible future.

14.11 The pupils trained under our present educational system join the ranks of the intermediate trained staffs or go on to higher education in the faculties and "grandes écoles" of France. They likewise, and above all, go on to the University of Dakar - previously the eighteenth university of France and today the first university of Senegal.

14.12 It is true that there are a number of carpers who are disturbed by so great an expansion of any education other than primary or purely practical - as if the wise course for countries aspiring to greater enlightenment would be to remain in a state of ignorance which would encourage colonization of all kinds! As far as education is concerned, Senegal, like every other country represented here, considers boldness to be a safer bet than misguided prudence. It does not believe that economic fears are any reason for imposing limitations on the development of the mind: there can be no question of forcing the mind to submit to economic considerations.

14.13 But if the mind cannot be treated as an element in an equation, that does not mean to say that it can ignore the facts of life. At all levels of our secondary and higher education, technical training institutions prepare the staffs and specialists of a nation conscious of its precise possibilities in all fields of activity. There are numerous openings for our students. First of all, the technical assistance staff generously provided by France has to be replaced; it still occupies 2,000 positions requiring high qualifications. Next, intermediate staff has to be created to form an economic and administrative framework, the effectiveness of which will increase in line with the country's new needs.

14.14 I am afraid though, that I have painted too optimistic a picture of the educational situation in Senegal. To be accurate, the still surviving shadows must be added. The desire to maintain the high quality of primary education, for instance, has prevented us from providing all children with the schooling to which they are entitled. So far, the primary schools have made a point of selecting the élite groups which Senegal so urgently needs; it now remains to provide them as rapidly as possible with the means of educating the mass of future citizens.

14.15 In order to reach this goal and respect the fundamental right to education - in order, in other words, to provide all Senegalese children with schooling - we must build and equip 8,000 new classes between 1960 and 1970. This means recruiting a minimum of 8,000 qualified teachers at the level of the end of the first secondary cycle to ensure that they are thoroughly integrated into their work and provide appropriate and hence effective instruction, they will be trained in their own regions, in the actual environment in which they are to teach.

14.16 But these 8,000 teachers who are needed entail an increase in the number of pupils with intermediate qualifications produced by the first secondary cycle. An adequate parallel expansion of this level of education must therefore be assured.

14.17 But while Senegal is prepared to make the necessary financial sacrifices to build, equip and

operate these 8,000 new classes, it cannot simultaneously carry out the correlated development of other branches of education. It is an underdeveloped country which already devotes more than 10% of its budget to education, and secondary staff is due to double in number even before universal education is achieved in Senegal. Meanwhile it is already obvious that most of our schools, housed in buildings which are as decrepit as they are unsuitable, must be reconstructed. In addition, they are all concentrated in the coastal area, so that a number of children are condemned from the time they enter the lycée to an uprooting which is socially regrettable because it is often permanent. Secondary education, and especially the first cycle, must therefore be regionalized.

14.18 This regionalization is essential, in any case, if we are to ensure the development of the regions of the interior where the technicians and officials necessary for new activities are to settle. Our plan envisages the reconstruction or construction of eight lycées or collèges with a full cycle of instruction and thirteen continuation schools. In addition, technical sections or schools will be set up which will supplement the general training already received by appropriate vocational training.

14.19 It is quite clear that Senegal cannot by itself develop its secondary education, given the effort needed for primary education, and a large-scale appeal will therefore have to be made for technical assistance of every kind. In particular, we shall call upon Unesco, and its Special Fund, when it comes to equpping our schools.

14.20 I would undoubtedly feel some aversion from making these requests were I not sure of keeping within the bounds of the possible. But the facts are there. The University of Dakar, a French-speaking Senegalese university, is the crown of our educational system, the success of which it already attests. True to its motto - "Lux mea lex" - as demonstrated by its vitality, by its roots in African soil, by its impact in the modern world, by the welcome which it extends to scientists and researchers from every land, the University of Dakar, that munificent bequest from France, is a token of all that Senegal can contribute to the enrichment of the human spirit. And it also proves that Senegal, while asking and receiving, is also capable of giving, and thereby contributing honourably and in full awareness of its place in the comity of nations, to world civilization - the synonym of peace, happiness, prosperity and continous advancement for all men of goodwill.

14.21 We shall take full part, therefore, in the feast of life, without any feeling of being unwanted or uninvited guests, and in this way, we shall match up to the legitimate hope which the modern world places on us. Difficulties will arise, of course - of that we are sure; but, like true followers of Prometheus, seeking to rob the god of his secrets for the benefit of man, our failures will but serve to strengthen our faith in the future.

14.22 We shall not despair because some of our dreams have failed to materialize, and we, too, will cry to triumphant Zeus that not all our flowers have blossomed, for another spring will bring forth other flowers. At this feast of the spirit, spring-like and flower bedecked, the tiers-monde, gentlemen, will not have failed to don its wedding garment.

15. The PRESENT (Translation from the French):
I call on H.E. Mr. Anas, Head of the delegation of Afghanistan.

16.1 Mr. ANAS (Afghanistan):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, our delegation is happy to attend this eleventh session of the General Conference in Paris, in an atmosphere of such cordial French hospitality. We are grateful to the French Government for the assistance it generously provides to Unesco and for its assistance to the cause of universal culture and civilization. We are happy to meet here outstanding representatives of educational, scientific and cultural spheres from all over the world. We enjoy seeing old friends and making new acquaintances with our colleagues from different countries. In addition to the discussion and drafting of the general programme of Unesco's activities for the next two years, this Conference gives us the opportunity of enlarging our field of co-operation by establishing new contacts between delegations, and also of studying recent developments in the French system of education, science and culture.

16.2 France has always been, and is now, one of the leading pioneers of civilization. We are very much interested in making a closer study of her latest progress. Throughout the programme of Unesco as presented to this Conference, we consider that greater emphasis is placed on the planification of education and its integration into the general planning of economic and social development. This is perfectly in line with the spirit of the planning which is undertaken successfully by our Government, and it makes for the success of Unesco's programme because it enables the Member States to be more efficiently responsive to the work of Unesco and because it provides a basis for evaluation. Otherwise the work of Unesco would remain isolated and could not be assimilated properly in national development as a whole.

16.3 Planification involves the order of priorities and, in consequence, wiser employment of means and materials. Underdeveloped countries are consequently engaged to concentrate their effort in certain projects which are vital to their economic development. To achieve this concentration they must give up certain less urgent plans, although none the less important. In some of the Member States the enrolment in secondary schools is so low that it represents a major impediment to their economic development and they must divert funds from primary education to meet this deficiency. We are glad to note that assistance is provided in the programme to help in such situations. Still, this does not solve the problem of universal and free primary education.

16.4 The report on needs of primary education of the Karachi meeting shows very clearly that the necessary action could not be undertaken solely on the basis of a national budget and should be financed on a much larger scale by internationally established sources. Action should be taken of course, within the possibilities of the various countries, to implement the recommendation of the Karachi conference. The rôle of the school as a centre of community development should be emphasized throughout primary

education in Asia. This is the way to link the extension and improvement of primary education even more closely with the whole of the educational systems and to integrate it with the economic and social development of the country concerned.

16.5 Teacher training is another problem. The social and economic status of teachers is not attractive and all possible means should be used to make the profession morally, and to a certain extent materially, inviting. Unesco's programme includes such aims. The establishment of a community school system would improve both the social and economic status of teachers. In addition, we should realize that teacher training programmes lag far behind the increase of the school population and it is feared that in the years to come this gap will grow larger. To be realistic, we must admit that we shall have to deal with the problem of untrained and underqualified teachers for many years to come. Why are we not recognizing this crucial fact? Why does Unesco not undertake to develop practical ways and means of helping these large groups of teachers in the underdeveloped areas? Proper studies should be made to produce teaching materials, methods, teacher guides, audio-visual aids, etc., to enable non-qualified teachers to improve their work, to improve themselves and their teaching system. This should be a transitional measure, but I am afraid it will need to be maintained for a rather long transitional period which involves the fate of millions of schoolchildren.

16.6 We approve of Unesco's programme of teaching and research at the university level - the teaching of basic scientific knowledge and the methods of classification, investigation and evaluation for the better utilization and conservation of natural resources. In providing assistance in the establishment and improvement of institutions for higher technological education and research, due regard should be paid to the co-ordination of applied technical and scientific research projects with the work of the universities, especially in underdeveloped countries. The establishment of relations between the universities and these institutions and the pooling of available facilities would enlarge the field of research of the universities and better adjust its system of education to scientific and technological needs. It would also avoid duplication and contribute to a planned economy in higher education. Unesco, through its experts, could be instrumental in creating and maintaining such contacts between Unesco projects and national and bilateral projects. Helping to establish such co-operation and putting it into operation would be a further test of Unesco's effectiveness.

16.7 Mr. President, fellow delegates, I have presented a summary of the opinion of our delegation regarding Unesco's programme for the next biennium. We shall express our opinion in greater detail when particular items are discussed in the Commissions. We would also like to express our gratitude to the Secretariat of Unesco for the work it has done in the preparation of the documents for this Conference.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call on H.E. Mr. Arbab, Head of the delegation of the Sudan.

18.1 Mr. ARBAB (Sudan):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is two years since I had the pleasure of addressing you at the tenth session of the General Conference, but the picture of those memorable meetings is still vivid in my mind. At that time Unesco had just moved into these wonderful premises, and this lofty hall in which we assemble was used by the General Conference for the first time. Fascinated as we all were by the appearance and atmosphere of this imposing new building, we expressed our confidence that the installation of the Secretariat in such pleasant surroundings was more than the physical transfer from one place to another. Now it is evident that the move to the new house has marked a turning point in the history of the Organization.

18.2 Those of us who were here at the previous session will also recall the great enthusiasm with which the present Director-General, Dr. Veronese, was received. Great hopes and confidence were expressed that increasing progress would be achieved in the promotion of education, science and culture under his wise leadership.

18.3 Mr. President, great as may have been the achievements in the last two years, the admission into this Organization of 15 new Member States is, perhaps, the most remarkable. No one can be happier than myself, as the representative of an African country, to express to them heartfelt congratulations and to welcome them on this historic occasion. I am sure that they are all coming forward with the virility of youth being initiated into manhood, to be admitted as active and worthy members of the international community. These nations, forming probably the biggest group ever to be admitted on one occasion in the history of the Organization, bring with them new experience, new ideas, new ideals and new cultural values which help to widen the scope of the activities of the Organization and give force to its whole mission by making it, in practice, even more universal than it has been until now.

18.4 The African nations realize more than any other peoples that there is a living world conscience upon which they have relied in their struggle for independence. Disappointments and injustices have existed, and no doubt do still exist here and there, but they will not blind our eyes to what international co-operation has achieved. This conception accounts for the confidence of African States in Unesco, in which they seek a symbol of world conscience. In joining the Organization with such conviction, the African Member States are making an invaluable contribution to the fundamental mission of Unesco, world peace and brotherhood. The participation of these Member States in the Organization's activities will widen the circle of mutual appreciation of cultural values, and it is a happy coincidence that this takes place at a time of general awakening with regard to Africa - both within and outside the continent. The proof of this last point is to be found in the programme and budget before us, for this time a well-defined African project takes its place as a prominent feature of Unesco's programme.

18.5 At this juncture I would like to assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that the new Member States from Africa and the State of Kuwait do realize that the membership of international organizations

is an obligation as well as a privilege.

18.6 May I now briefly refer to an aspect of the programme which concerns, in the first place, my own country and the United Arab Republic, I refer to the international campaign to safeguard the monuments and sites of Ancient Nubia. It is now eight months since the Director-General launched his international campaign, and I would like to place on record that the response to that appeal has been promising. The Unesco programme for 1961-1962 includes definite proposals for the preservation of the Nubian monuments. This in itself is an indication that the Organization is alive to a unique responsibility towards an urgent problem connected with the preservation of the human heritage. We in the Sudan, and I am sure this is true of the United Arab Republic, are extremely grateful and appreciative of the keen personal interest which the Director-General has shown towards this project. He has responded in a determined manner to the appeal launched by the Government of the Republic of Sudan and the United Arab Republic. In Sudan the importance attached to this problem was so great that the Head of our Government himself patronized the movement for the preservation of the relics of Nubia. We are happy to note that the interest in international circles has been equally great.

18.7 The response of the Executive Board when the requests of the two governments concerned were placed before it was most encouraging. Prompt action followed and a ready response came from different parts of the world. A Committee of Patrons was formed which included several members of the royal families and heads of the States of the world, with His Majesty the King of Sweden as Chairman. An international action committee and a panel of experts to advise Unesco and the two governments on the actual operations have also been set up. The panel of experts has held several meetings in Sudan and has taken the opportunity to visit the endangered sites.

18.8 The results of all these efforts can be seen in the provisions outlined in the budget before us but I would like, on behalf of the Sudan Government, to appeal to the Member States and organizations represented here to do all they can to help us towards the preservation of this part of our human heritage. The unearthed treasures of Sudanese Nubia are undoubtedly of paramount cultural value, not only to Sudan but to the world at large. The time left before these precious treasures are to be submerged is too short, and it is only through your co-operation, goodwill and sacrifice in the form of financial and technical aid that they can be saved.

18.9 Mr. President, in trying to promote the development of education in its various fields, Sudan has always taken into consideration the regional needs of our African and Arab neighbours. The Sudan has for long been co-operating with a number of African countries in the fields of technical training, secondary and higher education. The Institute of Education at Bakhter Ruda, which has become a world institution, has been giving training to teachers from African and Arab countries, and the doors of our secondary schools and of the University of Khartoum and the Khartoum Technical Institute have also been opened to students from those countries. It is now the established policy of the Government to offer places and scholarships in our educational institutions to students from all African countries; the only limiting factor is our lack of financial resources. Now that Unesco is discussing its special projects for Africa and the Arab countries, I would like to state that the Republic of the Sudan would have the utmost pleasure in extending these facilities within the programme of Unesco.

18.10 Further, we would be prepared to place at the disposal of our brothers in Africa who have joined Unesco at this session, all our experience in this field, both on a bilateral basis and through Unesco. The Sudan has in fact, already entered into bilateral agreements with European and African countries for the furtherance of international co-operation in the fields of education, science and culture.

18.11 Mr. President, I consider it appropriate at this point to make a brief general comment on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962. It is the opinion of the Sudanese delegation that definite improvement has been achieved in the method of preparing the budget. Credit for this should go to the Director-General and his staff. The tendency begun in 1956, to concentrate efforts around certain projects, has been carried further in the present proposals. Our delegation notes with satisfaction that while there were only three Major Projects - for the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, for Arid Lands Research in Desert Countries of the Middle East, and for Mutual Appreciation of Cultural Values between East and West - the list now includes equally important special projects for Tropical Africa, the Arab countries and South East Asia in the field of education. The African project, in particular, though far from meeting the urgent needs of the region, does seem to be a promising start.

18.12 As a representative of an African country I am glad to see the project figure so prominently in the Unesco programme, but I would like to remark that in all underdeveloped countries, primary education should be given priority over the needs in other fields. It is true that in less developed countries all needs are urgent and quite often the planner finds it difficult to decide on priorities. However, there seems to be general agreement now that the provision of educational facilities at the primary level should be the basis for every development programme; neither economic nor social progress can be attained without the general enlightenment of the people. This is not to minimize the importance of secondary and vocational education which are essential for the training of leaders in communities. What we desire is a shifting of emphasis within the project to the basis of the educational structure.

18.13 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I represent a vast country extending from latitude 4° N to latitude 22° N covering a major part of Africa and bordering on the Middle East. Because of this special position, it is a country where the diffusion of both Oriental and African cultures has taken place. We in the Sudan, because of this unique position, are well aware of the responsibility we have in furthering cultural relations between Africa and the Middle East. We shall therefore continue to participate with equal interest in the projects concerning both Africa

and the Middle East which are before this Conference.
18.14 Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate Ethiopia on the honour bestowed on her by your election as President of this session of the General Conference. I should also like to assure the Director-General and members of this Organization of our full confidence in the ideals for which Unesco stands.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on H.E. Mr. Malalasekera, Head of the delegation of Ceylon.

20.1 Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon):
Mr. President, permit me, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Ceylon, to convey to you our heartiest felicitations on your election as President of the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco. We wish you every success and happiness in the performance of your onerous duties and we shall consider it a privilege to assist you in every possible way.
20.2 May we also extend warm and fraternal greetings to the new nations that have just been admitted to membership of Unesco? It was my good fortune to be present as a delegate when these nations were enrolled as members of the United Nations and I shall never forget the warmth of the ovation with which their representatives were greeted when they took their seats in the Fifteenth General Assembly. Their accession to membership has immeasurably increased the universality of both the United Nations and Unesco; they bring with them rich and varied experience which should have far-reaching results in the policies and programmes of these international organizations. They have emerged triumphant, having passed through the purifying fire of suffering, but they have in them also an infinite capacity for joy and happiness, and these too must be provided for.
20.3 We consider it all the more regrettable, therefore, that the People's Republic of China, representing 680,000,000 people, i.e. nearly a quarter of the human race, should still be excluded from this comity of nations. Whatever may be the reasons adduced for this action, in our view it is both unwise and unrealistic. The time cannot be far distant when this error will be rectified, meanwhile their absence is a great loss for their contribution could be most valuable. The infinite personality of man can emerge only from the magnificent harmony of all races; none can be left out without damage to the whole human race.
20.4 Mr. President, it would be almost a truism to say that this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco meets at a particularly significant moment in international relations. We are now either on the brink of a holocaust of war which will destroy most of mankind and our civilization completely, or on the eve of an era of general and complete disarmament leading to universal peace and happiness. The issue will depend entirely on our leaders and the pressure which the masses of mankind throughout the world could bring to bear upon these leaders. Herein lies a solemn responsibility on each of us individually and collectively, on such organizations as the United Nations and Unesco, where we represent our nations. The United Nations and its Specialized Agencies are the institutional expressions of the realities of our age; they are, above all, the most important safeguards of peace. With the recent accession of new members these organizations have attained maturity and the intention implicit in their founding has now been made more explicit. With the maturity which comes with wider representation, their responsibilities also become more significant. It is perhaps the Asian and African nations, for whom the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies mean so much, that must rise to the situation and assume an ever increasing share in the day-to-day running of these organizations. Our countries which have remained too long in the backwaters of economic and social progress now find themselves, by the pressure of events created by them and in turn reacting on them, forced into the mainstream of advance and development. They need aid, some very badly indeed; but let us make no mistake about it, the pressing need for rendering them assistance is not only for their own future but also the future of others, the future well-being of the whole world.
20.5 It is the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies that have become the most suitable means of channelling that aid. There is no need to emphasize what is becoming more and more imperative for peace: the desire expressed by most African and Asian countries to receive assistance only through these agencies. Too much direct aid from one country to another puts a great strain on the relations between the two countries concerned and is undesirable for various reasons which are fairly obvious. Interdependence rather than independence should be the watchword both for today and tomorrow.
20.6 It is precisely for this reason that Unesco, in all that it does and the way it does it, should never lose sight of the fact that it is above all the instrument of international co-operation, of international exchange. My delegation would like to lay great stress on this fact. It is not enough for Unesco to be the internationally recognized channel for aid to developing countries. Unesco was not founded for the exclusive purpose of being an agent for the economic development of retarded areas. It is one thing to be the instrument for developing the human and other resources of Member States and it is quite another to be an agency only for assistance to underdeveloped countries. There should be a two-way flow between countries which are economically retarded and those that are, if I may say so, technically overdeveloped. There is an equilibrium in the fields of culture, and by that word we mean the entire complex of the sciences and the arts, and this Unesco must keep before it as the basic and fundamental purpose of its programme and action. It is not for Unesco to caricature itself before the exigencies of economic development by training a specialized labour force, call it by whatever name you will, in the developing countries - experts and technicians who confine their activities to ambulance work, rather than to the splendid task of world-wide transformation. In fact, the very economic development in these countries demands a fuller, broader and bolder programme of general education in order to develop an informed citizenry of creative technicians, capable administrators and trustworthy leaders. This is the test of

education. The task before Unesco is that of advancing and enriching the culture of each country, whatever its stage of development. Herein lies the true meaning of development and exchange. It is this mutual exchange and enrichment that is the key to aid which comes from an international organization. It is this key which makes such aid different from purely bilateral assistance and it is the responsibility of Unesco to demonstrate this difference. Thus, it is in the programme which the Director-General presents to our Conference that this difference must be made evident. What, in fact, we are trying to say, Mr. President, is that it is not enough to refer to the Constitution in happy preambles. The Constitution must be demonstrated in the programme, and the programme must represent a coherent whole, a clearly defined policy.

20.7 But when we turn to the programme before us, it is difficult to avoid the impression of segmentation, both of effort and of purpose. Each department, each discipline, proposes activities worked out in great detail, and one is so often lost in this mass of details and in these separate segments that one can have no clear picture of the totality it represents. In other words, one cannot see the wood for the trees.

20.8 Of course there are the saving clauses of interdepartmental co-operation, the neat and visually impressive cross-references to each other's work. But was the activity conceived from the beginning as an integrated whole which is then reflected through the facets of the various disciplines that are relevant to it? One has only too often the feeling that the programme of the Organization is the programme its structure presents and not what its Constitution demands. There is a very interesting statement in the Director-General's report on page XVII of the Introduction: "If there is one lesson that emerges clearly from Unesco's experience of a decade or so, it is that its work is one of patient accumulation of fractional results, gradually building up into a coherent structure. The house is built by laying the bricks one by one, layer by layer, not by pouring concrete into a mould". Precisely so. But, we have not seen, in this connexion, anyone asking for the pouring of concrete into a mould. What we do ask for is a blueprint of the house that Unesco seeks to build, with sufficient flexibility for alteration as the work of building proceeds, enabling adjustments to be made to new and constantly changing circumstances. Everyone is agreed that the sum total of the activities of Unesco is no mere mosaic of juxtaposition, but a construction of which the component parts develop on different levels, hinged one with another. That, again, is a quotation from the Director-General's appraisal. But where is the plan of this construction divided into its several stages? How has it been conceived and by whom? How can such a clarity of purpose be achieved?

20.9 My delegation feels that in order to do this the whole programme of Unesco has to be envisaged as a totality, from its inception. Each discipline, each department, however excellently its detail work is planned, must first conceive its own programme under this overall policy which should be one of broad and complete education. Education and culture are not two different things; culture is the goal to be reached by education. Education is for the full life, and social and economic developments are only means to this end. Education has to be regarded as a single entity whose component parts cannot be dissociated.

20.10 Let us now turn to the work of the General Conference. My delegation is of the opinion that for far too long the work of the General Conference has become more and more obscure. Here in this Conference we do not, in fact, discuss policies, lay emphasis on programmes which we would like to see take priority so that the underlying purpose of the Constitution is maintained, and the genuine interests of the Member States served. Nor do we, in fact, authorize the Director-General to execute the will of the Conference. What we do rather, is actually to spend almost all our time in these conferences to annotate, amend, compete with one another, in effecting small changes in a series of projects which the Director-General proposes to carry out. We are absorbed almost completely in ferreting out such items as please or benefit us, indifferent to those that do not directly concern us. In any event, if the truth were told, we engage neither in the discussion of purpose nor in the formulation of policy. If we examine the matter more closely, has not the work of the General Conference degenerated into a kind of auction sale where, in the midst of bids and counter-bids, the auctioneer succeeds in the end in selling all his wares?

20.11 My delegation feels, Mr. President, that the report of the Director-General should provide the key debate to the Conference. Unesco has been described as a continuing endeavour, on a broad front, to achieve certain vital purposes on a global scale. It is for the General Conference to give the directives as to how these vital purposes are to be achieved. But as it happens - and this is no fault of the Secretariat - the report of the Director-General is very largely a transference into the past tense of the programme that was previously adopted, with the addition of such details as the number of experts who were recruited, etc. In the description of the project details (which we do not and cannot really examine) the total picture of our work becomes obscure.

20.12 We feel that it should be the work of the General Conference to define the areas to be emphasized, the policy we wish to be carried out, and to provide the necessary legislation and the means for carrying it out. After all, we are not necessarily experts, at least not all of us, and certainly not experts in all the fields of Unesco's activities. It is for the Director-General to secure the expert advice needed in planning how he may carry out the specific policy we outline, and the projects that he will execute in the implementation of that policy. But, at present, this is not what happens. The programme that is ultimately adopted is the programme that the Conference is led to adopt.

20.13 My delegation, therefore, would like to make a plea for a change in the work of the Conference. We believe that the Conference should confine itself to examining the basic purposes that the programme serves, the objectives that it seeks to realize, and consider the programme in its totality - each part by reference to the total objectives it envisages. Let us act with long-range vision and deliberation rather than throw ourselves into long and quibbling

debates on a welter of details already so precise that any change is hardly possible. Let us leave the details to the Executive Board and its working parties.

20.14 For this reason, Mr. President, my delegation would like to suggest that the Executive Board should be enlarged and made more representative, geographically, culturally and numerically. Some areas are over-represented, a few grossly so, others have no representation at all or hardly any. Some countries seem to have on the Board a permanent vested interest. Requests that they should make way for others naturally go unheeded, for proposals for suicide are never cordially received. There is need for reorganization of our work and for reappraisal, and we feel strongly that it would be useful to have a working party of the Executive Board meet during the next year to think out afresh the rôle of the General Conference in the new context of our enlarged representation. We must look afresh at our work and our structure and change it so that it can truly fulfil its purpose.

20.15 In making these observations on the report of the Director-General, my delegation has confined itself almost entirely to matters that concern the work of the General Conference. These remarks must not be construed as a wish on our part to find fault with the Director-General or with the members of his Secretariat. They are all fine men and women and we have great admiration for their hard work and their spirit of dedication, for their patience, perseverance, zeal and enthusiasm in the pursuit of their programmes, and for their meticulousness.

20.16 If the Director-General, for instance, does nothing else except read even one-fifth of the documents published by Unesco, we would regard him as superhuman. The fault is not in the personnel; it is in the system which we have so far allowed ourselves to follow. As far as the programme is concerned, my delegation will, of course, present its own observations at the appropriate time and place. The Organization's aims and activities have been guided too much by the varied propositions presented by its Member States, by the temporary urgency of certain problems arising from the international situation, and quite often by empirical considerations. There has always been the contrast between the immensity of the needs and the slender resources available. The needs in many cases have been accentuated by the exigencies of political demands. We live in an age of permanent revolution and we must be prepared to adjust our institutions to constantly changing circumstances.

20.17 The Constitution of Unesco states that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". Two thousand five hundred years ago, the Buddha declared that it is not only war and peace that begin in the minds of men, but that all our actions - what we say or do, our whole being and the entire happiness or misery of the human race - that all this has its beginnings in the minds of men, that our mind is the supreme ruler of the world. The concern of Unesco is with the minds of men, and no time is more opportune for success in this field of endeavour than the present. The urgent need of the earth is for the evolution of the spiritual man. It is distressingly true that the world is on the rocks spiritually, and that at no time in history has the spiritual life of man been at such a low ebb. But, it is equally true that human beings everywhere are seeking for spiritual release and truth and that the truly religious spirit is more fundamentally alive now than perhaps at any previous time. People everywhere are expectant of a new revelation and of a new dispensation. Humanity has advanced so far on the way of evolution that its demands and expectations are not couched in terms of material benefits only, but also in terms of spiritual vision, true values and right human relations. Humanity demands teaching and spiritual help along with the necessary requests for food, clothes and the opportunity to work and live in freedom. It faces famine in large areas of the world, and yet we find men and women registering with equal dismay the famine of the soul. The dream of brotherhood, of fellowship, of world co-operation and of a peace based on right human relations is becoming clearer in our minds. A new heaven and a new earth are on their way.

20.18 Mr. President, it is Unesco's task to hasten the fulfilment of this dream. Mankind looks up to this Organization for the audacity, the courage and the vision of true leadership. It is a challenge to all of us, a challenge which we cannot and must not fail to meet.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on H.E. Dr. Mitchell, Head of the delegation of Liberia.

22.1 Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, if I might paraphrase Marcel Proust, I would say that the creation of Unesco does not take place once and for all, but necessarily continues day by day. On behalf of President Tubman, the Government and people of Liberia, I bring greetings and felicitations to the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco. The Liberian Government places special emphasis on Unesco because of its important functions in the field of education. We look upon Unesco as bringing hope to millions of African villages for a better life within their present environment. This to us means a better life now, and not promises for a rosy future.

22.2 To the Liberian delegation this is a most important session, because when Unesco met for the first time, in London in 1945, there were only three independent African States. Today there are five and twenty. This brings great satisfaction to the Liberian people, because for more than half a century the only true African voices in the forums of the world were those of Liberia and Ethiopia. We spoke for Africa, yet there was always the hope that some day our brothers on the continent would be in the position to speak, each for himself. Liberia is not a great nation, but the idea of African liberation became a policy of the Liberian Government as far back as 1869 (today of course it is popular to be anti-colonial). And since then we have devoted all our energies towards the cause of African redemption. Our arguments for the freedom of Africa at the assemblies of international organizations, and our representations to governments in the interest of African freedom have brought untold difficulties and in many instances, direct hardships and death to the

Liberian people. Through it all, we were undaunted, because we believed that right was on our side. Today justice has triumphed over injustice, right over wrong, freedom over enslavement, light over darkness. The African peoples are accustomed to deprivation - first it was slavery through the slave trade, when millions of Africans died in slave gangs, in the holds of slave ships, or in the tobacco, corn, and cotton fields of the new world. Then came colonialism, with added sufferings. Through it all, the spirit of the African was all he had left, and that spirit was never broken. He held the hope at all times that an end would come some day.

22.3 Today we stand on the verge of the dawn of a new day in international relations, a day when all of Africa will be free. The African bears no malice or hatred against anyone; he wishes evil for no man. For him the past is gone and cannot be recalled, the future is what matters. He needs schools, teachers, textbooks, among others, for the education of a people who are three hundred years late for schooling. He needs trained officials within a year or two, whereas it takes twenty years to train a first-rate official. Colonialism did not give him these things, therefore he must get them within the shortest possible time through such international agencies as Unesco, which promise him a better life within the near future without recourse to violence. On the other hand, the African does not seek paternalistic treatment. He asks only to be treated as any other free people, to be given his just due, no more and no less; to have a rightful voice in the councils of the world; to bear his share of the responsibilities and obligations that are incumbent upon any free people.

22.4 But the voice of Africa is faint in Unesco, because there is no African representation on the Executive Board, on the Headquarters Committee, on any of the councils and committees that govern this Organization. Even after the elections for the Executive Board, that vast portion of the African continent from the Sahara to the Kalahari, known as Black Africa, the centre of true African culture, is not represented on the Board. And why? Because the power blocks that control the votes to the Executive Board are not ready to have a true African voice on the Board. However, we can still wait, time is in our favour. If we have waited for 300 years, we can wait for another two or four years. We prefer to have, not his master's voice, but the true voice of Africa on the Board.

22.5 At the last General Conference we contended here in these halls that the Headquarters Committee should include an African State. We were completely ignored. Again we are asking for a voice in the operations of the Organization, whether this is done by enlarging the units, or by a reapportionment of the existing seats. There can be no true geographical representation, there can be no true statement based on equality of all States from this rostrum, when only a few have a voice in the upper echelons of this Organization.

22.6 To see so many delegates from the African continent here is indeed a source of joy, especially to the Liberian people. We welcome our brothers with open arms and feel sure, now they are here, that the united voice of Africa will indeed be heard.

22.7 On behalf of the African peoples, and of the Liberian Government and people in particular, I wish to extend our hearty thanks to this General Conference for the honour conferred on our continent at this Conference by the election of an African as President of the General Conference, but only on the recommendation of the Executive Board. History shall record this as Africa's conference because of the admission of 11 African States shortly before or during the Conference, and because two Africans were elected Vice-Presidents of the General Conference.

22.8 When Dr. Veronese was elected Director-General in 1958 there were many of us who, while voting for him, held doubts as to the new course the Organization was to take. We regarded Dr. Veronese as the European intellectual which he is, and we saw Unesco taking the course of an organization for intellectual co-operation. Today, while admitting that philosophical divergencies still exist, we are satisfied that our initial fears were entirely unfounded. We find that during the two years under review, Dr. Veronese has given equal attention to intellectual discussions and to programmes of technical assistance which are indeed building peace within the minds of men. We believe that it is a tribute to Dr. Veronese that he has been able to produce a programme that has completely balanced all shades of thinking within Unesco. This is a difficult task, and it calls for patience, vision, understanding and capacity that are almost superhuman.

22.9 There are many who contend that Unesco has come of age since it acquired its own premises. I contend that Unesco has come of age because it has discovered its true purpose, which is service to mankind.

22.10 The Government of the Republic of Liberia would like to thank the Director-General and the Executive Board for the programmes for Africa that have been outlined in the programme and budget 11 C/5 and 11 C/5 Addendum and Corrigendum. This is indeed a great move in the right direction of providing adequate assistance for African States. However, we hasten to point out the inadequacy of the programme as drawn up by the Director-General and approved by the Executive Board. It is the view of the Liberian delegation that a programme twice as large as that now proposed by the Director-General is what is actually needed for Tropical Africa. Even a $2 million programme for Africa during 1961 and 1962 could be viewed as a mere beginning in the training of personnel and other forms of assistance in the various areas of education in Africa. The need in Africa is well known to us all; a debate on the question is unnecessary. What is necessary is willingness on the part of this Organization to put forth a substantial effort, an effort that will really make an impact in the area of education in Tropical Africa.

22.11 In the past, the countries of Africa have come to the Unesco meetings and have supported every programme for every other area of the world. We think it is only right, now that it is Africa's time, to look forward with great faith to similar support being given for a programme for Africa.

22.12 To turn now to the programme and budget, there are a few items on the agenda, mainly

administrative, upon which my Government would like to make comments. On the question of the proposal made by the Director-General in document 11 C/ADM/18 of 16 September 1960, concerning additional office space for the Secretariat, my Government readily supports the proposal and sees no reason why the Director-General should not be authorized to proceed with plans for the construction of additional office space at Headquarters. It is the view of my delegation that if we expect the Secretariat to operate efficiently we should be willing to see that it has adequate office space within which to function.

22.13 In regard to the proposal made in document 11 C/ADM/15 of 22 July 1960, it is the view of the Liberian delegation that the Director-General, as the principal administrative officer of the Organization, is in a better position to advise on rules and regulations for the staff of Unesco than anyone else. Having studied the amendments as proposed in the document mentioned above, it is the view of the Liberian delegation that these amendments should be unanimously accepted by the General Conference and that the Director-General should be given a free hand in the operation of the Organization. We further support his proposal for salary adjustments for the staff.

22.14 It has been the policy of my Government to grant a number of scholarships to African students from various parts of the continent to study at Liberian institutions at the expense of the Government. At present there are seven such students at the University of Liberia, six at Cuttington College and Divinity School, and three at the Booker Washington Technical Institute, in addition to numerous others who have come to study various phases of practical work and return to their countries. It is the intention of my Government to continue to offer these scholarships for training of personnel in Africa. We ourselves are in great need, but our brothers are in greater need and we are willing to share with them the little we have. It is the view of my Government, that the task of training educators in Africa would be greatly assisted if each Member State here present would offer at least four scholarships per annum to one of the African countries, at the expense of the host government, for training of teachers and administrators to man the schools of Africa. This effort would indeed further the assistance that Unesco is giving.

22.15 I would also like to point out that the African governments are not entirely depending on Unesco or on bilateral grants or on any international organization to educate their children. Some of them are spending more than 20% of their budgets in the field of education.

22.16 In fine, it is the view of the Liberian delegation that the task before this Organization is a difficult one - it is the responsibility of providing schools and instructors for millions of children throughout the world. This is an important task into which politics should not enter; the time available to the Organization to perform miracles of education in Africa and Asia is indeed short, and every other argument must give way to the paramount cause that is before us. There are hundreds of millions of men, women and children who are looking to Unesco as the only guarantee of a chance to become literate, or a chance for a better job and consequently a better living; or a chance for formal education. Are we noble enough to live up to this high responsibility, or are we going to permit petty jealousies and personal ambitions to cause us to fail in our obligations to mankind?

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Cadieux, Head of the Canadian delegation.

24.1 Mr. CADIEUX (Canada) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, before submitting certain observations which the Canadian delegation wishes to present to the General Conference, I have three very pleasant tasks to fulfil.

24.2 First of all, Mr. President, I should like to convey to you our congratulations on your election as President of this session, which should mark an important stage in the history of the Organization. We trust that the discussions which you will preside over will be distinguished by objectivity and a deep understanding of the high mission with which Unesco was entrusted fifteen years ago.

24.3 Secondly, I should like to express our satisfaction to the Director-General and the Secretariat for the way in which Unesco's affairs have been conducted during the two years which have passed since the last session. During these two years, the Director-General and his collaborators have ceaselessly striven to keep Member States informed of the progress of the Organization's activities while at the same time encouraging them to meet their contractual obligations. I would like to be able to say with as much assurance that we, the beneficiaries of their work, have made full use equally steadfastly of the excellent material they have so frequently provided us with. In speaking of excellent material, I am thinking particularly of the Introduction to the Draft Programme and Budget for 1961-1962. It contains a masterly exposition not only of Unesco's tasks for the two years ahead but also of the fundamental principles which inspire the vast and varied complex of the Organization's activities.

24.4 Thirdly, Mr. President, I have the honour on behalf of Canada of warmly greeting the newly independent countries which are taking part in the work of the General Conference for the first time. It is with the liveliest satisfaction that we observe that one of their first international moves was to request admission to Unesco and the other United Nations agencies. The path of mutual co-operation, which is that of the United Nations leads, in fact, towards a world which we would all like to see come into being, a world which, despite setbacks and disappointments, is taking shape in the joint undertakings with which we are concerned here. We therefore welcome these new fraternal States, as well as the Associate Members whose presence at this General Conference helps to enrich our experience and make our discussions more realistic.

(The speaker continued in English)

24.5 It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to be able to report to this Conference that during these last two years there has been in Canada a very considerable increase in interest and activity in Unesco

affairs. The Canadian National Commission for Unesco, created at the end of 1957, has during this interval been briskly getting on with its important tasks of collaborating with Unesco, and bringing the work of the Organization to the attention of the appropriate Canadian institutions and organizations and to the interest of the Canadian public generally. The Canadian National Commission for Unesco has been particularly successful in organizing the many and varied resources in Canada, whether governmental or private, to advance the purposes of Unesco's East-West Major Project - The Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. For example, the co-operation of the National Film Board and of the Canadian Film Institute was secured to compile a catalogue of films on Asia available in Canada; and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has been active in producing special radio projects on this theme. The National Gallery of Canada and other organizations have undertaken special activities on the East-West theme, and the National Commission has sponsored a variety of conferences which we think have successfully stimulated a wide Canadian interest in this important part of Unesco's programme.

24.6 We are informed that there has been a steady increase in Canada in sales of and subscriptions to Unesco publications. Over the last two years, moreover, Canada has profited from a number of international meetings organized or sponsored by Unesco. The Canadian Commission has also developed close relations with other National Commissions throughout the world, and Canada has continued to carry out its important duty of providing facilities for the reception and the training of Unesco fellows from other countries.

24.7 In August of 1960, Canada was honoured and happy to serve as the host country to the World Conference on Adult Education, a conference which perhaps more than any other single factor brought to the attention of Canadian citizens the nature and quality of Unesco's responsibilities. This conference in Montreal - which we are most happy to have been assured was highly successful - aroused not only great interest among the many organizations in Canada concerned with adult education, but also received widespread and intelligent notice in the Canadian press and brought an important part of the work of Unesco to the attention and notice of the Canadian public to which it gave a very helpful education in the work and in the objectives of Unesco. Finally this last summer, also, a Canadian permanent delegation was appointed to Unesco Headquarters in Paris.

24.8 Canada in 1945 was one of the forty-seven founder States of Unesco and has been, over the years, a strong supporter of Unesco's activities and purposes. Reasons which led Canada to the conviction that the work of Unesco was of the greatest importance are still valid fifteen years later, and indeed they now carry much more weight. Unesco, in 1960, is immeasurably stronger than it was fifteen years ago; stronger in resources, in membership, of course, and, what is of great importance, stronger in experience and confidence. Over these years Canada has been by no means a purely passive or uncritical advocate of Unesco's activities. With other member countries, we have had from time to time apprehensions that the necessarily limited resources of Unesco were in some danger of being spread over too many unrelated activities, and that on occasion the programmes of Unesco appeared to be unduly ambitious in relation to the financial, and not infrequently to the human, resources available for projects which may have seemed desirable in themselves, but threw too great a weight of responsibility and of labour upon the growing organization. It is, of course, the duty of a godparent to keep a careful eye upon his godchild; and this we have done always, I trust, in a spirit not of unhelpful criticism, but rather of affectionate if somewhat prudent goodwill.

24.9 At the appropriate time, the Canadian delegation will have something to say in detail about the proposed programme and budget under items 15, 16 and 17 of the agenda. While we have been able to support the U.S. proposal as to the provisional budget level, we expect that the detailed examination which is to be carried out in the course of this Conference will show that a serious effort has been made to eliminate projects of doubtful value and urgency, and that the proposed increase in staff and programme expenditures are justified. Canadian delegations over the years have consistently urged upon Unesco the necessity of concentrating its resources, of establishing firm and workable priorities for programmes, and of putting them into effect with a reasonable regard for economy. In view of the very considerable resources which it seems likely will be made available to Unesco through the Special Fund and through the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance we trust that there may be found considerable support for the view that the Technical Assistance programmes of Unesco should now be considered with the greatest care, so that these principles of concentration, of priorities, and of economy may be held in due regard.

24.10 I must confess that we find it somewhat disturbing to know that the various Specialized Agencies which draw very substantially from the Special Fund and from the expanded programme should be at this time financing a growing number of Technical Assistance programmes through their own budgets. What gives Canada, and this delegation in particular, some concern has been the consistent increases in budgets of the Specialized Agencies while at the same time Canada, and other countries of course, have been increasing substantially their contributions to the Special Fund, the expanded programme and to other centralized agencies. For example, the Canadian subscriptions to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund were recently more than doubled. The Canadian Parliament has approved Canadian membership in the International Development Association to provide capital to the less developed countries. Canada will subscribe 37.85 million dollars to the International Development Association; and Canada is also contributing 2 million dollars, as the fifth largest contributor to the Special Fund, and a further 2 million dollars to the expanded programme, as the third largest contributor. Continued support by governments for United Nations aid programmes will depend to an important extent on the ability of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies to administer the funds made available to them in a rational and effective way. It is the Canadian view

that a rational and efficient system of administration is more likely to be developed if the aid funds made available to the United Nations are channelled through centralized agencies.

24.11 Although, therefore, the Canadian delegation supports the provisional budget level approved by the Conference we, and no doubt others, propose to examine both in detail and in principle certain of the proposals which have been laid before us. It is true that the great majority of Unesco's proposals have commended and do commend themselves to the approval of the Canadian Government. This does not alter the fact that with steadily increasing commitments to United Nations funds and to the budgets of Specialized Agencies, many national governments, including that of Canada, will have to consider very carefully their views on the most effective ways in which their funds available for international purposes can be expended.

24.12 In this connexion I might briefly note that among the proposals which my delegation will wish to examine with care are those regarding Unesco's relations with the International Development Association and the United Nations Civilian Operations in the Congo. While there can be no doubt that Unesco has an important and helpful rôle to play in both these fields of activity, it might be that the specific proposals which are before the Conference at this time are somewhat premature. To these as well as to other matters, my delegation will be giving attention as the Conference proceeds.

24.13 I have observed that the great majority of Unesco projects commend themselves to the Canadian Government. In co-operation with the Canadian National Commission for Unesco we have carefully examined, as indeed have other delegations, the programme and budget for 1961-1962. While we are in agreement with our National Commission for Unesco that, in general, both the projects concerned and the planning for them have been clearly stated by the Director-General, we shall naturally have observations to make on a number of the projects planned for the next two years. It is our view that Unesco plays a most helpful rôle when it gives assistance to international associations concerned with parts of the total areas with which Unesco is concerned. We hope that Unesco's relationship with such organizations as the International Association of Universities, the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, and the World Federation of United Nations Associations will be continued and strengthened. And we are pleased to notice the Director-General's happy phrase that "... the whole range of the Organization's administration must first be welded into a consistent whole". With this objective in mind, and armed with the excellent if somewhat voluminous documentation which is characteristic of this eleventh session, we are looking forward to subsequent debates with the liveliest interest and pleasure.

24.14 At the National Conference of the Canadian National Commission for Unesco, to be held in February of 1961, it is proposed to take as the general theme "New Dimensions in International Relations" with particular reference to the work of Unesco. It seems to the Canadian delegation important to realize that these new dimensions in international relations are already apparent to us; that there has developed through Unesco and through other international agencies a new sense of joint partnership so that no longer is the invidious distinction made between contributing and receiving nations. It is the convinced view of the Canadian delegation that we at this Conference are engaged in a joint partnership as citizens, not only of our own countries, but in a larger sense as citizens of the one world which we all must share. For our part, we welcome this opportunity of association with all peoples of the world, all of us no doubt with somewhat special problems of our own, but all of us united in the belief that solutions to the world's problems must be the consequence of joint action, of joint discussion, of reason, of persuasion, and of a sense of world community which, it is our conviction, Unesco of all the United Nations agencies has perhaps the greatest responsibility and the greatest opportunity to further.

25.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, before closing the meeting, may I, on your behalf, thank the eleven speakers, who addressed the Conference this afternoon.

25.2 On your behalf, too, I should like to ask speakers tomorrow and on subsequent days to be as brief as possible so that we can keep to the time-table drawn up by the General Committee and adopted by the Conference. I declare the meeting closed.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

FOURTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

23 November 1960, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. František KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia)

CONTENTS

Inclusion of a new item in the agenda 224
General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued). 224

INCLUSION OF A NEW ITEM IN THE AGENDA

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): The fourteenth plenary meeting is called to order. The General Committee of the Conference has submitted document 11 C/43 - recommending the inclusion of a new item in the agenda of the General Conference. This document was distributed yesterday.
1.2 At its meeting on 22 November, the General Committee unanimously decided to recommend that the General Conference include this item in the agenda of the eleventh session.
1.3 We shall now proceed to a vote by show of hands.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands)

1.4 The General Committee's recommendation is approved by 48 votes. The item will therefore be included in the agenda.
1.5 The General Committee also recommends that the General Conference set up a Working Party composed of the following ten Member States: Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Mexico, Pakistan, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and United States of America, to consider this new item and to submit to the General Conference such draft resolution as it may deem appropriate. The General Committee further recommends that all draft resolutions relating to this question be referred to the Working Party.
1.6 I do not suppose that there are any objections to these recommendations. Are there any objections? No. The recommendations are adopted.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

1.7 We shall now resume the debate. I should like to urge speakers to do their best not to exceed the time-limit. I now call upon the Head of the Korean delegation, Mr. Ki Zun Zo.

2.1 Mr. KI ZUN ZO (Korea):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, on behalf of the Head of the delegation of the Republic of Korea, Dr. Chun Suk Auh, who left Paris yesterday in accordance with government instructions, I have the honour to deliver his speech today. On behalf of the Government and the people of the Republic of Korea, my delegation wishes to express its hearty greetings to the distinguished delegations of Member States, particularly those of new States from Africa, and its warmest gratitude to the Executive Board and to the Director-General and all his staff for their great achievements during the past two years and for their painstaking efforts that have enabled all of us to meet here in order to discuss the programme and budget of the Organization for the coming two years.
2.2 My country owes much to the United Nations, not only for her recent recovery of independence but for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of her war-torn economy. Following our success in repelling aggression and preserving freedom, the younger generation of Korean people rose last April, this time against the undemocratic régime, to defend freedom and popular sovereignty. This revolution was brought about by the courageous sacrifice of the Korean students, themselves products of modern education. The isolationist policy of the former government was completely discarded, and under the new government the doors to new Korea are wide open. International conventions and agreements sponsored by the Organization shall be given the most favourable consideration and will be honoured in due course by my Government. It is with such thoughts in mind that my delegation represents the new republic and takes part in the discussions of the projects laid before this Conference.
2.3 Of the programmes proposed, my delegation is especially interested in the project for the development of primary education in Asia and that for the promotion of studies and research relating to marine sciences. In view of the tremendous amount of thought and effort given to these projects prior to their formal presentation at this session, I trust that they will be given proper consideration and deserved support throughout the course of this meeting.
2.4 As for the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, I have the honour to announce that the

Korean National Commission has finally completed its five-year project for the publication of the "Unesco Korean Survey" - in both Korean and English editions - to bring Korean culture of the past and the present much closer to the Western world. On the eve of its departure for this session of the General Conference my delegation played a leading rôle in the Unesco national seminar, sponsored by the National Commission, the very first of its kind to be held in my country, for the purpose of seeking ways and means to promote the East-West Major Project, especially through educational, scientific and cultural activities. With the help of the Organization and of a number of experts in competent fields, the three-day seminar was successful in setting the principal goals to which diverse efforts in each important field should be directed.

2.5 Soon after the April revolution, the Korean Unesco Association underwent a fundamental reorganization which has, in turn, resulted in increased activities to expedite the construction in the capital city of a ten-storey "Unesco House", to be dedicated to the ideals of international understanding through cultural exchanges. The Association is co-operating closely with the National Commission in implementing various projects of an international character and it has contributed much to the achievements of the National Commission by sharing a great portion of the latter's ever increasing expenditures.

2.6 I should like to assure you, in conclusion, that my delegation and my Government will co-operate to the fullest possible extent with the Organization and the Member States assembled here.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): Thank you. I now call upon the Head of the Swiss delegation, Mr. Tschudi.

4.1 Mr. TSCHUDI (Switzerland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Swiss delegation considers it a pleasant duty to say what a high opinion it has of the activities reported by the Director-General and those he proposes for 1961-1962.

4.2 The reasons for our satisfaction and for our confidence stem both from his detailed report and from his Proposed Programme and Budget. A labour so considerable both in quality and quantity commands our esteem and our gratitude. An honest job of work, conforming faithfully to the aims of Unesco - that is what should be chiefly stressed and praised.

4.3 It has also been a difficult task, if one bears in mind the complexity and the growing pace of the events occurring in the last two years. The response and reaction of the Director-General and the Executive Board to the new problems which have arisen in that period prove that the Organization was ready to play its part. Indeed it must have been prepared for some considerable time before. For the additional activities planned or carried out in the last few months could not have been improvised and, in fact, could never have been conceived without the exercise of a vigilance owing as much to preparedness as to imagination. It gives us pleasure to acknowledge that the Unesco of 1960 succeeded, quickly and well, in directing its initial aid and co-operation towards the most critical points.

4.4 It is these and other measures and the necessary developments thereto that we shall have to examine and approve at this session, without, however, neglecting the broad lines of action and the great continuing tasks for which Unesco came into existence.

4.5 But the difficult times in which we live and the need for realistic action compel us to cut short our praise, which is none the less sincere for being brief. The Director-General and the Executive Board will, I am sure, be grateful if we concentrate our remarks on three or four points which call for our main observations and suggestions.

4.6 The Member States were invited to submit their comments on the Proposed Programme and Budget by 15 January 1960. These comments were published. They have been studied by the Secretariat and the Executive Board. It is to be hoped that they were read in other Member States. Therefore, the Swiss delegation will not recapitulate today all the observations then presented by its Government and National Commission; it leaves that task to its delegates on the various working bodies.

4.7 However, there is a principle that we should like to state now, at the beginning of this session, namely that the proportion of general to other activities must be maintained at the level proposed. These general activities spring from the fundamental ideas on which our Constitution is based, and to reduce the proportion would be to disown and jeopardize a labour which can only bear fruit after a long interval. If you have any doubt of this, it will be enough to re-read the document entitled "Appraisal of Unesco's Programmes" and more particularly its conclusions. Unesco in action would be inconceivable without Unesco at study. And the present trend towards acting and giving would very soon lose its impetus and its value if the work of documentation, analysis and synthesis were slowed down or neglected at the source. To export men and services - and to pay for them - is necessary and good. But this activity can be of value only if it is backed by an intelligent inventory of the resources and by the support given to basic study and research.

4.8 In addition to the "Major Projects" - wisely kept at three - new events and needs will compel us to undertake special activities of some urgency and quite numerous in relation to our means. But to envisage too many of these forthwith would lead us to that dissipation of effort, the dangers of which we have pointed out.

4.9 To this extent and with this reservation, we approve the decision, justified by the Director-General and the Board, to intensify our efforts on behalf of education and scientific research.

4.10 But - and I say this quite frankly - we are less concerned with the Unesco programme for the next two years than with certain problems connected with the way our Organization works. In other words, we believe that the plans, clearly set out on paper, will, in fact, be worth only what the body responsible for their execution can get out of them. The higher budget ceiling which we were glad to see adopted, will be justified only if the programme is rationally applied. Can this happen with the present mode of working? In truth, we feel that there is room for improvement in the way the Organization functions.

4.11 Let us begin by considering what the

Director-General and the Secretariat have to do, before turning our attention to the Executive Board.

4.12 Under the present system, the Director-General and his colleagues have to apply their minds and energies, and apply them simultaneously, to three distinct operations: the execution and supervision of earlier programmes; the implementation of the new programme, and the conception and planning of programmes for the future. These three operations are complementary, and therefore inseparable. In practice, they impinge on, intermingle with and sometimes prejudice each other.

4.13 During the early months of the year following a session of the General Conference, the Secretariat makes a considerable effort, and at great speed, in order to "bring out" the next two-year programme in the summer. Then the "shuttle system" starts with the preliminary draft going first to the Executive Board, then to Member States, then back to the Board, and, then, at last - but at a very late stage - in presumably "final" form to Member States again and back once more to the Board.

4.14 As a result, this programme is constantly being recast, and its figures frequently changed, by means of "addenda" and "corrigenda" during the 18 months prior to its consideration and adoption by the General Conference. As a consequence of all this coming and going, too often the alterations get the better of the original plan and the subsequent or secondary operations assume more importance than the first and principal operation.

4.15 To remedy this, would it not be possible and preferable to consider a different time-table? An attempt might be made, for example, to draw up a four-year programme in less haste and in less precarious conditions. This would mean taking a longer view, an idea suggested by the "Appraisal" document. This longer-term programme would be placed before the General Conference every four years and would cover four years; it would be discussed at what might be called a "major" session.

4.16 In the intervening years, the Conference would nevertheless continue to meet every two years, as at present, in order to keep an eye on the application of the programme and, if circumstances so required, to introduce amendments. The intermediate session - which would not be a "minor" one - might be shorter than the present sessions. Member States would be represented by smaller delegations, which would mean a considerable saving. Such an alternation would, however, permit us still to meet biennially, thus preserving the present opportunity for contact between States and with the Secretariat, to which, for so many good reasons, we are firmly attached.

4.17 Here is another observation, also related to the functioning of our agency. The Director-General proposes some increases in staff, which he justifies with sound arguments. We certainly understand that his office and the staff of the busiest departments require reinforcement, both in quality and quantity. Until now, our first reaction was to reject on principle any increase in so-called "administrative" expenditure, as opposed to so-called "constructive" expenditure on the programme. But is such opposition always valid? We may be permitted to doubt it. When one considers the importance and urgency of some of the new tasks entrusted to Unesco, for example in Africa, it seems increasingly arbitrary to draw a clear distinction between the planning office and the field of action, between the general staff and the front, the missions for which certain collaborators are needed sometimes here and sometimes there, between operation and administration.

4.18 It is also difficult to entrust these tasks, partly new and always difficult, to a staff that is often overworked and of insufficiently high grade. Just imagine, for example, what valuable assistance could be afforded in education by a group of senior officials with the experience, the scope and the authority of inspectors-general! But where can such assistance be found? How are we to attract such people, and select, retain and - of course - pay them? This is a problem going beyond the scope of my remarks and one which cannot be fully solved at the present stage.

4.19 The Swiss delegation will limit its remarks here to enunciating the principle that an increase in the number and quality of collaborators, principally for the great tasks of education and scientific research seems sound and worthy of approval. By this, it does not mean that such new assistance should necessarily be sought outside the House. It considers that the Secretariat already has on its staff men of wide experience, whose services might be rewarded by deserved promotion.

4.20 We know that, to a large extent, the Executive Board appreciates the heavy and complex task falling upon the Secretariat. The Director-General has paid tribute to the invaluable support he has been given by the Board. What is the latter's task? Our Constitution has defined it as follows: to prepare the agenda for the General Conference; to examine the programme of work for the Organization and the corresponding budget estimates, and to submit them to the General Conference. Under the authority of the latter, the Board is responsible for the execution of the programme adopted. Examination, supervision, responsibility: these are the essential characteristics of the task devolving upon the 24 wise men who sit on the Executive Board.

4.21 We know the cost of one hour's work by the Board in plenary meeting, with simultaneous interpretation in four languages and with minutes It is more difficult to calculate the cost of the work demanded by this hour, both beforehand and afterwards, from the members of the Secretariat.

4.22 When we recapitulate the number of days during which the Board was in session in 1958 (Conference year), in 1959 (no Conference) and in 1960 (Conference year, in which the current session of the Board is not yet over), we find, fortunately, that there has been some reduction. But, at the cost of so much time, effort and expense, could not the Board render the Organization even more valuable services? This, I think, is the fundamental question. Do not misunderstand me: we have no intention of levelling the slightest criticism at the Chairman of the Executive Board. Quite the opposite: attention, vigilance, impartiality, self-control, courtesy - he possesses all these qualities, not forgetting that sense of humour which relieves the atmosphere in moments of strain.

4.23 But the Board, which counts among its members so many alert and distinguished minds, already

has certain traditions ... and nothing is more tenacious than tradition, even, and perhaps above all, in young institutions.

4.24 Why do so many speakers rise or rise again, to support and, all too often, to repeat what others have already said before them? Why "present" at length this or that committee's or working party's report, when we all have the report in front of us, duplicated in four languages, and when the committee or working party has been set up for the very purpose of lightening our task? Why, at meetings, ask questions of the Director-General or the Secretariat which might easily be answered in a private conversation, between the Board member concerned and a member of the Secretariat? Why, finally, and again at meetings, make complacent statements about so many activities of purely national or regional interest? Let us have the courage to say that this procedure is somewhat archaic in 1960, in an organization only 15 years old...

4.25 It also happens that, when it is wearied by a long-drawn-out discussion or misled by its apparent unimportance, the Board - suddenly, as if by chance or accident - takes up a fundamental problem. We had an example of this during the final session of 1959, when the - alas deceptive - prospects of a relaxation of international tension led the Board to ask itself how, if those prospects were realized, Unesco might use the sums becoming available through the reduction of expenditure on armaments. The ensuing discussion, though it was hurried and by no means exhaustive, nevertheless gave a measure of the opinions and of the resources of imagination, realism and wisdom which are the mark and the pride of our "Executive". The Board itself seemed mildly and agreeably surprised by this ... But, on the day in question, the agenda was so heavy that it quickly passed on to another item.

4.26 It is primarily the Board's responsibility to revise and rationalize its working methods and its time-table. At the opening meeting we were glad to learn that such a reform had been suggested by the Chairman of the Executive Board himself; that augurs well. We shall therefore confine ourselves here to recommending that the study of such a reform - from which we may hope for a saving of both time and money - take first place in the Board's time-table at its first session in 1961.

4.27 A further suggestion: in addition to the regular public meetings, it would be desirable for the Board to resume those free discussions which it held between 1952 and 1954 and which gave it the opportunity of considering - without documents, minutes or papers of any kind - some of the essential problems with which Unesco has to deal and which should govern the direction of its future programmes.

4.28 If it thus reassessed the value of its own work, the Board would be, at once, more inclined, and obliged, to deal rapidly with purely administrative or procedural questions, treating them as accessory. Instead of all too often giving the impression of a discussion between "managers", it would restore to its members the nobler rôle of "counsellors" which their membership of the Board should lay upon them.

4.29 Finally, it is probable that a four-year programme, on the lines indicated a few moments ago, would still further promote the already very satisfactory collaboration between the Director-General and the Board, and lead to sounder organization and greater economy in their joint labours.

4.30 However, while we admit the need for thus improving the way in which Unesco works, our main interest is in the spirit in which its activities are conceived and carried out.

4.31 Since our last meeting two years ago, mutual trust is on the decline throughout the world; mistrust or positive distrust are becoming more evident and increasingly frequent in an ever-growing number of places. Indeed this is putting it mildly and I am deliberately resorting to measured understatement here rather than give a vast dramatic picture of the cold war going on around us.

4.32 If we were to listen to our National Commissions - consisting, by definition, of individuals all devoted to the Unesco ideal, specialized, naturally, but at the same time most attentive to the general trend of events - they would tell us of their concern at the danger they sense in the increasingly political tone of our debates. Discussion becomes political in the worst sense of the term when, in the context of Unesco, the policy of a State or a group of States is no longer a means of action but an end in itself, when attempts are made to mobilize the sources and resources of an international agency to further a particular political policy and when the arguments in support, the strained or distorted meanings of words, give discussion a polemical and sometimes demagogic tone contrary to the ideal expressed in our Constitution.

4.33 Would it not be possible for Unesco to show that, in its own sphere, the differences and oppositions embodied in the various "isms" are only of minor importance as compared with the activities our Organization is conducting in space and time? Indeed, has it not already given an outstanding, example this year by undertaking the task of saving the Nubian monuments, by rapidly drawing up its plan and marshalling its initial resources? And could we not, in the same spirit, do something else and even more?

4.34 In addition to its intergovernmental conferences, Unesco has already held and organized educational, cultural, scientific and technical gatherings, working meetings which have had most significant results. It will have other opportunities of the same kind in the future. But would not such meetings have an even greater impact if the individuals invited to participate could do so not so much as the representatives of different countries as for the sake of their professional qualifications.

4.35 One condition, however, should be clearly stipulated. It is the counterpart of the foregoing and of vital importance. This condition is that, whether they be nationals of Member States of the Organization or not, the individuals concerned formally undertake to abstain from any political propaganda at such meetings. Is this possible? In theory, yes. But only experience can show if it is so in practice.

4.36 It would therefore be no more nor less than an experiment that we would make, and a more realistic one than might appear at first sight. Its primary object would be to increase the professional efficiency of these working meetings by widening their scope. Secondly, it would tend to show that

the great international specialized agencies - without, naturally, ignoring the political situation - have found a sphere in which to work free of external instructions, constraint and political passions. If this experiment were to succeed, it would mark a significant step forward on the road to peaceful co-operation and a tremendous advance towards that universality towards which the international organizations are tending or aspiring at least in principle.

4.37 Is this the opportune moment to consider such an experiment, at the end of a year when the horizon is obscured by so many dark clouds? Would it be advisable to wait for a sunnier sky? History shows that it is often during the most threatening periods that innovators have worked wonders. This is not only true for individual effort. Could not scientists and technicians from all over the world, in their own spheres of competence, co-operate in exchanging knowledge, in constructive tasks? And is it not precisely during our era that they should be urged to do so, in spite of tension, in spite of the wold war?

4.38 Who can offer them the opportunity, the field of action, the tools and methods, if not Unesco? Its field of activity is vast, but clearly defined. All its educational, scientific and cultural activities have peaceful aims. But is it not the primary condition for the achievement of those aims to reject the celebrated formula of "politics first" and leave politics to the professionals?

4.39 Our governments would appreciate - at least we may be permitted to hope so - our adopting this attitude instead of our bringing into our sphere and repeating here the arguments they have already used at their political gatherings. Would they not then rely on Unesco to progress along the road of what one might call "depolitization" - which was its original policy - within the framework of the United Nations?

4.40 Certainly, all our Member States are more or less involved in some forms of regional activity and mutual aid. Many of them feel a more immediate solidarity with their neighbours to whom they are linked by a common language or culture. This solidarity is natural and right. I am not suggesting that it should be repudiated, but that this vast gathering arranged by our Organization should be put to good use by exploring fields and selecting cases in which at least once, at last once in history, everyone will participate in some truly universal work of co-operation. Goodwill is not enough. Professional qualification is the inspiration and guiding force of such a venture.

4.41 The Swiss delegation has not submitted its draft resolution on this item and does not intend doing so at this session. But it would be happy if Member States, the Director-General and the Executive Board would consider this question now brought to their notice.

4.42 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to conclude with a thought for our hosts. A thought of gratitude, of course, a thought derived less from custom and politeness than from reflection and feeling.

4.43 Switzerland is glad that the Conference is meeting in France, the country where, on the international level, the idea and practice of what are known as "cultural relations" first saw the light. In three centres, the Quai d'Orsay, rue de Grenelle and the rue de Valois, the same will to exchange, the same spirit of international solidarity are working to spread French culture and science abroad and at the same time to attract to France works and men representative of foreign culture and science.

4.44 It therefore seems to us a very good augury that the general debate included on our agenda, the debate on international exchanges, is taking place here, in a conference meeting in Paris and enjoying, yet again, the generous hospitality of our French friends.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I now call upon the Head of the Tunisian delegation, Mr. Messadi.

6.1 Mr. MESSADI (Tunisia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on the occasion of a debate such as the one in which we are now engaged, the Tunisian delegation believes that the very least it can do to pay tribute to Unesco, to the magnificent work it is performing throughout the world, to the spirit of fruitful co-operation which governs the relationships between its directive and executive organs, and to the untiring devotion of its Director-General and Secretariat, is to try and place our discussions on the very high plane of the ideals and aims of the Organization itself, in other words, on the level of the major concerns of a human community increasingly united and yet increasingly uneasy.

6.2 By a sort of paradox, which is very much in the nature of human affairs, it is, in fact, under the dual and contradictory sign of a certain anxiety - of a certain anguish, indeed - and at the same time of a certain optimism and resurgent hope that this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco has been proceeding ever since the opening meeting.

6.3 The General Conference has greeted with unalloyed joy the recent accession to independence of a large number of African countries, and has hastened to welcome them as members of the Organization. My delegation, in its turn, is particularly happy to give these brother countries its cordial welcome, coupled with its heartfelt wishes for the fulfilment of the hopes and high promise of their regained freedom. Our General Conference has found rightful cause, in this massive accession of countries to independence and international responsibility, for renewed hope in a world of increasing freedom, increasing fraternity and increasing interdependence in the peaceful tasks and mutual service of education, science and culture.

6.4 And yet there is a sense of uneasiness, and cause for uneasiness. Surely no one can deny this, no clear-sighted nation can blink the fact or wave it aside.

6.5 Having barely emerged from the nameless horrors of the last world war, mankind, in a magnificent surge of solidarity, sought only one object: to erect, against any possible repetition of war, the powerful bulwark of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, dedicated one and all to the defence of peace, to safeguarding human rights and to the social, economic, scientific and cultural advancement of all peoples. History will one day tell, certainly better than we can, of the tremendous services rendered by the United Nations, and its

Specialized Agencies to the cause of peace, freedom and human progress during these past few years.

6.6 But with so much to take pride in, mankind is still disquieted. For has not science - that very science to whose service the United Nations dedicated Unesco, and which the latter is serving so zealously - succeeded in taming the mighty energy of the atom, thus placing in the hands of man, the eternal sorcerer's apprentice, cosmic forces so powerful that their release could wipe out the whole of civilization? In these circumstances, who would dare close his eyes to the mortal danger concealed in that hypocrisy known as the "cold war", which continues to set one part of the world against the other, and whose echoes penetrate, alas, into this very building and inflame some of our discussions? Other voices, preceding mine, have been raised here to ask whether we are doing enough to ensure the triumph of Unesco's ideals and the full achievement of its objectives. But one of the basic aims of our Organization proclaimed in the Constitution, surely, is that "it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". Our Director-General forcibly recalls this fact when he states, in document 11 C/9 on the assessment of the work carried out by the Organization, that "Unesco is and must remain what its founders intended it to be - an instrument for the promotion of world peace". Is it not the first duly of us all therefore, to temper the impassioned accents of the so-called "cold war" and to show, at any rate in our discussions, that peace, a measure of appeasement, reigns in our minds and in our hearts?

6.7 If all partisan passion were thus banned from our work, if the serenity matching the greatness of its objectives prevailed at our proceedings, we should very soon realize that in substance we are very often in agreement. It is certainly not for us to "politicize" Unesco's activity - using the term in its pejorative and inflammatory sense - nor to transform this splendid organization into a new platform for the cold war. But neither is it for us to "de-politicize" its activity to such a degree as to manifest a sort of reluctance to raise the question of disarmament as it affects Unesco's work or to tackle the problem of decolonization with such hesitant timidity.

6.8 It is certainly reassuring to see Unesco succeed in arousing a fine effort of international solidarity for the purpose of safeguarding the magnificent treasures of Nubia, threatened by flooding. But is it not at least as fine a thing, is it not more essential, more vital, that it should at the same time work more intensively to build, in the minds of men, the impregnable defences of peace, to eradicate hate and the causes of conflict and war from their hearts, to put an end to the dogma of the inequality of races and peoples, to accelerate the beneficent process of decolonization and thus speed the time when all the forces and all the material and moral resources of mankind will be exclusively devoted to the peaceful and continuous development of civilization instead of to oppression and war?

6.9 It is such action which would give Unesco's work its true stature and place it on the level of world destiny; it is this approach, we feel, which should constantly inspire its plans. While there can be no question, I repeat, of "politicizing" Unesco's activities in the bad sense of the word, let us beware, nevertheless, in face of the deep concern of so many peoples who are fearful that others more powerful and less prudent than themselves may lead the world to war and annihilation, of peoples still subject to the blood and iron rule of a colonial system which prevents the free flowering of their rich human potential - let us beware, in face of such concern, lest the particular importance attached, say, to the means of making museums accessible to all appear perhaps to be in some way rather ridiculous.

6.10 This point having been made, my delegation's pleasure is all the greater in expressing its satisfaction as regards the correctness of the general direction taken, after all, by the Conference's discussions and the pertinence of the Proposed Programme and Budget submitted for its consideration.

6.11 The General Conference has just taken the correct and wise decision to include on its agenda, in the light of the decision taken by the United Nations, an item relating to Unesco's rôle and contribution in connexion with the accession of colonized countries and peoples to independence. It has already voted in favour of raising the Organization's budget ceiling, and its proposed programme of activities for the two coming years gives a fairly important place to educational and teaching programmes in Tropical Africa, Asia and the Arab countries. On all these points, my delegation expresses its complete support for the policy adopted by Unesco. For it all shows Unesco to be acting as a dynamic organization sensitive to the march of history, and is of particular significance at a time when a number of African countries have just achieved their independence, when others, still struggling, appear likely to achieve it soon, when the United Nations and our own Organization are exploring means of hastening the development of the historical process of decolonization, and when the United Nations Economic and Social Council goes on record as stating "that the emergence of newly independent States ... calls urgently for additional international assistance of all kinds to help them in their endeavours to reap the benefits and assume the responsibilities of independence and to attain rapid economic and social advancement in conditions of stability". Our Director-General, a faithful and devoted servant of international solidarity, restated this most aptly by declaring, in presenting his Proposed Programme and Budget: "Is it not the duty of the international community, using every means at its disposal, to help these States henceforth to forge their own destiny?".

6.12 Freely to forge their destiny, that, in fact, is the primary question for these young States. And if, for aid in this task, they naturally turn to the international community, and especially to Unesco, let us say quite frankly that it would be not a little insulting and unjust to believe that their action in doing so entails nothing more for the international organizations than increased responsibilities and increased expenditure. There is perhaps too great a tendency to stress only these two factors. Insufficient stress is laid, on the contrary, on the positive contribution by these peoples, on the fact that their presence enriches, strengthens and fosters the activities of the international organizations. In joining Unesco, these new States come to us not merely with the sum total of their vast needs and massive requests for aid

and assistance. They also bring with them all the traditions of civilization and culture that they represent, all their youthful and unshackled energy, all their human potential so long confined and at last set free, all their will to serve, in new-found peace, freedom and friendship, the sacred cause of education, science and culture. Many examples of what these young States just emergent in international life would be capable of achieving, may already be found in the work done by those of them which already have some years of independence behind them. I should like, if I may, to quote but one example better known to me than others - that of my own country, which became independent only four-and-a-half years ago.

6.13 Ever since 1956, Tunisia, in its desire to ensure more rapid human progress through education, science and culture, has steadily increased its efforts in that direction.

6.14 In its budgets, heavily burdened though they were on account of the urgent need for economic investment and equipment, the proportion set aside for education rose from 17% in 1958 to 18% in 1959 and to 19% in 1960, and is to be further increased in 1961 to 21%.

6.15 The number of children attending school in 1955-1956 - the year of our independence - amounted to no more than 250,000 out of a total of 820,000 children of school age. The number of children receiving schooling this year is 450,000.

6.16 This progress has been rendered possible by an overall plan for education programmes drawn up by the Government of President Bourguiba and applied since 1958. The results of the first two years of this ten-year plan show that the targets had been reached and even slightly bettered. My Government is now quite certain, therefore, that at the end of the ten-year period - in 8 years' time, that is - not a single child of school age in Tunisia will be deprived of education. Naturally, the Tunisian Government's education plan has given rise to many problems needing careful study. Since these problems are similar in nature to those in the other developing countries of Africa and the Near East, we were happy, during the conference held in Beirut last February for the purpose of assessing the needs of the Arab States in education, to inform Unesco - and I repeat this here without false pride - that we placed at its disposal all the experience our country had acquired in planning education programmes. We hope to be given the opportunity very soon of making a similar contribution in connexion with the project to establish a centre for training senior educational personnel in the Arab countries.

6.17 I might also mention that Tunisia has taken particular care, in the overall plan prepared, to strike the fairest possible balance between the utilitarian desire to train the technical and non-technical personnel required by a country in process of rapid development and the disinterested concern for scientific research, the advancement of knowledge and the development of culture to the highest level. Since the last school year, the University of Tunis has come into being. As successor to the former "Institut des hautes études de Tunis" fostered over many years by the magnanimous efforts of the celebrated University of Paris and whose pioneering work the new institution is to continue and develop, the University of Tunis has been conceived and organized as a fraternal and harmonious group of traditional faculties, higher technical institutes and centres for pure and applied research. By sending us a consulting architect, Unesco gave us tangible proof of its desire to help forward the completion of the proposed university buildings, and the Tunisian delegation would like to express its deep appreciation from this rostrum accordingly.

6.18 Mr. President and fellow delegates, I should now like to outline briefly my delegation's viewpoint on certain other aspects of the direction and programme of Unesco's activities.

6.19 In the first place, the Tunisian delegation would like to express its great satisfaction at the fact that a principle to which it has always held has now become apparent to us all namely, that unless accompanied and backed by economic assistance, technical assistance is likely to remain without real content or practical significance. What would be the use, for example, of studies and experts, of impressive educational programmes, if the countries concerned were, unable, after all, to find any means of financing them? The fact that it has at last been recognized that education is a vital factor for economic and social development, and that the International Development Association has recently been founded in consequence, should be hailed as an important step forward in furtherance of the work of Unesco and its Member States.

6.20 Of the three Major Projects now in progress, that dealing with scientific research on arid lands has aroused great interest in my country ever since its initiation. Its value on the plane of pure research, indeed, is obvious; while it also demonstrates that Unesco, far from indulging in sterile academic activity, is capable of establishing the necessary relationship and connexion between problems of pure science and those of applied research designed to bring about improvements of various kinds in the material conditions of human life. Tunisia is therefore contributing fully and unreservedly towards the execution of this project. On the internal level, firstly, the attention of the competent authorities has been focused on the urgency and importance of the problem, national study and action machinery has been set in motion, and a National Committee for Arid Lands has been formed comprising all the technical officials concerned and providing the necessary framework for co-ordinating their activities. In Tunisia, for example, there are at least three institutions conducting active research on subjects connected with arid land problems - the Botanical and Agronomical Service, which studies the influence of salt water on plants; the Water Centre, which studies the influence of water and soil salinity on plant respiration; and the Pedological Research Section which studies the pedological evolution of land irrigated with salt water and the latter's effect on the soil-plant complex.

6.21 These studies have yielded important data which place Tunisia among the countries best informed on these problems. My country is ready to make available to the international community, within the framework of the activities undertaken by Unesco in this field, the full results of its

theoretical research and outdoor experimental work in several areas specially selected for that purpose.

6.22 I should also refer here to the highly successful regional course on soil salinity organized by Unesco in Tunisia in September 1959 and attended by the experts from the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries. Then again, in agreement with Unesco and with the help of Technical Assistance, we have founded two research laboratories in Tunis to deal with soil physics and plant physiology.

6.23 My delegation strongly hopes that all these favourable conditions will make it possible, in co-operation with Unesco and with the help of the United Nations' Special Fund, to set up a Regional Centre in Tunisia in the near future to study practical problems of salinity; its beneficent work could have repercussions in all the countries of the arid zone, where millions of people are looking to science to help them to wrest more food and means of subsistence from a hostile nature.

6.24 In this connexion, my delegation can only express its satisfaction with the plans proposed by the Director-General to ensure the continuation and ever intensification of Unesco's activities in this field, to give this research work a more practical turn, and to pass from the form of a Major Project to a new form of organization which will give the work being done a permanent and regular character.

6.25 With the regard to the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, the Tunisian delegation would like to state, as it did at the tenth session of the General Conference, that it resolutely supports this project and intends to contribute actively towards its implementation. One delegation has felt impelled to criticize this Major Project here. However, if its execution has failed to take the form of a large series of studies, of academic meetings or of many-sided scientific research, it is perhaps because these are not the essential tasks to be performed. To our minds, it is no more possible on the level of Eastern and Western cultural values than on the political level, where East and West continue to confront each other and to counterpose their contradictory attitudes without being able to rise superior to their respective positions and so provide the condition for the peaceful co-existence of all nations, for mutual appreciation alone, however noble in concept and whatever its concrete form, to suffice, or perhaps even to be effective. Counterposition, albeit appreciative, entails too great a risk of accentuating differences, of underscoring the original trait which distinguishes and separates. It might well be asked, perhaps, whether the execution of a major project of this kind does not require the use of other means in addition to those envisaged until now in order to achieve its objectives. Tunisia for its part has already considered using - and has used, in fact - other means. Traditionally a host country and a land of integration, lapped by the waters of the Mediterranean, that sea which has seen the upsurge of human genius from the time of Ancient Greece and on whose shores that genius has continued to expand throughout the ages, Tunisia holds that the subtlest essence of humanity is to be found in the sense of universality. In the realm of cultural values, therefore it has chosen to bring together, reinvent and reincarnate rather than content itself with comparing and appreciating in a purely external fashion. For it is by the radical appropriation of the permanent values of all cultures, whether Eastern or Western, that this rapprochement should be effected and that true humanism can be maintained. It is for this reason that the educational system of independent Tunisia proceeds from the principle that it is in the crucible of the human conscience, in the most profound recesses of the human mind, that the alloying of Eastern and Western cultural values to produce a new metal should take place.

6.26 In Tunisia, right from the schoolroom the same love and respect unite, in the minds and hearts of children, the names of Plato or Descartes and al-Ghazali, of Averroes and ibn-Khaldun, of Goethe, Tolstoy or Racine and al-Mutanabbi or al-Djahiz. What a reassurance it would be for the future of international co-operation and the mutual enrichment of education and culture if Tunisia's example in this respect were soon to be matched by that of only a single western country, thus marking the dawn of an era in which the nations would have risen above selfish individualism and narrow nationalism in cultural life! For while certain key benefits for world peace and international understanding are to be expected from mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values, we also consider that perhaps every form of humanism and culture is primarily a tireless quest by man, a perpetual striving, an endless overtaking of all that has happened, and - whatever civilization may bring - an indefinite straining towards that which must finally harmonize man with himself and his destiny.

6.27 It is in serving these ideals that the international organizations with which mankind has equipped itself find their supreme justification. My country, which has pledged its strong faith in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and contributes to them unstintingly considers - and, it believes, with reason - that despite our idle disputes, our sterile quarrels and our sometimes byzantine discussions, it is within these organizations that we are most keenly conscious of the solidarity of our fate, that it is in them that mankind, after all, finds the safest refuge from its own folly and the most valid justification for its invincible hope for a better world.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): Thank you, Mr. Messadi. I now call upon the Head of the delegation of Guinea, Mr. Sanguiana.

8.1 Mr. SANGUIANA (Guinea) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the Republic of Guinea, through the mouth of its delegation, would like to assure the Conference of its deep regret at the twofold loss that deprives us of the co-operation of two distinguished members, whose absence from our midst is so sorely felt.

8.2 The eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco offers an opportunity to the delegation of the Republic of Guinea to voice its thanks and appreciation at being admitted to the Organization. Our country became a Member State of Unesco in February 1960; and it is our intention in that

capacity, to make our modest contribution to the construction of a better world - our ultimate and basic objective - on the basis of friendship and mutual co-operation.

8.3 The Republic of Guinea has been anxious ever since achieving independence to take part in Unesco's great work of solidarity and human emancipation. The fact that our participation in Unesco's activities has not so far been as effective as we would have wished is due to the host of national and international obligations with which we were faced all at once directly we became independent. We cannot but pay tribute to the directorial and Secretariat staff of Unesco who at every level have willingly and devotedly given us their expert assistance. What makes us feel even more at home in this gathering is the fact that the principles of Unesco essentially coincide with those of the Guinean revolution.

8.4 One of the great principles of our people, recently emanciped from the colonial yoke - it is enunciated, incidentally, in our national motto - is that of solidarity. In the past, our only links with the outside world were based on exploitation, oppression and dependence. The only picture we were able to have of the outside world was one of oppressive colonialism. We were only able to know about other countries what it suited their purposes to tell us - in other words, very little.

8.5 Independence enabled us to emerge from the isolation in which we had been arbitrarily confined, and to throw our windows wide open to the outside world. In place of the principle of dependence in our relations with the exterior, we have substituted that of solidarity - the same principle on which the great international organizations such as Unesco are founded. For us, such constructive solidarity is a principle of internal action, a force which has enabled us, in the context of foreign occupation, with its train of pressures and threats, to express an almost unanimous "no" on 28 September 1958 - "no" to slavery, "no" to the perpetuation of colonialism in another guise, a "no" which nevertheless had a positive sense for it meant "yes" to freedom and to international botherhood.

8.6 This solidarity, which unites all Guineans and which also unites us to all our African brothers and to all the nations of the world aspiring to freedom, has enabled us to resist all attempts at reconquest by every means from economic blockade to armed plots fomented beyond our frontiers.

8.7 This solidarity, extended to all peoples of the world, is the bedrock of all the international organizations which, like Unesco, seek to serve human progress. Any activity or any move designed to call this principle of solidarity into question, to replace it by the supremacy of one nation or a group of nations over others, endangers the very existence of the international organizations. Conversely, the spread of the spirit of solidarity strengthens and invigorates them. In this respect, the accession to independence of a large number of African countries and their admission to international organizations like ours helps to give those organizations greater vigour and greater authority.

8.8 There is no question but that the awakening of Africa, so long kept in the darkness of slavery, has a deeper significance here than in any other organization.

8.9 It is in the sphere of the human mind, indeed, that exploitation, servitude and poverty, those features of colonialism which produce such hateful material consequences, have had their worst effects. And the most abject result of colonialism, surely, has been the systematic degradation of man. To destroy man's sense of dignity and the consciousness of intellectual originality, to snuff out his creative urge, to deprive him of any impulse to better himself - these were the objectives of colonialism, in Africa and elsewhere, for nearly a century. For well nigh a century, only the spiritual values of the colonizing peoples were recognized as valid. Those of the colonized peoples were denied, ignored or misrepresented as barbarian, obviously implying the absence of any distinguishing trace of civilization. The very small number of our children privileged to attend the schools of the colonialists learned the latters' history and were given scarcely anything more than a rudimentary idea of the history of their own country, and of Africa. All the Africans who had dared to raise the standard of resistance such as El Hadj Omar, Samory, Behanzin, Rabah and Abdel Kader, were indiscriminately treated as barbarians, as cruel and bloody chieftains, while the conquerors, on the other hand, had full claim to the aura of civilizing sanctity.

8.10 It was hoped, in this way, to deprive men of their individuality to convince them of their own incompetence and of their inferiority to the master-race of conquerors. Thus did Africa, alas, become the victim of that racialism which our Organization had done so well to denounce in forthright terms.

8.11 Today, the awakening of the African peoples is making the public at large and world conscience aware of the past importance of the great African empires of the Middle Ages. The mighty revolution now shaking the foundations of the old world is bringing the Black Continent to a period of renascence, and today people are acutely interested in those great empires of Ghana, Mali, Gao and the rest.

8.12 It is historically undeniable that Africa in the Fifteenth century had the same opportunities of material, intellectual and spiritual development as the other continents. But colonization and the slave trade brought our hopeful continent to stagnation and ruin, drained it of its living forces and transformed it into a scene of tragic man-hunts.

8.13 Simultaneously with the smothering of our civilizations, the most reactionary racialist theories were formulated to justify the slave trade, with a prolific body of indigestible literature to back them. The emergence of original civilizations which had been proceeding prior to the disastrous advent of the slave-trade was abruptly stopped, leaving them without any possibility of further development. It is here that the destructive and hypocritical nature of the so-called "civilizing mission" of the colonialists is apparent.

8.14 At the same time as it was claimed that Africa had no history - or in any case no written history - the tarikhs written in Arabic, Peulh or Hausa were being destroyed or scattered by the ignorant armies of the colonizers. At best, they were sent to the specialized libraries of the colonial powers, where some of them still lie buried in dust. The archives of the chancelleries of Samory or Behanzin, on the other hand, were destroyed.

8.15 Yet explorers in our country at the beginning of the Fifteenth century noted that there was no village without a school, whether in the Fouta Djallon region or in Lower Guinea. True, the education given, based on the study of Arabic through the medium of the Koran and a few theological works, was not a modern one, but it had its value and was not limited to the mechanical repetition of verses in an unknown language. Even round about 1910, an Algerian inspector sent to Guinea by the French government observed with amazement that in humble villages in Lower Guinea there were "karamoko" (schoolmasters) capable of carrying on a fluent conversation in literary Arabic.

8.16 All this traditional body of learning was systematically consigned to destruction or decay by the colonial régime which in most cases put nothing in its place. Only a handful of privileged persons were able to obtain access to the colonizers' schools, whose main concern was to train subordinate employees in the service of colonialism. Even as late as 1945 more than 95% of Guineans were illiterate.

8.17 A few European experts and even - from snobbish motives - a wider public did, indeed, round about the twenties, begin to discover what was known as "Negro Art". But the products of traditional African art - whether sculpture or dancing - were appreciated as exotic curiosities or museum-pieces, and not as elements of a living culture capable of enriching the heritage of mankind. Hardly any study was made of the languages, written or oral literature or music.

8.18 The result is that with the advent of our independence, we have a tremendous task in front of us in bringing our people out of the darkness of ignorance. We shall, of course, rely primarily on our own resources, but the solidarity of the more privileged nations as manifested in Unesco will be of valuable assistence to us.

8.19 With independence, popular initiative has found expression, as has the thirst for learning on the part of our men and women, thus creating the conditions necessary for the education of our children - the starting point for the resurrection of our cultural heritage in general.

8.20 Thanks to the human investment, in other words, to the voluntary unpaid work of the people, within two years, hundreds of schools have been built, or more than in 60 years of colonial rule. Our three-year plan provides for the construction of 1,500 classrooms by 1963, or one-and-a-half a day, quite apart from those to be built by volunteers.

8.21 In 50 years, the colonial régime had set up only one advanced primary school in Guinea. Today, there are 10 secondary schools, while a polytechnical institute and a university centre are planned.

8.22 A tremendous campaign is being waged to eradicate illiteracy, involving complex problems such as the use of our national languages, for which we have to compile grammars, vocabularies and rational systems of transcription. This method, which is the most effective from the cultural standpoint, had never been taken up by the colonial government.

8.23 In the last two years, moreover, there has been a veritable re-birth and revaluation of our national art. Under the impulse of the "Art and Culture" section of our national youth organization, JEDA, music, dancing and the theatre are marked by considerable creative activity, to which our national ballet, the heir of the African Ballet of our comrade Keita Fodeba, has already borne witness throughout the world.

8.24 Is is our intention, be it noted, to give this renascence a deeper significance. What we want is not a dead and mummified culture but a living one combining everything capable of enriching universal culture as our original contribution while incorporating and integrating everything contributed by other nations which has validity and life. Freed from their age-old chains, our peoples are preparing to make their original contribution to all forms of culture and modern science, while opening their arms to the contributions of others.

8.25 Mr. President and delegates, however rapid and sketchy this picture of what we are doing and aim to do in education, science and culture may be, it gives you an indication of what we hope to receive from our Organization, for our activity is bound up with the objectives of Unesco itself. We are convinced that the General Conference, in a spirit of generosity worthy of the highest praise, will give a large place in its programmes to Africa. Disinherited and neglected by the colonial régime, especially in the sphere of culture, Africa liberated or on the road to liberation needs your active solidarity so that it can quickly overcome its enforced backwardness. It needs, I repeat, your solidarity, of which our Organization is the symbol, and not charity or alms, with conditions attached, by means of which, under the mask of paternalism and opportunism, certain people would like to perpetuate the methods and spirit of colonialism.

8.26 I should now like to express our views on certain questions on the agenda.

8.27 Solidarity, which is the international organizations' sole justification, should be our master principle, and we should ban completely, on pain of imperilling the very existence of Unesco and the other international organizations, any attempt to transform it into the tool of a group of nations trying to impose its supremacy or tutelage on other nations.

8.28 Solidarity infers that the increasingly inadmissible exclusion of certain nations or States, the absence of which disfigures our Organization and deprives it of the universality which it ought to have, should be lifted.

8.29 The Congo Republic has a legal government headed by Mr. Patrice Lumumba. It was admitted to the United Nations and it has all the qualifications required to take its seat therein and to join the Specialized Agencies. Troublemakers cannot therefore be permitted to challenge the established constitutional authority. We cannot but note that these manoeuvres reveal a determination to bring the independence of the Congo into question once more and to maintain, in more or less disguised fashion, the principles of colonial tutelage, the harmful effects of which on the development of cultural values we all know.

8.30 Moreover, how can Unesco fulfil its glorious mission if a nation of more than 650 million, representing one of the oldest of the world's civilizations - I refer to People's China - is excluded? How our

Organization, without flying in the face of reason, logic and common sense, claim to be universal when it ignores a people which by itself makes up a quarter of the human race and whose cultural wealth has consistently contributed to the advancement of universal culture and science since the dawn of civilization?

8.31 We consider it inadmissible that the emanations of the cold war should penetrate into an Organization like ours, whose mission is to remain above political considerations when they tend to promote injustice and encourage reaction. We, on our part, refuse to allow ourselves to be drawn into cold war positions, in the wake of one or other of the rival blocs which dominate the international scene.

8.32 We are prepared to have cultural and friendly relations with all States whatsoever, provided that they respect our independence and dignity, for true universal culture scorns all political or ethnic distinctions and eschews any impairment of the personality and dignity of a nation.

8.33 These principles of co-operation based on equality and mutual respect are those without which the international organizations cannot live nor act. To defend them is to defend the existence of the international organizations themselves.

8.34 Unesco - we have already paid tribute to it on this score - has vigorously condemned racialism and racial discrimination, basing itself on the principle of universal morality and on the positive findings of science. It would earn credit and crown its work in this field if it did likewise with regard to colonialism, the disastrous effects of which on education, science and culture we have already had occasion to describe. Racialism is nothing other than the poisonous flower that grows from the root of colonialism.

8.35 Nor could it be maintained that the adoption of a stand of this kind by Unesco would call its prerogatives into question. We know exactly what we are about. If our work is to be effective and produce results, then any system based on the dependence and inferiority of one nation in respect of another has to be condemned.

8.36 These considerations, we are certain, are in line with the nature and principles of Unesco, and we are convinced that they will triumph despite the delaying efforts of those who want to put the cloock back.

8.37 Unesco has set itself the lofty aim of aiding all nations to develop their education and culture, which men need as much as they do their daily bread. It proposes, while respecting national values, to promote international understanding, to lead nations to a knowledge and mutual appreciation of this diversity of cultural values, each of which can enrich all mankind. It is with joy and enthusiasm that, liberated Guinea, like all the nations of Africa undertakes to make its contribution to this noble effort.

8.38 May our common determination lead to the triumph of the spirit of human brotherhood which is the essence of Unesco's being!

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): Thank you for your statement, Mr. Sanguiana. I now call upon the Head of the Indian delegation, Dr. Shrimali.

10.1 Mr. SHRIMALI (India): Mr. President and fellow delegates, on behalf of the Government of India and the Indian National Commission I bring to this eleventh session of the General Conference best wishes for success. The present session to which several new members have been admitted is an event of historic significance and I would like to offer our greetings to the new members. They will infuse new life and vitality in the work of Unesco and by their contributions will enrich the cultures of the world.

10.2 Our country has been vitally interested in the work of Unesco since its inception. It is our firm belief that Unesco can be a powerful instrument for developing the mutual understanding and appreciation on which alone rest the foundations of peace. It is a great tragedy that just at the moment when the world has at its disposal all the resources which can give material prosperity and happiness to the whole of mankind, we should be frittering away our energies in mutual recrimination and hatred. The world would be a different place if all the resources which are being utilized today for armament were released for the development of education and culture. The present situation in which the world is divided into separate blocs lends greater urgency to the work of Unesco.

10.3 It is a matter of satisfaction to us that Unesco is now directing its attention towards the problem of education in the underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia. We fully realize that Unesco's assistance cannot take the place of national endeavour, but Unesco can and should assist these countries in overcoming the difficulties and obstacles to their escape from economic backwardness and intellectual stagnation - the result of centuries of alien domination. While the countries of Asia and Africa must be grateful for the assistance which they receive from Unesco and other advanced countries, the latter must also realize that they have a moral responsibility in this matter. Viewed in this perspective, the assistance given to these countries will be considered not as a charity or gift but as a duty and responsibility. I assure you that the assistance which Unesco is giving will strike a sympathetic chord in the hearts of millions of people of Asia and Africa who are today engaged in the gigantic task of securing a decent standard of living for their people; assistance wherever it may come from will always be welcome provided it is consistent with the dignity, freedom and self-respect of these people.

10.4 In my opinion, the most important task before Unesco today is to help the underdeveloped countries in the expansion of mass education. The surveys made by Unesco have revealed that nearly 50% of school-going children in the world are denied elementary education. As long as this situation prevails, the noble ideals enshrined in the Constitution of Unesco will merely remain on paper. It is therefore of the greatest importance that Unesco give high priority to the solution of this problem.

10.5 The Reports of the Director-General on the work of the Organization during the last two years and appraisal of Unesco's programme reveal tremendous achievements of which any organization might be proud. In the field of education the Organization, which began its first major adventure in

Latin Americ , has done commendable work in three surveys of educational needs, in Tropical Africa, the Arab States and South East Asia, which have revealed the full possibilities of international action. In this connexion, I would like to commend the report of the Regional Meeting of the Representatives of Asian Member States on Primary and Compulsory Education as a great landmark in Unesco's efforts to promote educational opportunity. This meeting has drawn up a working plan for compulsory primary education in Asia. It has set a modest target of expanding schooling facilities for 20% of the population by 1980, covering 220 million pupils. The total cost of this modest programme, spread over a period of 20 yeai s, would come to about 56 billion dollars. According to this report it is neither the personnel requirements of the plan, nor the material needs such as buildings, teachers' quarters, furniture or reading and teaching materials, that present the major difficulties in its implementation. The crux of the problem is financial and the meeting unanimously demanded the utilization of the world's resources for this purpose. Although the work done by Unesco in this field is commendable, I cannot help expressing our deep regret that the draft budget and programme has made no adequate provision for this essential plan nor is there any clear indication of its being developed as a Major Project in the near future. I am, however, glad to say that the Programme Commission, at the meeting held yesterday, sanctioned the Karachi plan and I have no doubt that the General Conference will also give its approval. This will be a major step on the part of Unesco towards the solution of this enormous problem. So far as my country is concerned, we have decided in spite of our financial and other limitations to introduce free primary education for the age group between 6 to 11 by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan (1966) and a sum of 1,800 million rupees has been earmarked for this purpose. If Unesco can supplement such national efforts, it will greatly accelerate the progress of elementary education.

10.6 Another important activity of the Organization has been the East-West Major Project. We are happy to find from the Director-General's Report that this project has received tremendous response and support from Member States and National Commissions, but this programme has hardly touched the fringe of the colossal task involved. Study and research, integration of this project with school education, development of a network of institutions and production of suitable material are foreshadowed in the budget and programme with a modest increase of financial resources, and are indeed welcome activities which will help to consolidate the interest and enthusiasm already aroused by this project. When the project was conceived and eventually launched, many sceptics dismissed it as rather woolly and amorphous; but experience has shown that it must be made a cornerstone of Unesco's programme for years to come. The needs are diverse and it is quite obvious that if this project is to grow, the resources will have to increase several fold. Translation of classics, reproduction of works of art, travelling exhibitions, popular material and literature and audio-visual aids for school systems - all these and many other activities require a master plan ranging over a long period, and in each field colossal tasks await us. Many treasures of the human mind and spirit still lie hidden and great efforts and resources are needed to discover them.

10.7 While we appreciate the effort Unesco is making in the implementation of the East-West Major Project, it is regrettable that Unesco's programme on tension studies and race relations has somewhat receded into the background. Perhaps even more serious than the cold war is racial discrimination. The cult of a master race was apparently defeated on the battlefields of the last great war but it is raising its ugly head in many places. In certain parts of the world - these are too well known to require mention here - the policy of racial discrimination has become a settled policy of the State and apartheid has extended even to education and health services. This is a direct affront to the dignity and worth of the human individual and, if it is not ended soon, it may jeopardize the entire programme of international understanding and co-operation. Racial discrimination has tragic human consequences and unless the enlightened world conscience is aroused and the problem is successfully solved the peace of this world will continue to be threatened. This is a major challenge, and Unesco must mobilize all its moral and intellectual resources to find a peaceful solution to this problem.

10.8 Mr. President, I would now like to touch briefly upon the significant change which has already taken place and is bound to become a prominent feature of the programme and work of the Organization, namely regionalization. From 1954 Unesco began to respond to the felt needs of the Member States and the action programmes that began to emerge inevitably had to take into account the main geographical and cultural regions of the world. The Major Project for Latin America was the first decisive step in this direction and the East-West Major Project is an effort in the same direction. Major education programmes for Africa, the Arab States and Asia will undoubtedly follow the same lines. These developments, as the Director-General has rightly mentioned, raise problems connected with the structure of the programme and the means of implementing it. If I may venture so to suggest, Mr. President, the Organization will soon have to reconsider the entire question of its own structure and the composition of the Secretariat, in the light of the new heavy responsibilities which it is undertaking. For example, it is inconceivable that a programme of education for Asia extending over a period of 20 years, when adopted by the Organization, can be implemented without some element of decentralization. The Director-General has rightly emphasized that the general activities of the Organization give it its special character and unity; they give its work continuity and a scientific foundation. But surely the general activities which will be directly connected with such vast action programmes will have to be centred round the main geographical regions or areas and will inevitably lead to some decentralization. In the East-West Major Project Unesco has already envisaged a network of institutions which will be its focal points for operation. We have also a centre at Karachi for literature for new literates. In the field of social sciences there are already significant regional organizations and in

the field of natural sciences the Science Co-operation Offices are functioning to a great extent as programme agencies. When these diverse programmes become integrated and adequate to meet the felt needs of the regions, suitable machinery for their co-ordinated operation will have to be devised. This trend of development does occasionally raise apprehensions about the unity and effectiveness of the international organization, but if the objective of international understanding and co-operation inspires the efforts of the Organization, as it undoubtedly will, there need be no fear on this score.

10.9 In this context I would like to mention that, in order to formulate and implement programmes of this kind and dimension, the composition of the Secretariat needs to reflect much more adequately the different regions and areas of the world. While financial contribution to an international organization is undoubtedly an important factor in calculating the share of the Member States in the staff, we must view this problem in the larger context of confidence and effective participation of the different regions in the formulation and implementation of the ambitious programmes of the Organization. The Director-General is conscious of this problem and we welcome his efforts to improve geographical representation. The present situation, although an improvement over the past, cannot be considered satisfactory. We do not want to introduce a narrowly regional spirit into an international organization, but we cannot help feeling that there are some areas which are over-represented while others are under-represented or unrepresented. I would urge the Director-General to review further the composition of the Secretariat and take further steps to increase the representation of unrepresented and under-represented States. I need not add, Mr. President, that the review of this problem has become all the more urgent with the admission of new Member States to this Organization.

10.10 Mr. President, we in India attach great importance to the work of this Organization. It is our fervent hope that the creative work which Unesco is undertaking in the fields of education, science and culture will ultimately bring about the triumph of truth and love over the evil forces of fear, violence and hatred. We have been taught by our great masters - Buddha and Gandhi - that force cannot be counteracted by force, but only by love. It is this spirit which guided us in our struggle for independence and continues to guide us in all our activities. Sometimes our policy is wrongly construed as neutralism. I must make it clear that we are too deeply wedded to the ideals of peace and international co-operation to remain neutral towards these fundamental values. We are interested in the lessening of world tension since we are aware of the tragic consequences of nuclear warfare that threatens the world today. We seek a common measure of agreement since we believe that it is only by concentrating on points of agreement and widening the field of international co-operation that a great spiritual energy will be released which may pave the way for a world culture.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I should like to thank Dr. Shrimali for his statement. I now call upon the Head of the delegation of Thailand, Professor Salvidhannides.

12.1 Mr. SALVIDHANNIDES (Thailand): Mr. President, distinguished delegates, the delegation of Thailand takes pleasure in presenting to this General Conference the cordial greetings of the Government and people of Thailand. The Thailand delegation associates itself with the sentiments already expressed by other delegations in welcoming to Unesco the new Member States of the African continent.

12.2 On behalf of my delegation, I should like to note with great satisfaction that His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej paid a visit to the Unesco Headquarters a few weeks ago and was warmly welcomed by the Director-General, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, and his staff. This royal visit resulted from a personal invitation given to His Majesty by Dr. Veronese and Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, Chairman of the Unesco Executive Board, during an audience in the Royal Palace at Bangkok early this year. The visit to Unesco was undoubtedly a highlight in a series of State visits made by Their Majesties to the United States of America and to European countries. We can proudly claim that the royal goodwill tour symbolizes the spirit of Unesco's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, to which Thailand attaches great importance as a means to international understanding and world peace.

12.3 For this reason, my delegation warmly supports the proposed programme for the East-West Major Project which, among other things, will allow more scope for action by Member States, while at the same time placing increasing emphasis on the means of communication between groups with different cultural backgrounds, and on comparative studies of the various Eastern and Western civilizations. In my delegation's view the East-West programme, which is to be reorientated and intensified, definitely warrants the proposed increase in the appropriation.

12.4 With regard to the programme for cultural activities, which is very closely linked with the East-West Major Project, my delegation congratulates the Secretariat for its sustained interest in the cultural heritage which has been handed down in the course of history. The Secretariat's special efforts to save the Nubian monuments from the march of material progress illustrate the determination to safeguard the cultural treasures of mankind for the present and future generations. In this connexion, my delegation notes with pleasure that Unesco will continue to give the lead to Member States in bringing before an ever-increasing public the treasures of art and literature. In particular, Thailand is greatly interested in the activities of the International Council of Museums whose aim it is to foster the development of museums as educational and cultural centres.

12.5 With reference to the proposed educational programme and budget, it is gratifying to learn that the Secretariat has decided to tackle the problem of primary education in Asia, in Arab Member States and in Tropical Africa. The countries in these three regions have long felt the need for concerted action to combat the colossal problem of ignorance and illiteracy. They cannot solve these problems single-handed. Thanks to the experience gained from the Latin-America Primary Education Project, the proposed programme with its long-term plan has been

realistically conceived, considering the magnitude and complexity of the problem. In my delegation's view, although the planned targets have been set at "modest and reasonable" levels, there is still great risk of the realization falling far short of expectation unless advanced countries see the importance of extending their co-operation and assistance to the three regions.

12.6 In any case, Thailand welcomes the opportunity to join in the campaign against illiteracy and will be honoured to act as host to the proposed Regional Education Bureau. This bureau will service the Asian Member States with data and information on the various aspects of primary education and will help them establish or improve their own national education bureaux. Thailand will also be pleased to extend its hospitality to the Organization's Regional Office which will facilitate concerted action and co-ordinated assistance on the part of Agencies and Member States collaborating with Asian countries in the field of primary and compulsory education.

12.7 In the field of mass communication, my delegation gains a reassuring impression that Unesco will continue to lay emphasis on the development of information media and on the promotion of international understanding through the press, radio and visual information media. We are pleased to observe that a number of recommendations made by the Regional Mass Communication Media Meeting held at Bangkok are incorporated in the proposed programme for the next two years. One of the recommendations is the proposal to establish a Press and Graphic Arts Institute in Asia. In our view, this institute could make a significant contribution to the use of mass communication techniques in education and other fields of activities within the compass of the Organization. My delegation has been entrusted with the task of making a preliminary approach to the Secretariat to investigate the possibilities of co-operating with the Organization in this fresh enterprise. We hope that our invitation for the institute to be set up at Bangkok will be accepted.

12.8 On examining the programme for natural sciences, I dare say that many of us cannot help sharing Bertrand Russell's wish to become a scientist instead of a philosopher, or whatever we happen to be in our life's career. The proposed programme opens an exciting vista onto an enlarged perspective of future possibilities in store of mankind. It would be invidious to single out a few projects in the programme for commendation. The Thai delegation, nevertheless, wishes to acclaim a Unesco path-breaking project, the promotion of marine sciences, which promises food and other materials badly needed by the fast-growing world population.

12.9 The next point which deserves mention is the programme for social sciences which will focus attention on the problems of balance between social and economic development, the problems of urbanization and of cross-cultural research. The programme will also offer facilities for the training of personnel engaged in social and economic development. All these projects have direct relevance to that great part of the world which is accelerating its economic development at the risk of upsetting the traditional social fabric and structure. There is an analogy here between the tangible threat against the Nubian monuments and the intangible but far-reaching menace against tested and tried ways of life all over the world. The crux of the problem that now comes to the fore appears to be how best to adjust the slow pace of social evolution to the march of industrialization. In any case, I am sure that developing countries will benefit by the achievement of Unesco's Social Sciences programme.

12.10 In examining the proposed programme and budget as a whole, my delegation heartily congratulates the Executive Board and the Secretariat for their judicious distribution of the Organization's resources among projects in hand and new enterprises which may, in the near future, qualify for the status of Major Projects.

12.11 I am happy to report to this General Conference that, in the past year, Thailand had the honour of acting as host to three important Unesco meetings: the Meeting on the Development of Information Media in South East Asia, the first regional meeting of its kind in the world, which the Director-General and Chairman of the Executive Board attended in person; the Meeting of the Consultative Committee for the International Institute for Child Study, which was attended by Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Assistant Director-General; and the Expert Meeting on Evaluation Techniques. These meetings provided opportunities for experts and governmental representatives to confer and pave the way for future action within the framework of Unesco.

12.12 In addition to the above meetings, Thailand is also co-operating with Unesco on three projects: the Thailand-Unesco Fundamental Education Centre, the Rural Teacher Education Project and the International Institute for Child Study. To put it briefly, the three projects deal mainly with fundamental education, the training of rural teachers and with cross-cultural research in child psychology, respectively. The projects have made good progress and have achieved significant results which are being duplicated elsewhere in the country and are attracting considerable attention from other Asian countries. All these are practical and concrete efforts.

12.13 Finally, Mr. President and distinguished delegates, I wish to conclude by saying that the delegation of Thailand is confident that, working together, the Member States of Unesco can lay solid foundations for the progress of mankind through practical and concrete programmes for education, science and culture.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I now call upon the Head of the Italian delegation, H. E. Mr. Bosco.

14.1 Mr. BOSCO (Italy) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this eleventh session of the General Conference is taking place at a time when Unesco is witnessing, or is about to witness, developments of fundamental, and even historical, significance to which I should like to draw your attention. They are the mass accession to independence of Africa South of the Sahara; the evolution of the Organization's activities in a very specifically operational direction; and the availability of new budgetary and extra-budgetary resources.

14.2 It is not by chance that all these developments are taking place simultaneously; and if I have singled out these themes from among others in the reports submitted to us by the Director-General, it is in order to project them into the perspective of the future activities we are about to undertake, and because I feel that there is a logical link between them.

14.3 The accession of Africa South of the Sahara to independence is in itself an historical fact which we are happy to welcome here, aware as we are of its great moral importance and of its future significance for human progress. We see in it the gage of wider human solidarity in mutual understanding, and, at the same time an obligation on our part to make our solidarity ever more effective in international co-operation.

14.4 This new state of affairs raises two questions, among others: that of the active participation of these African States in the life of Unesco, and that of the development of action on their behalf.

14.5 It was in recognition of the importance of the first of these problems, the active participation of these African States in the life of Unesco, that my Government, together with a number of others, took the initiative of proposing an increase in the membership of the Executive Board. Apart from and in addition to its merit as a legal and political stand, this measure is justified by its value in human terms as a spontaneous movement representing a definite advance over the rigidity of strict legal requirements. It is, I believe, in this sense that it will be appreciated, and that its deep significance will be recognized, by our African brothers. From the moment of their entry into this House, it has been our desire that they should feel fully at ease, at home, among the representatives of friendly peoples, who have done and who will do more for their advancement than would appear from certain - not politically disinterested - statements that have been made.

14.6 It is in this spirit of fraternity that my country has the liveliest satisfaction in welcoming the inclusion in the Executive Board of a great African scientist from whom we expect a vital contribution. It was in the same spirit of friendship, that Italy welcomed the unanimous election to the Presidency of this General Conference of the honourable representative of Ethiopia.

14.7 But there is more to it than this. As I have just said, these new facts commit us to undertaking more intensive activity to aid the nations which need and freely request help in making a more direct attack on the problems of their development.

14.8 During the past two years, in fact, Unesco, with a keen sense of reality and the courage that all innovation requires, has taken steps to give its activities a more specifically operational character. And now the Director-General, to whose realism and courage in this respect we must pay tribute, has just proposed a programme which underlines this development.

14.9 In addition, there is the fact that new budgetary resources now make it possible to undertake this grandiose and urgent task.

14.10 During the past few days we have, to our deep regret, seen resolutions submitted here which conflict with the established rules. Doomed to rejection in advance, irrespective of their intrinsic value, they constitute a discordant element in our work.

14.11 The preliminary condition to enable the newly independent nations to approach Unesco in all confidence and to profit from its services, in fact, is for our organization to remain non-political. Science, culture and artistic creation must be free of any political influence, for otherwise they cannot exist: they refuse to be circumscribed by political programmes. And so it was with a feeling of disappointment that we have listened to speeches calling in so many words for the increased politicization of Unesco, whereas our own view is - as the delegate of Switzerland has just pointed out - that the exact opposite should be encouraged.

14.12 Only by basing culture, science and art on a foundation making them free and independent of politics can we expect Unesco's activities to be profitable and fruitful.

14.13 What I have said merely reinforces the principle set forth in our Constitution to the effect that the Organization's purpose is to contribute to peace and security - a purpose which is and must be the essential aim of every one of Unesco's members. But the Constitution also states that the Organization must make its contribution "to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms" for all, "without distinction of race, sex, language or religion".

14.14 The acceleration of the process of independence for peoples still living under the yoke of an outdated colonialism is often urged, and rightly so. But it is with the same vigour that we should urge the application of the principle, also included in the Unesco Constitution, that we must provide opportunities for all for the "unrestricted pursuit of objective truth" and "the free exchange of ideas and knowledge". This demands the application, in its entirety, of the principle of freedom in its various concrete manifestations: freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, freedom of political organization, freedom of religion.

14.15 All the above raises questions of structure, method and co-ordination, of which I should like to speak later. What is important here is primarily to establish that all this is based on the fact which the world has just noted - I might almost say discovered; namely, the importance of education as a fundamental factor - as a prerequisite, even - of all economic and social development. It is the establishment of this truth, well known, of course, but sometimes misconstrued, that has resulted in the flow of long-awaited resources to education, and hence to Unesco. It is in this respect that the factors to which I have referred are so closely interlinked. In the history of the evolution of international organizations, the recognition of the paramount importance of education has a date - a very recent one - which might be classed as official and which deserves to be recorded here. It was on 21 July last that the Economic and Social Council, studying "opportunities for international co-operation on behalf of newly independent countries", adopted a resolution which implicitly recognized the principle that education and training are generally accepted as being the key not only to the material welfare of these countries but also to their stability.

14.16 From this follows recognition of the fundamental rôle which Unesco is called upon to play in the concerted action of the United Nations and the

Specialized Agencies. And this recognition has been more than purely theoretical: on the contrary, our Organization has been called upon to play an increasingly active and important rôle - both as technical adviser and implementing agent - in a number of educational activities financed by Technical Assistance, the Special Fund and other bodies concerned with economic and social development.

14.17 It is interesting to note that Unesco had foreseen and prepared for this development, and had even anticipated it by introducing structural reforms.

14.18 In 1953, Vittorino Veronese, who today heads the Secretariat, urged the Executive Board to give fresh thought to questions of the structure of the Organization's programme; and the concentration of means on a few objectives so as to meet the needs of Member States more adequately is likewise due to his efforts. The reform which was approved at Montevideo and which still constitutes the structural basis of the programme was the outcome of this work.

14.19 Now that the hour of action has struck, we should be gratified to note that the machinery for it is already there. It is only fair to remember how much we owe to those who, during fourteen years of effort, have cleared the ground, explored and classified the problems, perfected well-tried methods and produced a highly qualified Secretariat.

14.20 The events of the past two years have called for constant vigilance on the part of the Director-General and Secretariat in faithfully interpreting new needs; and while it is true that the ever quicker flow of documents has sometimes made it difficult for our national services to study the Proposed Programme, it would be unfair not to regard it as proof of a constant determination to face up to these new needs.

14.21 While this is true as regards the formulation of the programme, it is even more strikingly so as regards emergency activities.

14.22 Backed by the Executive Board, the Director-General has courageously embarked on a new form of action in the Congo, where urgent and exceptional needs became apparent in the field of education. I should like to thank him here and assure him of our fullest support - and not merely of our moral support - in contributing to a task of such value for international understanding and world peace.

14.23 Emergency action has also been taken in a field other than the high priority sector of education, and hence a field in which even greater courage and decision was required. In Nubia, the promotion of the welfare of its population has inspired a tremendous undertaking which incidentally raised the problem of the fate of its magnificent monuments. The Director-General unhesitatingly appealed to international solidarity in an attempt to save these examples of one of the greatest civilizations that man has ever achieved. The duty to preserve cultural property, as the heritage of all mankind, is inscribed not only in the Constitution of our Organization but also in our hearts. I should like to assure the Director-General and the Governments of the United Arab Republic and the Sudan, bound together in friendship, of my country's full support. We have just set up a national committee for the purpose and have provided for studies and missions in connexion with specific projects included in the overall plan of these activities.

14.24 The development of Unesco's operational activities raises another problem which I consider more serious and difficult, namely the scope and importance of the "general activities" as defined in the pattern agreed on at Montevideo. The Director-General assures us in the introduction to the programme, that they will not be sacrified but will be developed on appropriate lines. We thank him for this assurance: he is aware of the importance that the Italian delegation has always attached to the maintenance of these activities, which prevent the Organization being reduced to a hodge-podge of services and ensure its contact with science and culture in their highest forms. Without such contact, I repeat, any practical activity or even popularization work would inevitably and swiftly break down.

14.25 For these reasons, we should like to recommend that a substantial proportion of the means devoted to new operational activities be set aside for fundamental research.

14.26 Even if we consider education alone, the sums available not only to Unesco but to all mankind will still be far from sufficient for its vast needs. We should keep on asking ourselves whether it is more useful to use more and more traditional means or whether it would not be better to seek new ones.

14.27 In this regard, I regret to note that in spite of the repeated efforts of the Italian delegation the prominence given in the programme to visual means is still far less than it should be in the light of their potentiality. Italy's experiments in the use of television, the radio and the cinema in the field of education have had definitely positive results.

14.28 When we talk of means, long habit naturally inclines us to think in terms of money. It is clear that liquid availabilities are essential, but we would be wrong to think that money by itself could suffice. Even if we were able to have a budget several times larger, it would still not mean that we would be able to spend the allocations appropriately. The problem which mankind is increasingly coming up against is to find qualified men to implement programmes, and the training of experts will have to be expanded in that connexion. On the success of this activity depends the development of world civilization.

14.29 I do not want to be misunderstood on this point, or to give the impression that what I have said implies a hidden intention to oppose an increase in financial contributions. That is not at all the case: my Government's policy and attitude point in the opposite direction. We hope, with all due caution, that increasingly larger funds will be made available to Unesco so that it can continue to develop its activities and render them more effective.

14.30 I should like to point out, on the other hand, that there are sacrifices greater than merely paying out sums of money which we should agree to make if we really wish to help promote more extensive and more effective work by Unesco on behalf of the nations seeking to develop more rapidly. We must find - and even train and lend - men whose professional qualifications are coupled with absolute integrity and a profound sense of the importance of their mission. For without these qualities, the work of assistance may become the subtle instrument of a cultural oppression against which we cannot sufficiently warn those aspiring so enthusiastically to progress.

14.31 It is by multiplying the means of international co-operation through this essential contribution of men and money, by undertaking to carry out our task with the greatest respect for objectivity, that we shall succeed in making Unesco's action powerful and effective. I hereby accept this undertaking - or, rather, I renew it - on behalf of my country, in the profound conviction that doing so will enable us to achieve the lofty aims assigned to us by our Constitution: international understanding firmly rooted in our hearts and minds, co-operation in which respect for traditional values is harmoniously blended with new forms, and in which the contribution of individual civilizations is abundantly provided in the feeling of the one-ness of mankind and in the higher vision of an ideal of universality, peace and brotherhood.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): I should like to thank the Minister for his statement. I hereby declare the meeting closed. This afternoon's meeting will begin at 3.30 p.m. and the first speaker will be the representative of the Hungarian delegation.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

FIFTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

23 November 1960, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. R.H. THAYER (United States of America)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued) 241

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

1.1 The PRESIDENT:

Ladies and gentlemen, I call the meeting to order.

1.2 The first speaker this afternoon is the Vice-Minister of Culture and Head of the delegation of Hungary, H.E. Mr. Ilku.

2.1 Mr. ILKU (Hungarian People's Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General and delegates, on behalf of the official delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic I should like to convey our greetings to everyone taking part in the General Conference.

2.2 The Hungarian Government sets very great stock on its ties with Unesco, the international organization entrusted with the task of fostering education, culture and science. We consider that in many respects these ties are useful and fruitful, although we should like to point out that there are various shortcomings in Unesco's work.

2.3 We have endeavoured from that angle to play a constructive part in the various fields of Unesco activity. In September of this year, with Unesco's assistance, the Hungarian National Commission successfully organized a conference of twenty European countries on the international exchange of publications. In recent years our country has acted as host to numerous international conferences devoted to science, technology and culture. The Hungarian National Commission welcomed the decision taken by Unesco's Executive Board on general and complete disarmament and we also welcome and support Unesco's initiative and successful educational work in connexion with the eradication of illiteracy and the fight against racial discrimination.

2.4 In cultural life, the Hungarian People's Republic has many successes to record during the period covered by the Director-General's reports. One of the most important aspects of our development is educational reform, based on a large body of international experience. I think we can claim, without boasting, that our educational reform deserves world-wide attention. Nor was it undertaken, incidentally, on account of any backwardness in the Hungarian educational system; in the opinion of foreign experts, our educational achievements - as compared with the pre-war period - are considerable. Whereas, before the liberation of our country, part of the population received no education whatever and the large majority of pupils attended school for only six years, at the present time 82% of the pupils complete the course at the eight-year school and go on to further education. Thanks to socialist construction and educational reform, we shall shortly reach the stage where all boys and girls without exception will receive school-leaving certificates after twelve years of study. Another aim of educational reform is to introduce our young people to the treasure-house of national and world culture, and to the history of the development of mankind. Educational reform will help to familiarize our young people with the technical progress which is taking place throughout the world and which is of incalculable significance for the well-being of all mankind.

2.5 Hungary has extended its international cultural relations in recent years. More foreign classics and contemporary authors have been published, and more new plays have been performed. There are many examples to show that Hungarian authors, artists and scientists in different fields - all of whom without exception play an active part in Hungarian cultural life - are attempting to link their own cultural activities with the culture of other countries. Our aim is that the Hungarian people should become familiar not only with European culture, but also with that of other countries, and particularly with the artistic and literary masterpieces of the African and Asian peoples who have recently gained their independence. At the same time, we are doing our best to satisfy international interest in Hungarian culture. We are therefore most gratified that Unesco will shortly be publishing an anthology of Hungarian short stories.

2.6 With your permission, Mr. President, I shall now turn to questions relating to Unesco's general policy. Our view is that it should not be divorced from the events of international life, from those fundamental problems which, by their very nature, affect the development of culture and science. It is through culture, science and education that Unesco must help to solve these problems. They are, of

course, political problems, and some people consider that the General Conference should not concern itself with them. But how can it be rationally and responsibly argued that these problems are not intimately connected with the struggle against illiteracy and with the development of science and culture?

2.7 The most important question facing mankind at present is to ensure peaceful coexistence, the prevention of war, disarmament, the achievement and safeguarding of national independence and the liberation of colonial territories. Hence, Unesco, like all the other international organizations, is in duty bound to devote great attention to these basic issues, and is not entitled to remain neutral in solving them. The peoples of the world cannot accept neutrality in solving the basic problems of mankind. On this point we fully agree with the views of Professor Carneiro.

2.8 Unesco will become a truly universal organization only when it is universal not merely in its membership and in the representation of geographical areas but also in all its activities; and in particular when it includes in its agenda those topics which are of daily concern to all peoples. It is for these reasons that the Hungarian delegation regrets that this session of the General Conference will not be discussing so universal a question as Unesco's contribution towards solving the disarmament problem. In our view, the decision on this subject, although taken by a majority vote, does not reflect the opinion of the majority of mankind.

2.9 To help Unesco achieve universality, the Hungarian delegation supports the proposal that the present session of the General Conference should make an appeal to all Member States on the subject of peaceful coexistence, and should pledge itself to the liberation of all peoples still living under the colonial yoke.

2.10 From this rostrum the Hungarian delegation whole-heartedly welcomes the representatives of the newly independent countries. At the same time, we consider that Unesco's duty towards these States goes far beyond a general welcome. Its fundamental task is to provide immediate and effective assistance. The main prerequisite for the cultural development of former colonial countries is the elimination of their economic backwardness. Unesco should therefore co-ordinate all its activities with international and bilateral action to provide these countries with economic assistance. On behalf of the Hungarian people, who suffered foreign oppression for many centuries, I should like to wish our brothers from Africa and Asia every success in creating the conditions for their future development in the shortest possible time.

2.11 Permit me to dwell briefly on certain statements by the distinguished representative of the United States of America. The Hungarian delegation associates itself with the United States representative's proposal that Unesco should be a forum for free discussion, a forum where every representative should have equal rights without any discrimination. It is our opinion, however, that in order to achieve freedom of discussion we should all accept certain logical and ethical standards, and keep to them. No logical or ethical system admits of contradiction between word and deed. We do not think that anyone could agree with the idea that an organization such as Unesco, which deals with ideological questions, should refuse, in the interests of co-operation, to undertake a serious examination of social systems and their theoretical differences. It is easy to see the contradiction between professions of unity and co-operation and the fact that the very delegation which enunciated those principles sponsored two discriminatory decisions which were adopted by the General Conference, namely, the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China and the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

2.12 Mr. President, permit me also to state that we strongly protest against, and most emphatically will not allow in the future, any interference in the internal affairs of our country from whatever direction it comes.

2.13 Mr. President, the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian National Commission feel sure that Unesco will be able in the future to give a concrete answer to the fundamental problems of mankind, and will help solve these problems. History expects this from our Organization, which the peoples of the world have confidently vested with responsibility for the enrichment and development of culture, science and human consciousness. The Hungarian delegation will continue to participate in the work of the General Conference and in all future Unesco activities in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, and wishes the Executive Board and the Secretariat every success in its work.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon the Chairman of the Finnish National Commission for Unesco and Vice-Chairman of the delegation of Finland, Mr. Oittinen.

4.1 Mr. OITTINEN (Finland):

Mr. President, the Finnish delegation has asked to speak at this meeting first of all in order to express its pleasure and satisfaction at the positive development which is now perceptible in Unesco's activities. It is most significant for the work of this Organization that the new countries of Africa have come to participate in Unesco's cultural work as fully authorized members. The basis of our activity has thus been extended considerably. And at the same time as I greet the new members of the Organization on behalf of the Finnish delegation, I congratulate these countries because the dignified, realistic and purposeful approach of their representatives in this Conference has firmly established their position among Unesco's Member States.

4.2 We Finns understand very well both the practical and the psychological importance of political independence. This struggle of the Finnish people to create and maintain national institutions and a culture based on the Finnish language, throughout centuries of foreign dominance, has taught us the lesson that only in a free country can a free people live, and only a free people is able to advance its economic progress effectively and create the conditions for the further development of its culture. From the historical point of view, the worst is not always what is done to a nation which is deprived of liberty, but rather what is left undone, for example, in the development of national culture.

4.3 We Finns know from experience, however, that the difficulties by no means disappear with the acquisition of political independence. On the contrary, material and intellectual resources will be put to a still more severe test when the task is to create, almost from the beginning, one's own national way of life. Even though this task is inspiring and the ideal therein gives strength, the danger exists that the new States will meet almost unsurmountable difficulties. Therefore, it is well that international organizations exist which are ready to help.

4.4 In creating a new State the paramount need is for intellectual resources. Thus, assistance in educating specialists in all fields of modern life is at least as valuable as direct economic and material support, although this also can be used to acquire intellectual resources within certain limits.

4.5 The satisfaction of the urgent needs of the new Member States imposes new duties on Unesco. It is also clear that the incorporation of these new obligations in Unesco's programme means that the financial burden on Member States will increase. Although my country does not belong to the wealthiest nations, in Finland the immediate necessity of rendering international co-operation more effective in the field of education, cultural activities and scientific research is well understood. Only thus it is possible to create conditions for continuous economic and intellectual development and for effective international co-operation which can help to solve the problems affecting the very existence of mankind.

4.6 The needs of the new African Member States have for their part expanded the proportion of Unesco's programme devoted to education. The tendency to strengthen the work of Unesco in the field of education in general which is perceptible in the proposed programme and budget for the next two years is noted with satisfaction by the Finnish delegation. It is, without reservation, of the opinion that Unesco's duty in the first place is to help create general educational systems by participating in the work of planning and by helping to found central institutions, such as teacher-training schools, publishing firms and information centres.

4.7 In addition to these activities of expansion, the importance of the qualitative development of education must be realized. We must not try to transfer old and perhaps unsuitable working methods to the new States and new conditions. We should ensure that only the best is recommended, which corresponds to the results of modern pedagogical experience and research. Unesco should therefore attach further importance to the continuous improvement of school systems and the quality of school life in so-called developed countries.

4.8 The Finnish delegation has noted with special satisfaction that the activities in the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 are presented in more concrete form than previously. Along with the pious wishes, which still are rather numerous, there are more and more precisely defined plans. This trend is in the right direction.

4.9 The international campaign to save the monuments of Nubia is to my mind an excellent example of how a concrete aim is able to inspire international co-operation and public interest. Although the Nordic countries are far from the Nile valley, their preparations to participate in the Nubia project are already far advanced. It has been decided that the Nordic countries - Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland - will send a joint expedition to Nubia. The Finnish Government has already granted an allocation for this purpose and has also, in principle, decided on continuous financing of the expedition during five years.

4.10 Turning to the analysis of the projects of Unesco, I should like to stress the importance of increased planning and guidance in the execution of the programme. The time of vague idealism should, indeed, be long past. As an example of this need, I should like to refer to the Associated School Projects for international understanding. In many cases this experiment has given good results and the interest of the young has been aroused in the life and ways of distant and dissimilar countries, and above all in international co-operation. This experiment, however, demands great capacity and knowledge on the part of the teacher. The expansion of this work in scope and quality is possible only if better and more detailed information and guidance are available from Unesco. Audio-visual materials are also needed in greater measure, because they are necessary to keep alive the interest of both teachers and pupils in these extra-curricular topics. In this connexion, it would be useful to deliberate how it will be possible in the future to reserve sufficient time in the curricula for lessons in education for international understanding. The time available for this instruction is in general rather limited and it should therefore be used in the best and most effective way.

4.11 I have raised this point as an example of the ever-increasing need of making Unesco's programmes correspond to the realities. Indeed, I consider that only through concrete action can our Organization achieve ultimate success. We must not limit ourselves to expressing hopes and making claims. More than that, we need working plans. Detailed information, instruction and guidance are the things that are expected from us. I readily admit that ideals are important and valuable. Indeed, they are, as expressed in our Constitution, the very basis of our work. But, I repeat, for the achievement of real results useful means and practical ways are essential. And, after all, it may be better to concentrate on a few topics of crucial importance than to continue to disperse our resources in a multitude of half-successful projects.

5. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Head of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, H.E. Mr. Slipchenko.

6.1 Mr. SLIPCHENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, in duly evaluating the positive work of Unesco, we must nevertheless focus attention on the shortcomings in its activities. Friendly and objective criticism is one of the main ways, we consider, of assisting the Secretariat.

6.2 Gentlemen, to be able to study the problems of education, science and culture in their concrete

aspects and to find really effective methods of solving them rapidly and correctly, there must first be an objective understanding of the varied social and political conditions obtaining in the world. It is essential to consider the rapid changes taking place in it and to strive in practice, from an objective standpoint to study the experience of countries with different social and economic systems so that all its most valuable and outstanding lessons may be drawn. This will help all Member States, particularly the young, independent countries - whom we heartily welcome to our midst - to solve the problems facing them in a constructive way.

6.3 We Soviet people intimately understand the problems and aspirations of the young countries which have freed themselves from age-long oppression and are concentrating all their efforts on overcoming poverty and backwardness, eliminating forever the heavy burden left by colonialism and endeavouring to stand firmly on their own feet in all respects. We realize full well that, for these reasons alone, the new sovereign States are vitally interested in preserving peace and developing peaceful co-operation between all countries, and we are therefore confident that these new recruits to Unesco will work together to make our Organization an ever more effective instrument for peace and an active organizer of international efforts to develop science, culture and education throughout the world.

6.4 The Ukrainian SSR, like the other socialist countries, is ready to play a most active part in this noble cause. It is regrettable that the Secretariat has so far made such little use of the experience and disinterested services of the socialist countries, that it makes so slight an effort to study and popularize the highly rational and well-tried methods of organizing education in these countries, and their basic approach in developing national culture, and does less than it should to help place the achievements of world science at the disposal of the peoples of all Member States. The Ukrainian SSR for instance - like the other socialist countries - has accumulated much experience in the organization and development of education, science and culture, and with Unesco's help would willingly share this knowledge with other States, in turn adopting the most useful elements of the experience acquired by them. The Secretariat could take an active part in facilitating this exchange of cultural and scientific values.

6.5 Listening to the statements of certain delegates from countries which have just embarked on the highway to independent development, I was reminded of the glorious and instructive history of my own country. The problems at present troubling you, dear friends, as regards lack of schools, widespread illiteracy, the absence of teaching in your native language and so on, are happily a thing of the distant past in the Ukraine. The practical fulfilment of Lenin's national policy has brought to the Ukrainian people, as to the other peoples of former Tsarist Russia, freedom and Statehood, complete equality of rights and the full flowering of their physical and spiritual powers.

6.6 By the heroic efforts of which only a free people is capable, the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the Ukraine, in the space of a single generation, have constructed within the fraternal family of socialist nations a fine and powerful Republic, which is completely literate and has a high level of culture, science and technology. Today, the Ukrainian economy, constituting the fundamental basis for the development of education and science, is in advance of that of such countries as Canada, while the Ukraine's production of steel, pig iron, iron ore and many other industrial and agricultural products per head of population exceeds that of the United States of America. We sincerely look forward one day to hearing similar "propaganda figures" from the mouths of delegates of the still underdeveloped countries.

6.7 The Ukraine has 500 scientific institutions working on thousands of different problems ranging from the atom to the cosmos. There are as many students in our higher educational establishments as in the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Sweden and Austria combined. In the current year alone, the output of trained experts by our higher educational establishments will total 72,000 including 23,000 engineers. Altogether, the Ukraine has 1,500,000 trained experts in the various disciplines. It is with pride that I quote these data, for I see in them not only the results of the self-sacrificing work of my country and of the entire Soviet people and the success of the socialist system, but also the prospect opening up for every nation provided it embarks on the road to economic and cultural development under conditions of complete political freedom and an equitable social system, confident in the friendly and disinterested support of other countries.

6.8 These are our reasons for criticizing Unesco's self-impoverishment, its failure - or near-failure - to take advantage of the precious experience which has been accumulated by the socialist countries regarding the development of national education systems, the organization of science and the work of cultural institutions. We believe that Unesco should study and draw general conclusions from the experience of the more developed countries and place the really useful elements at the disposal of those that need it.

6.9 We should also like Unesco, in its publications and by other means, to make the world more fully aware of the cultural achievements of all peoples and to familiarize them with the work of the great creative artists who have won general recognition and esteem. We are grateful for the evening devoted to the memory of the outstanding Indian poet and social leader Rabindranath Tagore, and the meeting devoted to the great Russian author Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy.

6.10 The Ukrainian delegation would also like Unesco to fulfil its international duty by taking part in the celebrations in honour of the great Ukrainian poet and thinker, the revolutionary democrat and outstanding artist Taras Grigorevich Shevchenko, the 150th anniversary of whose birth will take place in 1964. Shevchenko's work, and his poetic and artistic genius, are universally recognized; transcending national frontiers, he is known and honoured in many countries. A monument has been raised to him in the Canadian town of Toronto, while the United States Congress recently decided to erect a Shevchenko monument in Washington. The Ukrainian National Commission for Unesco has already been

informed by many countries that they have begun to make preparations for our great poet's 150th anniversary. We hope that Unesco, too, will widely publicize this memorable occasion, and in due course our Commission will come forward with concrete proposals.

6.11 We regard the exchange of national cultural values as a sure means of establishing mutual understanding between peoples, and we are therefore striving in every way to develop friendly relations with other countries in culture, science and education.

6.12 A fairly considerable amount of time is devoted at the plenary meetings and in the Commissions of our General Conference to questions concerning the work of the National Commissions for Unesco, which are an important connecting link between Unesco and the public in the individual countries. I should like to take this opportunity of urging the Secretariat to strengthen its links with the National Commissions, paying more attention to the creative aspects of these links, rather than their purely formal aspects. It is often stated that the National Commissions in Africa, Asia and Latin America are still largely inactive, as they lack the necessary experience. The Secretariat should establish a living link with them by inviting their members to study courses and by organizing exchange visits between members of Commissions. We would be glad to accept representatives of the National Commissions of the African countries, for example, and to share our experience with them. The figure of 1% of Unesco's budget that is devoted to assisting National Commissions is in our opinion totally inadequate.

6.13 All these valuable links can and should be extended, and the work of the Commissions greatly stimulated, provided - I repeat - the Secretariat displays the necessary alertness and willingness. I should like to state, for the Secretariat's information, that the Ukrainian National Commission, after reviewing its possibilities in this connexion, has worked out a general scheme for increasing the scope of its activities. We have prepared a list of articles and other material which we shall offer to the Secretariat for publication by Unesco (within the framework of the allocations). Meanwhile the task of selecting the outstanding works of Ukrainian literature for publication in the Unesco series of translations of Masterpieces of world literature is almost completed.

6.14 Mr. President, in discussing in detail the work of the National Commissions and the forms and nature of the cultural relations which bind countries together in a general effort for continued progress, we cannot confine ourselves to these aspects of our mutual activities, however important they are. It is vital, in this connexion, to define correctly the sort of contribution which, as stated in the Report by the Director-General on the Activities of the Organization in 1960, "the Organization can make to international understanding between the peoples, to the pacification of the minds of men and to the achievement of a general disarmament leading to a lasting peace". But merely to discourse on the importance of the contribution which Unesco can make to the great cause of the struggle for peace and international understanding gentlemen, is totally inadequate.

6.15 To confirm our profound belief in the value of Unesco's contribution, we must make concrete efforts - and I should like to stress the word "concrete" - "throughout each hour of every day" to use Unesco's resources to bring about the formation, in all Member States, of a climate of opinion favourable to the creation of "a world without war, a world without armaments, a world without oppressed and enslaved peoples". As the head of the Soviet Government, Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, rightly said in his message to the General Conference: "Only under conditions of lasting peace can there be really fruitful collaboration between scientists, cultural workers and educators in all countries for the solution of the many serious problems facing mankind".

6.16 The Ukrainian people, like all men of goodwill, warmly welcomes the inspiring and heartening message of Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, that tireless fighter for peace between peoples, and expresses the hope that the General Conference will support the lofty principles set forth in the message from the Head of the Soviet Government and will adopt decisions "constituting a worthy contribution to the glorious task of promoting peace and human progress". We were very pleased to note the cordial response by many delegations to Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev's friendly message.

6.17 If Unesco is to be a really vital organization, it must not shy away from the social and economic changes taking place in the world, nor refuse to take part in solving the fundamental problems raised by life itself. There must be no hiding behind the cloak of a cultural and educational mission in order to avoid responsibility for the fate of the world. To talk about eschewing politics is in itself a political act. In fact, as we can see from the unseemly part played by responsible Unesco officials in the Congo, from the openly tendentious interpretations of the historical development of the USSR and other socialist countries which appear in certain Unesco publications, and from the policy of discrimination and favouritism evidenced in the composition of the Secretariat, and so on, Unesco is far from being a non-political organization, as certain persons have tried to suggest.

6.18 It is therefore preferable, within Unesco's walls, not to bring forward the bankrupt argument of the United Nations' monopoly of discussions of war and peace but rather to urge Unesco - since there is no time to lose - to make active use of its resources, energy and experience in solving the most pressing problems of our time - general and complete disarmament, peaceful coexistence and the final liquidation of colonialism, failing which there will never be any real flowering of education, science and culture in any country.

6.19 How can Unesco find its rightful place in the work of solving these fundamental problems? The Ukrainian delegation's approach to this question is as follows: we consider that the constructive proposals submitted by the delegations of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries for examination by the General Conference offer excellent prospects for the continuation of Unesco's work in the right direction. I have in mind, in particular, the Soviet Union resolutions on the question of general and complete disarmament, peaceful coexistence and co-operation among States with different social and

economic systems, the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples, and the restoration to former colonies, by imperialist powers, of part of the resources plundered from them by the monopolies.

6.20 We earnestly hope that the General Conference will approve the draft resolution submitted jointly by the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia on the basic principles and criteria of Unesco's publications policy in the field of social sciences, the draft resolution submitted by Burma, Ceylon and the Ukraine on the utilization of information media for strengthening peace and the condemnation of war propaganda, enmity and hatred between peoples, and all other progressive resolutions.

6.21 As to the proposals made by other countries, our delegation is taking part in their examination with a deep sense of responsibility, assessing them objectively from the sole standpoint of the contribution they can make towards fulfilling Unesco's lofty purposes. It is gratifying to see that so many constructive proposals have been placed before the Conference, for it shows the deep interest of the Member States in the work of our Organization.

6.22 Our task is to give the maximum consideration on a priority basis to the requests made by the young countries, and to ensure that the most constructive proposals - such as the Soviet Union resolutions - are adopted by all the delegations attending the General Conference in full consciousness of their duty to mankind. It is only right that the Conference should condemn the outmoded and disgraceful system of colonialism.

6.23 We can only welcome the fact that the General Conference today unanimously decided on the proposal of the Soviet Union, to include in its agenda the question of Unesco's part in furthering the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples. How much greater Unesco's authority will be in the eyes of millions of people in all countries when, with its very own resources, it actively begins to promote general and complete disarmament: for what could be more important than peace for the successful development of education, science and culture.

6.24 I should like to take this occasion, with the permission of our hosts, the French people, to quote the angry and impassioned words pronounced by Victor Hugo on the centenary of the death of Voltaire: ".... Shame on war! No, there is no glory in bloodshed! What good, what purpose can it serve, to pile corpse on corpse? It must not be permitted that life be used for death!" Then there is another appeal to the public by Victor Hugo which I should like to quote: "We, the peoples, call a halt to our rulers: these crimes have gone on long enough". Echoing these words by the great French writer are those uttered by Maxim Gorki on the eve of the first World War, and which still resound today as a terrible warning: "Approaching war threatens to reduce to ashes the centres of European culture and to transform the survivors - those who are not slain, maimed or driven mad - into wild beasts".

6.25 The whole point of the question today is this: the fate of the major and minor projects, of the conventions and recommendations which Unesco has so far drawn up, and of the programmes of activities which we are now preparing with such care and attention, depends not only on the political decisions of the United Nations; the fate of Unesco's many projects and programmes of activities also depends on our own efforts, here and now, at this Conference of ours.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of Libya, Mr. Mansur.

8.1 Mr. MANSUR (Libya):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am very happy to have the honour of addressing you on behalf of our Minister of Education, H.E. Mr. el Bishti, who would very much have liked to speak to this august assembly himself had he not been obliged to return to Tripoli this morning. He has asked me to convey to you his warm greetings and best wishes for the success of the Conference and to replace him in delivering his speech which I shall now present to you.

8.2 "Mr. President, it gives me very great pleasure to convey to this distinguished assembly the greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of the United Kingdom of Libya. Indeed, Sir, I am happy to have been called upon to lead the delegation of my country to the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco - an organization with which I have been closely associated in Libya for many years and which has a special place in the regard of the Libyan people because of its dedicated service in the noble cause of education, science and culture.

8.3 The Libyans are well aware of the value and importance of the assistance granted to Libya by Unesco and the other Specialized Agencies and I should like to take this opportunity to express our grateful appreciation to this Organization for its great contribution to our country's development. Our gratitude best finds expression in the co-operation given to the experts sent out to us and in the substantial sums which we allocate to many of the projects undertaken.

8.4 If these projects and also the several expanding educational programmes we have undertaken or which it is proposed to initiate in Libya are to yield their best fruit, a lasting climate of peace is indispensable. Libya passionately believes in peace and will give its whole-hearted support to any motion or action proposed under the United Nations Charter that promises to lessen tension in this troubled world and which will promote international co-ordination and collaboration.

8.5 When I think of the beginnings of Unesco my mind turns to the beginnings of my own country, both were born out of war. Under the bombs battering London the founders of Unesco dreamed of a world organization dedicated to reason and concord, affirming 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 nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual concern and concord'. The purpose of the Organization was to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education. Libya shares these lofty ideals; they are

the life and spirit of our Constitution and have inspired the policy and actions of our country since we achieved independence in December 1951.

8.6 The desire for peace, justice, liberty, for harmony and fruitful co-operation with other countries has, as in the case of Unesco, grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength. Like countries in similar circumstances, our land, recovering from deep wounds of the past and the ravages of World War II, needs the healing touch: a friendly understanding of our way of life, sympathetic appreciation of our problems, and unfettered technical and financial assistance to rebuild our economy and to develop our social and cultural institutions.

8.7 It is not many years since Libya attained independence; nine years is a brief span in the life of a nation. In this comparatively short time we have endeavoured, under the guidance of our great and gracious sovereign, His Majesty King Idris, to give the maximum attention and a major part of our limited resources to the promotion and development of education in our country. Education in Libya has had to be built up almost from scratch since the country gained independence. This has not been an easy task and innumerable problems, which a sustained effort is being made to overcome, have faced the administration.

8.8 The objective of free compulsory primary education for all is laid down in the Libyan Constitution. At the time we gained independence fewer than 10 per cent of the adult population had ever been to school. The Libyan Government, therefore, concentrated on laying the foundations for a proper school system and opening the doors of education to the largest number of children in the shortest possible time.

8.9 The great enthusiasm and the eagerness of the Libyan people to acquire knowledge may be gauged from the increase in school enrolment from 45,000 in 1952 to 120,000 in 1960. The number of schools has increased from 234 to 524. This, in the words of the recent World Bank Survey Mission to Libya, is a very considerable achievement. Today about 70 per cent of all Libyan children in the primary school age group (from 6 to 12) are in school, a proportion which we believe stands up well to comparison with that in other underdeveloped countries. In accordance with the Libyan Educational Law of 1952, which is an outstanding feature of the country's legislation, the expansion and development of education at all the levels - from the primary to the university - including boarding facilities, are financed from the public budget. The Government has met this intense popular desire by planning a national system of education which is now being successfully put into practice. The main difficulty facing the development of the education programme is lack of an adequate supply of trained teachers. In the last five years the problem has been effectively tackled and we are now in a position to produce our own supply of teachers at the primary level. We are confident that the increasing output of graduates from the Libyan National University will help us solve the problem of preparatory and secondary school teachers with equal success.

8.10 Mindful of the needs of the adult population which had been denied the benefits of education, the Libyan Government has made considerable efforts in the last five years in the field of adult literacy and fundamental education, with the whole-hearted and valuable collaboration of Unesco. Evening classes attached to 250 schools throughout Libya have today an adult enrolment of nearly 20,000; in addition to this we inaugurated in 1958, with the assistance of Unesco, a Fundamental Education and Community Development Centre, at Fuchat in Cyrenaica, for men and women. Further, in collaboration with Unesco, 20 adult education centres have been established in the remote Saharan oases.

8.11 Under the Technical Assistance programme Libya has had valuable assistance from Unesco in other fields as well; for example, in teacher training at the men's and women's colleges in Tripoli; in arts and crafts, model schools and kindergartens, and in physical education, in the provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

8.12 The fellowships programme of Unesco has proved useful to Libya, but I feel there is a real need to increase the allocation of fellowships to countries like ours, in view of their rapidly expanding educational programmes which require a large number of trained personnel to sustain them.

8.13 We have noted with regret the progressive reduction in the technical assistance allocation to Libya in recent years. We are aware of and we understand the increasing demands on the Organization's resources, but we had hoped that, in view of the special responsibility of the United Nations towards Libya, the level of assistance would at least be maintained. The next few years will be critical ones for Libya's development and we therefore urge most strongly that the assistance to Libya under the Technical Assistance and Participation programmes of Unesco should be restored to former levels and maintained there during this vital period.

8.14 The Libyan delegation is glad to note that Unesco is giving considerable importance to the major and regional projects under its programme for 1961-1962. It will be recalled that our delegation to the tenth session of the General Conference had supported the proposal for the introduction of regional projects for the Arab countries. The Beirut Conference on the educational needs of the Arab countries, which I had the pleasure to attend earlier this year, arrived at some important decisions which need to be speedily executed.

8.15 The Libyan delegation recommends enhanced technical assistance for the Arab States and the newly independent countries of the African continent and urges favourable consideration of the regional and cultural projects for this area. May I be permitted to observe that the great efforts of the Arab countries to strengthen and advance their educational programmes against numerous odds, and the phenomenal popular response their endeavours have met, call for special consideration by this Conference. It might be of interest to you to know that in Libya a quarter of our modest national budget is being spent on education.

8.16 The Libyan delegation also warmly endorses the resolution submitted by two of our brother Arab States to the effect that: 'the Arabic language shall forthwith become one of the working languages of Unesco'. The time has come when the claims of the Arabic language, as stressed in this resolution, should receive the attention that has long been their due.

8.17 The Proposed Programme and Budget of Unesco for 1961-1962 is under consideration now by this Conference. It is not necessary at this stage to refer in detail to the proposals which particularly interest us. The Libyan delegation looks forward to playing a full and positive rôle in the deliberations of the committees and wishes this Conference every success in its weighty task.

8.18 Mr. President, Libya extends its warm welcome to the many new nations which have recently entered the United Nations family, and may I be permitted to conclude with the words spoken on a memorable occasion: 'I have faith in Unesco because I have faith in peace and I have faith in mankind'."

9. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. Tran Huu Thê, President of the National Commission for Unesco and Head of the delegation of Viet-Nam.

10.1 Mr. TRAN HUU THE (Viet-Nam) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to begin by adding my country's modest contribution to the enthusiastic tributes paid from this platform to the ideals and achievements of Unesco. The people of Viet-Nam, nourished for centuries at the sources of Buddhist and Confucian wisdom, can only support with enthusiasm every effort to promote peace and international understanding.

10.2 Ladies and gentlemen, throughout history and especially in our era, the idea of human brotherhood has suffered such cruel blows that to say with Confucius "Across the four oceans, all men are brothers" seems almost absurd. And yet, at a gathering such as ours - the world-wide nature of which has just been considerably reinforced through the admission of many African countries - one cannot help feeling that it is in our era - and in our era alone - that mankind at last finds itself in circumstances conducive to awareness of its unity.

10.3 However, this unity would have no meaning if it were reduced to mere uniformity, entailing the obliteration of each people's individual characteristics and universal agreement would be highly undesirable, did it but express the mute terror of the masses.

10.4 We are also grateful to Unesco for its tact and thoroughness in seeking as it does, with the patience required in order to bring any work of historical significance to fruition, to unite the nations not by repression but by promoting the full development of their own individuality.

10.5 The Government of Viet-Nam has always strongly approved of this work and has contributed to it to the full extent of its potentialities. During the five years of our young Republic's existence, under the leadership of President Ngo Dinh Diem, education, science and culture in our country have, despite countless difficulties, made tremendous strides. Out of a total population of 14 million inhabitants in free Viet-Nam, over two million illiterates have learned to read and write, and one-and-a-half million pupils now attend primary and secondary schools, three times as many as in 1955. At the beginning of the October term, three universities opened their doors to more than 11,000 students, and the first engineering graduates to be trained entirely in Viet-Nam will leave our engineering faculties this year. Over 5,000 Viet-Namese students are now studying at Asian, European and American universities. Several foreign cultural centres now exist at Saigon and are familiarizing us with the principal Western cultures, whilst cultural relations with other friendly countries are becoming increasingly close and profitable.

10.6 With regard to activities carried out in direct co-operation with Unesco, Viet-Nam has had the honour of being called upon to organize two regional seminars. One of these, a training course for South East Asian experts in marine sciences, was held in 1958 and the other, which took place at the beginning of this year, was devoted to the rôle of sociological research in the development of rural life in Asia. The Tân-An Fundamental Education Centre, at which two Unesco experts are working, is now turning out its fifth batch of men and women teachers for community schools, while another Centre, situated in the village of Phu-Huu, specializes in the training of teachers for fundamental education A large-scale plan for the transformation of a number of our traditional primary schools into community schools is being studied by the Department of Education. Finally, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Karachi Conference on Primary Education in Asia, a mission of Unesco experts has just arrived in Viet-Nam to study the problems involved in the development of education in relation to economic development.

10.7 This favourable situation is enabling us to look forward to the future with confidence and inducing us to believe more than ever in the success of our co-operation with Unesco. It is in this spirit that I shall now comment on the proposed programme and budget of our Organization for the next two years.

10.8 The delegation of Viet-Nam has read the document carefully and approves of it in general. It would, however, like to draw the Conference's attention to the exceptional importance of adult education in the world today, especially for countries in process of development. In such countries, the obstacles to economic and social progress are ascribable not only to the lack of capital or of technicians but also - and even more so - to the fact that the immense majority of the active population of these countries lacks the minimum of technical knowledge required in order to adapt themselves to new situations and to solve their own problems with a view to improving their living conditions. Adult education is therefore one of the prerequisites for the success of development programmes, particularly when the bulk of the active population lives in rural districts.

10.9 The delegation of Viet-Nam notes with satisfaction that adult education has a prominent place in the proposed programme and budget. It is also pleased to see that Unesco intends to hold a series of regional conferences, to follow up the World Conference held in Montreal.

10.10 It sincerely hopes that a predominantly agricultural country, situated at the cross-roads of South East Asia, may be chosen to organize one of these conferences, in order to study, in the light of the general principles laid down in Montreal, the ways, means and methods of adult education suitable for the rural populations of developing countries.

10.11 Experiments and recent sociological research have shown that rural populations obey their own laws and have their own interests and that, to be effective, education should assume different forms for rural and urban communities.

10.12 Mr. President, this is the main proposal that my delegation would like to submit to this Conference; I consider that it will be of interest not only to South East Asia but also to other regions of the world faced with the same difficulties. For its part, the Government of Viet-Nam attaches great importance to the rôle of education in the development of rural areas and is exceedingly anxious to exchange its experiences in that field with all other countries with similar problems.

10.13 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I still have the pleasant duty of greeting, on behalf of my Government, the other delegations to this Conference and, more particularly, the representatives of the new African States. The unanimous satisfaction with which their arrival among us has been welcomed, as well as that shown when the President of this Conference was elected are a good omen for the future of Africa.

10.14 The delegation of Viet-Nam sincerely hopes that the African nations, which certainly have their own special contribution to make to education, science and culture, will be able to do so in peace and prosperity.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon H.E. Dr. Beeby, the Ambassador of New Zealand to France and Head of the New Zealand delegation.

12.1 Mr. BEEBY (New Zealand):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I want to speak today about education, but may I first perform three brief but pleasant duties. Firstly, the New Zealand delegation would like to join with the others in the welcome to new Member States. They have given a new sense of reality to this Conference by coming to state their own problems in their own words. I have attended almost every session of the General Conference and I have never known one to grasp as realistically and concretely as this one has done the vast educational problems facing the world and the contribution that Unesco can make towards their solution. Whatever we may do to help these new Member States in the future, at the moment, as a Conference, we are in their debt for bringing this new sense of urgent purpose to our deliberations.

12.2 I hesitate to intrude a personal note into this general debate, but this may be the only occasion I shall have to thank you all for the honour you did my country and me in electing me to the Executive Board. I shall try to justify your choice. I feel impelled also to put on permanent record my gratitude and that of my country to the Australian Government and the Australian member of the Board for deciding so generously not to run for election in order that New Zealand might do so. My only regret is that this has meant the loss to the Board of a member who has made the fine contribution to its work that Dr. Gardner Davies has done.

12.3 Thirdly, I should like to congratulate the Director-General on his report and on the two years' work that it represents. Among the many things deserving praise I would like to single out one that may at first sight seem a little odd to newcomers to this Conference. That is the technical competence of the reports produced by Unesco over the past two years. I take just as a case in point the three excellent reports on the educational needs in Africa, Asia and the Middle East that were produced during 1959 and 1960. In 1949, Unesco could not, and did not, produce reports of this quality on topics of such magnitude. On this at least I can speak with authority - for in 1949 I was myself in charge of the Education Department of Unesco. I am saying this not in any excess of modesty but because I want to emphasize the fact that over its brief history Unesco has learnt new skills to deal with new problems. The procedures used to develop these three reports now look quite simple and obvious. All I can say is that ten years ago they were not simple and obvious to us. They have been ground out by the hard work of 15 years and they have sprung from a growing understanding of the ways in which any country can be helped by others without losing anything of its own dignity. There are few skills that will be more vital to the world in our generation.

12.4 Now may I turn to some problems of education that underlie so much of Unesco's programme. It is already a platitude to say that the surging demand for education has been one of the striking features of the past two decades. Wherever you look you will find it. In the economically more developed countries where universal primary education is well established many of us have struggled for years to meet the rising demand for secondary education, and in the less fortunate countries the clamour for universal primary education has reached a level that no world statesman can afford to ignore.

12.5 This, I say, is already a platitude, though none the less true for being one. But the moment you look below the surface to seek out the reasons for this surging demand for education, you find further truths that are far from being platitudinous and whose full implications, even yet, we still see only dimly. One obvious reason, of course, why every organized autonomous State in history has had to develop an education system is to provide a body of men and women to conduct the affairs of the country, as politicians and civil servants, as professional men and industrialists. In most of our countries, this evolution of a ruling élite has come first, and the popular education of the masses has followed, sometimes after centuries. This is the classic pattern of the growth of an education system - first the education of an élite selected on the basis of parental position, wealth, ability and then the gradual spreading out through the mass of the people of some or all of the benefits once enjoyed only by the few. Members of the élite, be it said to their credit, have often taken a leading part in this process, both in their own countries and in dependent territories.

12.6 But now a new kind of problem faces us. In great areas of the world where countries, sometimes newly independent, are struggling to build up the complex core of trained men and women to run the government and affairs of the country, they find themselves faced at the same time with a clamant

demand for at least elementary education for every child. And this is no calm official demand from some government committee for a given number of secondary and university school graduates to fill an estimated number of vacancies. It is the demand of individual men and women, in country and town alike, for a chance for their own children. There are areas of the world that I myself knew 20 years ago, where the authorities had to cajole and compel parents to send their children to school and where now they are struggling to meet a demand for schools that is too great for them to handle.

12.7 I ask myself what has caused this new and passionate demand for education. There must be many here who have a far more intimate knowledge of the situation than I shall ever have, but may I be bold enough to venture my own opinion. In great areas of the world, men and women, within our generation and especially within the past twenty years, have come to believe that their children might lead a better life than they did, might know a standard of living higher than their own. And for millions this is a new idea. In some regions, particularly in the rural areas, life had been relatively static for generations or even for centuries, and, of course with notable exceptions, the most the average village parent could hope was that his son would till the same patch of grudging soil or stand at the same bench with the same simple tools that he had used himself. In such conditions elementary education could be, for some people, only an added burden.

12.8 Then, perhaps because the world is shrinking and every man has some idea how other men live, the idea grew in the minds of responsible parents that their children were not bound on a wheel, but given the chance, could make better lives for themselves than their parents had led. But the one condition was that they must first have education.

12.9 Whether it be well-founded or not, this is a belief that could shake the world. To judge of its strength you have only to imagine the feelings of a mother who sees her children growing up in a village without a school, sees them reach the age of 5, 10, 15 years and knows that the chance is probably gone forever, that they will never be able to compete on equal terms with other men. There may, for all I know, be loftier motives than this for education, but there is none stronger. Statesmen and reformers may see education as the essential means towards building a new State or a new Utopia, but for every one of those there are a thousand parents seeking education for the simple purpose of giving their own children a chance in life. To their demand must be added the dissatisfaction of those deprived of education, as they find themselves growing up ill-equipped to deal with the complexities of modern life. It is this, I believe, above all else that has given the demand for education in our day its explosive force. It is no longer the slowly growing demand fostered by the reformers of the Nineteenth century; it has outstripped even the urgent demand of governments and industry for educated workers; it is a passionate demand that will stem from every village where a school does not exist. It has its roots in the love of parents for their children, and no roots strike deeper.

12.10 If this is true - and I am convinced that it is - the demand for education has at last become a major political force to reckon with in the world's affairs. No democratic government can resist it, and no government of any kind can remain stable unless it makes serious plans to give the people the education they demand for their children.

12.11 And this is where we meet cold reality. We know that, at least in their present stage of economic development, many of the countries where the need is greatest have neither the money to build all the schools, pay all the teachers and buy all the equipment they need, nor have they enough skilled manpower to plan and carry out the vast programme demanded of them. Even if money and manpower were put at their disposal tomorrow, the building up of a universal school system takes time. Teachers must be educated and trained, and people to train them must themselves first be trained. All the auxiliary services - administration, inspection, textbooks - must be developed. Meanwhile time passes, populations grow, the pressure of parents and children for schooling mounts, and if the demand is not satisfied, political discontent grows.

12.12 At the same time a country is frequently struggling with the problems of building a new State and a new administration. It is not just that it may have to choose between education and, say, hospitals or roads or electric power for its industries. It may also, in the short run, be compelled to make the even more painful choice between rapidly extending its primary school system or building up secondary schools and higher institutions to provide it with the élite corps essential to a modern administration. This is a choice that most of our countries have had to make in their time, and every humane administrator hates to make it, because it can mean the sacrifice of the education of the many to the needs of the country for the services of the highly educated few in the immediate future. It is a choice that is doubly hard to make now when the "grass roots" demand for education has assumed such political importance.

12.13 The last thing I would wish to do, Mr. President, is to sound a note of discouragement. I believe these newly developing countries have the vigour and the faith, with our help, to do the job. But I do want to stress the fact - speaking perhaps more as an educator now than as a diplomat - that these developing countries face an educational problem harder than most of our countries have ever faced. In a decade or two they must solve, all at once, the problems we have dealt with piecemeal over a century or two. They are going to need all the help the rest of our Member States can give them. Financial aid they will clearly need - and judging by the spirit of this Conference I am sure it will be forthcoming. But they will need no less the services of the best and most experienced teachers and administrators we can find, people whom, in less urgent times, our own countries just could not afford to lose.

12.14 No less important, these countries need to know that there is an organization like Unesco to which they can turn for advice and help when they need it. As others have said, it is not a matter of Unesco or anyone else telling these countries how to run their education systems. I have met men myself in allegedly underdeveloped countries whose

advice I would have been happy to have on running the education system of my own country when I was responsible for it. They know more than anyone else about their own basic problems. But in general there are far too few of them in any one country to face alone the vast problems of the next decade, and they are often unsupported by the necessary technical services. There should be a cool, skilled, impartial, professional body to whom any country can turn for such advice and advisers as it feels it needs, and for specialists who are willing to commit themselves for a period of years to doing a job and not just advising on how it should be done.

12.15 That brings me to my last and, I think, most important point. If Unesco is to serve this purpose - and I know of no other international body that can - it must remain, in the words I have just used, cool, skilled, impartial, professional and utterly committed to its task. The demand for education, I have said, and said advisedly, is a new explosive political force in the world, a force that men could use wisely or mischievously. The newly developing countries will need all their skill and wisdom and all the unselfish help that we can give them if they are to satisfy at the same time their citizens' demands for universal education and the countries' needs for leaders, administrators and professional men.

12.16 If we, who count ourselves among the more fortunate nations, ever try to introduce our own political differences into Unesco or to use Unesco for our individual political purposes, we shall unfit the Organization for the high and vital rôle it has to play, and we and the countries we are trying to serve will all be the poorer for it. The problems these countries have to face in education are already bigger than men should be asked to face alone, and their solution will take the combined goodwill, wit and wisdom of us all. I hope that we shall never deliberately add to that burden the heavy weight of our own political differences.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I now have great pleasure in calling upon Mr. Pfeffer, the Head of the delegation of Chile.

14.1 Mr. PFEFFER (Chile) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and fellow delegates it is a great honour for me to represent the Government of Chile at this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco.

14.2 I am sure that I shall derive from it in the way of personal contacts, new ideas and a wider view of educational problems, far more than I can offer in return. I very much hope, however, that I shall be able to convey to my Government and to the educators in my country the stimulus and valuable experience that participation in the discussions of this great international Organization means to all of us, so that they may be converted into action beneficial for education.

14.3 For Chile, membership of Unesco implies the continuation of its long history of international co-operation in education, science and culture. Great teachers from all over the world have helped to forge our educational system. In the last century, Andres Bello, a Venezuelan scholar, was the first Rector of our University; Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the distinguished Argentinian politician and educationalist, was head of our first teacher-training school; whilst European teachers of various nationalities taught at our secondary and teacher-training schools and took charge of our first university faculty for the training of secondary school teachers.

14.4 Chile therefore has identified itself with the ideals of Unesco and has co-operated fully in the Organization's programme, and more especially in the projects of mutual benefit to all the countries of our hemisphere.

14.5 I should like to refer to the Latin American Centre for the Training of Educational Specialists, attached to the University of Santiago, which is one of the activities of the Major Project being carried out in my country with the generous backing of the Government and the University of Chile.

14.6 Since 1958, thirty specialists in the various branches of education, selected by the South American governments, have graduated annually. The 90 teachers who have already graduated and those who will follow during the ten-year period of this project will be entrusted with the task of improving and extending education and of disseminating among the teachers and children of Latin America the ideals of mutual understanding and international friendship.

14.7 The Government and the University of Chile consider it a privilege to sponsor this project, which gives the teachers of my country the delicate responsibility of influencing the training of those who are to become the leaders of Latin American education.

14.8 One of the principal aims of the Major Project for the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America is to apply planning principles and techniques in education.

14.9 The traditional, recognized practices, valid as long as the educational system satisfied the needs of only a very small section of the population, which increased very slowly and was not affected by the great social and economic changes of the contemporary world, cannot be continued without causing immeasurable harm.

14.10 It has now been proved that Latin America is the area of the world with the highest rate of demographic expansion, a fact which calls for exceptional efforts to extend education at a rate superior to that of population growth and to improve services so as to make the maximum use of material, financial and human resources.

14.11 Once we are thoroughly familiar with educational conditions and the exact nature and extent of requirements, when we know where technical or professional workers are needed and, more specifically, in what branches they should specialize, we shall be able to assess the efficiency of our syllabuses and curricula and see what types of schools are needed and where, what teachers are necessary and what new educational opportunities we can offer our young people.

14.12 Thus, the idea of extending and adapting education to social needs call for overall planning as an essential basis for the formulation of a national educational policy.

14.13 The overall planning of education, which has assumed such importance in the Major Project

for the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, is one of the most rewarding tasks and one of the best ways of advancing education throughout the world.

14.14 My country has already begun the studies required for the application of the principles and techniques of overall planning to its educational services, and in this important endeavour we hope to obtain the valuable co-operation of Unesco.

14.15 We have noted with satisfaction that two activities in the programme for 1961-1962, namely the training of educational specialists and the application of planning principles and techniques to education - that are now beyond the experimental stage in our continent - are to be extended to other regions of the world which, like the Latin American republics, are crying out for more and better educational opportunities for all.

14.16 I should also like to express my approval of the programme for the development of Primary and Secondary Education in Tropical Africa. Latin America regards with great sympathy the efforts of the young African nations to extend and improve their educational systems and I cannot help remembering that, only 150 years ago, the Latin American countries were in a similar position, emerging from colonialism and carrying on a lone struggle for cultural emancipation in a world where international co-operation and solidarity did not yet exist.

14.17 Therefore, we consider ourselves, in a way, as your immediate predecessors and would like to offer you our friendship and co-operation.

14.18 Every one of the countries in the great Latin American community has something to contribute, according to its means. Chile would like to co-operate in the development of education in Africa with something which, although it has no material or financial value, meets the most urgent need of that great continent at this moment. Chile offers you secondary school teachers.

14.19 This human and professional contribution, though modest, added to that of other Latin American countries where secondary school teachers are also available, will enable Latin America to assist in the great educational task in Africa by sending an appreciable number of teachers.

14.20 Thus, the cultures and ideas of the two great continents of the Southern Hemisphere will be blended.

14.21 Another Unesco activity under the Major Project for the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America is the holding of a Conference in the Western Hemisphere to study the relationships between education and economic and social development. This study should yield valuable information on the fundamental importance of education as a decisive factor in such development.

14.22 I am convinced that all the countries concerned are looking forward with great interest to the results of this Conference, especially as they should contain useful guidance for the formulation of educational policy in Latin America.

14.23 We are sure that the co-operation we have offered will be accepted. And we believe that the excellent way in which the projects included in the programme for 1961-1962 have been developed - a proof of the careful study and efficient work performed by the Unesco Secretariat - will guarantee the success of the Organization's efforts in the coming biennial period.

14.24 My Government also wishes to refer to the assistance given by Unesco to the activities of the Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO). FLACSO is an international university institution, operating in Santiago under the auspices of the Chilean Government, for the training of social science teachers and research workers. Its first section, the Latin American Sociology School, has already supplied Latin America with 80 specialists in that discipline who were trained on its premises, and at the moment a second batch of 25 fellowship-holders are following the course. The Consultative Assembly of FLACSO, which met here a few days ago, approved the expanded programme of the institution which includes the establishment of two new FLACSO Schools, for Economics and Public Administration respectively, and a training course for rural economists. Chile supports this new programme, which will be financed with the help of various international agencies and will make the institution's activities extraordinarily broad in scope. My Government wishes to express its satisfaction at the way in which Unesco's Department of Social Sciences has at all times assisted FLACSO in its work, a fact which has contributed in no small measure to the success of the latter's activities. In FLACSO's expanded programme, and with Unesco's assistance, the Government of Chile hopes to contribute to the training of social scientists, who are of such importance for the programming, implementation and supervision of the economic and social development plans of the Latin American countries.

14.25 The most direct way of attacking the evils afflicting the world at their root, as philosophers and thinkers have said throughout the ages, is through education. However, armaments - the end-product of mistrust and fear - absorb a large proportion of the vital resources of governments. And why? To defend peace, the heart's desire of every civilized people.

14.26 And since this is in itself illogical, particularly for the small nations which have not yet achieved full economic development, peoples of Latin America warmly welcomed the statement made by the President of Chile at the 5th Meeting of American Foreign Ministers in which he linked the problem of armaments with the economic backwardness of those countries.

14.27 In this regard, Mr. President, my Government, although it approves the idea of disarmament in countries in the process of economic development, did not consider it opportune to bring up the topic for discussion before this Organization, which is not the appropriate body to decide on the means of solving the problem in practice.

14.28 I cannot conclude without reference to a subject which has deeply moved all Chileans - the amazing, almost incredible generosity with which the governments and peoples of the whole world extended the hand of friendship and gave us their support at a time of terrible tribulation for us, following the recent earthquakes.

14.29 I said "governments and peoples" because, in addition to the large sums of money, shiploads of food, clothing, medicines and building materials,

and the very welcome professional services of doctors and nurses, airmen and sailors, engineers and journalists, scientists and so many others, we in Chile received thousands of donations from individuals and public and private institutions and, among them - and this is something we shall never forget - large and small sums collected by primary school pupils of other countries, every cent of which meant sacrifice and privation.

14.30 Our educational problem became more acute as a result of the damage suffered by the schools, 22% of which, according to official estimates, were destroyed. Serious damage was done to 26% of the remaining schools, and there was extensive destruction of school furniture and buildings, and of the equipment and machinery of the University of Concepción and the Universidad Austral de Valdivia. It is this damage in the field of education that the generosity of the world and of this international Organization has helped to alleviate.

14.31 It is the habit of speakers, on every occasion and in every tone of voice, to insist on their incapacity to express their feelings. I feel deeply embarrassed in repeating this statement here in the knowledge that no Chilean will ever find words of sufficient depth or eloquence to express our individual and collective feeling of gratitude towards the peoples and governments of the world.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. Kuypers, a member of the Executive Board of Unesco and Vice-Chairman of the delegation of Belgium.

16.1 Mr. KUYPERS (Belgium) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, in this imposing hall, with its sober lines and colours, which I might describe as a factory of international thought, the voices of distinguished and authoritative men have once again resounded. What splendid ideas and interesting suggestions have been launched from this rostrum! We shall not easily forget the meeting held last Saturday when, in this very hall, Unesco seemed to us to have passed another milestone in its history.

16.2 For the first time, our biennial budget has reached 30 million dollars. Particularly striking was the fact that unanimity was obtained, and the quality of the new programme, the expansion and concentration of our activities and the opening of Unesco's doors to the uncommitted nations were acclaimed, approved and sanctioned. What a source of satisfaction for all those - from the Director-General and his assistants, the Executive Board and the National Commissions to the humblest of our collaborators - who have worked on this task, which is so far only beginning!

16.3 Our German colleague, a former architect, yesterday made some entertaining comments on our great meeting hall, where so many divergent opinions clash and so many hopes converge. May I be permitted to disagree with him. Since last Saturday, our factory hall has seemed to me to compare with those great auditoriums noted for their acoustics and their atmosphere. It has acquired what it hitherto lacked - a soul. I believe that we through our carefully weighed decision on the budget, have given it that soul.

16.4 To this programme which is beginning and which heralds a new dawn, Belgium has contributed, perhaps modestly, but all the same effectively.

16.5 Two days ago, the honourable Minister leading the delegation of the Netherlands described here his country's unique contribution to the Nubian undertaking - the contribution of a country which has for centuries fought for its very life against the invading sea. Allow me, Mr. President, to present you with an attractively illustrated book, published by us and related to that magnificent venture of saving the Nubian works of art in danger of submersion. Our whole-hearted support will be given tomorrow to the proposals of the Government of the United Arab Republic to construct a dyke around the Abu Simbel Temples and the Island of Philae - or any other protection which the engineers may devise, to dismantle other threatened temples, and to participate actively in the work of photogrammetry, in the Sudan as well.

16.6 It is doubtless unnecessary to remind you that a fine exhibition arranged by the United Arab Republic was recently presented, beginning in Brussels and Ghent, and that we have launched a regular campaign in favour of the project with a travelling exhibition covering about twenty towns and advertised to the public by means of illuminated slides and lectures, radio and television broadcasts, etc. Belgian scientific missions, now working in the area, will continue their work there next year. We have just been delighted to learn, incidentally, that one of our architectural experts has been appointed by the Egyptian Government, which rates his services highly. An Action Committee has been formed, and is only awaiting the end of this session of the Conference to begin work.

16.7 I believe that we were among the first to appreciate the significance of this splendid Unesco undertaking and to contribute one million Belgian francs. I can promise you solemnly here that we intend to continue our support.

16.8 Mr. President and fellow delegates, I shall not refer on this occasion to technical and vocational education. Unesco seems to us to have at last taken the right road. The report on the first meeting of experts in this branch of education, held in Brussels a year ago, will enable the Programme Commission and the relevant services to work out the guiding principles for Unesco's future activity.

16.9 I shall also say only a few words on the international collection of low-priced editions. I spoke on this subject at length from this rostrum two years ago, and received the unanimous support of the Executive Board on the principle of issuing this collection. The Secretariat has kept its word. Some twenty works of Eastern and other literature have already been published, and dozens of others - from Japanese, Thai, Persian, Arabic, modern Greek and many, many others - are being translated.

16.10 The works issued so far are intended only for a specialized and limited public. All well and good. But is it not Unesco's rôle to bring the world's literary heritage to the knowledge of the youth and of serious readers in all countries? The range is capable of being widened, and I am still firmly convinced that cheap pocket editions sponsored or even

published by Unesco are sure of a wide circulation, at any rate in English and French editions. Unesco is - or ought to be - the outstanding disseminator of culture, whatever the numerical coverage of a particular language such as Bulgarian, Rumanian, Dutch and so on.

16.11 Roman Rolland, in a letter to Barbusse in 1922, made the following point: "I know that Paris was not built in a day, and that human unity will not be built in a century".

16.12 The facts of the matter are these: Unesco is meeting in Paris, where it has built its headquarters; and the first ten years of its existence - one-tenth of a century - already belong to the past. We must therefore hurry!

16.13 Perhaps you will allow me, Mr. President to present you also with a modest fifty-page pamphlet - a "Primer of International Organizations". It is our reply to a problem which has exercised us all for years - how to awaken the interest of children in such abstract questions as international co-operation, and the organization of the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. It is essential, nevertheless that a way of doing so be found. The young people of today must not only become good citizens of their countries but must be conscious at the same time of being citizens of the world.

16.14 One of our educationalists - a former Unesco official incidentally - presents his solution in these 50 pages, based on daily experiences of work with children. The examples used are exceedingly simple - a red or green light, which gives pedestrians and perhaps even motorists a sense of discipline; a small sports team, which develops a spirit of unity and understanding; poliomyelitis, leading to an account of the World Health Organization; a letter or a visit to Unesco House in Paris.

16.15 We believe that this pamphlet is worth reading and, more specifically, trying out. Write and tell us how it strikes you, and how you think it could be improved. The point at issue warrants consideration; it is of vital importance in a world so divided and so dynamic.

16.16 In conclusion, I should like to refer briefly to a subject of absorbing interest to all those conscious of the radical changes now taking place in Unesco. It appears that the leaders of the great international organizations have latterly discovered the elementary truth that the general spread of education is one of the keys to economic and social expansion. The result is that various efforts have been initiated and large extra-budgetary sums made available to Unesco to act in its own special sphere. These sums are far greater than our own budget, and our Organization is accordingly faced with new tasks in making rational and economic use of them and supervising their use. We have to avoid, of course, the twin risks of dispersal and bureaucratization, but in saying this I am not voicing any facile criticism. It would not be fair on our part, to begrudge the Director-General the first-rate expert assistance which he so greatly needs in order to carry out the tasks entrusted to him by the Conference. Our point is that there must be an ever fresh approach to questions of the structure, co-ordination, simplification and institution of programmes.

16.17 To match this vista, we should - we feel - adopt a forward-looking attitude - to use an expression dear to our great and deeply lamented colleague Gaston Berger. The time for major projects on regional education seems to us to have passed. They must be sublimated - or generalized rather. For 1963-1964, we should consider introducing a world-scale major project with a view to launching a campaign to combat and eliminate illiteracy in all the rapidly developing countries and to expansion of other levels of education in them as soon as possible. We must extend this activity simultaneously and equitably to the four great regions of the world concerned - Africa, Asia, South America and the Arab countries. Unesco should issue a message of hope to all the nations starved of culture, but at the same time it should make an appeal for funds to the whole world, and to the United Nations in particular. For we are under no illusion (for we too, can tot up figures) that we shall be able to do everything with the means - and even the extra-budgetary means, however considerable - which are, or are to be made, available to us. It is in view of all I have said that we propose that the foundations be laid, in the 1963-1964 programme for educational activity which will continue for far longer than ten years. The United Kingdom delegate has said that it took centuries to make a gentleman. I agree. But the same is true of a beautiful English lawn; and to make that it needs a good gardener and a bad climate. For our undertaking, the climate is just right - all the new nations are thirsty for knowledge. As to the gardener - Unesco - it has gained experience on methods, on the intensive training of teachers for the different levels of education, on educational planning, on appointing inspectors, on publishing books for new literates, and so on and it is experimenting - this is the subject of a French proposal which we supported - in the large-scale use of the modern media of radio and television. Our gardener is in a position to tackle forthwith the formidable and urgent task awaiting him in so many newly-independent countries.

16.18 The need for hundreds of millions of dollars and 10 or 20 million teachers, indicated by the Karachi, Beirut and Addis Ababa conferences, is no initial discouragement. We must think big, and we must think quickly. We are living in a period in which human society is developing rapidly. And we realize every day that ignorance is the worst enemy of freedom.

16.19 Notwithstanding the divisions between men, Unesco as the focus of technical organization equally accessible to all, has the duty, at this historical moment of the rise of the "Third World", of eliminating illiteracy from it and changing its face through education. The aid must be massive, unconditional, without racial prejudice, without ulterior motives, given straightforwardly and in a spirit of complete solidarity and human fraternity, and with the active co-operation of the peoples and countries concerned, whose dignity, great traditions and aspirations we shall fully respect.

17. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the Vice-President of the National Commission for Unesco and Head of the delegation of Austria, H.E. Dr. Frieberger.

18.1 Mr. FRIEBERGER (Austria) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Austrian delegation would like to pay tribute to the Director-General of Unesco for his extremely lucid statement covering the broad lines of the programme. We have taken note of the intensification and concentration of of the wide range of activities of our international organization and their adaptation to new circumstances.

18.2 While thanking our distinguished Director-General and his indefatigable Secretariat for their efforts in organizing the eleventh session of the General Conference, Austria fully supports the proposals submitted by the delegate for Switzerland at this morning's plenary meeting for the rationalization of work. Our delegation hopes that the methods proposed will facilitate the task of all the officials of Unesco, who bear the responsibility for the rapid progress of a world in which the hunger of millions of our brothers and sisters overseas is equalled by their thirst for education and culture.

18.3 As stated in the section on general considerations, the new circumstances call primarily for fundamental education, which is essential for all nations. But there is a not easily discernable gradation of civilizations throughout the world which renders still more arduous the already difficult task of allocating appropriate aid to every region. These new circumstances demand, as was agreed by the General Conference at its tenth session in resolution 52, a reasonable time-limit for preparing adequate assistance.

18.4 However, despite the hard work of the Unesco Secretariat, the political events of the past few months have made the projects drawn up between the tenth and eleventh sessions of the General Conference seem out-of-date.

18.5 Most of the problems relating to fundamental education were familiar to Austria in the second half of the Eighteenth century; our great Empress, Maria Theresa, in a resolution addressed to the Court Advisers, asserted that the State should take an interest in education and consider it a political matter. In obedience to her injunction, the Imperial Commission for studies organized a universal system of education ranging from primary school to university, and this system was applied throughout an Empire extending from the frontiers of Piedmont to Transylvania, and from Silesia to the Turkish frontier.

18.6 Modern Austria, the fortunate heir to this enlightened policy, has the liveliest understanding of the aspirations of the young States recently welcomed into the great family of our Organization. Austria, ever ready to support them to the limit of its capabilities, follows Unesco's efforts to implement its first Major Project with the keenest sympathy, for the activities begun in Latin America need to be extended to many of the States of Africa and Asia. The tasks to be tackled by the Unesco services call for the maximum responsibility and the concentration of activities - often criticized as being too dispersed - on a field of action marking the threshold of a new era.

18.7 The second Major Project, for research on arid lands, is particularly noteworthy in view of its objective of making these vast areas exploitable and fertile; and here, again, Austria has a part to play in research work. The large budgetary provisions for arid land research should be coupled with those for oceanography, for the exploration of the ocean is of supreme importance for increasing food supplies and is hence, in the campaign against hunger, a sacred duty from which no member of Unesco can stand aside.

18.8 As far as these two spheres of the Organization's activity - arid zone and oceanographic research - are particularly concerned, Austria, a country with neither deserts nor a coastline, can only participate indirectly, by sending scientific experts.

18.9 The Austrian National Commission for Unesco is taking steps to ensure a permanent link between the work of the Unesco Headquarters and local activities in Austria. For example, the fifth seminar on Education for International Understanding organized for young teachers by the Unesco Institute for Education was held in Austria, near Vienna, from 23 August to 5 September 1959, with the support of the National Commissions and the financial and technical assistance of Unesco. The participants studied theoretical and practical problems connected with education for international understanding, with particular emphasis on education dealing with the United Nations and the experience of associated schools. Details of the publications issued by the Austrian Commission are given in our report. In addition, two groups of French and Austrian historians last year began the systematic elimination from the history textbooks used in the secondary schools of the two countries of passages prejudicial to their mutual understanding. The two groups finished their work in October.

18.10 With regard to the development of education which seems to have become Unesco's main sphere of activity, Austria can claim that its statesmen and teachers were faced with very similar problems as long as two centuries ago, and that they solved them in an exemplary manner for the mighty empire which then covered the whole Danubian area.

18.11 We now come to the problems of the third Major Project, and in particular the question of how far it will be possible to succeed in developing closer and more fruitful relations between the cultures of the various peoples on the basis of exchanges and respect for traditions. In Austria, the efforts to promote greater understanding between East and West have led to the launching in the capital and in the Länder of a large-scale programme which is being widely welcomed not only in the universities but also among the general public. I might mention here three seminars organized by the Austrian National Commission - one on the Near East, held last year; another to be held this year, on India and the countries of the Middle East; and the third, to be held in 1961, on theatrical traditions in the Far East. The normal duration of these seminars is a week or so, and they are supplemented by exhibitions of folk art and reproductions of famous works.

18.12 Austria is glad to note that the Unesco reports already indicate a desire to make financial means available to the National Commissions for independent activities rather than set up, with an excess of bureaucratic zeal a kind of World Ministry of Education. Austria accordingly raised no objection

to the higher budget ceiling proposed by the Director-General, for as we see it, it implies the development of rational co-ordination of activities in decentralized form. We have already noted with admiring approval, the announcements at this session by the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany offering to make considerable sums available so that the wishes expressed by the new States can be met.

18.13 World historical developments have hitherto prevented language, religious and racial minorities from being as fully taken into account in education as was provided for in the Charter of Human Rights, in line with the political and moral advancement of mankind. It is true that a number of national laws and international agreements existed before Unesco was founded, for the application of the principle just mentioned; but it was Unesco which opened the way for a multilateral convention of truly universal scope However, this charter should not involve derogation from existing bilateral treaties, which offer satisfactory solutions to the parties concerned.

18.14 As a further means of promoting the intellectual rapprochement of national cultures, Unesco is striving to place the achievements of audio-visual techniques at the service of education. Austria has pleasure in announcing in this connexion its intention of establishing an audio-visual music centre in Vienna attached to the International Music Council. Conferences, working parties, courses, publications and exhibitions, and the establishment of a library for international use are also envisaged for the same purpose. An international opera prize has been instituted by the city of Salzburg, and the first award, last year, was made to Paul Angerer for his work "Passkontrolle".

18.15 Nor should we forget the vital need of saving particular cultures, either extinct or on the way to extinction, from complete oblivion. Austria has delegated an internationally-renowned expert to serve Unesco in this connexion. Our Organization also deserves praise for all it is doing to save great cultural monuments of the past now threatened with destruction by the demands of technological progress. Austria has a very deep interest in safeguarding the Nubian monuments as witness its important scientific work and its Egyptological collections (I am more specifically referring to the Art History Museum and the Archduke Rainier papyrus collection) and in response to the Unesco appeal intends to participate more especially in research work undertaken in connexion with excavations. This project will take shape during the coming year.

18.16 This example of threatened monuments strikingly illustrates the danger which modern technological needs imply for the vestiges of ancient civilizations. Austria, alive to this danger, has already twice urged on this gathering the need to include courses on the rudiments of cultural values in the curricula - and especially the technical school curricula - of all countries. Such courses are already being successfully held in Austria.

18.17 The Austrian delegation particularly welcomes the announcement by Mr. de Berredo Carneiro that the History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind will be available in full at the end of 1963.

18.18 With regard to the fine arts, Austria has always tried to co-operate closely and effectively, through the Austrian section of the International Association of Plastic Arts, with the Arts and Letters Division of the Secretariat. We have noted with pleasure that a volume in the "World Art" series will be devoted to mural paintings and mediaeval frescoes of the Austrian Tyrol.

18.19 In the summer of 1959 a seminar for European sculptors was held at St. Margarethen, in Burgenland, every sculptor present producing a work made of stone from the well-known local quarries. The seminar with its illustrations of plastic art, was very warmly welcomed by the critics and the public.

18.20 Among Unesco's numerous and diverse achievements, the Universal Copyright Convention concluded in Geneva in 1952 is of world significance. Austria, the fount of so many musical and literary masterpieces, is extremely interested in the accession to this Convention of an increasing number of Member States of Unesco, and is convinced that the new Member States would greatly benefit from the advantages and the Convention's protection, particularly as regards the plastic arts of West Africa and the region's music which, based on folk music, has already given birth to individual masterpieces now beginning to influence music in other parts of the world. I am sure that States like Austria, which have never had colonies under their domination, will find no difficulty in promoting the expansion of the creative activity of the new nations in a spirit of harmonious agreement and mutual protection.

18.21 We see a happy omen for future friendly co-operation in the election of His Excellency the Ethiopian Ambassador to the Presidency of the General Conference. We welcome in him the distinguished representative of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia who, during his official visit to Austria, deeply endeared himself to our people by his thorough knowledge of our history and traditions.

19. The PRESIDENT:

I shall now call upon the representative of the Organization of American States, Mr. Céspedes, to address the Conference.

20.1 Mr. CESPEDES (Representative of the Organization of American States) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General and fellow delegates, as representative of the Organization of American States, I bring to this gathering the cordial good wishes of its Secretary-General, Dr. José A. Mora, and of the Director of its Department of Cultural Affairs, Dr. Juan Marín.

20.2 They have examine the Proposed Programme and Budget of Unesco for 1961-1962 with the utmost satisfaction, and are convinced that the programme now being considered, enriched by the inspiration provided by this distinguished assembly, will become an even more perfect and effective instrument for the implementation of the general aims set forth in Unesco's Constitution.

20.3 The Organization of American States is working on the regional level for objectives similar on all points to those of Unesco. The American States gave expression in the OAS Charter to that international

organization developed by them in the course of half-a-century "to achieve an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their independence. Within the United Nations system, the Organization of American States is a regional agency". Nothing is more natural then, than that OAS should be represented at this gathering as on previous occasions. Not only are the two organizations identical in their aims and nature but they are united by strong bonds forged by their effective co-operation in a series of mutual activities.

20.4 The Organization of American States carries out its programmes through its Secretariat - the Pan American Union - and the specialized organizations of the inter-American system, namely, the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the Pan American Health Organization, the Inter-American Statistical Institute, the Inter-American Indian Institute, the Inter-American Child Institute and the Inter-American Commission of Women.

20.5 Within the structure of the Pan American Union, the Department for Cultural Affairs is responsible for educational, scientific and cultural activities.

20.6 Other departments of the Pan American Union and other organs of the Organization are responsible for such tasks as the maintenance of peace and the promotion of economic and social development. In view of the impossibility of giving a complete picture of all the activities of OAS, I should like to mention briefly the general aims of the Department of Cultural Affairs, which are those most closely related to Unesco's.

20.7 Through its administrative units, i.e. the Divisions of Education, Philosophy and Letters, Scientific Development, Music and Visual Arts and the Columbus Memorial Library, the Department of Cultural Affairs is trying to carry out a programme of co-operation with OAS Member States in implementing cultural projects which will combine in producing convergent results and definitely add to the rich variety of types and forms of culture in America.

20.8 The aim of the Pan American Union, in fact, is to achieve unity in variety. Unity in basic aims: peace, inter-American co-operation in the spheres of law, social and economic justice, the development of education, the subordination of technology to humanistic values, and at the same time diversity in specific achievements: the planning of action according to the resources, possibilities and urgent requirements of the different countries, its adaptation to the standards of national historical traditions, and the participation of different social groups in government policy. OAS claims, on the same footing as other international organizations to be the initiatory and catalytic agent of this process.

20.9 The basic concern of OAS in education - which coincides with one of the fundamental aims of Unesco at the present time - is to promote educational planning in the American countries, not only in order to reduce the illiteracy rate but also to train the army of technologists, humanists and auxiliary staff essential if the peoples are to advance at the pace required at this stage of history, and the Organization's Fellowship and Technical Co-operation programmes are directed to those ends. On the scientific level, OAS is implementing programmes designed to demonstrate to our peoples the peaceful uses of atomic energy. In the social sciences, OAS seeks to co-operate with Member States in the work of elucidating the facts of their own anthropological, economic, political and ethnological existence. It is impossible for nations to get to know themselves sufficiently, however, except through an objective study of their cultural history and this is the task of the programmes devoted to philosophy and letters, music, the visual arts and library development.

20.10 Believing, as I do that words are best illustrated by deeds I should like to mention some of the activities in which OAS and Unesco have combined their forces. As an example of a project sponsored jointly by the two organizations, I should like to mention the Inter-American Education Seminars, the most recent of which was that on overall educational planning held in Washington in 1958 with the enthusiastic participation of all the American governments. The conclusions and recommendations of this seminar and the Inter-American course which was an immediate consequence of it and which was held in Bogotá by the OAS and Unesco with the co-operation of the Government of Colombia gave impetus and guidance to the organization of educational planning services in the Latin American countries.

20.11 OAS was associated with Unesco in the establishment of CREFAL, to which important centre it continues to give its support and co-operation. In the same way, Unesco is co-operating with OAS through the medium of fellowships and experts, in the Inter-American Rural Education Centre which OAS has been maintaining in Venezuela since 1954 with the backing of the Government of that country.

20.12 OAS will participate, I may add, in the Conference on Education and Economic and Social Development in Latin America and will welcome whole-heartedly Unesco's co-operation in the meeting of experts which it is planned to hold on the subject in 1962 and in the forthcoming Inter-American meeting of Ministers of Education.

20.13 I can also state that the development of the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, as well as other activities relating to the social and natural sciences which Unesco sponsors or promotes in the region, are of particular interest to OAS.

20.14 OAS has participated in several of these activities, and in the cases of certain of them, such as the Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO) the Secretariat is now examining the possibility of more intensive co-operation.

20.15 In the field of literature, an activity in which such co-operation has also yielded excellent results is the Joint Programme for the Translation of Representative Works of Latin American Literature. The two organizations have collaborated closely and in the most friendly spirit in the implementation of this project through their relevant offices. In the past two years, OAS has arranged

for the printing of the following publications: a selection of short stories by Baldomero Lillo entitled "The Devil's Pit and Other Stories", "Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant" by the Brasilian writer Manuel Antonio de Almeida, and "Mama Blanca's Souvenirs" by the Venezuelan writer Teresa de la Parra.

20.16 I should like to say in passing, that possibilities are now opening up before OAS for intensifying its activity. The present needs of the American peoples require - and the community of interests of these peoples permits - the intensification of inter-American co-operation in every sphere of action. Within a few days, as the result of a decision recently adopted in Bogotá, representatives of Member States will be meeting for the purpose of bringing the inter-American organs responsible for collaboration with governments on these important questions into line with the demands of economic and social development. The co-ordination of the activity of these regional bodies with the international organizations is one of the imperative needs of our time. Hence the importance in all matters pertaining to education, science and culture, of maintaining the relationship between Unesco and OAS.

20.17 On behalf of the Secretary-General of OAS, I should like to express my fervent hope for the success of this gathering for the future work of Unesco and for increased co-operation between our two organizations.

21. The PRESIDENT:

Before declaring the meeting adjourned may I, on behalf of the delegates present, extend our thanks to the interpreters for their excellent hard work during today's meetings.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.

SIXTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

24 November 1960, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Giacinto BOSCO (Italy)
Later: Mr. Phya SALVIDHANNIDES (Thailand)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued) 259

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
The sixteenth plenary meeting of the General Conference is open. The general discussion of the reports of the Director-General will be continued.
1.2 The first speaker on the list is H.E. Mr. Picón Salas, Head of the delegation of Venezuela, whom I now call upon.

2.1 Mr. PICON SALAS (Venezuela) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, whenever we, as representatives of the Member States, attend a meeting of Unesco, we remember the inspiring words written in London in 1945, when the world was awakening from a cruel nightmare and hoped to establish an era of human brotherhood and mutual understanding. Unesco was the Utopia of concord, symbolizing the yearning for a truly world-wide civilization, an ideal which has been pursued by many, from the philosophers of the Eighteenth century enlightenment, the men who signed the Act of Philadelphia in 1776 - the first declaration in history of a decolonized country - to the outstanding leaders and thinkers of modern times.
2.2 Although mankind has indeed progressed, at least in the few centuries separating us from the birth of modern science, the discovery of unknown regions and the great political struggles for freedom and tolerance, perhaps the major problem at this stage is how to rationalize the course of history so that, in future, men may be spared so much useless pain, such cruel and irrational perils. In the past, international contacts existed only in crusades of race against race, of dominant nation against weak, exploited colony; but civilization will have taught us nothing if we fail to substitute for the old wars and massacres a new system of international understanding and co-operation. We shall be forced to proclaim the downfall of Man if progress in technology and science - so impressive in our times - is not linked with moral values. Death or salvation - such are the alternatives facing the human race.
2.3 At this General Conference of Unesco, we have just been joined by a group of new nations from the African continent which have emerged from colonial oppression and are now assuming their own responsibilities as national States. I have great pleasure in welcoming them on behalf of my country and my Government. I believe that this voice of Africa, to which we have not hitherto listened - or not wished to listen - this experience of Africa - sometimes as ancient as the most beautiful legends of mankind - will be of inestimable value in the discussion and exchange of cultural experiences of which Unesco is the symbol. History is no longer the prerogative of a few privileged powers, but is beginning to embrace the whole of God's kingdom.
2.4 The Latin American nations, of which my country is one, proclaimed their independence a hundred and fifty years ago and, although during our period of development we have lived through many difficult times, we have emerged on every occasion with greater faith in the democratic system of government, in political freedom and in that other, far nobler form of creative freedom, which consists in affirming the sovereignty of conscience and the peaceful struggle for human redemption that can be secured only through education and culture. We are thus at one with the ideals and programmes of Unesco and we gladly welcome the entry into the Organization of new friends and new fellow workers in the vital cause of world peace.
2.5 Because we believe in Unesco and consider it invaluable, I should like to mention here our hope that as we work together to develop and improve its activities, it will function more and more efficiently and will never fall short of our expectations. The Organization has had to face the tremendously swift challenges of the contemporary world. We are not exactly living in a restful age, and we have not yet overcome the anguish and anxiety which those who signed the enthusiastic declaration of 1945 hoped to banish for ever. World peace and peace of mind are not yet guaranteed. Events have begun to move at a tremendous speed and it is impossible for the members of the Executive Board, meeting twice a year, and for this large biennial gathering, often faced with an overwhelming mass of documents, to reflect with sufficient serenity and calm on the entire policy of Unesco and the aid which it can offer the world.
2.6 The originality of our Organization, distinguishing it from any other international agency, past or

present, resides in the fact that its goal is to seek not so much a balance of political power as a fine, deep-rooted balance of cultures. It is not through power or the passive docility of the weak before the strong that we must strive to achieve world peace and peace of mind, which is even more vulnerable. The Unesco experiment is potentially unique and extraordinary because, for the first time in the history of the world, an effort is being made to seek concord through education and culture and not to impose it through the prestige of a country or a group of countries or by the silent pressure of force. The task of Unesco is to convince rather than to conquer.

2.7 Although the nations contribute to the Organization's budget amounts varying according to their revenue and potentialities, we shall achieve nothing if we do not base ourselves on the Christian concept of the equality of all peoples and the democratic representation of all cultures. It would be highly regrettable if even here, where we are concerned with spiritual values, we were to divide ourselves into small and great, weak and powerful.

2.8 Not only must ignorance be eradicated so that reasoning and knowledge may free men and enable them better to discharge their duty as human beings, but so also must that pride be abolished which makes a man believe that he can teach and redeem others, aloof in his arrogance and disdaining the fellowship they may offer. Europe, which was, and still is, a continent in the vanguard of scientific and technical progress, has at times erred on the side of arrogance - for instance when it thought it natural, in the evil, bygone days of colonialism and imperialism, that other distant nations should work, passive and humiliated, for its prosperity, and that culture was the precious heritage of Europeans and should be reserved for them alone.

2.9 Other sectarian groups have attempted to substitute biological for historical arguments in referring for example, to superior and inferior races and displaying a sort of Messianic white man's aggressiveness in distant lands and continents. Fortunately this intoxication with pride and power which contaminated certain national groups is already showing signs of disappearing, and the development of the social sciences of ethnology and anthropology have corrected that short-sighted view of history which, away back in the Eighteenth century, was attacked by minds as lucid as those of Montesquieu in his "Lettres persanes" and Voltaire in his very edifying tales. I come from a continent where we have fought for the equality of all its inhabitants, where we have asserted the value of our mixed blood and where a Mexican priest, the Jesuit Father Pedro José Marquez, wrote in the Eighteenth century these words which seem to forestall Unesco's programme: "Any language, however alien it may appear, can by virtue of culture, be as wise as Greek and any people can become as cultured as those who believe they have attained the highest level of culture. True philosophy does not recognize incapacity in any man, whether he be born black or white, or whether he be educated at the poles or in the tropics. Given an appropriate education, men of all climes are capable of everything".

2.10 Nowadays it is almost a commonplace to refer to the needs of the underdeveloped countries. It is a fact that, from the technological and economic points of view, some nations are more favoured than others; there are some where the working and production methods used are still most archaic and where general poverty does not yet enable the people to eat, be educated or enjoy the comfort and security of the richer countries. Moreover, there is a changing scale of levels among those lumped together as "underdeveloped regions". But the experts sent by the international organizations, with the best of intentions, to help and teach, would be making a very dangerous mistake if they were to think that, in those countries, the people's brains are underdeveloped and that technical backwardness in any land is in direct ratio to lack of intelligence and sensibility.

2.11 I have sometimes ventured to say - and I believe it should be repeated - that the experiment of exchanging experts among all the regions of the world will be of the greatest value for the mutual appreciation of civilizations, because although technicians can teach a great deal in the countries to which they are sent, they have also to get to know each country's wealth of customs and ancestral traditions, which are not always mentioned in books or included in statistics. "To become an Indian oneself", to enjoy the foreign language, discover everything it can express, to know and love the people - this was the advice proffered over four hundred years ago by one of the noblest figures in the Christian missionary movement in America, Friar Toribio Benavente, who exchanged his Spanish name for the Indian name of Motolinia which, in the Tlascalan language, means humility and poverty. What a splendid example, what a wonderful patron saint for Technical Assistance!

2.12 And if the Latin Americans have so much respect for Humboldt, the second discoverer of the region, geographically speaking, and a very thorough investigator of its social problems, which even now are still very much alive, it is because this great scientist and poet knew how to use in his books not only the methods which he had inherited from Europe, but also the wisdom born of experience, imparted to him by the miners and muleteers of Mexico, the boatmen of the Orinoco, the shepherds of the Andes and the fishermen of the Venezuelan coast, whom he grew to know so well. Do all the experts sent on mission to distant countries by the Technical Assistance agencies have such modesty and charity - there is no other way of describing it - as the famous missionary friar, or the tremendous human understanding of Humboldt?

2.13 Mr. President, my Government welcomes the good results achieved by Unesco in these years of persevering work, and the projects in course of execution which are so clearly described by the Director-General in the report before us. Moreover, the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 reflects a more satisfactory combination and functional integration of activities and resources. While it is desirable for the Organization to go on working within the priority areas defined by the General Conference at its eighth session in Montevideo in 1954, there should also be a certain renewal of the special activities, so that Unesco can interpret and respond quickly to the urgent educational, scientific and cultural needs arising in various

parts of the world. Not only do the Major Projects - on the Extension of and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, on Scientific Research on Arid Lands and on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values - which are extraordinarily broad in scope, deserve the constant sympathy and approval of my Government, but also all those other projects which offer new opportunities for educational and scientific co-operation to the whole of mankind.

2.14 We are impressed by the excellence of the report on the needs of Tropical Africa in primary, secondary and technical education and the resolution concerning the overall planning of education in the Arab States. The process of decolonization which the African countries are now undergoing calls for the speedy education of their peoples so that they can make the most of their new-found freedom. The project for the Arab States is an extremely interesting attempt to consider education as a vital concomitant of the economic development and productivity of an entire region.

2.15 Our African and Arab friends, our friends in continents other than ours will feel that we share their needs and that the desire to improve the human lot is not confined to our part of the globe or to our cultural and linguistic region, but applies to the whole world; it is the desire to see all peoples fraternizing in a tremendous movement of solidarity and intercommunication.

2.16 In a growing Organization like ours, there is a need for constant review of the efficiency of its plans and their submission to unbiased analysis. The danger with all such organizations is that there is no proper balance between the ever-fertile creative spirit and the tenacity and persistence required to put plans into practice, for in the immortal words of the New Testament, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life".

2.17 The worst that could happen to Unesco would be for it to become compressed and stultified by routine, never seeking to breathe the fresh air outside and see what new things the world has to offer.

2.18 Although officials are indispensable, so also are outside scientists, humanists, teachers, writers, and artists, who at times upset continuity and established practice by introducing new ideas, or courteous but disconcerting criticism.

2.19 Furthermore, in connexion with the functioning of our headquarters, some forms of internal co-operation could be most useful and profitable. Delegates of Member States have sometimes complained that certain services tend to hedge themselves in with bureaucratic rigidity and do not always listen to such comments as we may offer them. We receive from the Organization - even on subjects which are of direct interest to us - material which is often presented in final form without any thought that we might wish to make comments and recommendations regarding the preparation of a project bearing on the area which we know best. To put it frankly, our representation at Unesco and the noble mission entrusted to us by our governments have little meaning if we are expected merely to deal with matters of ceremonial or to write polite, harmless bureaucratic memoranda. Our peoples are suffering, asking, claiming or hoping far better things, while we remain half withdrawn, or locked in the conditioned reflex of routine.

2.20 We wish and must be able to speak and express our opinions within the Organization and not merely on formal occasions such as the General Conference. We should be in direct touch with some of the Organization's services, not only through documents which have already been finalized, but through personal interviews which are far more creative. Therefore the initiative taken by Mr. Nannetti before resigning his post as Director of the Bureau of Relations with Member States deserves our support and understanding, because at several discussions and meetings, which ought to be continued throughout the year, we should be able to follow Unesco's daily activity closely instead of seeing it from outside as an imposing superstructure from which we are sometimes cut off by enormous barriers of paper. The representatives of Member States are apt, in the long run to grow rather weary and disillusioned with the Organization, if they are treated merely with the politeness due to the guests at a party.

2.21 Overwhelmed as it is with detail, the Executive Board should rely more on its Commissions, and give them more responsibility, devoting itself in a calmer atmosphere to the study of what seems of primary importance: the general policy to be followed by Unesco and the means of adjusting its work plan to changing and compelling circumstances. The Board's advisory function with regard to the filling of senior posts by the Director-General is now purely formal and I would not venture to say that, in this very complicated matter, a due linguistic and cultural balance between the countries represented is always preserved.

2.22 As a writer and teacher of Spanish, I regret that this language is not yet sufficiently represented in the Director category. Buffeted by history for a considerable time and with a rich experience of good fortune and adversity alike, the Spanish-speaking peoples of America did not fear intermarriage, which is a conciliatory factor, and their books in the Sixteenth century gave a new anthropological view of mankind such as would be difficult to find in European literature. The noble moral tradition of its humanists gave birth to a new ideal of human harmony at a time when all Europe was rent by anarchical dynastic wars, and the most outspoken criticism of colonialism and slavery was expressed by writers like Las Casas y Vitoria, Diego de Avendaño and Alonso de Sandoval - men educated in the New World. Is it generally known that the first great book denouncing the slavery imposed on the peoples of Africa and the horror of the slave trade was written in what was then a tiny Latin American town, Cartegena de Indias, and as long ago as 1620? It was Alonso de Sandoval who succeeded in learning several African languages and penetrating the mystery of their cultures, one of the first and greatest of our Africanists, a true pioneer in the study of the manifold aspects of culture.

2.23 But although we may criticize small details in the functioning of Unesco, this does not imply any lessening or cooling off of our faith in the Organization. We want it to work for the promotion of peace in the minds of men with increasing efficiency, speed and coherence. We would like it to continue to give every possible assistance to the multitudes of human beings all over the world in

need of that basic intellectual tool known as the alphabet. We want Unesco to help by sending its most qualified experts to bring that freedom which is obtainable through skilled work, science, culture and technology and is so eagerly desired by countless men and women at present plunged in ignorance and poverty. Nor, in these troubled times must it neglect its duty to supply intellectual and moral leadership, to promote international understanding and friendship, through the freest expressions of the human mind. It must be above the criticism of nations, even the smallest, the most forgotten and the most helpless. It must not submit to the dangerous manoeuvres of power or political domination in a sphere in which the aim is to bring cultures into friendly contact. It must seek the co-operation of outstanding individuals without prejudice or discrimination of any kind. This is its plain duty at a time in history when truth and mutual understanding alone can bring together the divided and faint-hearted human family.

2.24 Unesco not only has much to teach the countries where it carries out its activities, but it has also much to learn from them of their rich and varied forms of civilization; it can show itself worthy of an immense heritage which has sometimes declined and gone underground, crushed beneath the heel of the conqueror in the wars and wearisome stories of domination and power which are sometimes described as world history. May Unesco House be the scene of friendly intercourse where, the representatives of every language and every group - as the Mexican Eighteenth century priest said - will realize that, by means of education and culture, every nation can attain the level of the most advanced. We must revive here our faith in mankind.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Charles Ammoun, Head of the Lebanese delegation.

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

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, there comes a time in the lives of men when they reflect upon their past, not merely for pleasure, but to learn something from it, to try and imagine the future more clearly. And today it is to your imagination, that wayward sprite - though less wayward than one thinks - that I would appeal.

4.2 Let us apply to our Organization that moment of reflection, of self-criticism and of truth. The object of this brief review of the past is to try to bring out the general philosophy and the main lines of the policy governing our activity.

4.3 When it was founded, Unesco proceeded gropingly and in some disorder - nothing is so much like disorder as organized order - to seek its way; and it chose the most ambitious: to deal with every type of human activity falling within the range of education, science and culture.

4.4 It came into a legacy - inherited from the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. But while the latter was designed primarily for intellectual circles, Unesco decided to concentrate on the masses, and there, it had to start from scratch. The original line became inflected: intellectual circles were to some extent neglected, in order that Unesco might embark boldly upon activities for the benefit of far broader sectors of society.

4.5 I shall not enter into the details of the oscillations of the programme between these two poles. Soon a new factor entered the picture. As the result of a development due to the pressure of circumstances, to a new conception of international solidarity, Technical Assistance projects poured into our programmes. Special Fund projects were then added and these new activities, unknown at the outset, quickly became, from the financial angle, the most important activities of our Organization.

4.6 My object, in roughly sketching this sequence of events, has been to show how Unesco has had to adapt itself constantly and suddenly to new and unexpected forms of activity, and how it has been obliged, sometimes immediately and sometimes at leisure, to tackle new tasks.

4.7 We have some striking examples of this. Which of us could have imagined, ten eleven or twelve years ago, that Unesco would be required to carry out - or, in more technical terms, to be the Executing Agency for - projects financed from a budget equal to or larger than its own? Who could have foreseen that it would one day assume direct responsibilities in the task of educating the children of a million refugees in the Near East? Or that it would be called upon to play a most active part in the administration of the entire educational system of a large African country?

4.8 On the whole, the Secretariat has adapted itself admirably to these improvised and sometimes unforeseeable tasks. It has taken all the diplomacy, a deep sense of duty, and tact of Dr. Veronese, our Director-General, all the imagination, powers of synthesis and creative intelligence of Mr. Maheu, our Deputy Director-General, all the energy and organizing ability of Mr. Adiseshiah, all the perseverence and extensive culture of Mr. Thomas, to make the Organization what it is today.

4.9 And now we can continue with our self-criticism. To do so, I would ask you to return to the sources, in other words, the texts. Our Constitution has set out our aims: to construct the defences of peace in the minds of men, to fight against suspicion and mistrust between peoples, against ignorance and prejudice, and against the doctrine of the inequality of men and races, to secure full and equal opportunities for education for all, the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, and to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture.

4.10 We ought, at least in principle, to keep these aims constantly in mind, and we should ask ourselves how each of our particular activities serves the cause of peace. Education, science and culture, certainly, but not in the abstract, but for clearly-defined aims and for a specific ideal: to work for peace in the minds of men. I should like to emphasize this point for it is this aim that controls our existence and dominates our activity; in fact, all our activities tend, more or less indirectly, towards it. Here, some explanation is essential.

4.11 I repeat: everything in our programme serves this cause. Everything or almost everything. But then there is a scale of values, an order of priority to be taken into account. There are activities of

immediate service to the cause of peace and others which serve it on a long-term basis. This must be the constant and permanent criterion at the root of all our judgements, the sieve through which everything must be passed.

4.12 I mention some headings at random: "Promotion of the study of education". The establishment of educational documentation centres may, of course, contribute, at the international level, to the solution of educational problems and thereby strengthen the bonds between States. But it is obvious that this activity is of less immediate service to the cause of peace than is the prevention of discrimination in education, which is a specific, pressing and burning problem today.

4.13 Or again, let us consider our activity to protect the beauty of the landscape and of sites. Who is unmoved by natural beauty? I say in all seriousness that the desire to be able to admire the landscapes of a neighbouring country takes away the desire to destroy them. We might even imagine a general who, seeing a wonderful panorama, unsullied by any advertisement hoardings, might exclaim: "It is too beautiful to be destroyed!". Yes, all this serves the cause of peace, but more or less on a long-term basis, far more indirectly than does the establishment of technical and vocational education centres, which will turn out the experts necessary to start up, maintain and preserve that tremendous machine which is the modern world.

4.14 On the other hand, the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values is exactly the sort of activity on which Unesco should concentrate, because it is obviously the sum of all the Organization's aims.

4.15 I do not mean by this that we should give up our various long-term activities, but some sort of compromise must be found between them and urgent activities. It is a question of degree; we can rely on your wisdom on this point.

4.16 The African countries, which, with Kuwait, we welcome to Unesco, have needs tallying exactly with our aims: mass education first, and the training of senior personnel next. Without an immediate programme of mass education, a country is doomed to stagnation; but, without senior personnel anarchy is inevitable at once.

4.17 I should like to see, failing the creation of international universities, at least the internationalization of some universities. Students of different countries and civilizations should be able to meet on common ground, where they can compare their cultural heritages, their languages and their civilizations with those of other countries and other civilizations, thus giving the lie to Sartre's famous saying: "Hell is other people".

4.18 This is not mere imagination; there are countries where it is possible. I know of one, for example, where a French and an American university - that is, universities where the languages used are French and English respectively - can pool their efforts with those of a Lebanese university - using Arabic - to create a harmonious mixture perfectly adaptable to the linguistic, cultural and religious needs of Africa and other parts of the world. Our Organization's intervention in the way I have advocated would, in the Lebanon, foreshadow the world of tomorrow.

4.19 There, without any discrimination of sex, race or religion, you will find Lebanese men and women ready to welcome with open arms their African brothers, with whom they already have many bonds and contacts, and to give them a foretaste of what true international co-operation will one day be.

4.20 Perhaps Unesco might eventually consider undertaking a Major Project which will not be "Orient-Occident" but "East-West". We did not wish to put before this session of the General Conference a specific draft resolution on this point, because we hope that in two years' time it will no longer be necessary. It is sometimes better to be short-sighted than to play the prophet. That is one of the tasks which Unesco might tackle, but - insh'Allah, God willing! - will not have to; by then, tempers will have cooled and reason will have cleared the sky which is now charged with atomic thunderbolts.

4.21 I should also like to say a few words about the teaching of history. I do not want to repeat now, simply in another form, the conclusions of the many excellent studies conducted by Unesco on this subject, but I feel that, after a very good start, things have more or less come to a standstill, or at least that there has been a pause for reflection. I am aware of the many obstacles hindering our Organization's action in this sphere. I know how difficult it is to persuade nations to give up something which they believe to be a source of pride, or even the very justification for their existence. I know how Clio can be dismembered, but I nevertheless think that constant efforts should continue to be made, even if they go unrewarded.

4.22 We might perhaps request the Director-General to consider the revision of history textbooks in the light of current events and those of the last few years. Ideas, like empires, come and go. We should like everyone to divest himself, in the lobby of history, of his prejudices and resentment, so that the children of today may become the men without hatred of tomorrow.

4.23 Technology in all its forms has overwhelmed Man. Natural sciences, physics, chemistry and electronics have made giant strides. But, since the time of Socrates, what progress have we made in our knowledge of the human heart? Nowadays, we can measure accurately the slightest tremor, the slightest atomic explosion, anywhere in the world. Precision instruments give us a clear and exact graph. But to discern the joy or pain in the heart of another human being, the effect of our words or deeds on him, is something that is still beyond us.

4.24 Excessive power carries its own cure within itself and the bomb has cancelled out the bomb. The modern Prometheus has unleashed unknown forces. But, in education, science and culture, we have not yet reached that stage. We can still compare our cultures without destroying them, derive guidance for our lives from our philosophers and motives for dreaming from our poets, without harming a single human being.

4.25 We can compare our cultures still more easily in this capital which offers us its hospitality so generously. In Paris, the principle or legal phenomenon of extra-territoriality is perhaps geographical, but certainly not spiritual.

4.26 This city, perennial symbol of freedom of thought and criticism, this capital in which each of us has received part of his education, acquired part of his meagre knowledge or delved deep into its rich culture, this capital where, in the area stretching from St. Germain-des-Prés to Montparnasse and the Latin Quarter, we, as adolescents, like our fathers before us, lingering over our cups of indifferent coffee, shaped the future, rebuilt the world and imagined the revolutions which have since become a reality - we cannot possibly ever forget it.

4.27 Gentlemen, Unesco is the bottle in the sea, bearing the message from a world longing to save the human spirit from foundering. The coming days will show that we are the Organization of the future.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Cheng Tien-Fong, Head of the delegation of China.

6.1 Mr. CHENG (China):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, on behalf of my Government and my delegation I wish, first of all, to express our gratitude to the French Government and people for their kind hospitality. Paris, the centre of French culture with its famous museums, art galleries, libraries and institutions of higher learning is always an inspiration to delegations to the Unesco Conferences from whatever part of the world they may come.

6.2 Next I want to say a few words in appreciation of the achievements of Unesco. Since its establishment in 1945 Unesco has grown in membership, has successfully carried out many projects in various parts of the world, and has done much to promote educational, scientific and cultural co-operation among Member States. On these achievements I must congratulate the former and the present Directors-General, without whose able leadership and untiring efforts these achievements would not have been possible. Credit must also go to all the members of the Secretariat who have conscientiously worked under the guidance of the Director-General in preparing the budget, reports, programmes, and other related documents for our discussion and reference.

6.3 During the last decade, the Republic of China has also accomplished much in the fields of education, science and culture. In view of the limited time at my disposal, I shall point out only a few important facts. In the fiscal year 1959-1960, the central, provincial, and municipal and hsien governments in the Republic of China spent 1,265,000,000 NT dollars - equivalent to $ US 31,400,000 - on education, science and culture (excluding expenditures for military institutions and research work). On the surface this figure may not seem impressive; but when we consider that there are only 10,500,000 people on the island of Taiwan and the national income in 1959-1960 was only 36,000,000,000 NT dollars - equivalent to $ US 900,000,000 - it is clear that the Chinese Government has done its best to promote education and science, spending more than 3% of the national income for this purpose. The increase in the number of students is more impressive. In the fall semester of 1950 we had 22,000 kindergarten pupils, 971,000 primary school students, 129,000 secondary school students, and 8,000 college and university students totalling 1,130,000. Today there are 65,000 kindergarten pupils, 1,810,000 primary school students (95% of school-age children are attending schools), 340,000 secondary school students, and 32,000 college and university students, the total being 2,247,000, an increase of almost 99% in ten years. The proportion of students in the total population is now 21.2%, a position which compares favourably with that of most countries in the world. In 1950 there were 1,413,000 illiterates; today the number of illiterates has dropped to 800,000 or 7.6% of the population.

6.4 Now, Mr. President, permit me to say something about Unesco's mission and programmes. The preamble of Unesco's Constitution reads in part: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed ..., the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men ...". Article I of the Constitution defines the purpose of Unesco as being "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". These passages are witness that Unesco was founded immediately after the Second World War with a noble and lofty mission, that is, to endeavour through educational, scientific and cultural work of an international scope to remove the ideas of war from the minds of men so that mankind will forever live in peace and happiness.

6.5 Has Unesco so far fulfilled its mission? Despite the important achievements during the fifteen years of its existence I must say that it is today further away from its goal than it was in 1945. On the surface the world enjoys peace, but it is a false and precarious peace. Great powers are spending today more money on armament than in the years before the Second World War. The international situation continues to be tense and crises have occurred one after another. Freedom loving and peace loving peoples all over the world live in constant fear and suspense because at any moment a nuclear war may break out which will not only destroy their lives but may even wipe out human civilization.

6.6 What is the cause of all this trouble? What makes the future of mankind so gloomy? Of course there are many factors but the most important single factor is that in the post-war world, while the imperialism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries is dying, there has arisen a new type of imperialism which aims at the conquest of the whole globe. The method used by these new imperialists is far more effective than that used by the old ones. In addition to pressure and aggression from without they resort to infiltration and subversion within. They talk about "peaceful coexistence" but threaten war. They set up an iron curtain around the lands they occupy and obstruct the diffusion of culture and the free flow of information. They distort the facts and truth of the free world and stir up hatred and

enmity among classes, nations and races. We have seen ourselves, since the opening of the present General Conference, that delegates from some Member States have tried to undermine Unesco by plunging it into the cold war. Under such circumstances is it any wonder that Unesco has been unable to fulfil its mission of establishing a lasting peace based on the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind?

6.7 I do not mean, of course, that because of this new imperialism human beings should give up their hope and Unesco should cease to function. On the contrary, hope lives eternal and Unesco should redouble its efforts to promote mutual understanding and appreciation among the peoples of the free world, and to penetrate the countries behind the iron curtain by means of ideas and information. The Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 presented by the Director-General seems to me to be well prepared. It follows the pattern established at the Montevideo Conference of 1954 in emphasizing two fields of activities: namely, extending Unesco's rôle and responsibilities in education and intensifying international co-operation in scientific research. This policy is sound. The scope of Unesco's activities is practically boundless, but the funds available to Unesco are limited and therefore it should concentrate on the important things so that every dollar spent will bring the maximum result.

6.8 At the present General Conference we have the pleasure of welcoming fifteen new Member States, of which fourteen are African nations. Their independence sounds the death knell of colonialism and is an epoch making event. These new nations most certainly need help in promoting their education, science and culture and it is Unesco's responsibility to offer this aid. My delegation is of the opinion that the eleventh session of the General Conference should appropriate the largest funds possible for this purpose.

6.9 My delegation is especially interested in the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. We believe that at this critical juncture in the world situation the removal of misunderstanding and distrust between the East and the West is essential to the safeguarding of world peace. For this reason we would like to see this project enlarged and more money appropriated for it.

6.10 In this connexion, I wish to express our disappointment concerning this project. I am sure you all agree with me that Chinese culture is one of the highest and most ancient cultures in the world. China has made great contributions to the world in art, literature, philosophy, human relationships and the art of government. Any project on the diffusion of culture which fails to give due place to Chinese culture and does not include the active participation of Chinese scholars is bound to be incomplete and ineffective. Yet, during the four years of operation of this project, not a single Chinese has served on the advisory committee and not enough work has been done to introduce Chinese culture to the West. It is our hope that in the next two years measures will be taken by the Director-General to improve this situation.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mr. Okasha, Head of the delegation of the United Arab Republic.

8.1 Mr. OKASHA (United Arab Republic) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, on 8 March 1960, at a formal ceremony held in this very hall, Dr. Vittorino Veronese launched an international appeal for the safeguarding of part of the world's cultural heritage, in the form of a wonderful group of monuments situated on the territory of the Sudar and of the United Arab Republic.

8.2 By thus responding to the request for aid submitted from the Governments of these two countries Unesco gave another proof of its faithfulness to one of its fundamental aims - I am referring to that set out in Article I of its constitution, which states that the Organization will "maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge: by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science".

8.3 The High Dam now being constructed on the Nile responds to an imperative need in a country where the area under cultivation is too small to meet the requirements of a rapidly growing population. Scientific and technical progress, which made the plan feasible, will make it possible to bring life into desert areas where it does not exist and, in others, to improve cultivation and living conditions considerably. It is an immense project which, from the scientific angle alone, could not fail to interest Unesco. In this connexion, I should like to pay a public tribute to the Soviet scientists and engineers who have made, and are still making, a considerable contribution to the planning and implementation of the project.

8.4 But this project, for the benefit of those alive today, is threatening to destroy the symbols - we hope eternal - of an ancient life and civilization, the influence of whose greatness far transcends the bounds of time and geography.

8.5 A painful dilemma thus arose, to quote the terms used in the Director-General's appeal, "between a heritage of the past and the present well-being of a people, living in need in the shadow of one of history's most splendid legacies: it is not easy to choose between temples and crops".

8.6 Responsibility for making the choice is still more overwhelming when the monuments are of such historical value and so beautiful that they belong to the whole world. Therefore the Government I have the honour to represent submitted its painful problem to Unesco, which symbolizes alike the protection of the cultural heritage of mankind and the promotion of international solidarity.

8.7 It is our firm belief that culture knows no frontiers and is the property of no one, that, like air and water, it is a necessity for all men and every individual is entitled to benefit by the culture and enjoy the art of all members of the human family.

8.8 Anxiety to save the Nubian monuments and sites dates back as far as the initial proposal to build the High Dam. This anxiety increased progressively not only in the minds and hearts of those responsible but also in those of the peoples concerned, as the plans for the construction of the dam took shape and the full extent of the danger to these ancient monuments became apparent.

8.9 The Government of the United Arab Republic did its utmost, by every means in its power, to solve

the problem of preserving the Nubian monuments. But we were compelled to conclude that the problem went beyond the limits of our possibilities and was an international one. We therefore appealed to Unesco for its technical, scientific and financial assistance, in order to save the Nubian heritage within the time limit thrust upon us. Unesco showed immediate interest in our request. The Director-General was most enthusiastic and we met with the understanding and encouragement for which we had hoped, both on his part and on the part of the members of the Executive Board.

8.10 An international plan of operation was drawn up by a meeting of international experts convened by the Director-General of Unesco and held in Cairo in October 1959. At the opening meeting, the Government of the United Arab Republic made a particularly important statement in which it outlined its request for assistance and specified the activities which it covered - i.e. excavations, documentation and the safeguarding either on the spot or by transfer of the Nubian monuments.

8.11 In its statement, as you are aware, the Government I have the honour to represent here offered to cede at least half of the objects found by expeditions taking part in the excavations in Nubia. It also announced that it would allow and encourage excavations outside the area threatened by flooding in Lower, Middle and Upper Egypt. It offered to cede, for transfer abroad, the temples of Dabod, Taffeh, Dendur, Ellysia and Derr. This statement therefore facilitated and encouraged not only co-operation at the international level but also the resumption of scientific research on the Egyptian monuments, which had formerly been conducted by a great many foreign scientific foundations.

8.12 The sympathy and encouragement that we have received from the Director-General and the Executive Board, and the action which the Organization has already taken, have moved us deeply and strengthened our faith in the solidarity of the United Nations. Unesco's action has shown, as President Nasser pointed out in his message to the Organization on 8 March, that "Mankind forms an indivisible whole. The parts which constitute it cannot do without each other nor live in isolation".

8.13 What more convincing proof of solidarity can there be than the establishment of a Committee of Patrons and an International Action Committee and, in the various countries, national committees for the preservation of the Nubian monuments? The preliminary work done by the Advisory Committee set up by the Government of the United Arab Republic is also particularly encouraging. At its first meeting, held in Cairo last May and June, this Advisory Committee drew up a detailed plan of action. It established a list of priorities for the dismantling and transfer of monuments and it also examined and studied the offers of contributions made in response to the international appeal that had been launched.

8.14 One of the most important recommendations made by this Committee was that the Taffeh and Dabod Temples should be transferred as soon as possible - and in any case during the summer of 1960 at the latest. I am happy to inform you, Mr. President, that the Government of the United Arab Republic has been able, at its own expense, to dismantle and transfer these two temples to Elephantine Island, at Aswan, and to draw up complete documentation concerning them. The Government of the United Arab Republic has also had the beautiful temple of Kertassi dismantled and transported to the same island.

8.15 As part of the scheme of international assistance given to us, experts from Belgium, Poland and France have taken part in the work carried out under the instructions of the Government of the United Arab Republic. In the short time available to me, I cannot possibly recount or describe to you the various measures adopted and the many activities undertaken by the United Arab Republic for the preservation of this cultural heritage of ours, so great that it transcends time and frontiers.

8.16 I shall merely point out that, in order to undertake further activities connected with the salvaging of the monuments, the funds set aside for the Nubian project in my country's budget were doubled in 1960. Moreover, the budget of the Antiquities Department has this year been provided with a special allocation to finance the dismantling and transfer of the Nubian temples. The budget of the Documentation and Study Centre for the History of the Art and Civilization of Ancient Egypt, which was established with Unesco's co-operation in 1955, has been considerably increased.

8.17 With regard to saving the two temples of Abu Simbel, universally considered as among the finest relics of ancient Egyptian civilization, the Government of the United Arab Republic has arranged to have a preliminary project drawn up for the construction of a dyke of earth and rock to preserve them. In April 1960, Unesco and the Government of the United Arab Republic signed a contract with the office of André Coyne and Jean Bellier, who were appointed to draw up the preliminary plans for the undertaking. The Government of the United Arab Republic agreed to meet two-thirds of the fees and costs involved, i.e. US $ 134,000, while Unesco generously agreed to pay the other third, i.e. US $ 67,000. The Government of the United Arab Republic has supplied the consulting engineers with the hydrographic and hydrologic details and with all the economic data required for drawing up the preliminary project.

8.18 Our deep-rooted faith in the success of world co-operation for the preservation of the temples of Abu Simbel has never been shaken. The saving of these two monuments, which are a vital part of our heritage, is an obligation for us, not only because of our duty towards culture and history, but also - and principally - as a mark of the solidarity binding all men and nations - a solidarity on which all our hopes for a better future are founded.

8.19 Convinced that these masterpieces are of untold value to the whole world, the Government of the United Arab Republic is firmly determined to increase its efforts beyond what seemed, even quite recently to be the maximum we could manage. I am happy to be able to tell you that my Government has resolved to set aside three and a half million Egyptian pounds, i.e. about US $ 10 million, for the safeguarding of these temples. This amount is included in the budget for the current year and in those for the seven financial years to follow, to the extent of half a million Egyptian pounds, i.e. about US $ 1,400,000 per financial year.

8.20 My Government, confident of the ultimate success of the efforts resulting from the international solidarity mobilized by Unesco, owes the Organization and all its Member States a profound debt of gratitude, as it does also the famous and venerable individuals who have agreed to give their blessing and patronage to this international endeavour. Our thanks are due too, to the members of the various committees which are making an effective contribution to the implementation of this international project.

8.21 I should like to pay a special tribute to the vital part played by the Director-General of the Organization, Dr. Veronese and his immediate assistants, Messrs. René Maheu and Jean Thomas, and by Mrs. Desroches-Noblecourt.

8.22 I should also like to tell you how much I have been moved by the many expressions of sympathetic interest in the work of safeguarding the Nubian monuments which have been conveyed to me personally by all of you at this session of the General Conference.

8.23 Unesco has already made great efforts in the sphere of international co-operation, which is bound to increase in the future in proportion to the increase in the Organization's membership. New States, more particularly in Africa, have recently become independent and are now members of the United Nations the Specialized Agencies. May I, as an African, be permitted to welcome them to the great international family and to express my sincere good wishes for their future prosperity. These States, like other older members of Unesco, stand in great need of social, economic and cultural development. In past years, the Organization has played a most praiseworthy part in helping these countries to develop their educational systems. The three surveys on the educational needs of Africa, the Arab countries and South East Asia - conducted successfully despite serious difficulties - mark an important step forward in the process of increasing the educational assistance required by those countries.

8.24 How to raise the large sums needed to finance such assistance is still a problem, but the prospects opened up by the establishment of the Special Fund and the International Development Association justify a certain optimism.

8.25 Several of the previous speakers have emphasized the current importance of Africa. It has repeatedly been said that this Conference will be known, in the history of Unesco, as the Conference for the promotion of Africa. In speaking to you about safeguarding the monuments of Nubia, I, too, am speaking about Africa.

8.26 In referring to priorities in Africa, the greatest emphasis has hitherto been placed on its educational needs and on the importance of intensifying scientific research on the problems which must be solved before its natural resources can be properly developed. As I have already stated, I fully subscribe to these vital educational and scientific tasks. But let us beware of forgetting culture, without which all our work will be lacking in one essential element - that of conscience.

8.27 For it is cultural values which make nations aware of the reasons for their existence and consequently ensure their self-respect and their dignity in the eyes of others. Today, there is nothing to which the African, whether white or black, attaches more importance than recognition of this dignity. Let there be no misunderstanding, the spontaneous liberation movement from north to south and from east to west which has spread over this immense continent like a flame is not based on hatred or vengeance but, above all, on the claim to human dignity. And the more it is accepted as such, the more it will blossom into fraternal reconciliation.

8.28 In this affirmation of the dignity of the African the re-conquest of Africa's past is of prime importance. The peoples of Africa, with their ancient traditions and legends, but all too often without any written history - peoples moving at full speed towards the future, but all too often carried away by their own impetus - these peoples must, before all else, go in search of themselves. And the search must be directed both towards the past and towards the future. The latter is called education, the former culture. For a truly integrated personality, both are essential.

8.29 In this search for itself, the ancient civilizations of the Nile valley offer Africa its most ancient reasons for pride. It is true, as I have said, that the Nubian monuments are part of the heritage of mankind and, from that point of view, their safeguarding is one of the permanent tasks of Unesco; but first of all, they belong to the heritage of Africa and, from that angle, their preservation forms part of the most pressing activity in the whole of the Organization's programme, that is, the restoration of Africa to itself and to the world.

8.30 For make no mistake: this is not merely, or even principally, a question of preserving stones, however beautiful and venerable they may be. The main point is to mould the minds of today and the hearts of tomorrow. By ensuring that the rays of the rising sun will continue forever to penetrate into the sacred depths of the temple of Abu Simbel, you will not merely be safeguarding a treasure of peerless beauty for future generations, you will be rousing in the heart of ancient Africa the young hope of human brotherhood.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, I have just been summoned to take part in another of our Organization's activities. I therefore call upon Lieutenant-General Phya Salvidhannides to be kind enough to take the Chair.

(Mr. Phya Salvidhannides took the Chair).

10. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon Dr. Moshe Avidor, President of the National Commission for Unesco and Head of the delegation of Israel.

11.1 Mr. AVIDOR (Israel):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I wish to join the preceding speakers in congratulating the Director-General and his staff on the programme proposed for 1961-1962. This programme bears the marks of the rapidly changing times which we are privileged to witness with our own eyes.

11.2 Africa plays a prominent part in the programme presented to us, and rightly so. We all know that the year 1960 will long be remembered in history as the year of Africa, for it ushered into the family of

nations some 15 African States, newly gaining or regaining their independence. These young, independent States have soon realized, just as did we other States who gained our freedom in recent years, that political independence - while a most prized possession and worth every effort to achieve and maintain, and while it seems a lofty goal in itself before its attainment - is actually only a means, to be sure a most precious one, towards a greater end: that of making the life of their peoples richer, fuller, healthier and happier. Difficult as it often is to achieve political independence, it soon becomes apparent to the new States that it is more difficult to obtain for their people better health, more and better food, adequate housing, convenient communications, efficient administration, cultural facilities and everything else that contributes towards making free life worth living. The decisive rôle assigned to education soon becomes clear to the leaders of these peoples. The extension of Unesco's activities in the field of education in Africa and Asia, and also in Latin America, in the programme proposed for 1961-1962 is therefore greatly welcome. Emphasis must be given to all levels of education - elementary, secondary, technical and vocational, teacher training, adult and higher learning. None of these can be neglected or postponed for long, although the relative attention given to each must naturally depend on the particular circumstances prevailing in each State. Parallel, if not equal, efforts must be exerted for all levels of education and throughout all sections of the population in every country. Education is a very costly undertaking. It takes a great deal of money to build schools, to train teachers and pay them adequately, to equip schools with much needed laboratories and workshops, sports and art education facilities. Every new State must exert its utmost efforts and look for outside sources as well, in order to launch, extend and maintain its educational activities. Unesco is able to contribute relatively little, financially, towards these national efforts out of its limited regular budget; even its modest assistance in planning education for and with its Member States, in providing experts, fellowships and some equipment, actually calls for greater budgetary expenditure than the amounts we have adopted for 1961-1962.

11.3 While dwelling on education, I should like to make two additional observations: the first is that, in extending our educational efforts and expanding these activities, both we individual States and Unesco should take great care to stress not only quantity but quality; increase in the number of schools and of pupils is of great importance, but the quality of the teachers and what they impart to their pupils is of no less significance. The emphasis laid on higher education in the proposed programme is a step in the right direction, for the development of higher education will necessarily be reflected in all other levels of schooling and in the scientific and cultural standards of every country.

11.4 Secondly, equal and non-discriminatory educational opportunities and facilities must be given to all members of every community - young and old alike. We are going to discuss and adopt, at this session of the Conference, a Convention and/or Recommendations against discrimination in education. The Draft Convention stipulates that disputes arising between States in this connexion may be referred to the International Court of Justice, but neither the Draft Convention nor the Draft Recommendations provide for any organ to which a nation or a minority of any kind within a Member State may appeal when it considers itself discriminated against in the field of education and culture. The Secretariat and the Executive Board might well consider this during the next two years and submit to the twelfth session a proposal for setting up a competent board - not necessarily a judicial body - to which Unesco may refer for examination of complaints against discrimination. The findings of such competent body would be made public, and this might go far to remedy and even prevent the abuses inherent in discrimination in education.

11.5 Education in the developing States is at present closely linked with scientific training, teaching and research. This is reflected in the proposed programme for 1961-1962, although it seems that a somewhat greater emphasis should be placed on the teaching of science at the lower levels of education, in the elementary and secondary schools. Mass communication means can, of course, lend ever-increasing assistance in accelerating the expansion of education, science and culture throughout the world, and especially in bringing their benefits to remote villages and communities. Unesco must experiment with all kinds of audio-visual methods to help underdeveloped communities employ the most effective ways of using their limited qualified educational and scientific manpower.

11.6 While pursuing the expansion of its educational, scientific and mass communication activities with increased vigour, Unesco must not reduce its interest in the social sciences and cultural activities, for, just as man cannot live by bread alone, so education and natural sciences cannot, by themselves, satisfy or sufficiently enrich the human mind and soul.

11.7 Our Organization has almost doubled its membership since its foundation. Most of the additional Member States have gained their freedom in recent years and many of them are at different stages of development. This increase in membership has had some impact on the nature of our Organization's work; it requires further thinking and constant rethinking. Structural changes also seem to be necessary. An Organization as large as ours, of which the highest organ - the General Conference - meets only once in two years, must obviously rely more on its Executive Board to guide the policies of Unesco. This Board must therefore truly represent a cross-section of the membership of the Organization; it should be enlarged every so often in line with the increase in membership, and should represent, say, about one-third of the Member States of the Organization.

11.8 The increased membership also calls for an intensification of regional activities, it being borne in mind always that all regions should be treated in accordance with their real needs and that no Member State should be discriminated against in any way whatsoever within its geographical region. Moreover, scrupulous care should be taken to ensure that increased regional activities do not entail administrative decentralization or undue increase in personnel.

11.9 We at Unesco have always held that our Organization's work must appeal not only to governments but also to the great masses of humanity. Unesco, of all international agencies, has from its very beginning envisaged the establishment of National Commissions which, in accordance with our Organization's Constitution, are composed preferably not only of government representatives but also of "principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters". While it is popular in some countries, Unesco has not yet achieved the universal popularity it deserves, or even needs. The greater its popularity, the easier it will be for Unesco to obtain from its Member States the means it requires for its activities, and an increased popularity may also have a significant influence on the nation States - especially the newer ones - in encouraging them to devote greater efforts to the development of education, science and culture among their peoples. To achieve greater popularity, Unesco would do well to attract to its work - much more so than it has done in the past - the large army of millions of organized teachers who are in daily contact with hundreds of millions of schoolchildren and their parents.

11.10 The impact of the dynamic growth of our Organization must also cause us to think again about the concept of Major Projects - a concept that was arrived at in our search for ways of concentrating our efforts which had been and still are, for various reasons, too scattered. In 1957, we launched three Major Projects. My delegation has presented to this session of the Conference a resolution which requests the Director-General and the Executive Board to examine anew the whole matter of Major Projects and to submit its findings to the twelfth session of the General Conference, which may decide on the desirability of pursuing the concentration of activities through Major Projects or through other methods.

11.11 I wish also to say a few words on experts and fellowships, especially in connexion with developing countries. This exchange of persons is assuming greater importance every year, and Unesco has rightly changed the name of its administrative unit dealing with these matters from the Exchange of Persons Service to the International Exchange Service. Experience has taught us, however, that it is not enough to send experts to countries which need them, or to grant fellowships to young people at the request of their governments. Quite often in the past experts' efforts have been wasted, at most resulting in reports of doubtful value, for they knew very little about the needs and the conditions of the developing States and the people whom they were to assist. On the other hand, young recipients of fellowships all too often went from their modest environments to highly developed centres of study, where they accumulated knowledge which they did not know how to adapt to their country's needs. We must devote increasing attention to the proper training of our experts before they go to the areas in need of their advice, and we must select suitable fellows very carefully and plan for them the right studies in the right places. We cannot afford to be haphazard in this work. Our aim goes beyond helping the developing States; we want to teach them to help themselves.

11.12 In conclusion, I would like to draw your attention to an experience which took place in my country last summer. An International Conference on the Rôle of Science in the advancement of New States was convened by the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, Israel, in August 1960. The Conference was attended by some 140 participants from about 30 countries - Ministers, high government officials and leaders of educational and development institutions from many countries, including those recently established as sovereign States - as well as leading scientists, scholars and economists from all parts of the world. Specialized international agencies, including Unesco, were also represented.

11.13 The Conference directed its attention to two processes which have deeply affected the life of this generation - the swift progress of science and technology and the change in the structure of the international community through the emergence of new States, mainly in Asia and Africa. The natural and social scientists participating in the Conference were agreed that science and technology are capable of bringing about swift improvements in the conditions of new States. Emphasis was laid on the need to strengthen scientific education in developing States.

11.14 Conferences and meetings of this kind, organized by or with the assistance of Unesco, where experienced scientists and educators can exchange views with leading statesmen of the newly emerging States, will go far to accelerate the progress of the developing communities. The world will not long tolerate the existence, side by side, of the ignorant and the highly cultured, of the advanced and the backward in education, science and culture. Let us in Unesco do our utmost to increase harmony and peace in the world by raising the social and cultural standards of all human beings, and especially those who need it most. The world can do it; the world must do it!

12. The PRESIDENT:

I now call upon Mr. U Khin Maung Cyi, Head of the delegation of Burma.

13.1 Mr. U KHIN MAUNG CYI (Burma):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, it is an honour for me to represent the Government of the Union of Burma at this eleventh session of the Unesco General Conference. Allow me first to express my gratitude and that of my country for the hospitality which the National Commission of France has extended to us on our arrival in this historic city of Paris.

13.2 Representing a country which has only recently emerged from colonialism, I cannot but note with great satisfaction the spirit which prevails among the delegates to this present Conference, at which I have the honour to represent my country for the first time. It is truly an African Conference. I extend my sincere congratulations and those of my Government to all the new African States on their attainment of independence from colonial status and on their election as members to this Organization. We are extremely happy that the General Conference has seen fit to elect one of the emergent nations of new Africa, the Malagasy Republic, to the Executive Board. From our knowledge of his curriculum vitae, we of the Burmese delegation, are fully confident that the eminent Dr. Albert Rakoto Ratsimamanga, of the Malagasy Republic, will be capable of

contributing usefully to the work and general welfare of our Organization.

13.3 Concerning the Director-General's Report and the programme and budget, I shall be brief, Mr. President, in my comments and shall confine myself to certain general aspects only. I would like to congratulate the Director-General on his report of the activities of the Organization within the last two years. With the limited resources at the disposal of Unesco, the Director-General and his Secretariat could not have done better than what they have actually done in implementation of the projects approved by the previous General Conference. Again, with regard to the proposed budget for 1961 and 1962, I would say that there is a proper general balance of the available funds between the fields of education, natural science and cultural activities.

13.4 As concerns the programme for the two ensuing years, the Burmese delegation welcomes the emphasis on the extension of primary and secondary education in the less developed countries of Africa, Asia and the Arab regions. My delegation regrets to note, however, that the funds allocated for the purpose of implementing the Karachi plan are extremely meagre and incommensurate with the objectives set out. My delegation also feels that the importance of research in arid and semi-arid lands and of the extension of research activities beyond the zones originally scheduled should not be neglected. We would like to congratulate the Director-General on the inclusion of two items in the education programme: overall educational planning, and experimental studies on the social inadaptation of young people and juvenile delinquency. We firmly believe that education systems should not be planned in isolation and must be so planned as to be in line with the social and economic development programmes of the various countries. Juvenile delinquency is a problem which confronts almost every country and it is fitting that Unesco should initiate measures to deal with it at this juncture.

13.5 May I also make here a passing reference to the arid zone research project in which my Government is keenly interested. Although the Director-General's representative has assured us in the meetings of the working party on arid zone research that activities in this erstwhile Major Project would not only continue, but would be expanded to include the humid tropical regions, it is not without misgiving, nay suspicion, that the Burmese delegation is compelled to accept the termination of this project as a Major Project. Indeed, if this assurance is sincere, my delegation is unable to understand why there is any need for termination of this as a Major Project at the end of 1962.

13.6 Considering the budget for 1961-1962 as a whole, no one can fail to realize the inadequacy of the funds available for all the projects of Unesco. Funds must be provided and, as the Director-General and some delegations have pointed out, large resources which could be released by disarmament would become available to finance projects on which Unesco might embark. My delegation, therefore, is of the opinion that Unesco, within the framework of its Constitution, should strive its utmost to facilitate the speedy release of these resources.

13.7 To face the facts, it cannot be denied that during the last fifteen years of Unesco's existence the Organization has been able to act merely as a catalyst in the projects it has initiated; I regret to be so frank, Mr. President, but I feel that honest criticism is better than honeyed words lacking in sincerity. The major portion of Unesco's funds, we observe are utilized in the administrative costs of the over-enlarged Secretariat. In view of the immensity of the new educational programme which is to be launched for the underdeveloped countries of the three A regions (Africa, Asia and Arab), and other programmes connected with research on arid and humid tropical regions, including oceanography, would it not be more proper to cut down the administrative costs to some extent, rather than raising them by appointing another Assistant Director-General? In the opinion of the Burmese delegation, the Secretariat as it is, is sufficiently staffed to be able to cope fully with the duties entrusted to it. The new duties connected with the new educational programme can well be taken care of by the existing personnel.

13.8 For precisely the same reason we do not think it is proper to utilize the meagre funds of Unesco for the fourth headquarters building, at least not for the present. We do not deny the need for the fourth building but, in our opinion, alternative sources for funds should be sought elsewhere rather than resorting to the contributions of Member States at this juncture. There are among us highly industrialized, highly developed countries, such as the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and France, and we have among us a host of developing or underdeveloped countries. Perhaps one of these highly developed countries or more than one of them may come forward as good Samaritans and jointly do the good work by offering the necessary funds for the fourth building.

13.9 Now, Mr. President, I would like to comment briefly on the composition of the Executive Board. My Government regrets to note that the high ideals and the noble principles laid down in the Constitution of Unesco regarding fair geographical representation in the Executive Board and also in the Secretariat, have not been satisfactorily carried into effect - even after nearly fifteen years have passed since their enunciation and after repeated references have been made by many delegations of Asia and Africa. Attempts have been made from time to time in favour of increasing the membership of the Executive Board with a view to including in it representatives from under-represented regions of Asia and Africa. But what has been the result? As the last elections have clearly shown, the perpetual domination of the Executive Board by the same few countries remains unchanged. A new attempt is now being made to increase the membership of the Board from the present strength of 24 to 26 or even to 30. My delegation is genuinely pessimistic as to the outcome. If it is the aim of the General Conference to balance the geographical representation in the Board by this attempted increase, it is feared that as long as the lobbying system prevails the expected results may not ensue. In this regard my delegation would like to associate itself with the views expressed by our colleagues from Brazil and Iran. Instead of increasing the membership, the principle of rotation and reduction of the period of service of each member

might be adopted. Perhaps the General Conference may agree that the major powers of the world should have perpetual membership, in view of their acknowledged capacity to make contributions both material and intellectual; for this purpose up to eight seats might be reserved. The remaining 16 or so seats might rotate among the other Member States according to seniority of membership in this Organization.

13.10 Before concluding, I wish to record that bureaucratic procedures have slowly but surely crept into the working of the Secretariat. Except for the Western European members, most of us have come here from far-flung countries of the world at great expense to our national coffers. What do we find here? In the various commissions, committees, working parties, etc., we cannot do more than add a comma or change an adjective in the wording of the programme and budget. For example, several delegations do not appear to be well disposed towards the appointment of the fourth Assistant Director-General. Their interventions in the Programme Commission are testimony to this fact. What is the result? - "Leave it to the discretion of the Director-General and the Executive Board". If this so-called administrative tact, which assures that whatever the Secretariat proposes must at all costs be carried out, is not called bureaucracy, what then is bureaucracy? Under these circumstances, we might as well not come to a General Conference at great expense to our governments. The purpose of the Conference may be fully served by the dispatch, by the respective education ministries of the Member States, of correspondence concerning minor changes in drafting. After all, the proposed "Programme and Budget" in the grey book is as good as already approved. We might as well save ourselves time and money and not enrich the world's major airlines by coming across half the globe merely to say "Yes" to everything in the grey book.

13.11 Finally, Mr. President, I would like to express my Government's opinions on the question of the membership of the People's Republic of China. The Constitution of Unesco explicitly states the universality of its membership, irrespective of race, religion or the political affiliations of the countries concerned. The Government of the Union of Burma regrets that the General Conference has not yet seen fit to implement the ideals of Unesco in this regard. For Unesco to be able to contribute effectively towards the lessening of tension and the maintenance of peace among the nations of the world, it is essential that we should not lose sight of the noble aims set out in the Preamble to our Constitution.

14. The PRESIDENT:

I have the pleasure of calling upon H.E. Dr. Kahuda, Minister of Education and Chairman of the delegation of Czechoslovakia.

15.1 Mr. KAHUDA (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, allow me during this general discussion to make an appraisal, on behalf of the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, of the work of Unesco during the past period and at the same time give my opinion on the Director-General's report.

15.2 Important changes have taken place in international life and in the lives of a number of individual countries during the period under review. The socialist countries, including my own, have achieved unprecedented successes in developing their economy and culture. Many peoples, and above all the peoples of Africa, have finally cast off the chains of colonialist oppression in a mighty battle for national liberation, and have embarked on a new and happier road of economic and cultural development. The period since the last session of the General Conference has been marked by tremendous progress in science and technique. This, while it creates the preconditions for giant steps in the educational and cultural advancement of the peoples of the world, also creates, in the hands of certain irresponsible ruling circles, a continual threat to peace, to human life and to the flowering of culture and art.

15.3 It is only proper, of course, that all international organizations should express their points of view on these important problems, in conformity with their aims and objectives; and Unesco too, should support the progress of science, education and culture with the weight of all its authority and bend its efforts to ensuring that these noble fruits of human labour shall be preserved from the conflagration of war.

15.4 The fundamental guarantee for the free development of science and culture in the world is the peaceful coexistence of nations and general and complete disarmament. It is desirable, therefore, that our international Organization, for education, science and culture, above all, should act more energetically in achieving these goals. Our delegation accordingly endorses most heartily the point made by Nikita Sergeevitch Khrushchev in his message to our Conference to the effect that scientific and cultural workers cannot remain neutral in this great struggle for peace nor indifferent to the righteous struggle of the oppressed peoples fighting for their national liberation.

15.5 The Director-General's report and Unesco's entire activity must be considered from the standpoint of the general interests and needs of all peoples. We cannot but criticize the Director-General's failure to include in his report a full account of the execution of the resolution of the 55th session of the Executive Board concerning general and complete disarmament. This resolution, which unanimously developed the resolution adopted by the United Nations on the subject, is unquestionably a document of a most important and decisive nature, and we should discuss it most carefully in the light of the character and possibilities of Unesco's work.

15.6 It is quite certain, ladies and gentlemen, that the peoples and States which have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke, or are in process of doing so, deserve the utmost attention and support at the present time. The number of these young African States is growing apace, and they all need effective help on a broad scale not only in terms of their economy but also in terms of education and cultural development.

15.7 But Unesco approaches this problem in a most peculiar way. Instead of conducting its activities for helping the underdeveloped countries in accordance with a well-considered plan providing

for short and long-range targets for such assistance, it fragments its assistance programme into minor activities of secondary importance which are of interest to only a small number of experts, and puts the emphasis on the so-called "apolitical" character of its work.

15.8 The fact is, however, that these great problems can be solved only with the participation of large numbers of scientific, cultural and educational workers and the use of all available funds (and they are not inconsiderable, incidentally). Unesco's budget must be rationally concentrated on the execution of the most important undertakings, after exploiting every possibility for increasing these resources by reducing the inflated machinery of Unesco to normal size through the application of more efficient methods of organization and work. We must also stop dispersing resources in financing a large number of minor projects. What happens in practice is this: if Unesco is engaged in solving major problems requiring additional expenditure, the extra funds are usually found by increasing member's contributions instead of the budget being carefully scrutinized and the necessary adjustments made.

15.9 What the new African States need above all is economic help, but the help given must be of genuine use in promoting their economy and culture. In other words, we must help them to expand their production of raw materials and build factories to process those materials. We must give them help in mechanizing their agriculture, in organizing and developing education, in building schools and hospitals, and so on. "Assistance" which produced even more profits for the monopolies and continued the exploitation of these countries and their peoples in another guise would be valueless. The inadequate training of teachers and of educational and scientific workers from the ranks of the African peoples themselves is an obstacle in practice to the speedy emancipation of the African peoples, as Mr. Adiseshiah has already pointed out in his statement, illustrated by staggering facts which are a trend towards neocolonialism seeking once again to fetter the hands of these peoples marching along the road to free development. They reveal relations based on inequality as far as these peoples are concerned.

15.10 The countries of the socialist camp, on the other hand, seek to offer these peoples the help they need in order to liquidate the heritage of colonial oppression as rapidly as possible. The idea behind this assistance is to help these countries to create all the conditions necessary for their successful independent economic growth, to promote their education and culture, and to provide medical services by their own efforts. I should like once again, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation and in the spirit of these ideals to welcome all the African peoples and countries, now free or becoming free of the colonial yoke, and to wish them, on behalf of my Government and the whole of the Czechoslovak people, complete victory over the colonialists and the successful development of their countries. I assure them that our Republic is ready to give them all the necessary help.

15.11 I also warmly greet the heroic Cuban people, whose struggle for freedom has won our fullest sympathy. All attempts to change the path taken by the Cuban people are dangerous to the cause of international understanding and co-operation. The events in Cuba indicate better than anything else, ladies and gentlemen, that the efforts of the imperialists to scare the new States which have achieved freedom with the bogey of communism have suffered defeat and have ceased to have any effect although certain monopolistic circles, aided by their governments, do not shrink from threatening them with aggressive action.

15.12 We cannot approve Unesco's view that the question raised by Cuba represents no threat to peace, that it has a specially political character, and that Unesco is not competent to consider it. Nor can we agree that Unesco should blink the fact that the media of the press, the radio, television and the cinema - that is, the media of education and information - are being used for aggressive purposes in a number of countries.

15.13 These phenomena are to be seen not only in one State but in a whole number of States. In Europe, we see hostile propaganda being directed by the warmongers in the Federal Republic of Germany against the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. A great deal of money is being spent on this propaganda with the aim of creating a revanchist frame of mind among the population and preparing the ground ideologically for a new military adventure. These dangerous activities by the Federal Republic of Germany have a pernicious effect on the education of Western German youth especially as the textbooks and manuals in that country are not such as to ensure that education is provided in a spirit of mutual understanding, coexistence and international co-operation - a fact to which the President of our Republic, Mr. Novotný, drew attention in his report to the United Nations.

15.14 Scientific workers and clear-thinking teachers need no convincing that education, science and culture, on the one side, and the politics of a country or society, on the other, are inseparably linked. Unesco is required, in consonance with its set tasks and with all the means at its disposal, to oppose these tendencies so dangerous for mankind, and to support in every way the idea of neighbourly and peaceful relations between peoples, for this is completely in line with Unesco's mission. Unesco's international authority would be much enhanced if it were to act in this way.

15.15 The authority of our Organization throughout the world would also be enhanced if it were to become a genuinely universal body comprising representatives of all States, and if it renounced unjustified discrimination against States. We are constant witnesses of how Unesco continues to remain the sphere of activity of only one group of States, namely the capitalistic States, that it has become an instrument for their ideology and even a means whereby those States seek to influence the ideology of other States, including the socialist ones. This is happening, moreover, at a time when the aim of our Organization should be to co-ordinate and disseminate the practical experience of all Member States. The existence of such discrimination within an international organization which is called upon to decide on major questions of science and culture is completely inadmissible.

15.16 Our view is that the Unesco Secretariat staff fails to match up to those tasks which the socialist and neutralist countries have placed before the Organization. The Czechoslovak delegation not only agrees with the critical remarks made by the representative of Peru concerning the bureaucratic nature of the Unesco Secretariat apparatus, but insistently demands that this apparatus be reorganized so as to have three Secretaries, corresponding to the three main groups of States represented in Unesco, in place of the one-man direction of the Secretariat which has existed hitherto.

15.17 The fact that such countries as the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Mongolian People's Republic have not taken their places in the ranks of our Organization is in flat contradiction with Unesco's interests. These countries are endowed, in fact, with spiritual values and material resources which could be of immediate service in Unesco's activities.

15.18 We consider that Unesco will only become a universally recognized international Organization for education, science and culture when it takes account of the changed situation in the world and draws the corresponding conclusions for its work.

15.19 The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has given much thought, especially latterly, to making Unesco's work generally useful. I could enumerate a whole host of efforts conducted in Czechoslovakia during the past two years in connexion with education, science and culture to strengthen peaceful co-operation and international understanding. I need only cite, as examples the two annual music festivals "Springtime in Prague", the international film festival at Karlovy Vary in 1960 and the international amateur film festival at Mariánské Lázně. These undertakings of ours have a precise goal and programme: to provide a demonstration of different peoples' cultural values in order to develop a mutual knowledge and appreciation of them and thereby foster international understanding.

15.20 They were also of importance for the implementation of Unesco's programme at the international level, having obvious significance as a means of acquainting the East and the West with each other's cultural values. I might mention at this point the activities conducted in Czechoslovakia in direct collaboration with Unesco. I am thinking, in particular, of the international seminar on the work of clubs for adult education and the important international conference of physicists which discussed the problem of semi-conductors - a conference which in the opinion of the experts ranked as one of the major natural science gatherings held by Unesco in recent years.

15.21 The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has played an important part in the execution of Unesco's Major Projects during the period under review. In furtherance of the Project on the Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, the Czechoslovak National Commission made grants available to outstanding educational workers from 11 Latin American countries for studying school questions. The Commission, with Unesco support also made available 24 short-term grants for young teachers and cultural workers from countries of the Far East.

15.22 Czechoslovak science also made a significant contribution to Unesco's activity. Czechoslovak oriental studies were reinforced by the addition of two new centres to the operational network: an Oriental Department in Bratislava and the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology of Charles IV (Prague) University in Cairo. The latter, which has been provided by the Czechoslovak Government with all the necessary funds, has been instructed to take part in Unesco's work in saving the monuments of Nubia, and has already taken action in this connexion.

15.23 In addition to voluminous scientific works, more than 200 books acquainting readers with the cultural values of the peoples of Asia and Africa have been published in Czechoslovakia during the past two years, one important Czechoslovak undertaking for promoting knowledge of the East is the initiation of the second stage of the round-the-world expedition of the Czechoslovak travellers Sigmund and Hanselka, whose journey in 1959 and 1960 took them through most of the countries of Asia and Oceania. The travellers dispatches, which are communicated to the public by radio, film and press, and which describe the contemporary life and cultural traditions of the peoples of the countries of the East, are followed with the keenest interest.

15.24 Indeed, steady interest is shown in Czechoslovakia in Unesco's activities in general. Czechoslovakia holds one of the first places for press and radio coverage of Unesco, and the main reason for this is that small though it is from the territorial standpoint, it is the home of a people celebrated for its industry and love of peace. Czechoslovakia, with its centuries and wealth of tradition, has already made a sizeable contribution to the history of Europe. It is a country which is highly developed economically and has a high standard of living, as the Director-General, Mr. Vittorino Veronese, was able to see for himself during his stay there.

15.25 During the past fifteen years, industrial production has increased four-fold as compared with 1937, when Czechoslovakia was of course already one of the economically developed countries. During the period of the first two five-year plans alone, we have achieved results, thanks to the socialist planning of economy, which would formerly have been impossible to achieve in the course of several decades. Czechoslovakia has become a socialist country, and is resolutely pursuing the path of socialist construction, with the volume of production scheduled under the third five-year plan to be six times greater than in 1937. We are proud of these successes, and of our country's glorious and progressive traditions which we are developing in the spirit of the ideals of our times, in the spirit of the great humane principles of socialism and communism.

15.26 We have also achieved unprecedented successes during these past few years in the development of our education. We now have a nine-year general secondary school in Czechoslovakia attended by all our children from six to fifteen years of age, and we have set ourselves the target of reaching a position in 1970 where the majority of our young people are able to continue their education at more advanced

schools and colleges and obtain a school-leaving certificate on completing the full secondary course.

15.27 In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with its thirteen million people, there are now fifty higher educational establishments, including art schools and teacher-training colleges, with 111 faculties catering for more than 79,000 students. Of the latter, more than 50,000 are full-time students and 21,000 are external students who continue to work at their regular jobs, but are provided with extensive facilities. There are 59 university students for every 10,000 of the population. Before the Second World War, in the academic year 1936-1937, there were, in the capitalistic Republic, only 13 higher educational establishments with 52 faculties and 27,000 students: in socialist Czechoslovakia, the number of such establishments is four times greater and the number of students three times greater than in the earlier period.

15.28 These are irrefutable facts which bespeak the superiority of socialism. If we add the fact that all the young people studying this year at basic general secondary schools and intermediate schools in Czechoslovakia receive all textbooks and school equipment, such as fountain pens, free of charge, and also bear in mind that next year it is proposed to supply the students at all universities with free textbooks and manuals, that in the very early future all schoolchildren and students will have free transport on trains, buses and trams, and that the entire cost of meals at day nurseries and kindergartens for children of large families - i.e. those with three or more children - is borne entirely the the socialist State, this gives all the Member States of our Organization a clear picture of what can be done for education under socialism.

15.29 Science in Czechoslovakia is required to co-operate to the utmost in promoting economic and cultural progress and in fulfilling the task of outstripping the economic and cultural demands of society, and is developed on the basis of a long-term plan in correlation with the planning of all spheres of national life. The successful work of Czechoslovak scientists is well known, with their reports at many international conferences on new discoveries in the field of power resources, nuclear physics and technology, biology, chemistry, medicine and so on. Last year, a distinguished Czechoslovak chemist, Professor Jaroslav Heyrovsky, was awarded the Nobel Prize.

15.30 The Czechoslovak delegation has come to this Conference, ladies and gentlemen, with a number of proposals designed to promote international co-operation to the maximum and to contribute towards the fulfilment of Unesco's tasks. One of them is a draft resolution calling for the establishment of an International Institute for Cell Research, which would be of great assistance for international research in this field, while another concerns support for films for youth. Czechoslovakia recommends, in agreement with other delegations that Unesco should pay the utmost attention to this important medium for educating children and popularizing scientific achievements. Another proposal is that Unesco should include in its commemorations of great personalities, the centenary of the death in 1862 of the distinguished Czech authoress and champion of democracy and women's rights, Božena Němcova. Lastly there is a draft resolution drawing international attention to the danger of young people being educated in a spirit of colonialism, racial and national superiority and intolerance, in a spirit of fascism, revanchism and militarism.

15.31 Our delegation trusts that these proposals, formulated by wide circles of the Czechoslovak public for communication to the General Conference will be given the eleventh session's favourable consideration.

15.32 Mr. President and fellow delegates, I can assure you, on behalf of my Government, that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to follow the path of progress and peace, and that it will support every initiative taken by Unesco to promote the development of peaceful coexistence and the maintenance of lasting peace.

16. The PRESIDENT:
The meeting is now closed.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

SEVENTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

24 November 1960, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Ziada ARBAB (Sudan)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the reports of the Director-General (continued) 275

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT:

I declare the meeting open and I call upon H.E. Mr. Borda, Head of the delegation of Colombia.

2.1 Mr. ZALAMEA BORDA (Colombia) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, during this discussion on the report of the Director-General we have listened to the representatives of many nations; we have heard the sound of many languages; we have listened with interest and respect to the exposition of ideas, the submission of proposals and the exchange of opinions; yet also part of the limited and valuable time available for our discussions has been taken up by sound and fury. That may occur elsewhere, but this home of education, science and culture should debar uncontrolled outbursts of nationalism, which consort ill with affirmations and aspirations of universality, and embittered fanaticism which, with sectarian fervour, asserts that anything outside its own narrow and exclusive credo is contrary to truth and bears the stamp of tyranny and injustice.

2.2 However, this must not deter, but rather stimulate us to work for the cause for which we expressed with a moderation of thought and language - our intention of working when we first subscribed to the Constitution of the Organization. The first of our objectives is to construct the defences of peace in the minds of men. These defences must certainly be freedom, justice, human rights, in short, tolerance, which I venture to believe embraces and confines all these values, for what true freedom can there be without tolerance? Can justice be strictly applied without it, and can human rights have any meaning in theory or in practice unless they are constantly inspired by this fine virtue?

2.3 Our great task as workers for peace cannot achieve success if we employ the wrong materials. No one could erect a durable structure on crumbling foundations and what could be less stable than a building constructed by intolerance on a swamp of distrust, uncertainty and fear?

2.4 We are met here to consider the results of work done, to reveal and correct its defects and to prepare a programme for the immediate future. The speakers who preceded me devoted themselves to this task and I can only follow them in their laudable endeavour in a very general way, mainly for the reason that I wish my words to be approved by the watchful eye of Gracián who recommended brevity to every serious writer.

2.5 Not even the most optimistic among us can believe that Unesco approaches anywhere near perfection. Fortunately, its structural, human and procedural faults are remediable. This Organization can be perfected and the ability to perfect it is in our hands. If we find that it falls far short of our ideal, that is because it faithfully reflects its constituent elements, us ourselves with all our faults, conflicts and disagreements, but also - and about this let there be no false modesty - with certain qualities which we must promote above those faults, so that the balance may be tipped in favour of the positive aspects.

2.6 I agree with some of my distinguished colleagues who have criticized the relations existing between the Member States and the Secretariat. A change must be made not so much because it is right and reasonable to do so but because there is no other way in which we can carry out our tasks with the efficiency and diligence that will ensure success. These relations cannot be expressed in general terms without risk of errors and injustices of omission or commission. But they are not satisfactory and must be made so. More frequent and regular meetings and contacts are essential. Our isolation, in which we are scarcely ever consulted and, if so, only for short intervals, must cease. These defects should not in my opinion be harped upon with rancour, but judged objectively, in clearly defined and concrete terms, so that we may be delivered from the exaggerations and those irritating forms of injustice known as vagueness and generalizations.

2.7 I may be allowed to refer very briefly to something my Government considers as one of the greatest evils of our age, namely, the accidental or systematic attacks on freedom of information. Paragraph 2 (a) of Article I of the Organization's Constitution says: "The Organization will collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and

understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image."

2.8 What a lot could any normal adult say about those few words! And how much of what he said would be devoted to complaints about the abuses of liberty, the falsification of its nature, the total distortion of the concept of information so as to completely eliminate, in collecting and disseminating it, whatever does not fit in with certain aspects of the truth which, on more or less superficial examination, are shown to be obvious lies and fallacies. But they are used to keep alive and feed the ignorance and simplicity of peoples who are told in freedom's name that they will be saved and transported to a Promised Land eventually covering the whole earth and in the future extending to other worlds united by a single universal doctrine.

2.9 Contemporary man, as never before in history, needs information which is full, objective, free of propaganda, free of anything that may affect its essence. In certain countries such as my own he receives such information. But in others, information is restricted in many ways. The people do not know the truth but are given a daily dose of falsified and incomplete facts. When this form of the truth appears in the State newspapers, while all other versions are suppressed, freedom of expression has given place to slogans.

2.10 We must, with all the means at our disposal, fight for freedom of information, without which all the other freedoms are compromised. A completely and honestly informed man will be a positive element in the building of peace, which cannot but be endangered by the constant infiltration of propaganda poison.

2.11 In the two years that have passed since the last session of the Conference, the Government of Colombia has pursued its efforts to free the country from the fetters of ignorance and to fill the gaps that have been noted and which still exist in its educational system. In this task it has had the co-operation of Unesco, which it appreciates and acknowledges and would like to see extended in several spheres it considers necessary. At the moment, it is particularly interested to convert the Industrial University of Santander into a genuine technical college which will provide the country with new experts in various fields of production. At the same time we should like the arid lands programme to be extended to Latin America, so that our Guajira peninsula might be fully rehabilitated. Other projects we consider important will be submitted for examination at an appropriate time. We believe that they will be given due attention, in the same way that we give our attention to all projects for the extension of education, the advancement of science and the development of culture all over the world.

2.12 Mr. President and fellow delegates, in conclusion I should like, on behalf of the Republic of Colombia which I have the honour to represent, to extend a cordial welcome to the new Member States of the Organization. We view them, not as competitors, but as collaborators faced with conditions similar to our own. 150 years ago, we too were emerging from a situation resembling that on which they have now finally turned their backs. We experienced similar sufferings and in 150 years we have been taught lessons which it may be of interest to them to know and study so that they may avoid making the same mistakes that we did. They are entering a world which welcomes them with all the wonders of science and technology - an advantage we were not vouchsafed.

2.13 Apart from these advantages, they will also be faced with certain dangers, more particularly in the new guises assumed by colonialism with a view to imposing its domination in the false names of freedom. Fortunately, nations have an instinct which usually leads them to choose the road most favourable to their historic destiny. We hope that this will be the case with the new Member States of Unesco, which have not thrown off one yoke, only to submit to another, but will devote themselves to the long and arduous task of endowing freedom with that social conscience of which that inspired intellect, Shri Radhakrishnan, spoke from this very platform, a conscience without which the concept of freedom would be no more than an empty phrase.

2.14 Mr. President, fellow delegates, Colombia is a country still scarcely developed in many respects and which knows and admits its defects, that makes a good beginning for remedying them. It is a country deeply devoted to culture and realizes that culture cannot grow, develop and bear fruit unless it is based on certain permanent values, though they too are permanently endangered values, such as freedom. To defend them so that they may be consolidated as defences of peace Colombia is devoting its most determined efforts and it will continue to do so until Unesco, on a day which cannot be far off, becomes in the reality what we are hoping and working for today amidst the confusions and uncertainties of an age in which mankind, as never before, needs guidance and light. This Organization is a beacon and we must see that its light does not flicker and fail but grows in power, to lead new and larger areas out of the dark realm of ignorance and fanaticism from whose fatal and monstrous union are born all the evils from which we have suffered and which alas, still hang like heavy clouds on our horizon.

3. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon Dr. Oscar Robles Toledano, Head of the delegation of the Dominican Republic.

4.1 Mr. ROBLES TOLEDANO (Dominican Republic) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of the Dominican Republic has come to this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco in a mood of quiet optimism, determined to contribute actively, to the full extent of its powers, towards making the high ideals of this Organization a reality. Throughout its fruitful existence, Unesco has shown that in the sea of conflicts which threaten the shipwreck of mankind it is possible to find quiet waters favourable to peace and concord. There is no such thing as absolute error, as one of our sharpest intellects once put it succinctly when he said: "Nulla falsa doctrina est, quae non aliqua vera intermisceat".

4.2 This international organization, which already deserves well of mankind, is carrying out the noble

and beneficent task of separating, with painstaking care, the gold from the quartz. It is a sieve that separates the impurities so as to leave only the golden wheat, the promise of bread and the augury of life. I do not say that it is perfect. I do not claim that its fruits are always ripe and in season; no human work is flawless. The soaring wing carries dust from the earth in its plumage. Prometheus knew what suffering it cost to grant the gift of fire to man. It may however be said that in the contemporary world, in which culture, civilization, progress and the near and more distant future are basically dominated by the conception of man qua man, Unesco has resolutely pursued its task of adding to man's stature, of bringing his dreams to life, of turning design into truth.

4.3 What I am going to say supports, reinforces and confirms the draft convention intended to launch a campaign against one of the most uncivilized and unscrupulous forms of hatred of one's neighbour, one of the most odious methods of debasing human dignity: discrimination in education. For the Dominican delegation, Mr. President, this agreement is the most precious, most constructive and most practical item on the agenda, the heart and soul of this meeting. It answers a clamorous appeal from the collective conscience. To educate is to enrich from within, to achieve our being and bring it to full maturity. To lock school doors against us because we may be white men or negroes, because we may be dolichocephalic or brachicephalic, because we believe in a particular religion or support a particular political theory, because we may have been born in a stable like the Man of Bethlehem, is a major crime which robs us of life because it stifles us and destroys the intellectual activity which is the root and shining characteristic of man. Therefore, our first feeling after careful study of the courageous draft convention establishing the procedure to be followed in the campaign against discrimination in education is one of lively satisfaction and expectancy. Each of its very carefully considered clauses breathes a comforting air of understanding brotherhood. Although it may not be perfect, the high mindedness by which it is inspired encourages our brightest hopes.

4.4 Behind the cold official language in which it is couched we feel a warm humanity that invites us to face the future with quiet confidence. Its short but weighty text combines wise thinking with sound practical sense and with a breadth and depth of knowledge that is born of painful and living experience. The afflictions and misfortunes which have befallen human kind through disastrous errors concerning the nature, condition and dignity of man - and herein lies the root of the matter - have filled more than half the pages in man's history with blood and tears.

4.5 Gobineau would have thrown down his pen, had he seen in his dreams, in some horrible nightmare, the Dantesque and terrifying picture painted with a realistic brush, steeped in blood and reeking of gas, by Anne Frank; Darwin would have been horrified by the sad distortion of his doctrine of natural selection, exalting the strong and humbling the weak, into a social system; the daring men who started the French Revolution would have hastened to gather up some of their seed they strewed if they had suspected the tragic blossoms it would germinate; Hobbes' "Leviathan", a ponderous Anglo-Saxon echo of Macchiavelli's agile Latin wit, would have gone unwritten if its author had foreseen that his work was to serve as a textbook and a shield to cloak the insatiable appetite for personal or collective power which shames the sons of Adam.

4.6 Happily, human beings, helped in the use of their intelligence by a providence from on high that is all the more effective when silent and secret, are not easily disheartened. Pessimism is not a natural human attribute; it may be an incident in the adventure of living, but it is not an enduring condition. The generations which come and go, shed their disillusions and seek new paths in their ceaseless quest for a better existence. The whole of history is nothing more than the moving epitome of their endeavours. This spirit of inquiry is what lends colour to life; inquiring, not sceptical; restless, not despairing; on the contrary, it is a stimulus to confident work, to the determined search for conquest and achievement in a world where there is always much for everyone to do because the goal towards which we are advancing day by day is as essential as it is sublime. The genius of integration, enemy of the dark forces of dispersion and destruction, neither languishes nor despairs.

4.7 Convincing proof of man's unwavering struggle to find himself - lost in the chaos of confusion - is given us, backed by plentiful evidence, in the many vicissitudes through which Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has passed. More than ten years have elapsed since, with the unanimous consent and enthusiastic applause of every nation, every individual was offered the right, without let or hindrance, to obtain the inestimable advantages of education and culture. The sovereign greatness of this document, concise but positive and packed with meaning like a sketch drawn by a master hand, had immediate effect so far as some of its provisions were concerned, that for example, relating to free and compulsory primary education for all. It should be emphasized, as an encouragement to us, that the birth of this fine infant required one and a half centuries of laborious gestation. A century before this courageous declaration, be it remembered, half mankind could neither read nor write.

4.8 However, many of its other provisions are still in suspense, as though they were afraid of themselves, intimidated by the obstinate hostility and the conflict waged against them by vested interests, ingrained prejudice, hostile doctrine and degrading and inhuman social and economic conditions. The seed was planted, but because the soil had not been properly dug nor suitably prepared, the undertaking seemed doomed from the start. Four obstacles, seemingly insurmountable, prevented this democratic ideal from being fully achieved. What kind of education should be provided? Who should decide on educational standards, the parents or the State? Whatever the choice, there will always be a strong suspicion in the mind of the other due to an inevitable clash of contradictory principles.

4.9 Are fathers, whose children, in time, in space and for all eternity, are the projection and reflection of themselves, to be deprived of the right granted by natural law to every craftsman to mould, polish and refine his own work?

4.10 Is higher education, like a mountain peak, to be restricted to a few privileged minds, who will then radiate their light over the semi-educated masses? Will the minorities which mature among other majority cultures lose the right to cultivate their own genius which flowers in their language, customs and the delights of their colourful folklore? All these problems were treated with great intellectual skill by those who drew up this valuable draft convention, to whom are now due the enduring thanks of the human family.

4.11 The draft agreement to be submitted for our approval is open to amendment. Freedom, for example, it will be said, is not something static; not something lofty and beautiful, yet motionless, like the obelisk which graces the Place de la Concorde, holding the attention of passers-by and arousing their admiration by its graceful Egyptian lines. Freedom is action in motion. The verb "to progress" is derived from "progradere" which is the same as to move forward. Progress is the offshoot of free and vigorous action.

4.12 When the men of 1789 wrote in the Convention that liberty consisted in doing that which did not injure others, they gave only a minimum definition. It is not enough not to hurt others; today it is necessary that we go to the farthest limits of generosity to do something good for others. It is not enough to safeguard the freedom we have won, it is necessary to preserve it and so to work that it will be creative and, at the same time as it improves the individual beneficiary, stimulate perfection in others and lead to an organic, fruitful and beneficent community of living. Thus it is permissible to speak of the right to freedom only if it is accompanied by its complement, the duty of freedom. There can be no right without a corresponding obligation, but the hypertrophy of rights does not permit us to listen to the voice which demands of us duties.

4.13 In the campaign against every kind of discrimination in education we must stress the obligation to conduct a ruthless war against the baseless motives on which discriminatory prejudices are founded within the schools themselves. In this connexion, my delegation would have liked to eliminate from the document the term "race", in order not to give acknowledgement and recognition to a lie and a scientific falsehood in a universal declaration. The very word "race" is so charged with emotional dynamite that we ought to form a kind of conspiracy of silence, so that the disappearance of the word might lead to a realization of the falseness of the thing itself. No one nowadays can present a certificate of blood purity and claim that someone else has been created differently from himself. I realize that, in the interests of realism and of rooted conventions, the agreement cannot go further than it has done. After all, a product which is too perfect invites the disappointment that awaits an infant prodigy.

4.14 Social and historical complexes are exceedingly difficult to eradicate. We have only to remember that as recently as the middle of last century a man of the intellectual calibre of Hippolyte Taine, though born in France, which is essentially universalist, refused to accept human equality, denying that "Greeks, Barbarians, Indians, Renaissance man and Eighteenth century man came out of the same mould". But despite these difficulties, we may be certain that, once the evil is attacked at the roots with courage and determination, as Unesco is doing, the salutary effects will soon be felt.

4.15 Without being accused of Chauvinism, I think I my take my own country as an example. Santo Domingo was the Latin American country in which the racial problem in every field and in all its aspects first arose. The Indian was considered by Ginés de Sepúlveda, an eminent intellectual of the time, to be the twin brother of the ape. He denied him any innate intellectual ability.

4.16 Spanish goodwill rescued human dignity from this baneful arena of controversy through education, by learning the wise laws of the Indians so thoroughly that forty years after colonization the Indians were making their contribution to the universities, the churches, in politics, shedding the light of their talents upon every sphere of knowledge and art.

4.17 Today we can claim that we have no racial problem and that we anticipated Unesco by thirty years, for all the items in the Convention I am discussing have been enshrined in the Dominican Constitution for that length of time. In the short period from 1952 to 1959 we redeemed from the darkness of ignorance 439,000 illiterate adults. Our university is attended by 4,000 students from every social class, of every colour, who are their own masters, profess the religion dictated by their conscience and consulting only their individual talents, choose the path of knowledge to which their intellectual vocation inclines them.

4.18 Those who have seen this happy outcome develop before their eyes, the fruit of unremitting effort, have no right to doubt that Unesco will succeed brilliantly in its noble and universal task. There will, of course, be those who will turn a deaf ear to the just voice of conscience.

4.19 Even if a convention may not be concluded in full, its psychological and moral effect must be borne in mind. It will continue to stand like a clear and unsullied mirror in which we shall see reflected the sordid and ugly side, the shameless, insane and sinful aspect of mankind. Let us, in the meantime, under the approving regard of heaven, discharge our human, our little less than divine mission.

4.20 The welcome presence at this eleventh session of the new nations from the African continent fills us with new hope. This stream of fresh rejuvenated blood will course through the arteries of a world feeling old, made sceptical by repeated errors, sick with pessimism after so much suffering, so many setbacks and failures, pregnant with omens as though the prophetic voice of Cassandra echoed unceasingly in its ears.

4.21 The delegation of the Dominican Republic has pleasure in welcoming the nations of Africa and in offering them the hand of heartfelt friendship.

5. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the Hon. Mr. Chaudhari, Minister of Education and Head of the delegation of Nepal.

6.1 Mr. CHAUDHARI (Nepal):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Nepalese delegation is delighted to be present at this session

of the General Conference of Unesco and to pay tribute to Unesco's efforts in contributing to peace and security in the world through the promotion of education, science and culture. The Government I represent is happy to have this opportunity of sending its message of goodwill to this session of the Conference.

6.2 I take it my duty to request you to bear in mind that the Nepalese people, although suffering themselves from the many ills and evils of a backward socio-economic system, are keenly interested in anything that concerns the welfare of mankind. They are ever eager to serve humanity as best they can. It is this eagerness for service that has prompted them to join as early as possible such international organizations as have proclaimed themselves dedicated to the service of mankind, for example, the United Nations, Unesco, FAO, WHO and others. We cherish high hopes in these international organizations.

6.3 Our relationship with Unesco dates back to 1949 when Nepal was represented by an observer at the fourth session of the General Conference held in Paris, and we became a fully fledged member of Unesco in 1953. Although we took the membership of this august body seriously, we admit that our participation in Unesco's activities to date has been very limited. We were unable to attend many of the conferences, seminars and symposiums organized by Unesco and were unable to implement in our country many of the recommendations and conventions proposed by Unesco. Our deepest regret, however, has been our inability to participate in Unesco's Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, precisely because we could have been very active in this project which holds so much interest for us. But I beg you to bear in mind that this inability was certainly not the result of any apathy on our part towards Unesco and its activities, but of unstable conditions in our country. I hesitate to take much of your precious time for detailed explanations here. I simply want you to know that such unsettled and disturbed conditions did continue for a long time and they stood as an obstacle to our active co-operation with Unesco. Only recently have we succeeded in achieving the long desired state of stability. Since then the signs of progress have begun to appear and the future now seems secure.

6.4 I would like to call your attention now to certain important development programmes which we are planning to put into execution immediately in our country. I mention them here because these programmes point to an ever closer relationship with Unesco in the near future. I shall try to be as brief as possible. First of all, I would like to mention our plan for the reorganization of primary schools. His Majesty's Government of Nepal has declared that primary education shall be compulsory and free as soon as this is feasible, and it is the duty of my Ministry to strive to achieve this goal. We realize that the costs entailed by the provision of education for our entire population with its very high birth rate can be enormous and may, indeed, be a burden which cannot easily be borne by an underdeveloped economy like ours. Yet the urgency is such that we can no longer deny this necessity of imparting basic minimum education to every son and daughter of the land. Universal education simply cannot wait longer.

6.5 The implementation of the proposed Major Project on Universal Compulsory and Free Primary Education in Asia would naturally promote better relations between Nepal and Unesco. We are fully determined to take part in this project if it is launched. We attach very great importance to the 20-year working plan drawn up at the Karachi conference by the Asian Member States and hope that sufficient assistance will be forthcoming from more favourably placed countries and the international organizations to help us in this endeavour. As the majority of the Nepalese pupils have to be satisfied with primary schooling only, owing to the poverty of their parents, we have had to make this phase of schooling as comprehensive and effective as possible. We have therefore drafted, with the assistance of educational experts, a new primary curriculum which is scientifically and psychologically sound and steps have already been taken for the expansion of primary and secondary schools. A well-equipped and well-staffed bureau of publications has been established to print and publish textbooks based on the new curriculum. A few post-graduate teachers have been sent abroad for training in the writing of primary textbooks and upon their return the publications programme is expected to be speeded up. At the same time special importance has been given to a teacher-training programme for primary and secondary schools.

6.6 Secondly, we are planning to convert the present secondary schools, which to a large extent place emphasis upon the humanities and purely literary subjects, into multi-purpose secondary schools with equal emphasis upon the study of the arts and sciences and on vocational training. The new scheme of secondary education is intended to serve our triple purpose of providing appropriate education for the boys and girls who will become the political and civic leaders of Nepal for the coming generations; appropriate teaching for the much larger group of boys and girls who will become highly skilled leaders in the professional and economic phases of our national development; and vocational training in the skills essential to a Twentieth century economy, that is, the production of competent secretaries, clerks, mechanics and metal workers, building trade workers, textile processors, and other craftsmen and skilled labourers. The plans to establish several vocational and technical schools are well advanced. The new curriculum is now awaiting application and the conversion plan has already been drawn up. As regards the development of higher education, we are planning to establish additional science colleges in different parts of the country. Most important of all, we have already set up a central research institute with adequate provision for research in the fields of mining, geology, mineralogy, etc. A university, named after the late King Tribhuban, has also been established to supervise and promote the development of higher education.

6.7 In the field of culture, I might mention the establishment of the National Library and the plans for the establishment of a National Archives and an archaeological centre. I shall not discuss these plans in detail here since I presume that the majority

of the distinguished delegates present may already be aware of their importance, in view of their knowledge of our culture and history. When the plans to which I have referred are carried into effect, I am sure that the scholars of the world interested in the East will wish to make a deeper study of Nepal. In view of the short time at my disposal I shall say no more here, but would beg the patience of my distinguished fellow delegates to await the publication of these plans in due course for study.

6.8 All these plans for the development of education, science and culture in our country happily point to the future when closer collaboration with Unesco will be both necessary and desirable. Indeed, we in Nepal hope for the highest outcome as a result of increasing participation in all the international organizations, and especially in Unesco which we regard as one of the noblest of these organizations both in its ideals and in its practice.

6.9 I would like to say a few words about the Director-General's report and the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 which is the topic under review and to congratulate the Director-General for the excellent programme he has put forward. The programme and budget for the years 1961-1962 is well prepared and shows, in our opinion, progressive improvements over former budgets. In this age of science and technology, no country however underdeveloped, can fail to be affected by the rapidity of change. We are pleased to note, in this connexion, that under Unesco's programme in the natural sciences the United Nations Special Fund is available for the development of technical education at a higher level, as a complement to development in this field at the lower level under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. We also look forward to a time in the near future when this Organization will have abundant resources at its disposal to serve better the cause of education, science and culture, especially in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

6.10 I am very pleased to express my happiness at the increase of the Unesco family with the admission of the many new African members and, on behalf of the delegation of Nepal, to extend to them our most cordial welcome. At the same time, of course, we should not forget that Unesco's family should be a world family and we shall therefore be happy when the countries of the world which still remain outside are members of this family.

6.11 It is high time for the intellectuals of the world to realize the importance of education, science and culture as a means for the attainment of lasting peace and prosperity. The present generation is very much concerned with the future of mankind and Unesco has a great task before it. Let us all pledge to give this Organization our sincere and active co-operation so that it may fulfil the noble ideals it has stood for.

6.12 And now, Mr. President, I would also like to express our gratitude to the French people and authorities for the warm hospitality they have shown us. This is not our first experience of French hospitality and we would not wish to miss this opportunity of expressing our very deep appreciation.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. Romero, Secretary of Education and Head of the delegation of the Philippines.

8.1 Mr. ROMERO (Philippines):

Mr. President, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful for this opportunity of addressing the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco. May I first of all express the profound sympathy of the Government and people of the Philippines in the loss of our distinguished colleagues, Dr. Pedro de Alba, member of the Executive Board of Unesco, and Mr. Gaston Berger, Chairman of the French National Commission for Unesco. Secondly, I wish to associate my delegation with the warm welcome given by our fellow delegations to the new members of Unesco, the Member States and the non-governmental organizations interested in education, science and culture.

8.2 On this occasion, I wish to convey the deep gratitude of my Government for the attention and interest Unesco has shown in meeting the needs of the people of the Philippines, particularly as follows:

(1) Development of the Unesco National Commission of the Philippines;

(2) Assistance - technical, financial and in the form of equipment - under the normal programme, the Participation programme, and the Technical Assistance programme; and

(3) Visits of the members of the Secretariat to the Philippines for purposes of consultation.

8.3 During 1958-1959, the Philippines pursued with the same vigour the policy it has followed since it became a member of Unesco and has continued to ensure the satisfactory implementation of the programme of the Organization. Not only were the main lines of collaboration between the Philippine Government and Unesco followed as in the past, but co-operation between the National Commission and the various local bodies engaged in education, science and culture has been increased. Further efforts were exerted to arouse greater interest in Unesco through wider dissemination of information concerning its aims and activities. Despite limited resources, progress was achieved in the programme as a whole, and activities were undertaken in the major fields of Unesco's work reflecting practically every aspect of the life of the people of the Philippines.

8.4 Among the most outstanding events and activities during the period under review the following deserve to be mentioned:

(1) The Second Biennial Conference of the Commission, followed by the Regional Conference of the National Commissions for Unesco in Asia, at Manila, early this year;

(2) Completion and publication of the results of the study of the social impact of small-scale industries in the Philippines;

(3) Establishment of the Asian Youth Institute in the Philippines, with valuable assistance from Unesco;

(4) Exhibition of Unesco's travelling science exhibit, "Energy and its Transformation";

(5) Preparation of the ground for the Unesco-Pax Romana Meeting of Experts on the Present Impact of the Great Religions of the World;

(6) Participation in the Karachi Meeting on compulsory education;

(7) Holding of a national symposium on the subject "Rizal as an internationalist";

(8) Preparation of the ground for the Unesco-assisted national symposium on Filipino culture;

(9) Sponsoring of the exhibition of drawings and paintings of celebrated artists, native and foreign;

(10) Reproduction for dissemination of a series of paintings by some of the foremost Filipino artists;

(11) Holding of national seminars, symposia, workshops, and other kinds of meetings - for example, the conference of the Asian Federation of Women's Clubs; the First Asian Seminar on Mental Health and Family Life; the national seminar on science teaching, secondary level; and the ongoing seminars on the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(12) The translation and publication of various Unesco publications;

(13) The preparation of a manuscript on Filipino life;

(14) The establishment of a science documentation centre with Unesco's assistance; and

(15) Wise use of the fellowships and travel grants given by Unesco.

8.5 My Government is happy to take note of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, and is pleased to associate itself with the other Member States who have expressed satisfaction, on the whole, with the planning and implementation of the programmes of Unesco, past, present, and future. The exceedingly valuable and enlightening documents prepared by the Director-General and his staff deserve our sincerest congratulations. We likewise note with great interest the establishment of priorities and the observance of the basic principles of programming and administration - evaluation, balance, continuity and regionalization.

8.6 At this point may I simply mention some of the aspects of the proposed programme which the Philippine delegation views with particular interest. They are the following:

(1) The increased attention to education, especially the extension and improvement of education, including teacher training and facilities, for Asia and for Tropical Africa;

(2) The special and laudable project on oceanography and the promotion of scientific research on arid lands which are calculated to improve the standard of living of the people;

(3) The continuing interest in the development of cultural relations between countries, in particular, the action programme under the East-West Major Project;

(4) The promotion of research and the development of research techniques in the social sciences for greater social sensitivity and usefulness;

(5) The attempt to further vitalize the programme in mass communication so that it might be better suited to the creation of a more favourable climate for support of Unesco's objectives;

(6) The increased efforts of Unesco to establish better and closer liaison between the Organization and Member States on the one hand, and between Member States, on the other;

(7) The importance being given to the needs and interests of Member States, including the various non-governmental organizations having consultative status with Unesco;

(8) Proper attention to the education of out-of-school youth and adults, including the handicapped and the delinquent groups;

(9) The efforts to tap other sources of funds to implement the gigantic programme of Unesco and to cope adequately with the new demands addressed to it; and

(10) The special efforts being exerted to assist the developing and new Member States in their educational, scientific and cultural programmes.

8.7 At a time when, unfortunately, political tensions between leading States show little signs of abatement and when, indeed, the fate of our parent organization, the United Nations itself, would seem at times to hang precariously in the balance, it is comforting and reassuring to find in this Organization men of all races and creeds working shoulder to shoulder to improve educational and social conditions everywhere and to bring about peace and understanding among nations.

8.8 This Conference has got off to a good start by avoiding the consideration of matters that tend to divide rather than to unite us. We fervently hope and devoutly pray that statesmen the world over will translate into reality the pathetic longing of people everywhere for a lasting peace, so that they may devote their undivided energies to the amelioration of their lot and the improvement of standards of living. Let us go forward in this Organization in the direction of creating a climate that will bring about this lasting peace, fostering the spirit of mutual helpfulness and the realization that we form a part of an integral whole, that of humanity itself, and must bear each other's burdens. This alone can bring about the peace and concord that have been dreamed of since the world began, but which have so far eluded its leaders.

8.9 The phenomenal progress made by science during the last few decades in man's conquest of the forces of nature has not been accompanied by the same progress in the conquest of the evil forces in the hearts and minds of men. We have explored the mysteries of the smallest things; we have split the atom and unleashed forces that may make the world something of a paradise or may destroy it, depending on whether these forces are to be devoted to peaceful or to warlike purposes. We have also explored and even measured the universe, but science can do little to tame the evil forces in the human mind and the human heart. It is in an organization like Unesco that lie humanity's hopes for the taming of those forces.

8.10 It is a happy augury that this Conference is showing such preoccupation with the fate of the underdeveloped, and especially the newly liberated countries. A great statesman has said that no country can long remain half slave and half free. That dictum holds equally true for the world. It cannot remain half free and half slave - slave to ignorance, disease and poverty. Directly or indirectly, this insidious form of slavery of the other half will drag into misery and disorder the half that considers itself free.

8.11 As one of the newly independent countries after the last world war, my country feels it is in a position to understand and to sympathize with the problems of these sister States. We have experienced

the joys as well as the birth pains of freedom, and we are experiencing the growing pains of independence. Thus, for instance, when the distinguished leader of one of the African States mentioned the problem of the tendency of the educational system to produce people who wanted only white-collar jobs, the complaint had a familiar ring to us Filipinos. And when the distinguished spokesman of Tanganyika bewailed the lack of teachers in his country, I was reminded of the time when over fifty years ago, as a mere child of ten and only in the fifth grade, I was recruited as a public school teacher for our newly established public school system. Now fifty years later, we have 125,000 teachers in the public schools alone - all university or normal college graduates giving instruction to five million pupils.

8.12 We now devote thirty per cent of our national budget to educational purposes which, I think, is one of the highest percentages devoted for this purpose among Member States. But we are still campaigning to put through Congress an additional special tax for the schools, in spite of the fact that next year will be an election year and additional taxation is not a popular issue during elections. I hope that we shall be able to exchange experiences with our friends in Tanganyika and, perhaps, make a modest contribution to the solution of their problem of lack of teachers. Incidentally, during the last few years, we have launched what we have called "Operation Brotherhood" in our country under which we have sent a contingent of trained doctors and nurses to our sister nations, Laos and South Viet-Nam.

8.13 It may come as a surprise to many people that we have between two and three thousand physicians working in the hospitals in the United States and an equal number of trained nurses - the largest foreign contingent of doctors and nurses in that country. While our physicians and nurses are helping in hospital work in the United States they are also learning the latest techniques in hospital practice, and the impact of this experience has also shown us some important flaws in our medical training which we are hastening to correct. Reciprocally, we have received valuable aid in our educational work from a number of Member States - the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Spain.

8.14 In the field of cultural exchange, last year, we sent a troupe of Filipino dancers and musicians called the "Bayanihan" or "Togetherness" to Europe and the United States. The enthusiastic reception they received everywhere, and also in this beautiful city of Paris, has encouraged us to repeat the enterprise next year, when it is hoped that they will visit Latin America, Africa and Australia.

8.15 It is in this spirit of mutual co-operation and helpfulness, of sympathy and understanding, that those gathered together in this Conference may eventually bring about that dream of lasting peace and of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

8.16 I feel my remarks would be incomplete if, after giving testimony to our solidarity with the Afro-Asian nations by virtue of the imperatives of geography, race and history, and also of our solidarity with the English-speaking community, whose language we have adopted and from whose culture we have liberally borrowed, I did not say a few words of greeting to the Spanish-speaking community of some 23 nations here represented, to whom we are also attached by close cultural ties and historical associations and by the language that we speak in common.

8.17 (Translation from the Spanish):

I cannot end this short speech without taking the opportunity of reaffirming our solidarity with the community of Spanish-speaking peoples. The fact that I have addressed this assembly in English in no way implies that we have lost interest in or enthusiasm for the Spanish language and culture which unites us with the countries of Latin America and with Spain.

8.18 Although geographically we are meeting somewhat far from our countries and although the fluctuations of world politics have in a way separated us from you, these cultural bonds have not weakened but, on the contrary, are becoming increasingly closer. In recent years legislation has been passed in my country making the teaching of Spanish in schools compulsory and a draft resolution is now being submitted to this Conference for the establishment of a Centre of Hispanic Culture in the Philippines, which I hope will receive your valued support.

8.19 I should like to repeat once again that neither the great oceans separating us nor the imperatives of world politics can weaken the cultural links uniting us.

9. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. Stefan Wierblowski, President of the Polish National Commission, member of the Executive Board and Head of the delegation of Poland.

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

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is the custom of our Organization - and an excellent one - for the General Conference to make an assessment of the general situation in which we have to decide on our activities for the next two years. In this way, every delegation can give its views on Unesco's immediate tasks and objectives. While the essential objectives and tasks are defined in the Constitution of Unesco, their implementation, the proportion to be allotted to the various activities in the programme, the way in which these tasks are tackled, obviously depend on the general situation and the positive needs of the moment.

10.2 The special feature of Unesco activity, what makes it different from the other international organizations, is primarily the fact that we are concerned with the minds of men, with the development of their attitudes and actions, so that they shall conform to the spirit of international understanding, of reinforcing everything that promotes science, culture and art throughout the world and also that they shall oppose everything which endangers these cultural assets. In his report, the Director-General has described what has been done for this purpose in the past. What course, then, should our activities take now and in the future? How should we elaborate, interpret and then put into practice the programme and budget we are about to adopt?

10.3 The vital problem facing all mankind, the problem governing all our acts, is that of peace. The threat of total destruction that would follow a nuclear war is now so obvious as to pass unmentioned. It is

however so terrible and, alas, so real a threat that it demands redoubled vigilance. More particularly, it demands the vigilance of those who, on behalf of their countries, are active in the spread of education, science and culture at the international level. For it is a mortal threat to the values we have been officially appointed to safeguard.

10.4 Logic dictates the only radical solution that can free us of this constant anxiety; it is complete and general disarmament. If various solutions are possible for some other problems, this problem has only one; of that there can be no doubt.

10.5 To desire general disarmament is to desire to arrive at the true meaning of coexistence. Coexistence does not merely mean the existence side by side of States with different economic and political systems. This is an unquestionable fact of our time. But what is important is that their coexistence shall be peaceful, i.e. that they give up the use of armed force as an argument in the inevitable differences and contradictions arising between them. It is essential that their opposition and disagreement remain at the ideological level, that the arguments used be restricted to ideological arguments and that the use of physical force and military violence be resolutely renounced. If this solution - the only realistic solution of the objective situation in which we are placed - is valuable for everyone, how much more valuable it is for men of science and culture, for those who are honoured with the task of defending mankind's most precious cultural values.

10.6 It is sometimes argued that this is a matter for politicians, that the task falls within the terms of reference of other organizations, more particularly the United Nations, and that it is no concern of Unesco. Yes and no. While it is obviously not our Organization's duty to decide on war or peace, on disarmament, it is its duty, on the other hand, to act on the minds of men so as to make them more aware of the need to concentrate their efforts for peace and general disarmament. Naturally there are different opinions even among us here. We represent different governments, different systems and consequently different political ideas.

10.7 But no one can object if our Organization comes out fully in favour of peace and if, to the full extent of its means, it promotes the desire for peace in the minds of men. We therefore consider it regrettable that the General Conference has decided against discussing the implications of the problem of disarmament on the activities of Unesco.

10.8 What in the minds and hearts of men is opposed to the idea of disarmament? Inter alia, there are certain positive, deliberate and controlled, or merely even tolerated, acts which serve the idea of revenge and militarism wherever, on the contrary, efforts are needed to eliminate from the minds of men these tendencies towards militarism, revenge and their consequences.

10.9 We Poles are particularly sensitive to anything that testifies to the revival of militarist and revengeful trends in the Federal Republic of Germany. We find daily evidence of this in the statements made by the leaders of that country, by the members of its government, by its politicians, in its press and periodicals, and even in school textbooks. Against our will, history has made us specialists in German nationalism and militarism and therefore our voice, which has recently been raised very often on this subject, merits special attention. The danger we are referring to is not directed against us only. It threatens us all, it threatens the principles on which human relationships should be based, the principles which are the very foundation of our Organization and, finally, it threatens the German people themselves and everything that is truly great about them. If it is our Organization's duty to declare war on war in the minds of men, it cannot overlook facts which prove that there are men who, on ground where the traces of militarism and the spirit of revenge have not yet been rooted out, are ready to sow new seeds of war propaganda - such as arguments for the so-called "peaceful" revision of the Western frontiers of my country, arguments which assume atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr.

10.10 Our concern in this regard is shared not only by the German Democratic Republic, with which we entertain friendly relations, but also by a large number of the citizens of the Federal Republic. We are therefore convinced that we can establish future conditions of good neighbourliness and friendship with the German people as a whole.

10.11 Since I have touched on a problem particularly near our hearts, I should like to say a few words on the basic principles of Polish foreign policy. It is based on the firm will to establish with other countries relations of co-operation and friendship founded on respect for each other's sovereignty and equality, whatever differences there may be in their historical development, their national traditions, their racial and religious make-up, their social institutions and, more particularly, their social, economic and political systems.

10.12 How are such relations to be established? This demands a mutual effort and negotiations to eliminate all the factors of the cold war - in other words, to put an end to the armaments race, to the "balance of fear". The armaments race must be replaced by the race for welfare, by a competition for the creation of better conditions for the development of mankind and the unceasing development of the individual in every field - i.e. a situation where the promotion of science and culture will be a matter of honour for every country. Our conception is to replace the "balance of fear" by the harmonious development of mankind, and this does not exclude but implies ideological discussion and argument.

10.13 At the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Gomulka, on behalf of the Polish delegation, proposed the freezing of nuclear weapons, so that they should not be extended to new States and not lead to "faits accomplis" in that sphere. New launching sites must not be constructed either in one's own country or in others. Consequently, new nuclear bases on foreign territory must not be established.

10.14 As you know, in 1957 the Polish Government had already proposed the setting up of a nuclear free zone in Central Europe. The final version of this project, known as the "Rapacki Plan", took into account proposals made by various other countries. Poland continues to support this plan today, in addition to similar plans for the Balkans and the Far East which were proposed later. We also support a

similar plan for Africa, proposed by the President of Ghana. Naturally, the objective of these proposals should not in our opinion replace the plan of complete and general disarmament. They should, on the contrary, open the road to that idea, so dear to all the peoples of the world, which is to prevent the architects of the cold war from turning it, whether consciously or unconsciously, into a hot war.

10.15 We consider that the proposals of the Soviet delegation at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly may make an important contribution to the future of the world, and we support them.

10.16 With regard to spheres which are of even closer interest to Unesco, we were particularly interested in the proposals submitted to the United Nations by President Nkrumah of Ghana for the setting up of a committee of scientific experts to study the possibilities of using for peaceful purposes all sources of energy and technical discoveries which are now used only for military purposes. For its part, Poland proposed the establishment, under United Nations auspices, of a committee of scientists of various countries for the purposes of studying the possible consequences of the use of nuclear weapons on human life and health, on world economic conditions, on culture and on civilization.

10.17 We consider that the co-operation and the discussions to which I have referred may, for example, take place within all international organizations whose structure corresponds to the present structure of the world. We attach great importance to the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, more particularly Unesco. Poland is therefore trying to implement, over as wide a field as possible, the various activities included in the Unesco programme. It enlists the interest of all Polish circles active in eduction, science and culture, and a large number of activities related thereto have been undertaken. I shall not go further into this subject, as we shall have an opportunity of referring to it in other organs of the Conference.

10.18 Mr. President, fellow delegates, we have been happy to welcome among us the delegations of the countries which have just won their independence and thrown off the yoke of colonialism. We shall be welcoming still more of these in the years to come. However, it is our moral duty not only to welcome with joy those who have become free but also to assist those who are not yet free to bring their hour of liberation nearer.

10.19 We also know that the mere fact of independence does not mean that all the tragic consequences of colonialism, the true picture of which only appears on the morrow of independence, have disappeared in the former colonies. While responsibility for colonialism rests upon certain countries only, responsibility for decolonization, in the widest sense, lies with all nations of the world - as much with those which possessed or still possess colonies as with those which have never had any. At the same time, this responsibility is incumbent upon the United Nations and on Unesco within the limits of its terms of reference. The example of the Congo shows clearly enough how difficult decolonization is, how the mobilized interests of the colonizers may paralyse and hinder the achievement of genuine independence, the negative balance sheet left by colonialism in the countries which it is forced to give up and which, through its fault, are deprived of trained officials in the key spheres of administration and community life. I repeat that, while only some countries are responsible for this state of affairs, it is the duty of us all to help improve the situation, to meet impartially the needs of the former colonies, and to do so immediately.

10.20 It is therefore clear that the Unesco programme for the next two years should be concentrated on the most pressing needs of the newly emergent countries, particularly those of Africa, in education, science, culture and technical assistance. If we have become used to saying that this session is the session of Africa, that is not only because the young African countries have joined Unesco in such large numbers, but principally because the needs of these countries claim the attention of every chapter in Unesco's programme. It is obvious that these new African members of our Organization must begin by defining their respective needs and describing the type of aid they would like. But many endeavours of other countries in this connexion show how much behindhand we are and how urgent are Africa's needs.

10.21 The Polish delegation has submitted two draft resolutions, one on the conservation of the cultural heritage of the African countries and the other on the contribution to be made to the training of scientists and technicians in countries undergoing rapid development. We are convinced that these two resolutions will answer the needs of the countries of Tropical Africa - as the address of the delegate of Guinea to this gathering seems to show - and will obtain the support of the General Conference.

10.22 The example of the Congo makes it possible to see how and in what ways an international organization must act so as to avoid mistakes like those committed to the disadvantage of the Congolese people and their legal government headed by Mr. Lumumba. Therefore, our delegation, while fully supporting the Director-General's proposed programme of aid to Tropical Africa in general and the Congo in particular, draws attention to the fact that this activity should comply with the needs defined by the countries themselves, in conformity with the principles of impartial aid, respect for national sovereignty and the legality of the government institutions of these countries. We should also like to express our deepest sympathy with Cuba in its struggle to consolidate its independence and with the problems that beset it in that connexion.

10.23 I now come to a question which has, alas, become traditional in our discussions, namely, the question of the participation of the People's Republic of China. I said "alas" because it is something for us to be ashamed of. It is obvious to anyone at all that none of the problems facing mankind today can be solved without the participation of a country which is in fact a continent and contains almost a quarter of the world's population. The absurdity is altogether too flagrant, when we are asked to believe that China is represented, when all we have here is a handful of politicians belonging to the Chiang Kai-shek group, who represent no one but themselves.

10.24 If the principle of universality, which is the reason for our Organization's existence, is not to

remain merely a phrase in our Constitution but is to become a living reality, we must admit to our Organization all those States which are carrying out on their own territory large-scale activities conforming to our objectives in education, science and culture, all those States which are prevented from joining our Organization by the erection of artificial barriers against them. I am thinking now of the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Mongolian People's Republic.

10.25 The principle of universality also requires that the General Conference shall lower the similar barriers blocking the way to the great democratic international non-governmental organizations. Indeed, the programmes and activities of these organizations conform to the tasks and aims of Unesco. Their co-operation with Unesco is one of the conditions of the truly universal nature of our Organization.

10.26 Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Polish delegation approves in principle the budget ceiling voted by the General Conference. But we consider it necessary to comment on this subject.

10.27 We have on very many occasions pointed out that the proper working of our Organization depends on a fair geographical distribution in the Unesco machine as a whole. Progress towards the solution of this problem is very slow and must be given an impetus. It has been made still more acute by the arrival of new Member States, particularly those of Africa. The Polish delegation considers this is a question of particular importance to the future activity of our Organization.

10.28 With regard to our Organization's budget, there is one vital problem, namely, Unesco's very limited resources in relation to the tasks it should perform. When we realize that a mere thousandth part of the sums now spent on armaments is seven times larger than the total budget of our Organization, we see the senseless situation in which we are placed. However that may be, we need funds so that Unesco's activities can be improved. We can only obtain more if we can show that they will be used rationally. To win the battle to increase our Organization's budget - and without doing so its work will always be restricted - we must improve its machinery, we must show that the funds we obtain will not be used to increase administrative expenditure but really to expand Unesco's operations. The question of administrative costs should once again be carefully examined. What we must seek is to improve Unesco's activities to the maximum, to use its funds to the best possible purpose so as to finance the essential activities of this Organization in which we all place such high hopes and which we wish the greatest success.

11. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon Mr. Lund, President of the National Commission for Unesco and Head of the delegation of Sweden.

12.1 Mr. LUND (Sweden):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish first to stress the great interest taken by the Swedish Government in the work of Unesco, especially in that part of the programme which concerns the developing countries. I do so the more readily, since Sweden has no interest of its own to look after, either in Africa or in Asia. My Government considers it very important that Unesco's efforts be concentrated to a still greater extent upon the tasks in these countries and that other activities, if possible, be postponed so as to divert more money to these urgent needs. By voluntary contributions, the Swedish Government and the Swedish people are giving large sums through various United Nations agencies and bilateral arrangements to bring about better social, economic, cultural and educational conditions in the countries concerned, and they are ready to continue and to increase their contribution. Nor, in speaking of voluntary contributions to developing countries, should we forget what the Christian missionaries have done in the field of education. Had it not been for the Christian missionary schools, the educational situation in the Congo and in Africa as a whole would have been still worse than it is today.

12.2 In his proposed programme and budget, the Director-General has presented many fine and well thought out programmes for Africa which have our fullest support, as has the special Unesco aid to the Congo within the framework of the civilian operations of the United Nations. This kind of action, concrete and solid, which is also inspired by strong sympathy for those in need, can arouse active interest in Unesco's work among the broad masses in our countries. Such stimulation of public interest is most necessary, and also helps to inspire the confidence in Unesco's work within the Departments of Finance in our respective countries which is sometimes even more necessary.

12.3 One cannot, however, inspire confidence in Unesco by merely proposing and voting lump sums of millions or less, for no specific purpose, as additions to an otherwise well thought out budget, as has been done at this Conference. I well remember a session of the General Conference, not many years ago, when exactly this way of dealing with the budget ceiling was characterized by a very respected delegate, now holding - and rightly so - a very high post in the Executive Board, as adolescent. At this Conference, this same adolescent and irresponsible way of handling budget matters has been transformed into and elevated to the status of the highest and finest statesmanship.

12.4 I do think, Mr. President, that we must avoid using Unesco's budget as a propaganda platform in a race to win the sympathies of new Member States, be it in Africa or elsewhere, just as we should cease to use Unesco as a propaganda platform for political ideas and aims. I do not wish to give the impression that we are unwilling to play our part. On the contrary, as I said before, we want the Director-General and his staff to think out and plan a long-range programme for education in the developing countries, and the rôle Unesco is to play in this programme, and to present it, with all its financial implications, to the General Conference. I am sure that he will be given our support for any such programme, for what the Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom said the other day is true; the taxpayer in every country is prepared to pay for education, be it of his own children or the children of others.

12.5 As regards the international campaign for the safeguarding of the monuments of Nubia, the Swedish delegation has presented a draft resolution. This is only one proof of the interest this imaginative project has aroused in my country; as you know, our King has taken a special interest in the plan, and has also used his personal authority to promote it. Therefore we are anxious that both countries that are affected by the plan, although their circumstances may vary, should have the same opportunity to make use of the possibilities created by the international campaign. We find it essential that the panel of experts appointed by the Sudanese Government should also receive the assistance of Unesco. Further, we strongly urge the Director-General to set up a small international committee of experts to advise him on the co-ordination and execution of the operations. It seems to us quite obvious that Unesco must be responsible for the use of the financial resources and equipment that may result from the international campaign. It is also necessary to give advice as to what sort of help seems most profitable at a given moment, whether this help should go in the first place to the United Arab Republic or to Sudan, and whether, under certain given circumstances, it should be used for the safeguarding of stationary monuments or for archaeological excavations. We must arrive at a clear definition of Unesco's position and responsibility in this very important matter, so that the plan will work smoothly when it is finally implemented.

12.6 In passing, Mr. President, I should like to stress that in the planning of the programmes for Africa we should not forget our previous long-range projects, especially the East-West Major Project, which may otherwise be overlooked at this session of the General Conference.

12.7 I shall also say a few words about Unesco's activities in the educational field, especially in adult education. The Swedish delegation has studied the adult education programme with special interest. Sweden holds the opinion that adult education should occupy a much larger part of Unesco's programme than has been the case during the life of our Organization. It is our conviction that adult education activities are an absolute prerequisite for the development of democratic societies, and this is true both of less developed societies and of more advanced countries. For in all countries there are people who in their younger days did not enjoy the educational opportunities they ought to have had, and who have to compensate this at a later period in their lives. This means a broadening of the ground from which the leaders of the country are to be recruited - I am not speaking exclusively of political leaders. In a democratic society this is most necessary, so that the leadership of a country will not be limited to a small group of people who in their youth had the privilege of a higher education.

12.8 The first draft programme for the forthcoming period did not confirm our hopes. The adult education programme in this first draft was - if I may say so - as usual presented without imagination or any real conception of the rôle that such activities should rightly play within Unesco. We were somewhat relieved when we received the Addendum and Corrigendum; I might go so far as to say that we were impressed by the serious and rapid consideration given by the Director-General to the resolutions and results of the World Conference on Adult Education, held in Montreal in August, which is reflected in these documents. I shall not go into details but we find with great satisfaction that the allocations have been considerably raised, and that the Secretariat has given up its resistance to the consultative committee on adult education, and that there will be more possibilities for co-operation with non-governmental organizations, which in this field play an all-important rôle. This does not infer that the Swedish delegation is satisfied with the position that adult education is now to be given within Unesco's programme and we hope that in planning the next programme the Director-General will find possibilities of raising the sums considerably. We also hope that the Hamburg Institute will be incorporated in the adult education programme of research work in a field where already the scientists of the United States have made so many contributions of such outstanding quality.

12.9 I regret that I cannot conclude this part of my speech without making one more very strong point on behalf of the Swedish delegation. It is with the greatest apprehension that we find that the organizational problems of the Education Department have not yet been solved. For years this Department has been suffering from the lack of a strong competent Director. We fear that the improved programme for adult education and the work of the Department as a whole will not be successfully carried out unless they are directed by persons of high competence, both as educationalists and as administrators.

12.10 This leads me to the last problem with which I shall deal. Much has been said at this Conference about administration and the administrative costs of Unesco, and proposals for severe cuts have been put forward. It is always difficult to discuss questions of this kind, but there are some facts which one cannot avoid noticing when studying the administration of Unesco. At the last General Conference, Unesco had here in Paris one Director-General and two Assistant Directors-General. Now we have here in Paris one Director-General, one Deputy Director-General and three Assistant Directors-General, and we are informed, much to our astonishment, that the Director-General is canvassing for a fourth Assistant Director-General. If administration and administrative costs at every level of our Organization are looked upon in this - shall I say - generous way, it is easily understandable that administrative costs grow rapidly. It is also imperative in an organization like Unesco, that the Director-General have an intimate and personal knowledge of the work of the Secretariat, and it is therefore dangerous for him to surround himself with an insulating and protective group of Deputy and Assistant Directors-General.

12.11 Our delegation, therefore, is very much in favour of a proposal contained in a draft resolution put forward by several States requesting an analysis of the operations of the Secretariat to be based on surveys and management studies carried out by experts. But I must emphasize that the responsibility rests also with the Chairman and the members of the Executive Board, who will need to follow the development of the administrative costs most carefully. Much could be said, I think, for a proposal put

forward by the Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cut down the administrative costs by a certain percentage. To cut down costs for a given amount of work by a given percentage is a method very often used both in private and public enterprise. I do not know whether this method is applicable here, and I am very anxious to state that my criticism does not imply a criticism of the Secretariat as a whole. Anyone who knows something of the work of the Secretariat also knows that the overwhelming majority of its members are capable, energetic and hard working men and women.

12.12 Mr. President, on another point I do not agree with the distinguished Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I refer to his proposal to replace the post of the Director-General by an executive body of three, one of whom should come from the group of neutral countries, and to divide the Executive Board into three groups, one representing the neutral countries. This pattern, I understand, would also be followed in building up the whole Secretariat. The least that could be said of this proposal is that it would certainly not reduce the administrative costs of our Organization. But apart from any such consideration, this classification not only has no foundation in the Constitution of Unesco but runs directly counter to its very spirit. Were the officers of the Secretariat to be recruited on the basis suggested, they would automatically appear to be dependent on influences and instructions from their respective groups, and would lose their character of international civil servants owing exclusive loyalty to Unesco and the United Nations. This would be a serious retrograde step and would have a very harmful effect on our Organization.

12.13 It might be argued that when our Constitution speaks of recruitment "on as wide a geographical basis as possible", its authors had in mind some kind of groupings along the suggested lines, but that is certainly not the case. Geographical balance in personnel recruitment is one thing, and a good thing at that; classification according to ideological or military affiliations is quite another thing, and it should be rejected. It is true of course, that some countries have gathered together to form military alliances. But why should these groupings be construed as guiding the behaviour of these countries in non-military affairs? And what basic characteristics can be said to be common to all the countries in different parts of the world grouped together in the so-called "neutralistic" bloc?

12.14 We in Sweden do not belong to any military bloc, and our social and economic structure is not patterned on that of any other country or group of countries. Nevertheless we have close and cordial relations with many countries who do belong to military alliances and to groups with a common ideological outlook, just as we have very friendly relations with many countries outside such alliances and groups. We certainly do not feel and act as members of a coherent third group, labelled "neutral" or "neutralistic".

12.15 The division of the world according to the concept of three groups is, in our view, artificial. Moreover, were it to be accepted, it might do actual harm to the structure of Unesco by forcing groups of countries to act in an identical way, each according to the pattern of its group, and it might deepen the already existing differences between such groups. As we see it, Unesco is organized to serve the peace of all individual countries and of the world. This aim should be sought by constant efforts to achieve co-operation and increase confidence between all nations.

12.16 Mr. President, I have thought it necessary to argue at some length in order to point out the fallacy and, indeed, the danger of the three group concept. This does not mean, of course, that the Swedish delegation is wholly satisfied with the geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat. We sincerely hope that the efforts to recruit personnel on a broader geographical basis will be actively pursued. But in doing so, let us uphold the principle of independent international civil servants. This is the one condition on which Unesco can survive.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.R.H. Princess Souvanna Phouma, Head of the delegation of Laos.

14.1 H.R.H. Princess Souvanna PHOUMA (Laos) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, fellow delegates, the delegation of Laos is particularly happy to add its tribute to those with which the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco has again opened this year. In addition to the satisfaction it gives me to express from this platform my approval of the results obtained in Laos, I have been given the honour of paying solemn tribute to the devotion of the expert Louis Chabert, who died for the noble cause of Unesco. His sacrifice will stand as an example of altruism to the young Laotians of tomorrow.

14.2 Apart from Louis Chabert, whose death cast a shadow over us at the beginning of this year, only a few weeks ago the distinguished representative of Mexico on the Executive Board passed away and Mr. Gaston Berger, of France, whose high moral and scientific authority gained the profound respect of everyone, lost his life in a tragic accident. I should like to express here, at Unesco, the profound sympathy of my Government.

14.3 Several experts have been sent to Laos under the Unesco programme of Technical Assistance, and the missions to our country, both under your predecessor, Mr. Director-General, and yourself, have always given us the moral and material aid for which we hoped. I should like to express my country's gratitude.

14.4 There is no question of our requesting Unesco to supply us with everything we need to implement our educational programmes. I should like to mention that, under the heading of cultural assistance, France is supplying us with the teaching staff we need for our secondary schools and universities. For their part, the United States of America, inter alia, has financed the construction of a university at Vientiane, and the United Kingdom, several of the Colombo Plan countries and private organizations have offered fellowships and teachers for the study of English.

14.5 In addition to this aid already granted, the contribution of Unesco is extremely valuable in

accelerating the rate of education of our children. I say "accelerating" because it must be admitted that since the disaster of the last war we are obliged to live at a rate to which we were little accustomed in the colonial period.

14.6 Colonialism has come under heavy fire and is still being attacked. I do not want to speak at length on this difficult and painful topic. But too much has been said both about this and about the cold war at this session for me to be able to pass over these two new items that have been introduced into our discussion.

14.7 It seems to me that the recent admission of our new colleagues to Unesco should have caused us to rejoice at the political independence their countries had just obtained rather than deliver a passionate and indiscriminate attack on a dying system which this gathering is unanimous in its desire to abolish. May I say, with due respect to the lofty aspirations expressed here, that the close and trustful relations which still exist between France and my country may be convincing proof that the colonial powers have not always been merely oppressors. And what is true of France and Laos may certainly be true of other countries. Those of my listeners who know that I went into voluntary exile for three years before we obtained the independence so dear to us will not doubt my sincerity in this regard.

14.8 We fully approve the Report on the Activities of the Organization, which shows, if there were any need to do so, the success and greatness of your mission, Mr. Director-General.

14.9 The words of the distinguished speakers preceding me on this platform confirm my belief that generosity - the keystone of our Organization - will finally prevail over world dissension.

14.10 For how can we doubt the success of our undertaking when every year our great family becomes bigger and stronger? I should like to express the cordial welcome of my Government to the new Member States.

14.11 Inspired by the same faith, by the same ideal to defend and disseminate culture throughout the world, I am convinced that we shall continue more than ever before, all of us together, to be that which unites and cements, removed from the political events of a restless and troubled world in which wisdom does not seem always to prevail, since some of us have even observed the cold war invading our midst.

14.12 Mr. President, fellow delegates, in this regard I should like to remind you of the famous parable of the great Indian poet and sage, the unforgettable Rabindranath Tagore, a parable which Laos has adopted as its own:

14.13 "A fool wandered the world in search of the philosopher's stone, his hair matted, weather beaten, covered in dust, his body reduced to a shadow, his lips as tightly set as the closed door of his heart, his eyes burning like the lamp of a glow-worm seeking its mate.

In front of him boomed the vast ocean.

The murmuring waves told of the treasures hidden beneath them and mocked the ignorant fool who could not understand them.

He, without hope or rest, continued the search that had become his life.

Like the ocean which eternally rises towards the heavens to attain the inaccessible;

Like the stars which turn in their orbits, striving for an aim unreached;

So, on the deserted shore, the fool, his wild hair thick with dust, wandered in search of the philosopher's stone.

One day, a little village boy came up to him and asked: 'How did you find that golden chain, which is tied round your waist?'

The fool started; the chain, once of iron, had turned to gold! He was not dreaming; how had the change come about?

He beat his brow. Where, oh where had his dream come true without his knowing?

It had been his habit to test the stones he picked up by knocking them against his chain, after which he had thrown them away mechanically, without looking to see if there had been any change.

And so it was that the poor fool had found and lost the philosopher's stone."

14.14 Mr. President, my dear colleagues, is not the whole of the world's culture ultimately that philosopher's stone of which the poet speaks? Let us know wherein our riches consist and guard them jealously. Let us not be so mad as to throw into the ocean of misunderstanding and discord this precious stone we have at last discovered.

14.15 For we too should certainly find it impossible to recover - and the frightened eye of the village child would look at us in dumb reproach.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H. E. Don Carlos Roberto Reina, Head of the delegation of Honduras.

16.1 Mr. REINA (Honduras) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, as delegate of the Government of the Republic of Honduras to this session of the General Conference, it gives me great pleasure to bring warm greetings to all the delegations here present and to the leading members of this international organization. In particular, we greet the new African nations who are now an integral part of Unesco and who have attained their independence after a long and painful period of colonization.

16.2 We all hope that these vigorous peoples from the African continent will take their rightful place among the peace loving nations.

16.3 On this platform of free men, it is always well to proclaim to the other nations working for the betterment of man that human egoism throughout history, the maintenance of privilege, the foolish belief in the existence of superior races or castes and indifference to the problems of others are the eternal causes of all the conflicts which have ultimately developed into war and the thousand and one barbarities of which man has been the victim since his appearance on the face of the earth.

16.4 With regard to the principal purpose of my speech today, let me begin by saying that criticism of the work done by this Organization should be considered as natural in any body consisting of men and not of mere ciphers obeying the orders of their chief.

16.5 In the execution of the work of a complex

organization, it is natural that there should be shortcomings, sometimes unnoticed by the administrative officials who are occupying their valuable time in the performance of tasks which logically direct the policy of a body with so many complex duties to perform. Well meant criticism is always welcome to men of good faith who are trying to bring to a successful conclusion tasks so exalted as those of Unesco. Honest criticism is the best assurance that an association will not limit itself to the merely formal discharge of its basic tasks, but will attempt to carry out its aims fully and more effectively.

16.6 Senior posts in international organizations should be entrusted to individuals of great understanding, who can see clearly that the problems of a small country, insignificant perhaps in the eyes of a great power, are just as important as the tremendous and intricate problems of the farthest developed countries.

16.7 A greater understanding such as I have broadly outlined will make it clear that educational experts, a considerable number of fellowships, appropriate welfare assistance, etc., are a great and imperative necessity for many countries which, through unfavourable historical circumstances, have not been able to advance in step with the world in which we live.

16.8 As the representative of a Latin American country, of that community of nations which is resolved to assume an important place in the international organizations now existing, I am highly gratified to note that my sister nations are treated in Unesco with all the respect due to them as independent States.

16.9 I also consider it timely to mention here that one of the basic concepts of this Organization, one of the principles of which Unesco should never lose sight - for that would mean the abandonment of its basic policy - set out in the Constitution agreed on in the capital of the Commonwealth, is the following: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". This universal truth is not understood by those who labour to construct in their own minds barriers of obscurantism which conceal it. Unesco's work for world peace will be most constructive if it campaigns with all vigour against discrimination, to abolish injustice and to raise men to a level of equality with their fellows by lighting the way to culture.

16.10 Mr. President, fellow delegates, in my country, in the Republic of Honduras, one of the five territories of the Central American isthmus, we need effective aid from this Organization. Our hopes are placed in it, so that we can continue the educational task to which we have applied ourselves with enthusiasm and devotion. Only then shall we be able to obtain satisfactory results in a short time, results which would be extremely difficult for us to achieve alone. By cherishing this idea, we believe we are exercising a solemn right, for we shall be enabled to bring culture, science and education to a part of our people who still lack them.

16.11 On the other hand, it would be a great pity if the absurd dissensions which have held the world in suspense were to spread to this assembly and if the great dangers lying in wait for mankind were to be magnified by words spoken from this forum of learning and education.

16.12 Let us forget for a moment the world in which we live and let us trust that blocs and rivalries may give way to efforts to solve the other problems afflicting our fellows.

16.13 Not being an expert in educational matters, I do not feel that I can accurately assess the work done by Unesco in recent years. However, from what we have been able to gather from the large array of documents listed in the agenda, we feel some confidence that that work has been efficient and that Unesco's labours are deserving of praise.

16.14 I am most grateful for this opportunity to express to you in all sincerity the views of my Government.

17. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the Director-General, Dr. Vittorino Veronese.

18.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to make a statement to this assembly, as I have already done to the General Committee of the Conference, with regard to the impossibility of my attending simultaneous meetings of several of the organs of the General Conference.

18.2 My first duty is to attend the plenary meetings and to listen to the addresses of the Heads of delegations, which are of the first importance to me, as I have tried to show by my daily presence.

18.3 Tomorrow, however, I shall have to be present at meetings of the Administrative Commission, which has asked me for certain personal statements and explanations.

18.4 I am taking the opportunity of saying this to you here, at a public meeting, and to apologize in advance to certain speakers who, I am sure, will not interpret my absence as a mark of disrespect. In any event, my representative will always be present to listen to their speeches and to inform me of their content, which, as you know, I am bound to take into full consideration. I hope that my absence will be as short as possible.

19. The PRESIDENT:

I now declare the meeting closed.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

EIGHTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

25 November 1960, at 10.40 a.m.

President: Mr. Mahmoud MESSADI (Tunisia)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued) 290

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The eighteenth plenary meeting of the General Conference is open. I call upon H.E. Mrs. Saunte, Head of the delegation of Denmark.

2.1 Mrs. SAUNTE (Denmark):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as Head of the Danish delegation I wish, on behalf of my Government, to express our appreciation of the planned expansion of Unesco's activities for the promotion of educational systems in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

2.2 Over the last few months the Prime Minister of Denmark has repeatedly promised, with the entire approval of all political parties, both in addresses to Parliament and on television, to double the financial resources which Denmark plans to devote to these types of activities. Our idea is to expand the Danish contribution through the channel of the United Nations, and the Specialized Agencies, as well as on a purely bilateral basis. Denmark is particularly interested in the planning of school curricula aimed at improving international understanding. We are similarly interested in teacher training as related both to elementary and secondary schools, and to adult education.

2.3 The Danish delegation further wishes to emphasize the need for the expansion and better co-ordination of Unesco's activities in the field of adult education. This programme activity is at present entrusted to seven different sections or Departments. In our view, one single person should be made responsible for ensuring more effective co-ordination and for seeing to it that adult education includes in its scope both men and women, and the young as well as the old. In most developing countries, the education of parents must be considered a prerequisite to ensure children's - and more particularly girls' - school attendance, and women living in rural areas particularly need training in home economics, hygiene, etc.

2.4 It is also thanks to adult education that, in our technically developed countries, it has become possible to bring to "isolated people" the benefits and advantages of our social system, thereby associating such people more closely with the rest of the community. This activity is of special importance to young people.

2.5 The East-West Conference organized last summer in Copenhagen under the auspices of Unesco, and the Conference of the International Youth Science Fortnight of World Friendship held last summer in England, the participants at which were young people of from sixteen to twenty years of age, demonstrated their great interest in international co-operation. There is little doubt that similar meetings ought to be held more frequently and that the assistance of both Member States and Unesco is required.

2.6 The Danish delegation wishes also to emphasize the importance of the Exchange of Persons programme and, in particular, workers' travel in Europe and on an intercontinental basis. We are pleased to see that a new programme activity is devoted to travel of women and it is our earnest hope that the budgetary provision for this may be increased. The travel of leaders of women's organizations among the various African Member States is of particular importance.

2.7 Furthermore I should like to draw your attention to the importance of exchange visits of young people, from home to home, on an international basis: by visits in private homes young people get a much more real opportunity of knowing each other through first-hand experience than they do by means of normal tourism. It is our hope that Unesco and the Member States will lend their support to this activity.

2.8 Finally I should like to emphasize, on behalf of the Danish delegation, that it is of paramount importance that the general direction of Unesco and its Secretariat operate as efficiently and as smoothly as possible. The General Conference is a show-case vis-à-vis the delegates, and their impression of Unesco working methods and efficiency is an element of decisive importance when National Commissions are advocating the cause of Unesco before parliament and public opinion. In our view the General Conference is too heavily committed in advance to the proposed programme and budget; in the light of the actual Conference procedure, it is almost impossible to introduce amendments of any significance into the individual programme activities. One reason for this is that, should such amendments lead to an increase

in the corresponding budgetary provision, as is often desirable, it is necessary to make recommendations for corresponding savings elsewhere.

2.9 At the last session of the General Conference, the Executive Board and the Director-General were requested to make provision for a financial reserve destined to meet special proposals on which working parties or the Programme Commission might draw. I am sorry to discover that this request has not been followed up. However, thanks to the proposal made by the delegation of the United States, it seems that this plan may materialize at least in one particular field.

2.10 Most delegates are very busy people who in their home countries are used to taking decisions with far-reaching implications, each within his particular field of competence. From a delegate's point of view, it is not very satisfactory to spend several weeks at the General Conference merely to achieve minor results on points of detail. The Danish delegation would be pleased to co-operate in a scheme to make recommendations for the simplification of working methods and procedures, for example, in respect of the preparation of the budget and programme. We recommend emphatically that the period of time - theoretically six weeks - allotted to national delegations for the consideration of draft resolutions, be not further reduced. It is imperative that draft resolutions be transmitted for comment to the relevant national institutions before the delegations leave their countries to attend the General Conference; but as I remember it, only 28 draft resolutions out of a total of about 170 were actually received by the Danish delegation before it left for Paris.

2.11 At the last session of the General Conference, in Delhi, a resolution was adopted expressing satisfaction in respect of the considerable improvement of working methods and procedures as compared with those adopted at previous sessions, thanks in particular to the establishment of working parties in all fields of Unesco activities. Accordingly, it was recommended that working groups in the same fields be established also at the eleventh session of the General Conference. Actually at this session, working groups have been established in only a limited number of fields. It is to be strongly regretted that the provisional agenda of the Conference sent to us in advance did not specify in which fields of activities working groups would be established, nor did it mention the time-table for these working groups. This change in working methods is deprecated by the Danish delegation because it is of particular importance (for smaller delegations which cannot afford to keep a big staff of experts in Paris for the whole duration of the Conference) that we should be able to assign in advance to each member of the delegation specific tasks and to plan the correlated timing. It is therefore our earnest hope that the previous working methods will be re-established in future.

2.12 Although it is the General Conference which, according to the Constitution, determines the general orientation of the programme, the Danish delegation wishes to support the tendency towards delegating to the Executive Board more responsibility in determining the policies and the main lines of work of Unesco, on the understanding that in turn the Executive Board will increase the competence of the Director-General and allow him greater scope.

2.13 The draft resolution submitted at the present session of the General Conference, recommending a simplification of procedures relating to the admission of non-governmental organizations, is considered a step in the right direction, and is noted with satisfaction.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call up H.E. Dr. Pons, Head of the delegation of Uruguay.

4.1 Mr. PONS (Uruguay) (Translation from the Spanish): Mr. President, fellow delegates, ours is a country with a western outlook, education and culture. We belong entirely to the civilization of the West by virtue of the heritage and teaching of our forefathers, the spirit and inclination of the present generation, and our own particular disposition. The West is the essence of our being. Consequently, the goal of our upbringing, education and culture is Man - with a conscience, a mind and a spirit which should never be frustrated, but helped, developed and ennobled. It is the western concept or belief that Man died on the Cross for the sake of men, and not that the masses should kill the individual for the sake of the masses.

4.2 We consider that the best possible atmosphere for the spiritual development of the individual is that of freedom, with the rights and duties prescribed by law. Our society is modelled on the old Roman system - "Imperium et libertas". Within the limits of the law, the rights of the individual are regarded as sacred: the right to life, to fair trial, to freedom of conscience and religion, to freedom of thought and expression, to freedom of the press, to freedom of assembly and association, to elections by universal suffrage, and the right to found a family and to own property.

4.3 The principles I have mentioned, which are guaranteed by our political and social organization, explain the attitude we have adopted towards the problem of colonialism which has been raised here. Like all the countries of Latin America, we are against any kind of colonialism. Therefore, we regard with genuine enthusiasm and sympathy the independence attained by the new nations of Africa, whose incorporation in this Organization, whether as Member States or as Associate Members, we welcome. But, while we are against the traditional concept of colonialism, we are also against a new and broader concept of the same phenomenon, reflected in the suppression of freedom, the colonization that some political or ideological systems impose on their own citizens. This is contrary to universal culture because it is contrary to the human spirit. If this question were to be fully discussed - although here, in the General Conference of Unesco, is not the appropriate place - we should have liked it to cover not only the traditional concept, but the more general concept of human freedom.

4.4 We are seizing this opportunity to state our attitude towards the question raised. No single Latin American nation can claim the privilege of being anti-imperialist or anti-interventionist. All of us are, and all of us have testified to the fact in various

international agreements. Since their independence, the American Republics have guarded their sovereignty jealously and have rejected any kind of intervention, including ideological intervention, whenever it has been at variance with democratic western principles.

4.5 In Uruguay, education is free. Every father has the right to choose for his children such teachers and schools as he may deem appropriate. The State intervenes only in matters of health, morality, security and public order.

4.6 Government education, whether primary, secondary, higher, industrial, artistic or physical, is free and open to all, without any discrimination whatsoever. A child enters primary school at the age of six and can continue his education without incurring any expense, until he has qualified for a professional or industrial career. This has made it possible to achieve complete equality of opportunity; only abilities and talents vary.

4.7 In addition, State education has no religious bias and primary education has been compulsory since 1877. The State discharges its duties in this respect through the medium of an autonomous body which controls all the public schools and teachers' colleges throughout the country. With regard to private education, the State exonerates all private schools from taxation. With this extensive system, which covers everyone, the illiteracy rate is extremely low.

4.8 Uruguay is a country interested in every kind of educational innovation and trend; it experiments with the most advanced methods in its schools and all this is reflected in the capability of the teachers trained at its teachers' colleges. There are enough teachers available to satisfy the country's needs. What we require is more schools, but this is a problem which we shall try to solve alone.

4.9 Nor does the State lose interest in primary or secondary school pupils when they have completed their studies. The cultural activity of the Government is of benefit to the citizen at every stage of his life: it equips public libraries, installs and maintains free museums, sponsors the publication of specialized books and works of popularization, and helps the public to cultivate the arts by organizing exhibitions, concerts and popular entertainments. More particularly, it reaches its citizens through the many-sided activity of the official broadcasting service, whose programmes are strictly cultural in content. From the time when Uruguay became independent, its culture has been outstanding for its universality, which is characteristic of western culture and in line with the aims of Unesco.

4.10 Almost a quarter of the country's last general budget was set aside for cultural activities, and I should like to point out that the National Defence Budget is lower than that for primary education.

4.11 The striking feature of this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco is that it includes representatives of all the peoples and continents of the world. Almost a hundred countries belong to the Organization. They are composed of divers races, and their cultural, economic and social systems differ, as do their programmes and problems. The complexity and broad scope of Unesco's activities lead us to make a number of observations now that the Report of the Director-General is being discussed.

4.12 Firstly, in order that this Organization's splendid aims may be achieved, in order that its administration may be more effective and simpler, we wonder whether the time has not come to consider the desirability of decentralization on a regional or continental basis, while at the same time maintaining the unity of the Organization and not detracting from the general aims proclaimed by its founders.

4.13 Secondly, we consider that every effort should be made to keep politics in any shape or form out of Unesco. We admit that it is not easy to draw a dividing line between politics as such and economic, social or cultural affairs. Mankind is a unit and human problems cannot always be clearly classified. Nevertheless, it should be our aim - and this Organization is designed for the purpose - to see that the cultural aspect, which is universal, predominates in international relations, since it is this aspect that is most conducive to peace and international understanding.

4.14 Thirdly, the emphasis which the Conference and the Report of the Director-General have laid on the problem of education in Africa points to the spirit of solidarity informing the Organization and is in line with the principle of giving priority to those areas where primary education is most needed. This leads me, in speaking of the future - now that the past is already a reality - to observe that the countries which still exercise their dominion over others should do their utmost to meet the educational needs of the latter, so that, when they claim their independence, they will be in a position to exercise all their rights to the full, without running into the dangers to which ignorance would expose them.

4.15 The only historical justification for colonial expansion is the spiritual and cultural ideal for which it may have been striving. The Latin American nations attained their independence at a time when they had already reached a high level of cultural maturity. Many universities, libraries and cultural institutions were founded and functioned in America during the colonial period. The civilizing influence of Spain on our countries enabled us, in less than a century, to complete the main stages in our political development.

4.16 Fourthly, we have heard, during these debates, exaggerated demands for Unesco to solve every educational problem. We must agree that neither this nor any other international organization can be all-providing. Therefore, every country must strive to the utmost to exploit its own potentialities. Unesco's co-operation should be auxiliary, supplementing the work done by each country and inspired by belief in solidarity and determination to achieve it. To ask for anything else would be to reduce to nothing the lofty aims pursued by the Organization.

4.17 Fifthly, we have heard criticisms and doubts in the course of our meetings about the structure of Unesco and the functioning of its various services. These should be interpreted - and we have so interpreted them - as the expression of a general desire for the Organization's improvement. Some speakers have mentioned excessive officialdom. Although this may be a failing of modern States, Unesco should guard against it, but in a rational spirit. However, the laudable intention to correct this failing, which jeopardizes Unesco's financial position, should

neither hinder nor delay the natural development of its activities, so necessary in view of its constantly expanding objectives. We must leave it to the discretion of the Director-General and the Executive Board to see that our Organization does not become unduly bureaucratic.

4.18 Sixthly, Unesco must endeavour to extend the benefits of the impressive scientific discoveries of recent years to the entire world. For once the great secrets of matter and the universe are discovered, they cease to be the property of the discoverer or the country in which the discovery was made; they belong to the whole of mankind, which is entitled to take them as a basis for further research and to use them for its own welfare.

4.19 In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to express my country's full support for the aims and objectives of Unesco.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Professor Djoened Poesponegoro, delegate of Indonesia.

6.1 Mr. POESPONEGORO (Indonesia): Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is a great privilege to address this eleventh session of the Unesco General Conference on behalf of the Head of the Indonesian delegation who is due to arrive in Paris this afternoon and will comment later on the report of the Director-General.

6.2 We are gratified to note that this is an excellent report and describes an impressive number of activities which, in view of Unesco's limited budget, cannot be expected to be more extensive. The most impressive activities are, in our opinion, those which have been undertaken to meet the situation and new needs created by the accession to membership of this Organization of the newly independent African States.

6.3 The Indonesian delegation wishes, on behalf of the Indonesian Government, to convey a warm and cordial welcome to all those new members. Our delegation regrets, however, that up to the present we have had no opportunity to welcome the People's Republic of China as one of the new members. This is in contradiction with our Government's policy, for we hold the opinion that the People's Republic of China should have been admitted long ago to this international organization, particularly in view of its interest in, and the contribution it could make to, the educational and cultural fields.

6.4 Mr. President, if the Indonesian delegation makes certain remarks on the report of the Director-General, it has no intention of expressing less than its deep appreciation of this report.

6.5 As one of the so-called developing countries, we are very much interested in the activities of Unesco in the field of education, especially those for the promotion of the educational systems of the above-mentioned countries. We are gratified to note that surveys have been carried out to explore the educational needs of Tropical Africa, the Arab-speaking countries and Asia.

6.6 We in Asia can express our satisfaction concerning the results of the Regional Meeting of Representatives of Asian Member States on Primary and Compulsory Education held at Karachi and our approval of the Karachi Plan. We also support whole-heartedly the plan for Tropical Africa and the Arab-speaking countries. Our delegation is, however, of the opinion that Unesco should give more active assistance to these countries in implementing the above-mentioned plans. As an Asian country, we should like to see more concrete assistance given in order to develop primary education in Asia and our delegation would be grateful if a Major Project on primary education could be established for Asia.

6.7 Millions of Indonesian children were excluded from school education during the colonial period and this has been the cause of one of Indonesia's greatest problems today. I refer to the lack of qualified and skilled administrative and technical personnel.

6.8 The Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed in 1945 and, soon after the formal recognition of sovereignty at the end of 1949, our Government gave consideration to developing, as the first priority, a national primary education system open to all without discrimination. We are proud to state that during these last ten years success has been achieved in providing primary education at present to 8 million children, an increase of 6 million as compared with pre-war figures. Compulsory primary education has been introduced in Indonesia in 50 out of 300 regencies. According to our plan and under the system we are applying at present, we hope that compulsory education can be introduced in 1965 for the whole of Indonesia. We have in our country a sufficient number of teachers for these primary schools. The biggest problem facing us is the need for new school buildings, and the limited funds at our disposal to meet this need. For this reason, we sincerely hope that the establishment of the Unesco Regional School Building Centre in Bandung will help us to build new schools more efficiently and more cheaply.

6.9 Illiteracy in Indonesia has been reduced from 90% during the colonial period to 40% at present. The campaign against illiteracy and for adult education has been carried out more actively in Indonesia since 1950. Our country is, however, still in great need of assistance from Unesco in these fields, although we are far from denying the truth that Indonesia has received a considerable amount of aid from Unesco, chiefly for primary education.

6.10 The Indonesian Government has not neglected the needs in other branches of education - secondary and higher education, including scientific activities. Since these could not be covered entirely by Unesco's assistance, especially in the field of higher education, our Government has looked for help from other countries and other organizations, for example, the International Co-operation Administration of the United States of America, the Colombo Plan, the British Council, the Ford Foundation, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, and the World Health Organization. My experience as Dean of the Medical School, University of Indonesia, which has been affiliated with the University of California under sponsorship of the International Co-operation Administration during 1954-1960, has given us the highest assurance of the fruitfulness of such co-operation - co-operation between two countries of different culture. I have had the same experience as President of the University of Indonesia as

regards the affiliation between the School of Economics and the University of California, and between the School of Agriculture and of Veterinary Science with the University of Kentucky, respectively under sponsorship of the Ford Foundation and the International Co-operation Administration. These affiliations are still in operation.

6.11 The results achieved during the last ten years in education may be shown by the following statistics: There are now in Indonesia 38,000 primary schools with 8 million pupils; 5,500 secondary schools with 1.3 million pupils; 200 academies leading to a semi-university degree with 20,000 students; 20 State and private universities with 90 faculties and with 150,000 students. These figures mean an increase of four times as many pupils at the primary schools, ten times as many pupils at the secondary schools, and about 50 times as many students as compared with the pre-war figures.

6.12 Our activities in the scientific field which are co-ordinated by the Indonesian Council for Science are still receiving the most useful assistance from the Unesco Science Co-operation Office for South East Asia, which has its headquarters at Djakarta. This office makes Unesco book coupons available, but we should like to see the number increased.

6.13 I wish also to express my appreciation of the improvement in the recruitment of members of the Secretariat of Unesco as concerns geographical distribution. The number of countries now represented in the Secretariat has shown an increase as compared with two years ago. My country, for example, has now one representative after ten years of membership. We regret, however, that the representation of Asian and African cultures in the Secretariat is still minimal. Since it is our opinion that the Secretariat of Unesco should reflect all the cultures of the world in equal proportions, this lack of balance should be corrected, so that Unesco will be able to fulfil its universal mandate. We are convinced that the Director-General, who has already proven his sincerity in his endeavour to overcome the above-mentioned shortcoming, and to whom we would like to express our congratulations, will strive towards the universality which is our common goal.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Williams, Head of the delegation of Sierra Leone.

8.1 Mr. WILLIAMS (Sierra Leone):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I was not present at the eighth session of this General Conference held at Montevideo, Uruguay, six years ago; but on reading through the records of the proceedings of that memorable Conference - I say memorable because it was at that session that my country was admitted as an Associate Member of this Organization - I find that on an occasion similar to this one, our distinguished Chairman of the Executive Board, Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, then in an equally distinguished capacity as Head of the United Kingdom delegation, reminded the audience of an old story. It was the story of a man who married an aged widow with ten children and who confessed to his friend that there seemed to be little left for him to do! With his characteristic modesty, Sir Ben Bowen Thomas began by saying that, as he rose to his feet to participate in the debate of the Director-General's Report, which was then, as now, drawing to its close after so many speakers had aired their views, he and the remaining speakers felt that there was little left for them to say. I find myself, Mr. President, in an even worse position today; and, of course, I do not say this in the same spirit of modesty as did Sir Ben.

8.2 Permit me, however, Mr. President, since this is the first opportunity I have had to ascend this rostrum since you took the Chair, to associate the Government and people of Sierra Leone and myself with the warm greetings that have been extended to you from all sides of the floor of this assembly. You, sir, and indeed your great country, deserve this signal honour. And it is significant that 1960, which has come to be known as "Africa Year", saw an African as President of the General Conference of Unesco.

8.3 Permit me also to express, on behalf of the Government and people of my country, sincere condolence to the Governments and delegations of France and Mexico and to the families of Dr. Pedro de Alba and Mr. Gaston Berger. We will always remember them.

8.4 Nor should I now fail to express my delegation's gratitude to France for the generous hospitality accorded to us here.

8.5 To turn to the debate, Mr. President, I wish to say first of all that despite the sound observations made by many a speaker from this rostrum, which are all to the good of this great international Organization, not one of us here today can deny that within the last few years Unesco has been growing steadily in stature, although the rate of its growth and the nature of its development have given cause for considerable concern on the part of physicians and surgeons alike. But, with the marked new trend in favour of Tropical Africa, the Arab States and Asia projected in the Director-General's Report, one cannot but recognize the fact that the change in scope and design of Unesco's programmes reflects a welcome reversal of the position taken by some Member States in the past, when they argued that it "did not necessarily follow that because new Member States joined us, Unesco must expand its programme". This change from the old order is a tribute to the Organization and, no doubt, has been brought about as a result of exchanges in this great forum during the recent past.

8.6 Speaking at Fourah Bay College, the University College of Sierra Leone, at the opening session of a seminar organized by Sierra Leone's United Nations Student Organization, I expressed great concern at the intimation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations that increases in United Nations appropriations for Africa were likely to be very small indeed, and I made the point that the political momentum in Africa can be sustained only if it is matched by sustained and systematic developments in the educational and economic fields. You will therefore understand how delighted I am that the Director-General's Reports have not struck notes of pessimism; he and his overburdened staff of able assistants deserve our warmest congratulations.

8.7 I crave your indulgence to emphasize one

point, Mr. President: repeated requests from Africa and Asia for assistance in various forms should not be construed - as they appear to have been construed by some - to mean that countries from those areas merely take delight in playing the rôle of Oliver Twist. Our nations desperately need to lay solid foundations upon which we ourselves can each build in the future, increase our productivity, and improve our economy and our structure of government. For indeed with "the wind of change", Africa is trying to telescope into a few decades what other great countries, like our host, France, have accomplished by centuries of steady evolution. It is heartening that long before that memorable speech of Mr. Macmillan in South Africa, "the wind of change" had been reflected in the minds of great powers in Unesco and they have not begrudged us this momentum which the forces of circumstances and the impatience of the distressed minds of men in Africa have imposed relentlessly on the leaders of Africa.

8.8 Unesco can count on this; in this transformation we, in our turn, can contribute the best from the richness of our cultures, intellect and beauty towards the achievement of the goal to which Unesco is dedicated. Sierra Leone or "Lion Mountains", named after her mountains by Pedro de Cintra nearly five centuries ago, is a comparatively small country, but her virtues, I assure you, are not.

8.9 Perhaps the greatest and most difficult task before Unesco in 1960 is to devise, as reasonably as necessary, a way to disperse our scarce means in money, manpower and equipment, in the light of competing claims. The other day Sir David Eccles, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom, with the proverbial wisdom of David had his sling and stone in hand. He reminded us that in educational deficiency lay the greatest inequality between nations and that the rate of educational progress was out of scale with the Charter of the United Nations to which we are all committed. Let me say at once that my delegation is in full support of his proposal that this Conference, whilst hastening to record its appreciation of the awareness in the United Nations of the urgent need to increase the flow of international economic aid to the less developed countries like ours - an awareness so vividly and aptly demonstrated recently in the Assembly by Mr. Diefenbaker, the distinguished Prime Minister of Canada - must also hasten to give expression to another observation of Mr. Diefenbaker: "African nations must be permitted to work out their own destinies, and if they need help, the best source is through the Agencies of the United Nations".

8.10 It may indeed be argued that implicit in demands for economic aid is the need for educational development. But perhaps it is time to lay due emphasis on the problem by a formal resolution from this august body which is mainly responsible for the advancement of education, science and culture.

8.11 In this connexion also, it is significant that the recent conference of African agricultural leaders from 22 African countries, which ended in Lagos only a few days ago, did not lose sight of the acute scarcity of trained persons at every level, from skilled farmers, industrial workers and foremen to professional workers, administrators and organizers. They affirmed that education and understanding were necessary if orderly progress is to be made.

8.12 Of course, I need hardly explain that the emphasis which some of us now place upon the needs for primary, general secondary and adult education should not be construed as indifference to the importance of other levels of education. As H.E. Dr. Beeby, the Ambassador of New Zealand to France, said on Wednesday afternoon the surging demand for education is already commonplace. He went on to testify from his own personal experience that the responsible authorities in many areas already know what their immediate problems are. Indeed, through the help of Unesco and other agencies, various conferences, seminars and surveys have been held which have produced innumerable blueprints. Let us therefore direct our resources less and less to too-frequent surveys of needs - needs which are already all too obvious - and more and more to providing the wherewithal and the apparatus by which these obvious needs can be met in the shortest possible time.

8.13 Experts from Unesco have been of great assistance to many countries which I know are willing to acknowledge their debts. And permit me, Mr. President, to express our own warm appreciation and indebtedness to Mr. Dartigue and to Mr. Benson, now resident in West Africa, who are in charge of our area; and also to Mr. Elliott who recently visited my country and gave us such invaluable help. But perhaps, more than ever before, Unesco should place greater emphasis on the importance of increased facilities for fellowships for the local people from whom our communities will derive more lasting benefits.

8.14 Countries like mine devote a substantial proportion of their budgets solely to education, but there are limits beyond which we simply cannot go. I want to say with what delight my delegation welcomes the resolution proposed by Yugoslavia in the Programme Commission, calling for the launching of an international solidarity campaign for the development of education in Africa. I trust that this resolution, as well as others associated with it, will commend itself to the Executive Board.

8.15 On Monday morning the Chairman of the Executive Board, in a spirit of co-operation and understanding, referred to the need to study possible changes in the administrative arrangements of the Board in order to enable us to improve our methods. Our worthy Director-General has also made a preliminary statement to the Programme Commission about possible changes. It is in that same spirit, Mr. President, that I hope the resolution submitted jointly by the distinguished delegations of the United States of America, Switzerland, France, Netherlands and Japan will be warmly welcomed, as I know it will by the Director-General.

8.16 Permit me now, Mr. President, to extend my warmest congratulations to the new members of the Executive Board. The two dozen male members of the Board can surely count on the moderating influence of Mrs. Gandhi of India, should occasions arise, as they are bound to do, when exchanges create tensions.

8.17 May I also personally congratulate Dr. Ratsimamanga who had the signal honour of being elected to represent Africa on the Board so soon after his country was admitted to full membership of the Organization.

8.18 I cannot fail also to cheer the Sudan for having come so close to winning. Mr. President, as the composition of this government of Unesco increases and Africa is accorded, I hope, no less than four seats, I hope that you all, voting in accordance with paragraph 2 of Article V of our Constitution, will make sure that in due time Africans top the polls.
8.19 I hope also that the noble gestures of Australia and Austria, standing down in favour of New Zealand and the Federal Republic of Germany respectively, will not go unheeded elsewhere.
8.20 For various reasons Sierra Leone was not represented at the last two General Conferences, 1956 and 1958, and this, therefore, is but the second time that my country has been represented at the General Conference. I am happy to be able to say, thanks to an agreement with Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, that this is also the last time that we shall atend this Conference as an Associate Member, for in just over 150 days' time, i. e., on 27 April next, the Sierra Leone national flag will be hoisted in our land, whose capital has long borne the name "Freetown". I am happy also to be able to say that only yesterday a unanimous resolution was passed in the House of Representatives in Sierra Leone requesting Her Majesty's Government formally to introduce legislation declaring Sierra Leone an independent, free and sovereign State within the British Commonwealth. I hope, therefore, sir, that you will greet her with the same warmth and acclamation with which you received her in this Organization six years ago.
8.21 Finally, Mr. President, the people of my country, like those of the 90 and more other countries represented here, have great faith in Unesco. In our thoughts, words and action both within and outside this great Organization, let us make quite sure that we do not fail them.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H. E. Mr. Mackpayen, Head of the delegation of the Central African Republic.

10.1 Mr. MACKPAYEN (Central African Republic) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, for me it is a great honour to speak for the first time to the General Conference of Unesco. I do so with some emotion and I would therefore beg you to excuse the mistakes which will certainly mar my speech.
10.2 I should like to express, on behalf of the President of the Central African Republic, Mr. David Dacko, in the name of the entire Central African people, and in my own name, our deep sense of gratitude to the representatives of the States who have welcomed us so cordially to Unesco. I would also request our President today kindly to convey to the President of the General Conference our warmest congratulations on his appointment to that distinguished office. It is not only a great honour for Ethiopia, but also, and above all, for Africa; it provides concrete proof of international recognition of the value and dignity of the African.
10.3 As an introduction to the actual substance of my statement, I should like to say a few words about the Central African Republic, which is certainly unknown to most of the members of this Conference.
10.4 Colonial division and administrative arrangements have cut out, in the very heart of Africa, a vast territory larger than France and Belgium combined and lying between latitudes 3° and 9° North and longitudes 14° and 28° East. Here is Ubangi-Shari, officially known, since 1 December 1958, as the Central African Republic.
10.5 It is a real reception place for all survivors of the man-hunt, whether they be from East or West.
10.6 On 13 August last, the Central African Republic had its full sovereignty restored in tranquillity and friendship with France, the colonial power on which it formerly depended. Political independence has thus been restored to it after eighty years of colonization.
10.7 Ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you that in matters of education, science and culture - to mention only those of concern to Unesco - the independence of the Central African Republic has no meaning. For indeed, at the present time, it has no general or technical secondary school, no teachers' training college or vocational school for its population of two million inhabitants, which is remarkable for its fast growing number of young people under thirty years of age.
10.8 Disjointed attempts at development, lack of professional training, and the ignorance of the rural population are the most spectacular bottle-necks in the economic progress of the Central African Republic. The plethora of unemployed, worsened by the feeling of the young people that they must inevitably remain sunk in poverty and misery without hope of escape, makes for a deeply disturbing situation. Craftsmanship is dying, stifled by the influx of manufactured goods, and also by the lack of centres for training in the arts and crafts.
10.9 I make these statements in my capacity as Minister of Education, Labour and Social Welfare, in order to put before you with courage and all the simplicity of the African soul the colonial legacy of the Central African Republic. Anyone doubting the truth of what I have said ought to come to Bangui, the capital of this Republic. We shall welcome you as a "poor man" who can yet endure his poverty with dignity, and Bangui, the "pearl" of tropical Africa - to use the tourists' expression - will offer you all its natural beauty and charm.
10.10 Yet however mortifying our set-backs, there is no question of our drifting towards despair or isolationism; the fact that we have joined Unesco testifies to our desire to bring the national tribulation of the Central African Republic to the notice of international opinion.
10.11 We know very well that Unesco is not an international development bank. We know, too, that this Organization cannot, in record time, promote the economic and social development of a country like ours, which has proved a problem to the Investment Fund for Economic and Social Development, the European Development Fund, and the Fund for Aid and Co-operation. For us, Unesco is but a telephone switchboard or, perhaps better, a radio and television studio where we shall broadcast our grief and woes until those who are responsible - and I find them with distaste as Members of Unesco itself - decide to make the amends which history, nature and common sense dictate to them.

10.12 To express myself very plainly, I cannot do better than translate - to my regret - a Sango quotation which, sounding from this distinguished rostrum, seems me to be of prime importance: "Fa de so letiye azi awe, metiye a ma ndo awe, yanga tiye afoungoula awe, alakiri naye mbague ti yetiyiso ala mou guiriri, titene lieke na kodro tiye." ("We have recovered the use of our eyes, our ears, our mouths, and all our organs. Now are able to absorb more knowledge, in order to act better. Help us !").

10.13 States like France and Israel, to which I should like once again to express the deepest gratitude of the Central African Government and people, have, confronted with the painful situation of the underdeveloped countries, displayed a sense of international solidarity. Hundreds of French technicians, paid by France, are working in the Central African Republic; fifty young Central Africans are now studying in Israel, thanks to the generosity of that country's Government. I hope that these examples will encourage other Member States of Unesco to do likewise, and I thank in advance all those, in East or West, in Africa or Asia, who may be kind enough to give assistance, without any strings attached, to the Central African Republic.

10.14 This appeal of mine for international assistance should not be interpreted as an act of prayer or supplication. I am not a beggar. If it be true that colonialism has directly or indirectly fostered the development of all the States which today control the destinies of the modern world, I sincerely believe that the development of the exploited countries - in this case the African States - is an obligation falling squarely upon the former exploiters, and that it ought not to be considered sacrilegious or lacking in respect to remind them, very politely, of their duty.

10.15 The development of backward countries, the education of the citizens of the world in universal civic virtues, mental disarmament and effective decolonization are preliminary steps towards the realization of the dream of the entire human race: "A harmonious and peaceful society where all the peoples of the earth, in an interdependence that is understood and freely accepted, will work together to profit by the immense possibilities of happiness inherent in our planet".

10.16 On Unesco falls the responsibility of transforming this dream into reality, by giving to the future world citizen an idea of his rights, of the rights of others, of his obligations towards himself, towards his fellow-men, and towards the national and international community.

10.17 I am sorry to say that so far it has not been possible to find a way of associating in the work which I have just defined the 670 million Chinese - a quarter of the world's population - who constitute a real biological bomb, the explosion of which will, sooner or later, confront humanity with a thorny problem.

10.18 I cannot end this short speech without a brief reference to the two great scourges still afflicting humanity: racism and colonialism. I should like in this connexion to express my indignation at seeing represented in Unesco certain States which support and foster these twin sources of international tension. The presence of these States makes me doubt the positive rôle which this Organization intends to play in the spheres of education, science and culture. Colonization is the real fountainhead of misery, hunger, sickness and ignorance, and is from every point of view a brake on progress towards the lofty aims which Unesco had undertaken to pursue.

10.19 Did not an eminent colonialist declare that "Colonizing is to associate with new countries in order to profit by the resources of all kinds which they possess"? Didn't another in the 17th century write "Personally, I don't want to give my negroes any education, for in their hands it is a dangerous weapon, which might lead them to think for themselves and realize what injustices we Whites commit against them".

10.20 Colonial empires will not escape the law of nature and the law of history. The hour of independence has struck; the colonies must be consulted on the choice of their future relations with the parent State.

10.21 Let me conclude by paying a warm tribute from this international rostrum to General de Gaulle; he has our heartfelt gratitude and admiration for having permitted us, on 13 August last, to sign in peace and friendship an act of restitution, restoring to us our authority in international affairs. This chivalrous gesture made by a great Frenchman should be emulated by all those who are still responsible for any colony or a single colonized person.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Pung Peng Cheng, of the delegation of Cambodia.

12.1 Mr. PUNG PENG CHENG (Cambodia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, my statement will perforce be brief since everything has been said and I have little to add. I should like, however, to join with my colleagues in assuring the Executive Board and the Secretariat that I have every confidence in their future activities and am extremely gratified to see the work which has been accomplished in the service of progress and peace, in collaboration with all Member States and in a spirit of interdependence which is both understood and freely accepted.

12.2 In this dreary medley of curses, threats and weapons at the ready in which we live, Unesco with its mission of mutual understanding appears like a ray of hope and peace.

12.3 Its dominant rôle in bringing the Orient and Occident closer together, its scientific research on arid lands, its unself-seeking fight against illiteracy in Latin America, Africa and elsewhere are the best proofs that solidarity and coexistence are possible among peoples of goodwill. Aware of the part played by our Organization, Cambodia is ready to give its full support to plans which will make for happiness and prosperity in the world.

12.4 Our country is happy about the important projects on which the General Conference is to pass judgement. It is thankful that the appeal of the Director-General for the safeguarding of the Nubian monuments has met with a favourable response almost everywhere. This has encouraged the Secretariat to include in the agenda the project concerning the preservation of the beauty and character of the landscape. This effort to preserve

the universal heritage should be pursued throughout the world, particularly in Asia, so rich in ancient traditions.

12.5 Moreover, we are helping to bring East and West closer together, and so to reduce the dangers of conflict. Our ancient kingdom, which is fortunate in possessing splendid monuments, has been careful until now to give them all protection with the assistance of the French Far Eastern School. It would, however, also be a good thing if Unesco, in view of the historic value and universal character of these works of art, could undertake to make them better known.

12.6 Speaking of Asia, I should like especially to draw the Conference's attention to the campaign against illiteracy which is being waged in our part of the world. The world is following with sympathy the tremendous effort of the Asian countries, which, at the end of the second world war, experienced a stirring of conscience and devoted the bulk of their resources to the fight against ignorance. The enormous progress which has been achieved in fundamental education and in primary teaching - facts which are publicized each year at the Regional Conferences of Unesco and at the International Conference on Public Education in Geneva - leaves no doubt in anyone's mind.

12.7 Nevertheless, the development of primary education, rendered difficult in this handicapped area by long years of delay and increasing population will remain a major problem for some time to come. The reports of the Conferences at Karachi and Manila show us just how widespread it is. In this connexion, we consider the funds earmarked for assistance in the execution of national programmes to be inadequate. My delegation stands with others in expressing our surprise that the Director-General should persist in thinking that there is no point in considering these projects as "major" for 1961-1962. If we think of the speed with which the population is growing in that already densely populated part of the world, the problem appears to be extremely urgent, and there is no reason for hesitation.

12.8 As for the manner in which Unesco itself functions, my delegation has every confidence in the wisdom and keen sense of economy of its top-level personnel. We are not opposed in principle to further building, but we suggest that it should be undertaken only with great prudence, and in case of absolute necessity. For we have many more urgent and peremptory demands upon us in the world.

12.9 We should like also to draw the attention of the Conference to the distribution of the seats on the Executive Board. The ideal solution would be to have all areas equitably represented. Like the Reports Committee, for example, the Executive Board might be made up of representatives of all the countries in their turn, appointed rather than elected; this would give all the Member States, particularly the small ones, a chance to realize what rôle devolves upon them in the concert of the nations and to share effectively in Unesco's responsibilities, which should not be the monopoly of a few countries only.

12.10 Mr. President, there remains for me only, in concluding, to express the wish that concrete results may be secured in the development of education, science and culture throughout the globe, without any discrimination - the word is important - in order to reach a better understanding among the peoples of the world, which is the prerequisite of peace.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Ajúmogobia, delegate of Nigeria.

14.1 Mr. AJUMOGOBIA (Nigeria):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have heard the year 1960 described as Africa's year; I am not sure that I agree with the description, for in my view, no single year can be properly described as the year of destiny of any people. Human evolution, whether biological or sociological is a gradual and continuous process; and so, significant as the year 1960 may appear to be in the history of Africa, I would personally regard it as merely the beginning of the many changes that must inevitably follow the great wind which is now blowing through the continent.

14.2 During the year we have seen new States emerge in Africa; but we have also witnessed, and are still witnessing, an emergency in Africa. The part which has been played by Unesco in the unfortunate episode in the Congo is, without doubt, of the greatest importance, and I am sure it is fully appreciated by all men of goodwill everywhere in the world today. Unesco is, of course, collaborating with the United Nations in this great and exciting exercise.

14.3 I dare say that during the past few days many delegates have had occasion to refer to the "Conference Manual" which was revised and issued after the tenth session of the General Conference held in this gay city of Paris in 1958. I have certainly had need to study the Manual rather carefully, and I have been struck by the Preamble to the Constitution. We learn from it the motive for the founding of the Organization and the objective of Unesco. We should take note that the Constitution was adopted in London on 16 November 1945, exactly 15 years ago on Wednesday of last week. What a pity, Mr. President, that this Conference did not mark the anniversary in any significant form. Be that as it may, we may recall that in 1945 a world war, which like all wars had generated its own momentum, ended. We recall too that men, women and children, soldiers, airmen, seamen and civilians had suffered privations, hunger, disgrace and humiliation. Men were sick of war and there was general talk of peace everywhere. And men of goodwill from many lands said that never again should this evil thing happen. It was in that atmosphere that this great organization for peace, for education, for science and culture was born. But memory appears to be short. However, according to the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Government of the States Parties on behalf of their peoples declared: "That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed; that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war"...

14.4 I consider it relevant, in this general discussion of the Report of the Director-General for the years 1958 and 1959 and for the first eight months of 1960, to draw the attention of the Conference to what has brought 97 Member States and a number of Associate Members of Unesco together; and also to draw the attention of all present to the means through which they can be united and remain united. I have no doubt in my mind that the greatest means at our disposal for that purpose is education, and I am using the term in its widest sense. I have no doubt, too, that there can be no peace in a world of inequality and of equal opportunities and prejudices, whether of race, colour, religious persuasion or ideology. I believe too that wide differences in the provision of educational facilities may well lead to the easiest paths - to discontent and hence to disharmony and instability in the world. For there can be no true peace in a world in which one part is living in ignorance, in poverty and stricken with disease, while the other part is living in plenty, in comfort, utilizing all the amenities that modern science has placed at man's disposal. But true knowledge is indivisible and universal and should remain so: For example, what does it matter if we give credit for the discovery of the calculus to Sir Isaac Newton or to Dr. Leibnitz? To my mind what matters is the fact that a great and powerful tool has been bequeathed to mankind. Surely a gas thermometer, whether constructed in a well-equipped laboratory in the jungle of Tropical Africa or constructed in a modern laboratory in Europe or America is fundamentally the same instrument, and if suitable correction factors are available it can be used in Africa with the same degree of precision as it can be used in Europe or America or Asia. Now a thermometer is a useful instrument and, in our present context, we need to assess (even if we are unable to measure) the degree of peace in men's minds and hence in the world today. Again, it is just over 60 years ago that the electron was discovered in the famous Cavendish Laboratory of Cambridge University by the eminent English scientist, Professor J.J. Thompson. The follow-up work by Lord Rutherford and others in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the next years led to the splitting of the atom. No longer do elementary science teachers describe the atom as the smallest, indivisible particle of matter. The atom has been split and what a tremendous source of energy is at man's disposal? But what a pity that the first use to which the knowledge was put was in war, and that the common man first came to hear of the atom in terms of the atom bomb. One is not so sure that modern man is altogether fit to use the tools nature is revealing to him, no doubt through his own inquiry. Nuclear power is a challenge of our times. Ought men to utilize it for peaceful means or to utilize it for the destruction of all that he holds dear - namely, life and culture. That is the problem that faces mankind. The answer can only be found in men's minds, for "wars begin in the minds of men".

14.5 I believe that Unesco has a great rôle to play in world peace. I agree with the Head of the delegation of the United States of America that Unesco is the most promising organization for world peace. I also agree with the quotation of Tolstoy given us by the Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: "preparation and arms for war are as bad as wars themselves". From this rostrum we have heard great and forceful words spoken in the name and the cause of peace. One can only hope that these beautiful words have been spoken not merely from the lips but from the hearts, and that all leaders everywhere will spare no energy or effort in the pursuit of peace and harmony in the world. How many of us can genuinely repeat the wise words of the great Mahatma Gandhi : "I cannot derive any pleasure from living in a world which is not united". Here in Unesco we presume to be united. All our efforts should be directed to strengthen that unity.

14.6 But as I have already said the chief weapon in the cause of peace is education. Therefore, let Unesco consider seriously the suggestion of Sir David Eccles, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom, that the Organization should make education its chief theme and create avenues and means of making education available to the maximum number of people in all lands. Although our primary concern is with the provision of primary and general secondary education, especially in the underdeveloped countries, we might note that in Europe and America, one person in about four, or ten, or twenty, goes on to university. In Africa and Asia, I believe, one person in about 1,000 or 2,000 goes to a university.

14.7 The Unesco provision for educational projects in the underdeveloped countries is most gratefully appreciated by the peoples of those countries; but the needs are so great that the present efforts do not even scratch the surface. The whole of Unesco's programme and budget for 1961-1962 is just over $31m. We have been told that some countries spend many times that amount on their national education and at least as much as that for aid in the territories dependent on them. It is obvious that the resources of Unesco are at present very limited since they depend almost entirely on contributions from Member States and Associate Members. Is it not possible, Mr. President, at this stage in the development of Unesco for the richer Member States to give some consideration to item 3 of Article 9 of the Constitution: "The Director-General, with the approval of the Executive Board, may receive gifts, bequests and subventions directly from governments, public and private institutions, associations and private persons".

14.8 In this connexion, the proposed gift by the Federal Republic of Germany is most welcome. One can only hope that other Member States will follow the lead. But let me say at once that the Member States from Africa and Asia and Latin America will inevitably be at the receiving end for some time to come. That is understandable in the present circumstances and they need not be ashamed of that fact. Africa has, of course, received comparatively little aid from Unesco and various speakers have emphasized the need to assist Africa. We can only hope that in the years ahead, Africa will receive substantial aid from Unesco. Most of these countries, especially the countries in Tropical Africa, are in various stages of transition from traditional economies based on subsistence agriculture. But they are, by and large, the important suppliers of primary products which serve the machines of the industrialized countries. Africa, for example, supplies about 20% of the world's output of copper

and manganese, about 25% of the world's antimony, over 50% of the world's gold and cobalt and about 90% of the world's diamonds. Tropical Africa supplies over 60% of the world's cocoa and about 75% of the world's vegetable oil, principally palm oil and palm kernels. The wheels of the world's machines would turn rather slowly if these primary products were not supplied by the countries of Africa and Asia. We live in a world in which the countries are interdependent: our world is rapidly shrinking, in time if not in space. No one section of the human race can now afford to be independent of the others. We so much depend one on another that unity is necessary for our survival.

14.9 I shall now say a very few words about culture which is one of the pillars of the Organization. Culture, the anthropologists say, is the sum total of human experience. This experience takes various forms - art (painting and sculpture) music and drama, dancing and, by no means least, religion, using the last term to embrace our faith, our behaviour and all the spiritual tendencies as against the things of the flesh and the material world.

14.10 I venture to suggest that in spite of the differences in cultures throughout the world they all combine to enrich the world. The world would be a poorer place without a Shakespeare, without a Tolstoy and without a Tagore. The world would be poorer without the great musicians and the great artists, ancient and modern. But there is no yardstick by which we can measure culture so that, in my view, all talk about levels of culture is merely an expression of opinion. Here I know that I am treading on delicate ground, but I would like to leave one thought with the delegates. If we agree that the world would be enriched by the cultures of its peoples, then this Organization should strive to preserve all that is rich and noble and priceless in all lands.

14.11 The delegation of the Congo (capital: Brazzaville) has put forward a resolution that Unesco should study ways and means of making available to the African States, with the collaboration of Member States, the collections of African works of art which are at present in private collections. It is assumed that those African works of art in overseas museums would be taken proper care of and would be available to the public in those countries for their education and enlightenment. We very much need to learn of each other's cultural heritage and so, expressing a personal opinion, I think there is much sense in the suggestion put forward by the delegation of the Congo.

14.12 Now I must conclude, Mr. President, but before I do so I would like to support Sir David Eccles in the challenge which he has thrown to the Conference with regard to Unesco's activities in the field of education. A Unesco scheme for education on the same lines as the Commonwealth scheme would be of infinite benefit to all Member States, especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America. As Sir David has assured the Conference that the U.K. Government would, if requested, give Unesco all necessary guidance in respect of such a scheme, I need not dwell further on this point.

14.13 It now remains for me, on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria to thank the Director-General and his staff, the Chairman and members of the Executive Board, the Heads of of various Departments, and by no means least, the "backroom boys and girls" - the typists, clerks, accountants, messengers, telephone operators, and all those who cheerfully and gracefully have performed their duties in order to make the work of Unesco smooth and effective. I must not fail to include the interpreters in the four languages of this Conference.

14.14 I also congratulate the Director-General in particular on his comprehensive report. The Organization has grown in its scope and range. Some reflection is now necessary regarding new methods to achieve greater efficiency but I shall not on this occasion attempt to anticipate what those methods may be. The Chairman of the Executive Board has already stated that his Board would give some thought to the problems bearing on administration and efficiency in the light of the increased scope of Unesco's activities. The Executive Board, he said, would submit proposals for consideration at the twelfth session of the General Conference. Let us patiently await the new proposals and try to appraise them in the due time, without prejudice to the fundamental aims of Unesco in the fields of education, science and culture.

14.15 One more word, Mr. President, "Knowledge is power. Wisdom is humble". In the pursuit of knowledge let us be wise; the world could do with more wisdom.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Zoch I Khia, Head of the delegation of the Republic of Niger.

16.1 Mr. ZOCH I KHIA (Republic of Niger) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like first of all, on behalf of the Republic of Niger, to thank the governing organs and Secretariat of Unesco and all Member States who have welcomed our admission with expressions of goodwill which strengthen our belief in international solidarity.

16.2 Nor can I pass over in silence the friendly gesture of the Executive Board which arranged for newly independent States to put forward draft resolutions before actually becoming members of Unesco. All those who work for Unesco may rest assured of our gratitude.

16.3 I should like also to be associated with the tribute paid by this gathering to the two distinguished personalities whose sudden passing has plunged the Conference into mourning.

16.4 However great my pride and gratitude at representing among you for the first time an African country freshly admitted to the family of nations, I shall not conceal either my astonishment or pleasant surprise to be able to recall the time, not so long ago, when Léon L'Africain was able to write in all sincerity: "The people of Tropical Africa are rural folks, without reason, mind or skill, and not efficient at any thing at all".

16.5 Today, fortunately, deeper knowledge of the people of Africa has led the world to discover what has lain hidden in our societies and in our souls in terms of humanity and individuality, and to realize how much they have to contribute to the enrichment of world civilization. A new era is dawning

- your welcome is proof of it - the era of the African contribution to the symphony of cultures.

16.6 But before conveying the contribution of the Republic of the Niger, let me say a few words about the country which I represent. Small in population - 2,800,000 inhabitants - it is large in area - 1,200,000 square kilometres. The Republic of Niger occupies a central position between the Sahara and the African savannah, and its geography in large part determines its destiny.

16.7 A meeting place of Oriental and African cultures, the Niger is a country where Western culture reaches only a minute section of the population. Even today, despite our own efforts and those of France, only 7 children out of every 100 can go to school. That is an indication of the immensity of the task awaiting us in the field of education. We have drawn up a five-year programme which aims at raising the school enrolment rate to a minimum of 30%. During this five-year period, we intend to provide every village of more than 2,000 inhabitants with a one-room school, eventually arriving at a one-room school for every village of more than 1,000 inhabitants. Thus we hope that, by October 1964, there will be 120,000 children enrolled in 2,800 classes, whereas at the present time there are 22,000 school children divided into 610 classes.

16.8 Parallel to these measures, which will be carried out in accordance with traditional methods, the Niger Government has been anxious to start a large-scale drive against illiteracy, using audio-visual methods, particularly the radio, which is an excellent medium in a country where the population is so widely scattered. That drive has just begun. Personally, I should like experts to come and pay us a visit in a few months' time to study the results; this would greatly benefit other countries which are also struggling to accustom their people to using the basic media for the communication of culture.

16.9 Another aspect of our educational programmes to which I should like to draw attention is that of school enrolment in the nomadic area. The problem is difficult because, here, we are confronted with a people who are constantly on the move in search of water and pasture-land for their cattle. Noting that, hitherto, efforts in this field have not yielded satisfactory results in any country, we are developing a new idea, based essentially on the principle that education should not be divorced from the human, social and, especially, economic background. With this in mind, we are planning to set up an experimental community development centre in a limited area. We shall try to persuade a nomadic group to settle for a time in an area well equipped with water supplies, and help them to develop stock-breeding possibilities to a maximum, as a means to a higher standard of living; on these bases, we hope to build an integrated programme of instruction and education. In order to carry out this programme in the shortest possible time, we intend to appeal to Unesco for assistance.

16.10 Still in connexion with education, I should like to recall here that my Government has presented a programme, which is modest, of course, but designed to meet the most urgent needs; we do not think, therefore, that its adoption will meet with any difficulties.

16.11 I also take this opportunity to present to you a project which is not included in the supplementary programme, but to which we attach special importance: I refer to the construction in our young Republic of a Centre for training, information and exchange, a Centre for research and practical work a place where all could meet whose needs, skills and aims converge on the same goal - the smooth and efficient development of the arid lands of Africa.

16.12 For this vast group of countries, skirting the South of the Sahara from East to West Africa, is original both in mentality and in situation. Midway between the vast desert spaces of the North and the tropical regions of the South, the Sahel, a marginal, unpredictable area, which has great potentialities but can also run counter to expectation at any moment, presents a type of existence which is unique in the entire arid zone. Let a few extra millimetres of water fall, and life is assured for hundreds of thousands of men and beasts. But let these few millimetres fail to materialize, and there is famine and desolation. Apart from the magic action of our so-called rain-makers, it is the task of modern science to conquer the desert, to feed man, to cure the sick animal.

16.13 But science and technique cannot be imagined without the education of those who are - or will be - their first beneficiaries. Nor can they be imagined without unity, understanding and the mutual help of all those people linked by a common destiny and for whom rain, fire and sun may be sources of joy or misery.

16.14 These are the things we have in mind when we think about this proposed training centre. This Sahelo-Saharan Institute, at the disposal of our best scientific brains, and indeed of those of all the African States, would be the counterpart of similar institutes existing in the various arid regions of the world. Its programme, drawn up and co-ordinated by Unesco, would be developed along certain fundamental lines: human ecology, animal ecology, plant ecology, hydrogeology, agropedology, the physical structure of the globe, climatology, and pre-history.

16.15 Most of the vital problems of the arid zones could thus be studied - and probably resolved - right on the spot with the aid of modern scientific knowledge: cattle-rearing, the search for new sources of energy, development of water supplies, improvement of soils and cultivation, etc. All of this would serve as a basis for education and social and cultural development, and would provide a framework for national and international exchanges.

16.16 In this same spirit of interchange and mutual aid, it is worth recalling that the international conference on the rôle of science in the development of new States, which took place last August and to which Unesco made a valuable contribution, unanimously adopted a resolution that was, in a sense, revolutionary.

16.17 The conference expressed the wish that, at the level of each State and in association with the appropriate organs of the United Nations, a study should be made to set up a "Civic Service for Scientific and Technical Co-operation", so as to supply new States with young engineers, acting either as assistants in institutes for basic or applied research, or as instructors or experimental popularization agents,

in order to supplement, extend and develop intergovernmental co-operation.

16.18 Should this suggestion be accepted by the General Conference, it would be a very special service indeed, making of this body of young scientists a sort of knighthood of science in the service of mankind.

16.19 It would be the finest concrete illustration of the vow which Aldous Huxley, one of Unesco's spiritual fathers, wanted all men of science to take in the service of peace: "I undertake to use my knowledge for the benefit of humanity against the destructive forces of the world and the unscrupulous intentions of men; and to work towards these common goals with my scientific colleagues of whatever nation, belief or colour".

16.20 Such is the message, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, which I wanted to deliver to you in the name of my country. It bears witness to the spirit in which we intend to co-operate with you.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, we have now come to the end of the list of speakers who were down for the general discussion this morning. I should like, on behalf of all of you, to thank the speakers for keeping to the prescribed time-limit in what they had to say, thus enabling the Conference to save a little time.

17.2 Thanks to the goodwill of certain delegations, who were listed for this afternoon's meeting, I can now call upon Mr. Neqniq, of the Ethiopian delegation.

18.1 Mr. NEQNIQ (Ethiopia):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, on the occasion of this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation, I am happy to renew the expression of Ethiopia's appreciation to our host country, and I would also thank the Director-General and his colleagues for their work in implementing the resolutions of the tenth session of the General Conference and in preparing for our present gathering.

18.2 In addition, may I humbly express Ethiopia's deep appreciation and gratitude for the honour that this Conference has conferred on the leader of the Ethiopian delegation, H.E. Ato Akale-Work Abte-Wold, by electing him as President of this eleventh session of the General Conference. This great honour is due not only to his personal qualities and to the ancient cultural heritage of his country, but it also shows that Unesco is approaching its aim of universality through the increased participation and representation of Africa in its work.

18.3 It is a source of great satisfaction to Ethiopia that the work of Unesco is now being shared by the new sister Member States of Africa represented here today. I am confident that our deliberations are greatly assisted by their contributions to the proceedings of this General Conference.

18.4 During the past two years, we have continued to enjoy most cordial and beneficial relations with the officials of Unesco. One fruit of our collaboration has been the preparation of a volume in the World Art Series which will enable Ethiopia to share with other countries some of the treasures of her ancient heritage. Another aspect of our co-operation, and one of which we take deep satisfaction, was the Meeting of Ministers and Directors of Education of Tropical African Countries held in Addis Ababa last February. This meeting, as you all know, is referred to by the Director-General in his report, and its proceedings and recommendations are fully reflected in the draft programme which has been submitted for our consideration.

18.5 We have carefully studied the report and proposed programme prepared and circulated by the Director-General and would call the attention of our fellow delegates to the significance of the new projects which have been put forward, and particularly those relating to Tropical Africa, the Arab States, and the eradication of illiteracy in Asia.

18.6 The meeting of Ministers and Directors of Education to which I have just referred had its origin in a proposal put forward at our last General Conference. The recommendations arising from that meeting are now reflected in the carefully prepared regional programme for the development of primary and secondary education in Tropical Africa which has been presented for our consideration. We believe that the Addis Ababa meeting may in future be recognized as constituting an important milestone in the unfolding history, not only of Unesco, but of the African continent itself.

18.7 As regards the programme as a whole, may I say that we find it soundly conceived and far-sighted in its recognition of Unesco's task and mission in our modern world.

18.8 We are encouraged by the progress reported in respect of Major Projects concerned with Arid Lands, the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, and the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America. We believe that Ethiopia may have a special contribution to offer in the implementation of the aims laid down for the first two of these projects.

18.9 Recalling our contribution to the discussions here two years ago, we note with particular interest the Director-General's statement that the experience gained in carrying out the Major Project in Latin America will not be limited to that vast and important area, but will be amply utilized in implementing the programmes for other regions. We also note with appreciation his recognition of the fact that, with the emergence of new nations, Unesco has an increasingly important rôle to play in the development of education in these young countries and in ensuring that their cultural wealth is shared with other lands.

18.10 The period which has elapsed since the last session of the General Conference has been one of intense activity in the realm of Ethiopian education. It is not necessary for me to refer at length to the part which formal schooling has played in the long history of Ethiopia, or to the contribution of our schools to the preservation of our national liberty, our cultural heritage and our way of life. The provision of education in the broadest sense has long occupied a place of the highest priority in our Government's programme, and recent decades have witnessed a great development in the widespread establishment of modern schools and colleges.

18.11 During the past two years, new schools have been opened, an increasing number of students have been enrolled in and have graduated from colleges

within the country, a large number of graduates and technicians have returned from foreign institutions of higher learning and are devoting themselves with great zeal and dedicated enthusiasm to the service of their motherland, and the definite steps which have been taken towards the foundation of the Haile Selassie I University have marked the fulfilment of a long cherished desire.

18.12 The Ethiopian people fully enter into the thoughts recently expressed by their Emperor:

"The African peoples, so long denied the benefits of education, must co-operate in concentrating their efforts on this most critical and important problem. Education knows no boundaries, nor does it distinguish among men on the basis of differences in race, colour or creed..."

The facilities of Ethiopia's schools and colleges continue to be shared with scholarship and private students from other countries, States and territories in Africa, and it is in this spirit that Ethiopia welcomes the emphasis placed by the Director-General on the setting up of regional programmes and projects. We recognize with him the vital importance of educational planning, and we fully support the proposal that Unesco shall collaborate with Member States in achieving the aims prescribed in the draft programme.

18.13 The emphasis that is laid in the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 on the field of education signifies that Unesco has come down to earth to tackle the urgent problem of developing countries. Education is the basic problem, failing the solution of which all economic and social development becomes impossible. With regard to the project recommended for Tropical African countries in the field of primary and secondary education in its general, technical and vocational aspects, the Ethiopian delegation feels that it will be difficult to separate primary and secondary education from the point of view of curriculum and instruction. The measures we take today concerning primary curricula affect both secondary and higher education in the future. We therefore feel that the revision of secondary school curricula should be related to that of the primary schools, which are basic foundations for all further education. Even though we recognize that, from the point of view of teacher training, education starts from the top and the expansion of the lower levels of the educational pyramid depends upon the expansion of the upper levels, we feel that the base of the educational pyramid should be broad enough to reach the many millions of masses. These proposals, Mr. President, are entirely in accord with the thoughts which have been ably and sympathetically expressed by the Director-General, and I am sure that our suggestions will be given due consideration.

18.14 As I have already indicated, Ethiopia warmly welcomes the regional approach which has been outlined in this programme. In collaboration with her neighbours and with Unesco, she will gladly play her part in making available her resources and the facilities of her institutions for the general advancement of African education.

18.15 Ethiopia also notes with satisfaction the realistic aim that has been prescribed for Unesco-sponsored programmes dealing with the education of adults and with youth activities. We endorse wholeheartedly the proposal that "to enable these sectors of the population to exercise fully their rôle in the social and economic development of their country and in the promotion of international understanding", attention should be focused on extending literacy among adults and youth and on providing reading materials to widen their understanding and knowledge. Great as is the importance of training administrators and technicians, we believe that the fight against illiteracy in all parts of the world should continue to be a major preoccupation of Unesco.

18.16 I have spoken at length on certain aspects of the general education programme proposed by the Director-General. I would, however, emphasize our interest in and our support of other activities. The details of all these activities, and the details of the budgetary proposals, are being dealt with very adequately in the course of our Conference.

18.17 Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, two years ago in addressing a plenary meeting of the tenth session of the General Conference, it was the duty of the Ethiopian delegation to present the vital needs of the African peoples and to suggest some ways in which Unesco, by assisting in the educational advancement of the African continent, could help to meet those needs, to break down cultural barriers and to contribute to world stability.

18.18 The events which have since taken place have indicated that the pleas which were then made by the Ethiopian delegation and by distinguished colleagues, the representatives of other Member States, were in no way exaggerated. A candid review of past programmes indicates that in terms of the overall needs and of major efforts undertaken by Unesco, Africa has long been a comparatively neglected area.

18.19 Thus, while fully accepting the need for a world vision and for a breadth of interest and sympathy that will embrace and support every aspect of the overall programme, Ethiopia whole-heartedly welcomes the current recognition of Unesco's special task in Africa which has found expression in the draft programme, and which has been so very ably presented and supported by the distinguished delegates who have already spoken.

18.20 In conclusion, Mr. President, permit me to express once more my appreciation to the Director-General for the report which he has presented to us, and my thanks to all those who are contributing so ably to the organization of this Conference, the success of which means so much to the peoples of the countries which we represent and to the whole world.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I should like to point out to the Conference that the list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting contains no less than nine names. I should therefore like to express the hope that these speakers will show the same goodwill as those we have heard this morning, and that there will be time to hear everyone this afternoon, so that, tomorrow, we can hear the final speakers and the Director-General's reply. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NINETEENTH PLENARY MEETING

25 November 1960, at 3.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (continued) 304

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting is open. Before we resume the general discussion, I call upon H.E. Mr. Matsui, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

2. Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, (Translation from the French): Mr. President, conforming to the decision taken earlier, I am pleased to inform you that Saudi Arabia has today, 25 November, presented credentials, which are in order, to seat a delegate at the present session of the General Conference. These credentials are signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The Conference takes note of this statement by the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.
3.2 From now onwards the delegate of Saudi Arabia is admitted to vote in plenary session, as well as in all the Commissions and Committees of the Organization.
3.3 We now resume the general discussion. I call upon H.E. Mr. Talba Malla, Head of the delegation of Cameroun.

4.1 Mr. TALBA MALLA (Cameroun) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, from the first meetings of this eleventh session of the General Conference, we have realized that this is a memorable occasion in the history of Unesco, for it is the first time that the young African States have taken part in the work of this assembly. Other delegates have already said how happy and proud these young States were, and how enthusiastically they associate themselves with Unesco's great ideal: the spread of education, science and culture. Cameroun is a country where old and new cultures meet; where the task of organizing its education, already well advanced, continues unremittingly, and where experiments, at once bold and reasonable, have enabled it to adapt its primary teaching to the exigencies of African life. And Cameroun has seen in its recent admission to membership of Unesco and in the presence of its delegation here the finest fruit of its recently acquired independence.
4.2 May it be permitted to the delegate of one of these young States, taking part for the first time in these discussions, to make an observation, and a request to your assembly?
4.3 You are, I am sure, full of indulgence towards our inexperience. You have also given us a place in the working parties, even if we did not ask for it in time nor in the proper form. Yet we have felt and still at times feel, some uneasiness. We have wondered whether the great powers quite realized the material and moral effort required of a small State of limited means, poor in technicians and in specialists, to send and maintain a delegation in Paris, for the whole month of the General Conference.
4.4 Be assured in any case, ladies and gentlemen, that the delegates of Cameroun, while they are proud to represent their country, are very well aware of the effort involved. They hope therefore that their presence here may be as profitable as possible, not only for their own country, but for all the nations, since the goal of Unesco is the sharing of science and culture. They have been painfully surprised to be faced sometimes with problems that were beyond them, with discussions on matters which they were neither qualified nor empowered to debate, in short, with political problems that belonged elsewhere, and for which it was clearly impossible to find a solution within the framework of Unesco. To their regret they had on those occasions the impression of wasting their time.
4.5 Here then, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, is my request. The Cameroonian delegation desires that other delegations maintain discussion within the limits defined for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. In this way we shall best serve our common ideal - peace and understanding among nations.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Guillaumat, Head of the delegation of France.

6.1 Mr. GUILLAUMAT (France) (Translation from the French): Mr. President and delegates. This eleventh session of the General Conference will mark an

important stage in the life of our Organization. Those who witnessed the birth of Unesco, countries like France which have continued to furnish their contribution in both men and ideas, are perfectly well aware of that fact. No matter how profitable the sum of Unesco's efforts may have been so far, the admission to membership of newly created sovereign States is going to impart a new trend and character to its work. As was said of the year that is ending, the Conference that has just opened will in the first place be that of Africa.

6.2 All of us - and often for opposite reasons - have stressed the outstanding events of recent months, which I may define as the appearance on the international stage of an entire continent. Unesco has already signalized this appearance by choosing as the President of our General Conference the delegate of Ethiopia, one of the oldest of African nations, which has given so many proofs of its attachment to spiritual values.

6.3 It is with this thought in mind that I am happy to greet, among the new members of the organization, the African States of French culture, which have today become independent in full agreement and friendship with France after a peaceful evolution which we have always supported and facilitated. If these States have decided of their own free will to ask France to continue to assure for them a privileged position in education, science and culture, surely they must have found in this co-operation a benefit which they themselves are in the best situation to appreciate? The calibre of the distinguished representatives they have sent among us, some of them men with the highest degrees from French universities, their professional and intellectual worth and their sense of humanity sufficiently testify to this. For proof I need only cite the high quality of the speeches pronounced in this very building by the Heads of the delegations of Dahomey, Mali and Senegal, whom it is a matter of great pleasure for me to thank here in the name of France. These countries have pondered Andre Gide's thought: "To know how to get free is nothing; the hard thing is to know how to live free". France declares with pride that they know how to live free.

6.4 That, ladies and gentlemen, is my country's reply to those who, even in this assembly, seek to raise the spectre of colonialism. Let us speak plainly. If by mention of colonialism the intention is to denounce the domination of man by man, the oppression of minorities, racial, religious or ideological discrimination, who would dare deny that France has been through centuries, revolutions and wars the champion of liberty, equality and fraternity? Who, indeed, unless it is those who wish to stifle the groans of nations which their hypocritical imperialism holds captive?

6.5 If, on the other hand, it is the work which France has accomplished beyond her boundaries which is in question, then my country can stand with head erect and a clear conscience. This work has formed and developed nations like these 14 republics which in the single year of 1960 France will have led to independence. I leave to these gentlemen whom we have just welcomed here the task, not perhaps of defending France's achievement but, much better, of illustrating it.

6.6 Their presence, I feel sure, cannot fail to turn our efforts in a more realistic direction. They will cause our Organization to give their problems more enlightened and thereby more efficacious attention. They will induce us, even more than in the past, to give Africa its rightful place in our programmes and plans. But also I know, they bring us their ideas, the fruit of their experience and that deep faith which they share with us in the principles of liberty, dignity, and respect for man, on which Unesco is founded. In this way our work instead of being limited, as it was sometimes in danger of being, to a definition of the broad lines of unilateral action involving aid generously but injudiciously distributed by the wealthy to the disinherited, will assume in all the spheres which interest these new States - and this is now the essence of our task - the character of free and genuine co-operation. Its chances of success will thus be considerably increased.

6.7 Nor do we wish other parts of the world - I am thinking of South Asia and South America - to have any fear lest the effort being made in those areas may be interrupted. On the contrary, the fresh resources now at our disposal should allow us to increase that effort.

6.8 I think too that the presence of these young States will help us to prevent Unesco from becoming a political sounding board, which is not its function and harms its authority and its efficiency. Our colleague, Mr. Tschudi, Head of the delegation of Switzerland, made some very important observations in this connexion, coming as they do from a country like his own, and I am in full agreement with them. The French delegation, for its part, will do all it can to prevent the General Conference from degenerating, as some here seem to wish, into polemics and demagogy. If we are to discuss politics here, the French delegation would cite the maxim of the historian Jules Michelet contained in his book "The People" of 1840. "What is the first business of politics? Education. The second? Education. And the third? Education".

6.9 Our Director-General, to whom I pay special tribute, has reminded us of the growing importance, among the tasks of the United Nations, of assistance programmes to Member States. He has shown that in this connexion education is a priority and an irreplaceable target, and Mr. Veronese found cause for satisfaction in that Unesco, thanks to the experience of the past fifteen years, is well fitted to play this new rôle, particularly in the literacy campaign, which has a high place on our agenda.

6.10 I should like to be both more modest about our Organization and more ambitious for the future than is our Director-General. It would be dangerous to let it be thought that we already dispose of sufficient resources to help effectively all peoples who turn for aid to Unesco to leave ignorance behind, to educate masses of children increasing in numbers from year to year and ever more eager for knowledge and scientific training, or to transform, through adult education and all forms of popular culture, the human environment in which these generations are growing up.

6.11 France has exceptional experience in this field. It is maintaining beyond its frontiers nearly 20,000 professors and teachers, that is to say,

more than any other country in the world. It has opened wide the doors of its universities to the young foreign States, and I am deeply grateful to the Head of the Tunisian delegation for the tribute he paid to this co-operation. France therefore knows what effective action costs in terms of men and money. It knows also the difficulties of adapting present methods to the needs of the world of the year 2,000, pressing though these are.

6.12 France does not believe that it is enough to call world conferences or even to make claims on generosity in order to resolve this problem. Under pressure of events, the Secretariat has had to take the initiative and to act in concert with the United Nations. That is proof enough that Unesco is a vital organization, which lives not in the clouds, but in reality, and that this reality, perpetually changing, may lead to the search for new forms of action. For today we must renew our action. Neither the Special Fund, nor the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, nor the methods of the OPEX projects, nor the still undefined resources of the International Development Agency, rich as they appear in promises, can in their present or potential volume fulfil the demands which even the simplest provisional calculation shows to lie ahead.

6.13 If, for example, we desire that the school population in forty years may be comparable over all the earth to what it is today in Europe or in the United States, we should have, in two generations, to train more than 25 million teachers, in addition to present staff, and build more than three million new schools - and that on condition that the world's population does not increase. If the population continues to increase at the present rate, those figures would have to be doubled. In the face of such a task, the means at the disposal of our Unesco should make us feel very modest.

6.14 Yet the French delegation believes we can and must cherish ambition.

6.15 Here I call to mind the memory of a man who could have revealed to you the prospects that may lie ahead for our Organization. I refer to Gaston Berger, removed suddenly by death while still at the height of his powers. I cannot better bear witness to our fidelity to his memory nor better thank all those who here and throughout the world have paid tribute to his personality, than by recalling the plan which Gaston Berger was to present in the name of France and with which his name will remain associated.

6.16 The campaign against illiteracy and for access to culture by all men cannot be satisfied any longer with traditional methods. We should not give these up, but we should, by basic research in depth, find new and enormously effective means in telecommunications, collective information media and spatial research, the weapons in our battle against ignorance. Our ambition should keep pace with scientific and technical progress in the world of men. Far from considering such progress as a danger or a challenge to our values, an organization like ours should see in it the harbinger of decisive human progress.

6.17 It seemed to us that such an inquiry, which France is urging Unesco to undertake, could be carried out only under the supervision of an Executive Board on which those States most directly concerned with its results were more strongly represented. The French delegation has therefore asked for an increase in the number of seats on the Board, to allow of collaboration with the countries of Africa and Asia.

6.18 The forms of collaboration with Member States, even the manner in which the Organization might offer advice to these latter, is the second point about which the Director-General consults us in his report. On this point, too, I should like at the outset of the Conference to express the opinion of the delegation of France.

6.19 We have always thought that perhaps the most valuable characteristic of Unesco was the rôle which the National Commission for Unesco plays in each of the Member States by having - under Article VII of the Constitution - responsibility for ensuring the greatest possible co-operation of its public and private bodies in the work of Unesco. The growth of these National Commissions seems to us the most realistic and effective way of creating between Unesco and the Member States a degree of understanding and of ensuring better appreciation of needs, plans and results.

6.20 It does not, on the other hand, seem desirable to us to accredit to the States missions from Unesco other than those which have, at the request of the States themselves, a definite plan of technical assistance to implement. Regionalization is most useful when it results in bringing together the representatives of States and, better still, of National Commissions, with a background prepared by the Organization, and consulting them on their needs and on the ways in which they will co-operate. The recent conferences in Bangkok and Addis Ababa, and those which are planned in Khartoum and Karachi, are good examples of meetings which have undeniable advantages at the regional level. But, beyond this, the dangers of the dissipation of effort would very soon have to be faced.

6.21 Our essential objective is not to increase each State's resources in relation to its responsibilities towards its citizens. It is to work out, with the help of all and for the benefit of each, new methods that are continually being adapted to our changing and precarious world, in order that the ideals of Unesco may thrive and progress. This purpose demands concentration, not only in a formal sense, but a real concentration of Unesco's resources on projects of the broadest possible scope.

6.22 Unesco's business is not to distribute bags of rice from the intellectual storehouse, but to teach each person to select the seeds. Its action can be effective only if its work is methodical. I should like here to mention the clear and courageous speech of our colleague, Sir David Eccles. He pointed out the conditions that must exist if this struggle against illiteracy is to be waged effectively. It is not enough to vote credits, and find new sources of finance. More is needed. Here in Paris in the Secretariat we must get the experts together, teachers in particular, who will prepare plans. Lack of preparation in countries receiving international aid may lead to waste, which of itself might create much confusion. We are therefore firmly set against any plan which would, to the detriment of the permanent objectives of scientific educational and cultural co-operation, distribute the resources of the Organization among

a multitude of projects put up from day to day by Unesco representatives attached to the governments of States.

6.23 The fundamental fact, so happily stressed by the Director-General, is that education is now acknowledged universally to be a key factor in economic and social development. I might even say it is the only truly democratic factor, the only one compatible with respect for human rights; and in the years to come it will lead all States to devote to education an increased portion of their budget.

6.24 Certainly the cost will come high. It will weigh heavily on the resources of these States. Perhaps it will encourage them to make changes, to seek a new and better balance between the charges of the State, to cut their unproductive expenses somewhat, on armaments, for example, so that these creative investments for the future can prosper in the cause of peace and progress among men. "Why don't we pool a part of our scientific, technical and economic resources?" General de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, suggested last year to all the nations of Europe, "why don't we pool some of our trucks, ships and planes to overcome poverty, to activate resources and help the work of less developed peoples?" Such could be, ought to be, the inspiring thought of our Organization and, if only Unesco can succeed to some extent in making it appreciated everywhere, in making its importance and urgency understood, that success will remain one of the Organization's main claims to our gratitude.

6.25 But beyond its task of constantly stressing the importance of this objective, Unesco can do more to help Member States to achieve it. It can - and I come back to the point in conclusion - concentrate its resources on the discovery of modern, even revolutionary, methods of combating ignorance, illiteracy and prejudice.

6.26 The French delegation is convinced that these means are today within the capacity of the scientists. Our draft resolution proposes to give to scientists the chance to employ them, then to train the men who in all Member States will have the task of applying them. For this it has in mind certain immediate and economical steps that could be taken, and the gradual creation of the necessary instruments of research, co-operation and training. If the draft is adopted, the first meeting might take place, after the indispensable preparations as early as next Spring.

6.27 Is there a nobler ambition, in a world that is menaced by its own science, than to put this same science at the service, not only of material progress, but also of the flowering of the intelligence and the training of minds? If we should fail in this task, how should we be judged by all the States which are participating for the first time in our General Conference? The French delegation is sure that Unesco will reject all appeals to vain political controversy and will strengthen and justify the confidence which so many peoples have in it throughout the world.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon H.E. Mr. Mac Kay, Head of the delegation of Argentina.

8.1 Mr. MAC KAY (Argentina) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, it is an honour for me to express to delegates the opinion of the Argentine National Commission for Unesco - over which I preside in my capacity of Minister of Education and Justice - on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 and on the reports of the Director-General submitted for consideration by this assembly. The National Commission of Argentina, created only two years ago, has an organic and functional structure similar to that of Unesco itself. Documents can thus be analysed according to individual topics in departments corresponding to each special subject.

8.2 In the first place, I should like to say that in Argentina's view the proposed programme and budget for the next two years shows a serious effort to establish concrete goals for the work of Unesco and to fix a system of priorities that have been rationally worked out. In this respect it is proper to give unanimous credit to the work accomplished by the Director-General and his staff.

8.3 We also agree that present circumstances require us to maintain a policy of concentration on basic objectives, though the attainment of these objectives - within the framework of the general activities of the Organization - must not work to the detriment of measures of direct assistance, whose value has been proved time and time again in recent years. A balance between these two forms of activity is a major factor, which the Director-General properly appreciated in his introductory speech.

8.4 Fortunately, these proposals will receive practical help from resources that exceed Unesco's limited budget: aid from the Special Fund and the proposed collaboration with the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Development Association. In that connexion it will be useful to urge the participation of our Organization in the giving of technical advice to these two international institutes of credit and finance.

8.5 In the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 several points represent a departure from previous practice. For example, the decision to give help to teaching in Tropical Africa, some of whose countries are now honouring this assembly with their sovereign presence. We trust that a provision of such decisive importance to the cultural development of these new independent States will not affect the aid granted by Unesco to the Latin American countries for 1960-1961.

8.6 Another important aspect of the proposed programme and budget of the Director-General refers to the encouragement to be given to the oceanographic sciences. Argentina attaches great importance to this project, which implies an appreciation of methods that are traditionally Mediterranean in character in the development and provisioning of many zones, and the incorporation of the maritime litoral within the economic and social activity of so many communities. Latin America is particularly suitable for this type of initiative, when it is considered that in many of our countries the progress of the marine sciences has been relatively slight.

8.7 It is also praiseworthy that Unesco is directly interested in the preservation of works of art, which, like the monuments of Nubia, constitute the cultural heritage of a world extending far beyond their geographical situation.

8.8 Before referring to projects which are of direct concern to Argentina, I should like to say

one word about one or two earlier organizations created with Unesco's assistance.

8.9 The Regional Mathematics Centre for Latin America in Buenos Aires is in full swing and has many fellowship holders from Argentina and other Latin American countries. In the Ministry of Education we have created a Department of Integral Planning of Education, which receives assistance from a Unesco expert. As regards cultural matters, I am happy to report on the invaluable assistance of Unesco in setting up the International Documentation Centre which is working in Buenos Aires. The sending of experts, working material and a bibliography has been very useful both to students and to the different branches of the government that make regular use of it.

8.10 Turning to other fields, it is right to emphasize the high technical level of achievement in the recent Latin American Seminar on the Comparability of Educational Statistics, held in the province of Tucuman. At the moment, also in collaboration with Unesco, arrangements are being made for a Seminar on Library Planning.

8.11 The programme which Argentina aims at achieving in close collaboration with Unesco covers education, science and culture.

8.12 So far as education is concerned, we are interested in implementing the recommendations formulated at the Third Meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee held in Mexico a short time ago: for example, to conclude an international convention on the status of teachers, a statute which already exists in our country and regulates the entry and promotion of teachers strictly according to examination, guarantees permanence of tenure, fixes salary scales in accordance with the type of school and years of service in the profession, and establishes pension rights after twenty-five years of teaching irrespective of age.

8.13 We should also like to see the realization of another proposal of the Mexico meeting: the creation of Centres of Educational Documentation in order to promote the exchange of educational information. Our country has requested that one of these Centres should be set up in Buenos Aires.

8.14 As our delegate, the President of the National Council of Education, has said, problems of teaching in Latin America have many different aspects. In some countries - our own among them - these problems are concerned less with eradicating illiteracy or increasing the number of teachers than with improving the quality of teachers and with the systematic planning of school programmes at all levels of education. Thus Argentina has a special interest in getting from Unesco as much educational assistance as possible in matters of technique and the practice of teaching methods. In my judgement these factors - and also the attention being paid to post-primary education - merit preferential consideration under the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education, even should it be necessary to increase the Project's budget.

8.15 It is also worth stressing the importance attaching to technical training in certain Member States which like our own have transformed their economy from a single-product system to one of diversified production. Industry, and in general, all economic activity, has close ties with the teaching of technical and vocational subjects in order that every business can study and appreciate its own efficiency and productivity.

8.16 In the scientific field, Argentina has made a request to the Special Fund of the United Nations to organize a Petroleum Institute which, among other functions, will engage in a variety of research work and will train technicians and personnel for employment in the oil industry. Our Government is deeply interested in this project because it directly affects a phase of the national development on which a great part of Argentina's resources are now concentrated.

8.17 We consider too that the achievement of balanced economic and social development is a basic aim that cannot be postponed in view of the efforts which many Latin American countries are making to this end. We have asked Unesco to give priority in helping to set up in Argentina a Centre of Advanced Economic Studies, which will promote study and research in all that concerns economic development, including the training of technicians in this field.

8.18 As regards cultural matters, we hope that Unesco will also co-operate with our Government in the organization of a seminar to bring up to date textbooks in history, geography, literature and other themes relative to the Eastern world, since Argentina wishes to play an active part in the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. We believe that the cultural exchanges foreshadowed in the project are of capital importance in strengthening international understanding.

8.19 Lastly, I should like to remind delegates that the Argentine National Commission for Unesco has offered to be the host of two important meetings which are down on the Calendar for 1961-1962: the Third Conference of National Commissions of the Western hemisphere, and the Fourth Meeting of the Intergovernmental Consultative Committee on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America.

8.20 The Republic of Argentina welcomes the entry to this Organization of nations which have gained their independence in recent years. We have a deep faith in the value of the drive and stimulus which the new States can contribute. From a certain point of view their situation is similar to that of Latin America. The nations which make up the Latin American community did not in the past - despite their sovereign status - influence the decisions affecting the contemporary world. That participation is today more than a wish of our countries. It is also an assurance, shared by all peoples, that their presence is a factor making for balance and compensation amid the tensions which threaten world peace.

8.21 I think I interpret the general feeling, not alone of my own country, when I say that cultural intercourse is an indispensable element if international coexistence is to progress from a vague aspiration to a genuine reality. In the last resort all our hopes are centred on the heart of man, his capacity for love, his respect for the dignity of each one of his fellows. When men and women combine to promote culture, science and education - at a time when self-styled "realists" are questioning

these values - when we see that none the less the lives of many individuals are rooted in things spiritual, our striving seems neither vain nor superfluous.

8.22 We are convinced that the interchange of men and cultures is a necessary adjunct to the securing of the peaceful coexistence to which we aspire. We are sure that when people are united in work of a spiritual kind, many human values assert themselves which lessen tension and re-establish men's natural desire to communicate one with another. More than that, it is then that the desire tc live in peace and good fellowship finds its most genuine expression. For peace is felt as a state inherent in our human condition and not as a truce of circumstance to be used to increase mistrust and the spirit of negation.

8.23 We have the right to doubt the pacific intentions of any institution or government which has not proved its devotion to liberty and to respect for the dignity of man. We have the right to doubt whether the search for peace is sincere when, although it is invoked in speech and illustrated in allegory, every possibility of intercourse is opposed, and when the right to maintain religious beliefs, freedom of speech and attachment to family life is denied, these values being replaced by the shifting dictates of an opportunist policy which diminishes and denies the human being.

8.24 Argentina maintains that the liberty of the individual and of the nation is an essential weapon in the fight for international peace and solidarity. It expresses its conviction that ever-closer attachment to the work of science, education and culture is the surest way of strengthening the cause of a just peace.

8.25 Our preoccupation with the defence of cultural values is based on experience of history and on our devotion to a philosophy of freedom. We rejoice at sharing the hard tasks this Assembly sets before us. In its performance, the contribution of my country will increase within the limits of the means at its disposal, and in proportion as our citizens acquire knowledge of the immense effort which Unesco is expending. May God help us to conduct ourselves with humanity and understanding, and to create a world in which the nations can speak to one another with confidence and free of fear.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Bonifaz Jijon, Head of the delegation of Ecuador.

10.1 Mr. BONIFAZ JIJON (Ecuador) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in the name of the Republic of Ecuador I am honoured to present to the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco both the friendly greetings of my country and the hopes that this meeting of civilized nations, seeking new horizons in education, science and culture, will agree on resolutions to increase the welfare of humanity, to encourage it along the path of progress and to intensify its spiritual efforts to pursue peace and banish war.

10.2 Today, when new African States have become members of Unesco, paying warm tribute to their background of French culture, Ecuador, as a free and democratic people, takes pleasure in extending to them fraternal greetings. Ecuador, so closely linked historically with French science and culture, declares that this act of international import confirms once more the feeling of world solidarity. These new ties of friendship will doubtless serve in the defence of civilization and for the conquest of new benefits for mankind. In this task which falls upon all peoples and all nations the mission of Unesco is fundamental.

10.3 Ecuador, a country respectful of the rights of man and a champion of spiritual values, today asks international organizations, as it asked them yesterday, for help in its unfaltering support of those who are disseminating culture. The six universities and the two polytechnic schools in the country, the fruit of its own efforts, are not sufficient to cope with the popular demand for culture. In submitting to you our needs, Mr. President, my country will be setting out problems which are fully consonant with the high aims of our Organization.

10.4 The delegation of Ecuador warmly supports the proposed programme and budget presented by the Director-General for the consideration of this assembly. There is no doubt that in its drafting the Director-General has been inspired by deep humanitarian considerations, as is shown in a programme of primary education of the highest importance for the countries of Africa, Asia, Arabic-speaking States, and those of Latin America.

10.5 The peoples of the world are anxious to develop their natural resources to obtain a better life. For that technicians are required. In the chapters of the programme relative to education, mass communication, and the social and natural sciences, there are concrete plans for making a vigorous start in this direction.

10.6 The peoples of the world wish to live in peace. It is a pleasure to us to see that projects such as the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values and International Exchange in the fields of education, science and culture have been conceived with this ideal in mind.

10.7 The world is characterized by rapid and often radical change. It is aware of its boundless needs and of its inextinguishable capacity to create in all fields. The world is heading towards industrialization at a rate that cannot be halted and many times when it seems that spiritual values are in imminent danger of destruction, it is comforting and salutary to note that Unesco continues to fulfil its lofty mission, supported by the faith of its Member States and the hopes placed in it by the nations.

10.8 The new programme of Unesco, Mr. President, has the virtue of comforting our minds and raising our hopes in international collaboration. Collaboration is not only a matter of being organized, it is a matter of help at the right time. It is not merely a question of helping certain countries, but of helping the greatest possible number and those which are in most need. Collaboration must be not only efficient, but just, for if there is no justice there can and should be no international collaboration.

10.9 In the course of the discussions on the programme, my delegation has made some pertinent observations, and I should like at this plenary meeting to call your attention to the fact that Ecuador has collaborated and is collaborating actively in the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America.

10.10 We have an Associated Training School "San Pablo del Lago" and we hope to see the "Juan Montalvo" Training School changed into "The Training School Associated with the Major Project" in line with resolutions taken during Unesco's last Seminar in Quito. For this school the Government of Ecuador intends to erect a building that will be equipped on up-to-date lines. The Government has also undertaken to increase the number of teachers and to build hundreds of schools. Teachers' salaries have already been substantially raised.

10.11 Collaboration between the Government of Ecuador, Unesco and the Central University of Quito has resulted in the creation and initial operation of the Latin American Centre for Training in Journalism. The Government and the Central University, realizing the importance of this Centre, have decided to construct a modern building for its use. In this matter the contributions of Ecuador exceed those of Unesco and for the period 1961-1962 the appropriations for this Centre should be charged to Regional Aid under the Participation programme and not to Ecuador's quota. This quota under the Programme of Participation in the Activities of Member States should not be affected by this appropriation. The Centre is in full development, giving excellent information about its work and holding out a promise of the best results, hopes which are indeed shared by its founder.

10.12 Ecuador will support with enthusiasm any measure making for the smoother working of the Special Fund. The request for aid for the Polytechnic School of Quito is being prepared and we hope that it will be speedily approved. We believe it necessary also that in turn the benefits of the Special Fund be extended to the Polytechnic School of Guayaquil and to the Technical University of Manabi. This trio of higher technical institutes is basic to the development of Ecuador. These Institutes are proving their worth in three different parts of my country and, if Unesco's work is to be efficient, its aid should contribute to their harmonious development. A Unesco expert is now studying the needs of the Quito Polytechnic and it is much to be desired, Mr. Director-General, that his mission be broadened so as to study, at least in a general way, the needs of the Polytechnic of Guayaquil and of the Technical University of Manabi.

10.13 I must mention, too, the help which Ecuador has received from Unesco in study grants and fellowships. Several dozens of Ecuadoreans have gone abroad to perfect their knowledge, thanks to Unesco's help. Most of them now hold important positions in the country and they are all, practically speaking, busy in their special spheres.

10.14 Ecuador deeply appreciates this assistance and hopes that in the future it will be increased to meet the country's multiple needs. Only well-trained national technicians can work the transformation which is necessary for Ecuador's future.

10.15 As a contribution to the East-West Major Project, I am happy to say that a series of lectures have been organized in Quito under the heading of "The East-West Week". The bulletin reporting these lectures has been listed for publication, and we shall be glad if Unesco gives us its assistance, as we are sure that works of this kind contribute to international coexistence. In this connexion should be emphasized the work of the "Colegio 24 de Mayo", which is linked with the world network of "Experimental Schools" and is applying the principles of Education for international coexistence. Emphasis should be laid too on the help of Unesco, thanks to which the College has begun to make use of the audio-visual laboratory. The work of the "Colegio 24 de Mayo" is an experiment of interest to the other colleges in the country and also to the associated experimental colleges of Unesco.

10.16 I cannot leave this exposition of the programme for 1961-1962 without referring to the Office of Unesco in the Western Hemisphere. My country thinks the moment has come when its activities should be broadened. If Unesco wishes this Office to fulfil its purpose, it should be given the means necessary to achieve them. It should be reorganized and its mission in Latin America more clearly defined. The question of its decentralization should be studied.

10.17 In the field of the Natural Sciences various projects hold our attention. Three of them are of immediate concern to us: the Charles Darwin Biological Station in the Galapagos Islands; Seismological Research and the Project of the Pan-American Observatory.

10.18 So far as the Charles Darwin Station is concerned, the legal preliminaries with regard to the Decree which will establish collaboration between the Republic of Ecuador and Unesco are now completed. The new location will be in the "Bahia of La Academia" on the island of Santa Cruz. The Decree to which I refer, and a copy of which is now with the Secretariat, is in two parts:

10.19 The first refers to the projection of terrestrial species, poetically called "the living world of evolution", into that fantastic world of the Enchanted Isles, and of a maritime zone which at the same time as providing a natural home for marine species will help enormously in the protection of the Island of Fernandina as a natural reserve.

10.20 In passing I must note that the staion's rôle in marine biology would be of the highest importance since, within the programme of oceanography, study is being made of Humboldt's cold current, which thus completes the work of the FAO expert on the whales of the area. My delegation must press for scientific studies, especially if they have a practical and social application in improving the food supply of the people of Ecuador, and solving the problem of a cheap, anti-earthquake building.

10.21 The second part of the Decree refers to the setting up of an Ecuadorean Institute of Scientific Research, whose work can be summed up in three words: co-ordination, vigilance and co-operation with national and foreign scientific institutes that might be interested in the Galapagos Islands or in the special position of our country along the line of the Equator.

10.22 For example, in the Offices of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in Washington, I had the honour of discussing my proposal for a world-wide seismological network and the possibility of installing a seismological station - with particular reference to Ecuador - on the island of Santa Cruz, which would be of vital international importance and interest. I say of international interest, because the island is situated about 600 miles from the coast of Ecuador and is therefore

an important point of reference for the seismological stations of Bogota, Quito, Huancayo and Las Chilenas, which meet more or less on meridian 78. In these conversations I took the liberty of suggesting that the scientists and experts of Unesco should control the instruments to be set up on the Charles Darwin station of Galapagos.

10.23 Further, the seismological station of Santa Cruz Island and that of Quito, both situated on the Equator, suggested to the delegate of Ecuador the idea of setting up, maybe with the help of Unesco and other international organizations, important seismological centres in the basin of the Amazon, on the Atlantic coast of South America, on the Atlantic and Indian coasts of Africa, and in Singapore. In this way a sort of seismological belt would be set up along the Equator with great advantages to science and to the study of the phenomenon.

10.24 I must point out that none of these projects could be realized without Ecuador's firm confidence in the scientific and international capacity of Unesco.

10.25 The third of the projects I mentioned relates to the Pan-American Observatory, desired by the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History. The local conditions of a clear sky and cloudless nights and the vast expanse of Quito's sky would make a fine setting for an astronomical laboratory, although it would be very hard to maintain it properly from Ecuador's resources alone. It might interest Unesco to collaborate in the project for a Pan-American Observatory on the Equator, particularly after the important resolutions taken at Cincinnati by the International Astronomical Union last may. Once more I must thank Unesco for its generous assistance to the Astronomical Observatory by its gift of a precision workshop and a quartz clock, for use in the Astro-laboratory of Quito.

10.26 In the name of the Government of Ecuador, I wish to express to Unesco the pleasure it feels at the skill and exactitude with which this Organization has carried to a happy conclusion each of the tasks it has undertaken in Ecuador. Ecuador congratulates Unesco on its work, congratulates the Director-General and his staff on their devotion and ability, and looks forward with optimism to the satisfaction of its Government's many aspirations.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Mohammed El Fasi, Head of the delegation of Morocco.

12.1 Mr. EL FASI (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my first task in addressing you from this rostrum is to bring you greetings from our august soverign, His Majesty Mohammed V, and to convey to you his good wishes for the success of this Conference and for Unesco's success in the tasks that lie ahead.

12.2 Our King, his Government and the people of Morocco are deeply interested in Unesco. It was the first international organization which we wished to join, as soon as we gained our independence, and since then our collaboration in its work and the aid it provides us with have both increased.

12.3 I should like also to congratulate the Head of the delegation of Ethiopia on his election as President of the General Conference. The entire African continent is thus honoured, and I like to see in this election a symbol of the leading rôle at last to be assigned to education, since it was at Addis Ababa that was held the conference on the educational needs of the African countries.

12.4 At this same session, two new States of Moslem Arab culture, Kuwait and Somalia, have been admitted to membership of our Organization. I extend to them my warmest congratulations and express the hope that all the other Arab countries, those which are free as well as those which have been struggling courageously for many years to reach independence, may soon join us in the building of a world where only peace, understanding and prosperity will reign, and where the human dignity of each nation will be recognized and accepted by all the others.

12.5 This year - I called it the African year at the session of the Executive Board last April when we hailed the entry of Guinea into our Organization - has been indeed a memorable one for our continent. The accession to independence of all these brother nations, who come to enrich the cultural patrimony of humanity, is a happy omen for the future of the world and of peace. May, I repeat, all the other peoples of Africa and of other parts of the world at last enjoy liberty, that necessary attribute of man, and may the odious word colonialism be forever blotted from the memory of man!

12.6 You are welcome, my dear brothers of Africa, in your home, this home of the mind, to which we as Africans, be we white, brown or black, have a duty to bring the stamp of our civilization and our culture. We all have need of Unesco and of all the countries which are ahead of us on the path of human progress. But it is also true that the world in a human sense will be enriched by the discovery of this great continent, knowledge of which was supposedly acquired from exotic works and colourful descriptions. Today, it is Africa's own sons who come to express themselves freely and to make known to the world the wealth of poetry and art which this continent conceals.

12.7 While congratulating my brothers of Africa on their accession to independence, my country deplores the fact that, under cover of a pseudo-independence to be granted to the pseudo-Republic of Mauritania, its territory is to be mutilated. When, at the beginning of the Twentieth century, the colonial ambitions of certain European nations incited them to take over Morocco, the undertaking seemed to them hazardous, because the Moroccan people were known for their fierce attachment to their independence, and because in the course of their long history they had never submitted to a foreign yoke. Even after its conversion to Islam, Morocco declared itself independent of the Eastern Caliphate. Then it was that began its dismemberment and partitioning. France occupied the southern part of the country called Mauritania, the ancient name of Morocco, and Spain took over a large part of Southern Morocco, called the Rio de Oro. The inhabitants appealed to the Sultan to defend their independence, but the central power was too weak at that time to face a war against two great powers. This weakness compelled Turkey even to sign a

protectorate treaty with France on the one hand and with Spain on the other. A fifth zone was put under international control: the zone of Tangiers. Thus broken up, we were destined during long years to struggle for the independence of our country and its unity. And now, in the Twentieth century, when the whole world is condemning colonialism, a puppet government is being used, such as we knew before independence, to continue to hold a part of the Moroccan people under a foreign yoke. I hope that the United Nations, in its wisdom, will, now that it is debating the issue, put an end to this source of friction and that a united Morocco will be able to raise that part of its territory to a level of social and economic development reached by the rest of the country, already liberated and joined to the mother country.

12.8 Mr. President, allow me after these general remarks to dwell a little on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962. I must first congratulate the Director-General on his report, which is a model of clarity, order and logic. Having taken part, as a member of the Executive Board, in the work of giving it final form, I must acknowledge that its conception, its new arrangement and the importance given to education, were the characteristic feature of this fine creation which, if supported by the Member States, will bring our Organization closer to the realization of its essential aims. Here I must also congratulate the staff all of whose members do their hard job with self-sacrifice, competence and industry. I speak here with personal knowledge of the work of the Secretariat and from the relations I have had with its different services for nearly five years.

12.9 The main characteristic of this proposed programme and budget is the place reserved, as I have already said, for education. Many speakers before me found reason for congratulation in this achievement, for they have been proclaiming for many years that the most profitable investments are those that are made in this sphere. All have stressed that the key to progress is the development of education.

12.10 Now that we are all agreed on the point and are considering how to bestow the benefits of civilization on nations that are newly independent, what can be done to spread education abroad in these countries? The plan which our different committees and the working party are studying at this moment answers the question in various forms of monetary aid, fellowships, round-tables, conferences, etc. But this is not enough. No criticism is intended of the programme nor of the Secretariat, nor even of Unesco as an international, intergovernmental organization. No, gentlemen, the means at Unesco's disposal will never allow her to satisfy all the educational needs of countries which did not get the chance to start on the path of progress at the same time as the advanced countries. It is on the latter that falls the duty of helping the peoples who are so athirst for knowledge.

12.11 It is true that underdeveloped nations do not lack only money. It is true that the lack of administrative staff, experts, university men and economists is the main obstacle to progress in the underdeveloped countries. But everything depends on stepping up education in these countries. We can build schools, acquire teaching material and train teachers. But all these things need money, and unfortunately we cannot take money from the ground. To do so, one must already be educated. An ignorant people does not know how to exploit its natural wealth. So if we are to break this vicious circle, allow the disinherited portion of humanity to approach the light of knowledge which will open to us all the gates of prosperity and progress, only the rich - the other part of humanity - have the power to do this.

12.12 The rôle of Unesco will be greater than ever when the nations of the world who have it in their power agree to put at its disposal, besides their ordinary contribution, the vast sums necessary to finance the Major World Project for Education for 1963-1964. I had a hand in drawing up this project, along with my colleagues, Mr. Kuypers and the lamented representative of Mexico on the Executive Board, Mr. de Alba and it is now being studied by the Programme Commission. Only when it is activated, will humanity be worthy of carrying the great burden which, as it is put in the Koran, is to represent God on earth.

12.13 The delegations of the United Arab Republic and the Sudan have presented a draft resolution concerning the Arabic language and the place which it should occupy in the Organization. I may recall that I drew Unesco's attention to this question four years ago in a speech which I had the honour to make at New Delhi during the ninth session of the General Conference. I should like to repeat what I said there. "Arabic, Mr. President, is one of the few languages in the world worthy of being considered a language of civilization. It is not only the official language of some ten Member States of Unesco, it is also the language of the Koran, the Sacred Book of the world's four hundred million Moslems". It is therefore proper, if not to admit it as a working language in the sense that we apply to this term, at least to give it the benefit of a new classification, such as, for example, "complementary working language". Thus, it would be mandatory to use it in all spheres touching the Arab States. Documents which have to do with that cultural region, as well as the principal publications of Unesco, ought to be translated into Arabic.

12.14 One of the projects that does most credit to Unesco is that of safeguarding the Nubian monuments. This magnificent undertaking, which is due mainly to the initiative of the Director-General, must be made to succeed. In preserving these glorious relics, which belong not alone to Africa, seat of the oldest civilization in the world and not alone to the United Arab Republic, which has just given us the finest possible example in its appreciation of artistic values. They are part of the common heritage of mankind - in preserving them, I say, we shall prove to ourselves that our civilization is not, as some people like to claim, a purely materialistic civilization. But, again, it is money that is lacking.

12.15 However, I am convinced that the enthusiasm aroused by the campaign of last Spring will bear fruit and that many nations will wish to share actively in this fine enterprise. To illustrate the interest of His Majesty Mohammed V in the project, he assigned his daughter, Her Royal Highness Princess Lalla Aicha, to Unesco's Headquarters in Paris a fortnight ago to keep him abreast of what is being done.

Princess Lalla Aicha is a member of the Committee of Patrons of which His Majesty the King of Sweden is President.

12.16 I hope that the announcement of a contribution of 5,000 million francs from the budget of the United Arab Republic made yesterday by H.E. Mr. Okasha, the United Arab Republic Minister of Culture, will meet with a favourable response in all Parliaments of the world.

12.17 I should like once again, Mr. President, before closing, to say how much we appreciate the aid which Unesco is giving us, particularly in the field of education. Morocco has been making a great effort to develop teaching. This year, we had a million children at school. We hope to have all our children at school by the end of the five-year plan, which began this year. The budget for national education this year reached twenty per cent of our total budget. His Majesty the King, in his speech from the throne on 18 November last, announced that this percentage will be still further increased in coming years.

12.18 This year we celebrated the eleventh centenary of the oldest university in the world, the Kairoween at Fez. Delegations from most of the countries of the world and representatives of all the old Moslem universities of Tunis, Cairo and Tashkent in the Soviet Union were our guests. It was a unique occasion when university men of varied cultures were able to meet as friends. Unesco was represented at these celebrations and a speech was made by Mr. Chevalier on behalf of the Deputy Director-General, Mr. Maheu, which was considered to be one of the best statements delivered on the contribution of Moslem civilization to the cultural heritage of mankind.

12.19 This year, within the framework of the Major Project for the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, we organized a musical festival at which an orchestra from the famous Mozarteum of Salzburg gave concerts in all the large towns of Morocco. New institutes have been founded at the University of Rabat, in particular an Institute of Social Studies, a creation due to Unesco, who provided us with an expert from the University of Neuchâtel, to whom I should like to pay tribute for his ability and untiring efforts.

12.20 These, Mr. President, are but a few examples of the cultural activity of our country, which I wanted to bring to your attention in order to say that, if we have had the good fortune to be a little more advanced than some of our African neighbours who have only just become independent, we are ready to help them by taking their students into our universities, by assigning teachers to teach in their schools, and generally by giving them all the help we can. Our action in the Congo, at Leopoldville, within the framework of the United Nations was appreciated as much by the Congolese themselves as by foreign observers.

12.21 But once more, the most effective aid towards raising millions of people athirst for knowledge from their unfortunate situation must come from those who have the means to give it. And it is comforting that all the statements we have heard from this rostrum in the course of this session, inspire the hope that they will give it. It will be to the honour of Unesco to have contributed to this vast movement of human fellowship a pledge of world peace and prosperity.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon H.E. Mr. Sava Ganovski, Head of the delegation of Bulgaria.

14.1 Mr. GANOVSKI (Bulgaria) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the report of the Director-General is an interesting and important document describing the activity of Unesco during the past two years and surveying its tasks for the future. It is not possible to deal with all the questions on which observations and suggestions might be made, and I shall therefore touch only on some of them. As regards the programme and budget for 1961-1962, the Bulgarian delegation has made a number of proposals which will be our modest contribution to Unesco's activity. I shall not speak about them here.

14.2 Unesco has some notable successes in international collaboration in the sphere of education, science and culture to its credit for the period under review. They include: research on arid lands; the Conference on Oceanography in Copenhagen; the results achieved under the Major Project on Primary Education in Latin America. The Montreal Conference on Adult Education, and a whole series of international meetings and conferences on questions of education, science and culture. The regional conferences of the National Commissions of the Asian and European countries, as well as the conferences held in Addis Ababa, Karachi and Beirut, also yielded positive results. Unesco can take pride in having been the first of the Specialized Agencies to support the resolution of the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly on the question of general and complete disarmament.

14.3 Notwithstanding, we are fully justified in asking ourselves whether Unesco has done everything it could to improve collaboration between nations with different economic and political systems, to help in ending the cold war and establishing lasting peace. We have to state that the Secretariat and the Executive Board have not done everything within their powers and possibility in accordance with the injunctions of Unesco's Constitution, to promote international collaboration in the field of education, science and culture. The reasons for this are to be found above all in the fact that the Executive Board is trying to keep the Organization aloof from the biggest and most vital problems of mankind at the present time.

14.4 How is it possible in our time, ladies and gentlemen, at a moment of transition from one social and economic system to another, from capitalism to socialism, to consider the activity of international organizations such as Unesco without taking account of the international situation in general, and without mentioning the major historic tasks which lie before us in eliminating the danger of another destructive war and in fighting for the preservation of peace?

14.5 Never in man's history have there been such solid possibilities as now to resolve the question of general and complete disarmament, to bring about an easing of international tension, to institute the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and to utilize education, scientific and

cultural collaboration between nations as a means of finding a solution to these questions. Only if Unesco follows this path will it prove equal to these tasks of our times. In fulfilling them, it will contribute within its own means and possibilities, not only towards the solution of historic problems but also towards the advancement of democracy, the consolidation of international peace and the development of education, science and culture.

14.6 Only on the basis of a correct understanding of the international situation, a correct understanding of the laws of development of our epoch, can we determine the basic aims of our work and chart the way to their achievement. It is clear to all of us that Unesco, as a body concerned with questions of education, science and culture, must have a scientifically based policy. This means that Unesco's directive work must be carried on, not chaotically, but in an organized, systematic and creative fashion, in conformity with social progress. In this way, the policy of Unesco will be scientifically based, and this in turn will be of special importance for the consolidation and further development of the Organization's activity.

14.7 Yet there is nothing of this in the report of the Director-General, in its outline of the past and future activity of Unesco. And what is more, when a number of delegates, including the delegation of the Soviet Union, proposed to repair this omission by including the above-mentioned questions in the agenda of the session, their suggestion was turned down without the slightest argumentation. During the two-day debate on these proposals everything was done to bar their inclusion in the agenda.

14.8 It seems to me that this omission in the Director-General's report is not fortuitous. It reflects the attitude of the Unesco Secretariat. Furthermore, the opposition to the inclusion of these questions typifies the frame of mind not only of certain delegates to our Conference, but also of the Secretariat, which means that such manifestations are characteristic of the policy pursued by Unesco. The truth is that this policy is masked by constant statements to the effect that Unesco is not concerned with politics, and that therefore these burning questions cannot and should not be included in the agenda. I doubt whether these statements have convinced anybody. One thing is clear: those who excluded any consideration of these vital questions from the agenda are simply afraid of life and history, and are revealing their own moral and political impotence. Their "non-political" line is nothing but a cloak, in fact, for their political intentions.

14.9 Ladies and gentlemen, it would be highly interesting at our Conference, to go into the question of what politics really is. It is not my intention to give a lecture on the matter: I have neither the time nor the possibility. But what sort of misunderstandings arise on this point is evident from the following. We are very happy here, and have every reason to be, to welcome the delegates of a number of African nations who have freed themselves of colonialism and achieved independence. This is considered not to be politics. But to concern ourselves with the question of defending the independence of peoples, to demand non-interference in the internal affairs of States - as was suggested here by the Cuban delegation - is considered to be politics. To defend the presence at our Conference, without any justification of the Chiang Kai-Shek delegation, is not politics, but to raise the question of the acceptance as a member of Unesco of the People's Republic of China - which has every right to acceptance - this is politics, nothing must be said about this matter here, and the question must not be included in the agenda. To raise questions of general and complete disarmament, the liquidation of colonialism, peaceful coexistence and other important issues for consideration by the General Conference is considered to be politics. But to discard them, to refuse to consider them, that is not politics. I shall not labour the matter by referring to other issues: I think that enough has been said to point to the conclusion that the conceptions of what is political and what is not political are confused in the minds of certain delegates to the point of absurdity.

14.10 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, is it possible in our day to name a single important social or scientific question which is not political? We can see for ourselves that even the question of atomic energy, of the conquest of the cosmos and other scientific problems are in fact political issues. Again, take those questions which are so persistently and sharply raised by life itself, such as general and complete disarmament, the liquidation of colonialism, peace or war, peaceful coexistence and the rest - surely these are not purely political questions only? To think that they are would, I submit, be a grievous error: they are also scientific questions - that is, questions which concern sociology, philosophy, history, pedagogy and other sciences Nay, more, these questions are linked to educational and cultural issues, and hence they not only may, but should be considered by the General Conference of Unesco.

14.11 It is obvious that those who were reluctant to consider them are simply unwilling to understand the scientific and cultural content of these questions and are afraid to give consideration here to questions of science and culture, and this fact, indeed, is what characterizes their political intentions and aspirations, which are not only erroneous but harmful.

14.12 There is no doubt that all peace-loving international public workers in the field of science, culture and education perceive these serious defects in Unesco's activities, and this will neither help Unesco to fulfil its tasks nor strengthen its authority, nor will it help towards a solution of the major problems of our time. On the contrary, it slows down the life of our Organization, hampers social and cultural development, and will have the effect of making our Organization still further removed from life.

14.13 Ladies and gentlemen, nobody is asking that Unesco should turn itself into a political organization. We do not want it to become a second United Nations. But it is necessary to understand that educational and cultural activity has its own politics, and hence that political and cultural questions are directly linked. It is not only from one side but from all sides that Unesco should consider the questions of education, science and culture which it is its first duty to tackle, and which are closely bound up with political questions and contribute towards their correct solution.

14.14 It is absolutely essential that Unesco, as such, should face up to the historic problems and duly concentrate its efforts on mobilizing the educated world public in defence of peace and in defence of civilization menaced by atomic war. Instead of concentrating its energy and helping to achieve this key objective, Unesco dissipates its strength on minor measures which may all seem necessary but which in reality only weaken the main stream of effort in the direction in which the activity of the Organization should be developing.

14.15 The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is of the opinion that Unesco cannot fulfil its basic mission without taking an active part in the struggle for the defence of peace, for complete and general disarmament and for the liquidation of the cold war which is hampering the development of the creative forces of those who are struggling for the elimination of colonialism and its effects. A situation in which Unesco looks on unconcernedly while thousands of millions of dollars are wasted each year on armaments at a time when nearly one-third of the population of the globe is illiterate and vegetates in ignorance, when they need schools, books and scientific establishments, is downright impermissible. How is it possible, for example, under the conditions of the cold war and the arms race, as at present, to work successfully for the eradication of illiteracy among nearly one thousand million people? To fight for general and complete disarmament, for the liquidation of colonialism is to fight for the eradication of illiteracy, for the creation of a mighty network of educational and cultural institutions, for the flowering of the national culture of all peoples.

14.16 The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the proposal by the Soviet Union Government that Unesco should set up a major project for the world-wide eradication of illiteracy that shameful hallmark of the colonial policy of the imperialistic nations.

14.17 Ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria would like to dwell on yet another question of vital importance for enhancing the international authority of Unesco, enlarging its field of activity and more effectively implementing its programme. It must be forthrightly stated that by its opposition to giving the People's Republic of China its rightful place in Unesco, the Organization is depriving itself of the possibility of making use of the wealth of experience of a great country in the fight against illiteracy, of having access to the age-old culture of the Chinese people. In pursuing a policy of discrimination against the People's Republic of China, Unesco is committing a gross error which is seriously undermining the Organization's authority. It is making the same mistake, also in respect of other countries: the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. I hope that these countries will soon be accepted as members of Unesco.

14.18 We warmly welcome the new members of our Organization and express the profound sentiments which the Bulgarian people cherishes for the freedom-loving peoples of Africa. We give a particularly warm greeting to the peoples of Cuba and the Congo in their struggle to defend their freedom and independence. We subscribe to the opinion already expressed by several delegates that the representatives of Unesco in the Congo acted incorrectly, that they acted not in defence of the freedom and independence of the Congolese people but in the interests of the colonialists. Perhaps I misunderstood the Head of the French delegation when he seemed to imply that colonialism had already been liquidated, that it was past and done with, and that there was therefore no point in fighting against it. I regret to have to say that this will deceive no one. Colonialism belongs both to the past and to the present, and the voice of history, the voice of the peoples, demands that we, with the help of Unesco, liquidate colonialism finally and completely. Let us not forget that hundreds of millions are still living in colonial bondage.

14.19 A policy of discrimination is also evident in Unesco's systematic refusal to grant consultative status to a number of international non-governmental organizations. Unesco has so far established relations of collaboration with more than 140 international organizations, many of which are of great international importance and promote the achievement of the Organization's aims and objects. But there are not a few among them, such as the Catholic International Education Office, and others, with which Unesco has entered into collaboration although they have very little international significance. At the same time, Unesco steadily refuses to collaborate with such organizations as the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Organization of Journalists, the International Radio and Television Organization, the International Union of Students, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and other organizations of well-deserved international repute and known for their democratic principles. It has to be stated that on this issue, also the policy of the leading organs of Unesco is having the effect of lowering its prestige and detracting from international collaboration in the field of education, science and culture.

14.20 Unesco practises discrimination against a number of States on the question of the recruitment of experts for the purpose of carrying the programme of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries into effect. Out of a total of nearly 2,000 experts sent on mission by Unesco, only between two and three per cent are recruited in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. All the others were recruited in the main, in France, United Kingdom, United States, Belgium and the Netherlands - that is to say, in imperialistic and colonial States. What justification is there for this? Surely Unesco knows full well that it is not only these countries which have experts available? In this case, Unesco is obviously acting as a channel for the policy of the colonial States, which are trying to preserve their influence in their former colonies and to erect a wall between the liberated countries and the socialist States.

14.21 The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has the honour to state that our country is in a position to offer experts in various branches of education and science who would be able to give effective help to the Asian, African and Arab peoples which have won their independence. The

questions facing them in the field of education, science and culture are closely akin to those which not so long ago faced the People's Republic of Bulgaria and have already been successfully resolved.

14.22 Ladies and gentlemen, tremendous successes have been achieved during fifteen years of people's power in Bulgaria. The volume of production in our country has increased ten-fold as compared with figures at the time of its liberation from the fascist régime, Bulgaria is no longer a backward agrarian country as in the past, but has transformed itself into an industrial power with its own heavy industry and a co-operative and mechanized agriculture which constitute the basis for the rapid development of education, science and culture in our country. Our successes in these fields are a matter of national pride.

14.23 Led by the new people's power, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has completely eradicated illiteracy. With a population of nearly 8,000,000 there are nearly 6,000 elementary schools at which more than 1,000,000 children receive instruction. Nearly 150,000 pupils attend the 350 secondary schools, while there are 210 vocational secondary schools catering for nearly 77,000 pupils. We also have 10 semi-university institutes with 4,000 students. The number of higher educational establishments has risen from four to 20, catering for about 49,000 students and employing about 3,500 professors and teachers, whereas at the time of liberation the corresponding figure was only 400. Out of every 10,000 of the population, there are 58 students, or considerably more than in such countries as the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Canada, the United Kingdom and others.

14.24 The children in Bulgaria are educated in the schools in the spirit of freedom and people's democracy, as opponents of rabid chauvinism, nationalism, racialism or war. The entire Bulgarian people is raised in the spirit of international friendship, collaboration and peace, in the spirit of the foreign policy of the Bulgarian Government, as clearly expounded in the United Nations by our delegation headed by Todor Zhivkov.

14.25 Our people is ready to share its experience with all who wish it. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to point out that Unesco is paying insufficient attention to the development of education, science and culture in the socialist countries, is deliberately ignoring it, and is failing to exploit it for the benefit of the recently liberated countries.

14.26 Our delegation, in accordance with the instructions of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, supports the Soviet Union delegation's proposal concerning the reorganization of the Unesco Secretariat and the Executive Board, including the appointment of three Secretaries instead of a single Director-General, and an increase in the membership of the Executive Board to 30 to correspond with the three groups of countries: socialist neutralist and capitalist. We consider these proposals to be realistic, wise and practicable. The adoption of these proposals would not only be right and proper but would also enhance the authority of Unesco and open up great possibilities for its further consolidation and development.

14.27 The international situation at present is radically different from what it was at the time of Unesco's foundation, and the institution of Director-General no longer meets the new conditions. Our organization, ladies and gentlemen, is not something immutable. It is not a fossilized substance: if we wish it to grow in strength and develop it must follow life, and not stand aloof from it. That means that it must improve both its structure and its form of organization, methods and style of work. This is absolutely essential, but unfortunately many people still fail to appreciate the fact.

14.28 There is nothing fortuitous about the Soviet Union proposals. They show a correct understanding of the changes which have taken place in the international situation and at the new stage in social life. Moreover, they summarize the experience of the work of Unesco itself. The proposals are realistic, fair and wise, and their adoption, as I stated, will open up great possibilities for the growth, strengthening and improvement of our Organization.

14.29 I should like also to draw your attention to the question of the Unesco budget for 1961-1962. The budget level already accepted by the General Conference is the highest which Unesco has ever had. This budget, which entails an increase in Member States' contributions, obliges us to put forward a number of suggestions and recommendations for its utilization.

14.30 We consider it necessary to cut administrative expenses by a minimum of 10 or 15%, and the Bulgarian delegation whole-heartedly supports the Soviet Union resolution in that connexion. The reduction of administrative costs should be the Secretariat's urgent and unremitting task. It could make substantial savings which could then be used for more appropriate purposes such as educational development in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We consider it proper not to inflate the staff of the Secretariat, and particularly those services which have purely administrative functions - a tendency which is apparent in the proposed budget. Let us have a little less staff so as to have a little more money; let us have fewer administrators and bureaucrats but more creators in the Unesco Secretariat! All this calls for unremitting efforts to simplify the Secretariat's work; let us have fewer letters and documents and more clarity and brevity!

14.31 In conclusion, I should like to state that Unesco should concentrate its activity on carrying out international measures which will directly contribute to the establishment of closer relations between States, and to the promotion of international collaboration in the field of education, science and culture.

14.32 The Bulgarian delegation makes a special request to the directors of Unesco: that they provide effective assistance in fulfilling those of Unesco's tasks which concern the Balkan countries, so that closer scientific and cultural collaboration can be created between them in order to convert the Balkans into a zone of peace. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to state that the Bulgarian Government will support every proposal or initiative of Unesco which aims at concentrating the efforts of the Organization on the achievement of its basic objectives: the strengthening of international

co-operation in the field of education, science and culture, the achievement of general and complete disarmament and the liquidation of colonialism, with a view to peaceful coexistence and the triumph of peace throughout the world.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Murray, delegate of the Federation of the West Indies.

16.1 Mr. MURRAY (Federation of the West Indies): Mr. President, fellow delegates, I am very grateful for this opportunity of making a statement. In international circles we have nowadays become familiar with the epithets "small" "new" and "underdeveloped" and the euphemistic variant "developing", as applied to certain nations. All these epithets are applicable to the country which I have the honour to represent here and I appear before you in full consciousness of the fact. But I am also conscious that size, age, economic maturity and even military power are not, and indeed never were, the only criteria of a country's significance. The welcome being accorded to the arrival of new nations in the United Nations Organization and in its daughter organizations is too hearty and unequivocal to leave anyone in doubt about this truth today.

16.2 Equally hearty and unequivocal have been the declarations of concern for the well-being of all peoples, and the genuineness of this concern is more than borne out by the constant flow of aid, multilaterally and bilaterally, between countries both within the United Nations framework and outside it. A major part of all this concern is for the small, new and developing countries, a fact which has been so far an outstanding feature of this session of the Conference. And, since so much of the business of the Conference concerns countries like mine, what more natural than that we should desire to put forward our reactions and some points of view?

16.3 The Federation of the West Indies qualifies in still another way for the right to expression in this instance. A great deal has been said here and in the Programme Commission about the evils of colonialism. As I represent a colony in transitu, it might not be amiss for me to indicate what I consider to be the West Indian thinking on the matter. The West Indies is a forward-looking community whose members have more faith in their potential to survive, and to survive abundantly, than desire to recriminate upon unhappy history. "The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on ....", Therefore, the concern about which I have spoken, I interpret as an expression of modern man's will to redeem the bad past; it is the noblest gesture of our age.

16.4 On the threshold of political independence the West Indies is not as a man setting out upon a hazardous journey, naked and without food or means of defence. The educational basis of our development was long ago laid down and many institutions necessary for the viability of a modern State set up, including institutions of higher learning. Our task today is to expand the scope and scale of these to meet our greatly increasing needs.

16.5 As a people we are a sumptuous mixture drawn from many of the principal races of the world - from Africa, Asia and Europe, and our civilization has roots deep in the culture of each of these. We believe in the freedom and dignity of the individual and no barriers of race, colour, religion or sex exist to thwart legitimate ambition - social, educational or economic. The vitality of our society is evidenced in flourishing creative movements - in painting, sculpture, literature, folk art and folk music - to say nothing of strenuous self-help efforts towards social and economic betterment.

16.6 In common with so many delegations here, I think it is in the field of education, particularly school and higher education, that Unesco can make greatest impact upon the developing countries. The trained intellect is our only apparatus of self-discovery, the only means of expanding our awareness at this crucial moment of our history. The transition to nationhood, we know, cannot be in form only; it must be accompanied by that efficiency which at one time justified the supremacy of one people over another, and which today in a world where, thankfully, human values are becoming more and more respected, holds out our only lasting hope of attaining reasonable self-sufficiency through scientific knowledge of our grudging environment.

16.7 But the West Indies is lacking in some of the cohesion which in old societies may be taken for granted. For some time now independence has been ours for the taking, but our leaders have been busy trying to undo what the experience of centuries of isolation had done to each of our island communities. This has been the factor responsible for what might appear to some to be delay in our attainment of full autonomy. We realize that there is a task here for education, a task of fostering and encouraging the same new loyalty everywhere. With enough of the right kind of education - and this is a more general point - culture, whatever may be the precise meaning of this all-embracing word, will take care of itself.

16.8 Now, the basis of the process of education is the teacher; and in the West Indies as in so many other countries, the rapid output of teachers sufficient in number and quality is a problem demanding new solutions. Here, I firmly believe is one field in which Unesco has a great potential. I note the reference to the training of teachers in Dr. Adiseshiah's able and sensitive exposition of the situation in Tropical Africa. I note also a proposal to set up there regional institutions where training may be given to the staffs of teachers' colleges. I hope similar assistance can be made available to the English-speaking peoples of the Caribbean if they ask for it. For in the Carribean, too, training college staffs would welcome opportunities of deepening their skills and of studying displays of the best pedagogical methods known to the world today. The Assistant Director-General also made reference to the recruitment and training of secondary school teachers on behalf of the developing countries sorely needing them. Any new hope that Unesco can hold out in this matter will make welcome news in the West Indies.

16.9 Touching the general programme, Sir, as in another part of this Conference I raised the question of regionalization in my part of the world, I will spare you any repetition here. I only wish to point once more to the principle that, where cultural

and linguistic lines cut across regions served by Unesco projects, resultant disadvantage to important minority sections of such regions should be provided against in some way.

16.10 Finally, Mr. President, I have only to say that I have been specially charged by our Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, the Honourable Phyllis Allfrey, who on the occasion of our becoming an Associate Member spoke to you here and who regrets her unavoidable absence from the eleventh session of the General Conference, to express on behalf of the Government of the West Indies Federation our deep gratitude for the benefits our country has received from Unesco, especially during the past two years. We pledge our faith in Unesco and in the ideals it proclaims and practises and we look anxiously forward to the day when we shall attain full membership within this great Organization.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Beejadhur, Head of the delegation of Mauritius.

18.1 Mr. BEEJADHUR (Mauritius) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, education is the need of all, and the community owes it to all. Unesco has taken for its own use that two-centuries old maxim of Condorcet's, for the greatest good of humanity. The research and other work which Unesco has done in the field of education, culture and science deserve our encouragement and our praise. The various documents we are discussing today show us once again that Unesco seeks to help the underdeveloped countries to give their children an education which can turn them into useful citizens.

18.2 Unfortunately education neither begins nor ends with the school. It begins in the home, is continued in school, and is rounded out in life. It is a continual process. After the building of schools and the training of teachers there remains the great task - perhaps the most difficult - of making available to the students of yesterday the means of pursuing their studies in one form or another.

18.3 I speak, Mr. President, with a full knowledge of the facts. Thanks in large measure to the funds furnished us by the Colonial and Development Welfare Fund of the United Kingdom, we have succeeded in building our schools and in founding a teacher-training college, which may be considered one of the best, if not the best, in our part of the world. But through lack of experience we have not been able to prevent most of our pupils from lapsing back into ignorance, thus losing the reward of our efforts.

18.4 It is therefore with pleasure that I remarked, in the programme presented by the Director-General, that funds have been allocated to this after-school education, which he refers to as education of the masses. But - for there is a "but" - while congratulating the Director-General on his programme, I cannot overlook the fact that Mauritius has been omitted. I like to think that this is perhaps an involuntary omission and I hope that for fairness' sake, the Director-General will not forget to make amends.

18.5 For our problems, though not the same as those of Africa, are no less serious. Above all we need suitable textbooks for our schools, where there are children of European, Indian, Chinese and other origins. The books now in use do not meet our needs nor our desires. In the opinion of the teachers, our teaching system needs to be reformed. How can one properly teach three languages in the primary school? With what language should one begin, and at what stage should the second or the third be introduced? As soon as possible a solution should be found for this problem, which is already causing trouble in our country. Unesco alone, by its prestige and know-how, can solve it to the satisfaction of all concerned.

18.6 There is another problem, about which I spoke briefly here after the admission of Mauritius as an Associate Member. That is the problem of community development. There again, the experience of Unesco and of countries like the United States of America, the Dominican Republic and Australia, who have been able to form a nation of different racial and religious groups, will be useful to us. Also useful for us, as for other tropical countries, will be the Commission entrusted with the drawing up of plans for the building of cheap schools. I hope that the builders will not forget the hurricanes. On this point I will quote our own case. Most of our schools, because they were badly designed, were destroyed by the cyclones which have recently struck our country. Rebuilding is going on, but alas, how much time has been lost!

18.7 I have received plans for the building of schools from the delegation of Mexico. I hope they will be useful to me, and I express my thanks for them. I take this opportunity also to thank all the delegations which have showered upon us sympathy and proofs of friendliness.

18.8 Mauritius, in turn, is ready to help countries that may need teachers for their primary schools, clerical help for their administration, and sugar experts. We have a great number of young people who have obtained their Senior Cambridge Diploma or their Higher School Certificate and who would be glad to serve the noble cause of Unesco. An exchange of values is always good. People thus get to know each other better and, consequently, to have greater esteem for one another.

18.9 In that respect, this Conference will have achieved this much: it will have enabled representatives of many countries in the world to meet, to get to know one another, to talk over their respective problems and to seek means of solving them. That is a big step towards universal brotherhood, the guarantee of peace among men. And, in the name of the delegates, Mr. President, I thank Unesco.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, there are five speakers to be heard tomorrow. After these speakers the general discussion will be closed. The Director-General will then reply to all the speeches that have been made. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

TWENTIETH PLENARY MEETING

26 November 1960, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

General discussion of the Reports of the Director-General (conclusion) 319
Reply by the Director-General 326

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL (conclusion)

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlement, the meeting is open. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that more than six speakers have already handed in their names and that after the closure of the general discussion the Director-General will reply to the approximately 90 speakers who have taken part in this discussion. I should therefore like to ask speakers to be as brief as possible, so that we can avoid holding a meeting this afternoon.

1.2 Before continuing with the general discussion, I call upon H.E. Mr. Matsui, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

2.1 Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (Translation from the French): Mr. President, in accordance with the decision taken earlier, I have pleasure in informing you that the Republic of Chad yesterday submitted, in the form of a telegram, the instruments accrediting an observer to the General Conference. These credentials can be accepted provisionally and Chad allowed to take part in the General Conference as a non-member State.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon H.E. Mr. Sinoimeri, Head of the delegation of Albania.

4.1 Mr. SINOIMERI (Albania) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, fellow delegates, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania, I should like to express by best wishes for the success of this eleventh session of the General Conference and also to welcome the many new members of our Organization.

4.2 Our delegation is imbued with the will to work for international understanding and co-operation and to contribute to the maintenance and consolidation of peace and peaceful existence among all nations.

4.3 The eleventh session of our Organization's General Conference is taking place at a time when, owing to the provocation and the aggressive policy of the imperialists, more particularly the United States of America, international tension has increased appreciably. As you know, as a result of the many peaçeful efforts and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, there has been a certain relieving of the tension in international relations. The famous proposals of the Soviet Union to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations were of considerable importance in this respect. This noble aim was also served by the recent proposals submitted by the Soviet Union and strongly supported by our delegation at the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly and by the recent proposal of the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of China for the signature of a reciprocal friendship and non-aggression pact among the countries of Asia and particularly bordering on the Pacific including the United States of America. Unfortunately, the imperialist powers in general and the United States of America in particular are continuing their aggressive policy feverishly and deliberately, even going so far as to undermine the Summit Conference beforehand.

4.4 At a time when the Socialist countries are making constructive proposals for disarmament, with a view to safeguarding and strengthening world peace, the capitalist countries, led by the United States of America, are intensifying the arms race, establishing new military bases, making desperate efforts to maintain the loathsome colonial system, sowing hatred among the nations, making weapons of mass extermination available to the revenge-seekers of Germany and carrying out a permanent policy of provocation, espionage and aggression. Can we ignore in silence the danger which is threatening world peace and security? It is difficult to acquire knowledge of important scientific and cultural values and disseminate and exchange them when they are not yet safe from the threat of a devastating war and when, in several countries, blood is flowing and millions of innocent men are groaning under the heavy yoke of colonialism.

4.5 Our delegation considers it of primary importance to condemn and publicly unmask the warmongers

who are playing with the interests of peoples and threatening the great century-old values of universal culture.

4.6 In its long history, the Albanian people have had to shed too much of their blood in their struggles against foreign domination and imperialist aggression. They have suffered terribly from war and its aftermath. In the last war alone, about 8% of the population of our country died in battle, were wounded or imprisoned; 35% of our towns and villages were destroyed and our whole economy was wiped out. The Albanian people have paid too high a price for their freedom and made tremendous sacrifices for the common cause of all peoples fighting against fascist aggression. They know only too well the meaning of war and that is why they are making every effort to safeguard and preserve peace.

4.7 The Albanian people detest war and hate imperialism, which is the source of all evils and, on behalf of their sons who fell on the field of honour, they are asking Unesco to become an effective weapon for the maintenance of international peace. They consider that peace will be preserved if the nations take up the cause with determination and defend it to the last. Our delegation holds it the most sacred duty of our Organization to unite the efforts of the peoples in their common struggle against imperialist aggression, for the safeguarding of peace and for peaceful coexistence.

4.8 Albania, once one of the most backward countries of Europe, has been able, in a short space of time, to dress its wounds and remove the traces of the past. Thanks to its speedy development, it now ranks among the more advanced countries. Our present industrial production for a fortnight is as much as it was for the whole of 1938. At the end of 1960, our total industrial production should be 113% higher than in 1955, with an average annual rate of increase of over 16%. It is obvious that these achievements in the sphere of economy and in other sectors would not have been possible without the successful introduction of radical changes in education, as well as in science and culture. Without going into great detail, I should like to quote a few facts. As you know, in 1938, 83% of the population of Albania was illiterate. At that time, only one out of every fourteen children of school age could go to school. Today, the position is entirely different and one out of every five children is attending school. Senior personnel in their hundreds are being educated every year, both in our young university and abroad, and the number of schoolchildren and students amounts to 300,000 for a total population of 1,600,000.

4.9 Great efforts are being made to improve our educational system so that it may really meet the needs of our time. In the second quarter of 1960, this problem was discussed at large public meetings, and only afterwards was the appropriate legislation on the reorganization of our schools put into effect. The new legislation provides for still closer relationship between school and everyday life, between theory and practice. The steps taken are truly revolutionary and will contribute to a radical improvement in our system of popular education.

4.10 Future prospects are even more promising. The Third Five-Year Plan, for 1961-1965, provides for an increase of 33% in the number of schoolchildren and students by 1965, bringing the total up to 400,000 as compared with 300,000 at present. The network of seven-year schools will be expanded to such an extent that, in 1965, these schools will absorb 80% of the children who have completed their primary schooling. The number of secondary schools will also be increased to accommodate 30,000 pupils as compared with 15,000 at the moment, while the number of students attending universities, excluding those following evening and correspondence classes, will be raised from 4,300 to 7,200.

4.11 Long before it joined Unesco, Albania applied the principles on which this Organization is based at the international level. Although barely two years have passed since the establishment of the National Commission for Unesco of the People's Republic of Albania, it has tried to carry out the essential tasks included in the programme and to familiarize itself with the main problems with which Unesco is concerned. Particular importance has been attached to the East-West Major Project. Efforts have been made to ensure the diffusion of the culture of Eastern and Western nations through the translation of a large number of their literary and scientific masterpieces, beginning with the earliest authors and progressing towards modern times.

4.12 Foreign groups of artists have been invited to our country and our own artists have gone abroad. In 1959, to mention only Far Eastern groups, our country was visited by a group of artists from the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and by the Arpana group from the Republic of India. We have also held several exhibitions on life in Eastern and Western countries - 14 in 1958 and 24 in 1959.

4.13 We have carried out extensive exchanges of information with other countries through our newspapers, our radio, our television and every other available means.

4.14 Many delegations have been exchanged between our country and foreign countries. Festivals devoted to the films and music of several foreign countries have been held and numerous other activities have been a powerful factor in strengthening co-operation between ourselves and other countries. Finally, 9,000 foreigners, of whom 5,200 were tourists, visited Albania in 1959, 65% of these coming from Eastern countries. All this activity has taken place within the context of the cultural relations that our country has established and developed with foreign countries, whether socialist or not, and also through collaboration between various institutions in our country and their counterparts abroad.

4.15 Albania has also entered into a cultural agreement with Iraq and drawn up a programme of cultural exchanges with France. It is continuing its efforts to extend its relations with Italy and other countries. This year, the Albanian Government signed the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. This fact offers positive confirmation that our country has a National Commission capable of participating effectively in the implementation of the programme and of drawing in national bodies which are representative of public opinion.

4.16 Before concluding, I should like to emphasize my delegation's satisfaction that the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 covers nearly every aspect of the Organization's activities.

However, we should like to make two criticisms which we consider vital, namely that the questions raised in the Proposed Programme and Budget do not always fit in with the major problems which are inherent in the current international situation and with which our Organization should deal. Our delegation therefore proposes that the possibility be explored of pooling, in the first place, all the resources and means at Unesco's disposal so as to solve problems as vital as that of peaceful coexistence, general and complete disarmament, and the struggle for peace, and that the Organization should concentrate all its efforts on solving these problems. The second point on which our delegation is not in agreement is that concerning Unesco's financial policy. We fully support the proposal of the Soviet delegation for a 15% cut in administrative costs.

4.17 Our delegation once again strongly protests against the resolution of the Executive Board on the question of the contribution of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

4.18 Our delegation again expresses its profound indignation at the fact that the contribution of the Chiang Kai-shek clique has been reduced, when this clique ought in fact to be expelled from our Organization and cede its place to the only true representative of the Chinese people - the Government of the People's Republic of China. It also protests against the refusal to admit to their rightful place the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the German Democratic Republic.

4.19 Finally, our delegation is in full agreement with the other proposals of the delegation of the Soviet Union concerning the reorganization of the Executive Board and the Directorate of Unesco.

4.20 The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania hopes that the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco will help to strengthen cultural relations between the several nations, and will contribute to their material and spiritual progress and to the maintenance of world peace. It states from this platform that the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, which has ever adhered to a policy of peace, will, as always, support every proposal and every endeavour to strengthen mutual understanding and international co-operation.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Since H.E. Mrs. Barrios de Hass, Head of the delegation of Guatemala, is absent, I call upon H.E. Mr. Quintanilla, Head of the delegation of Nicaragua.

6.1 Mr. QUINTANILLA (Nicaragua) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, fellow delegates, for the second time - and on this occasion, for the eleventh session of the General Conference - the representatives of Member States are meeting at Unesco's headquarters under a Parisian sky, in this incomparable, timeless and eternal city.

6.2 Once again, men of goodwill from every part of the globe are meeting in this modern agora of universal thought to meditate on the vital problems of education, science and culture. Once again, the spirit of this great international Organization is renewing its creative force, reaffirming its principles and strengthening its claim to permanence.

6.3 This Conference is distinguished by three events which are landmarks in the already extensive and eventful history of Unesco: the loss of Pedro de Alba and Gaston Berger, the admission of the independent African Member States and the substantial increase in the Organization's budget.

6.4 The delegation of Nicaragua, which I have the honour to lead, pays tribute to the noble memory of these two great modern humanists, two outstanding personalities, two distinguished friends of Unesco, whose disappearance has plunged American and European scholastic circles into mourning. Pedro de Alba and Gaston Berger will always be shining examples of the ideals we cherish.

6.5 Mr. President, the delegation of Nicaragua has pleasure in welcoming the entry of the African Republics into the great Unesco family. As the representative of a country which in the past has had to defend its political integrity and its national independence and which is now struggling to retain its cultural and spiritual values, I can but rejoice at the arrival of the young African nations, which enter our Organization to confirm their vocation for freedom and to proclame their right to education, science and culture.

6.6 The delegation of Nicaragua approves the proposals of the United States of Brazil and the United States of America to increase Unesco's budget, since this will make it possible to consolidate its programmes and ensure the necessary financial resources for a rational policy of expansion.

6.7 We are confident that the maximum amount of funds available to the Organization will in future be allocated on the basis of equitable geographical distribution, thus enabling increased impetus to be given to the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America.

6.8 In this connexion, I should like to state that Unesco has to its credit an achievement unprecedented in the New World: it has succeeded in stimulating the efforts of nations and the action of governments to bring the benefits of civilization and culture to the Latin American masses.

6.9 The Major Project is making an effective contribution to our continent's struggle against underdevelopment, ignorance and poverty. Already a significant change in public administration is noticeable and education has begun to occupy a suitable position in development programmes.

6.10 On the occasion of the second session of the Committee of Twenty-One in Bogota in September of this year, Latin American economists and educators at last broke through the vicious circle of priorities and acknowledged that educational development should go forward in conjunction with economic development. This new attitude has been advocated by Unesco for many years and its acceptance by those who direct our economies is no little victory for the Major Project.

6.11 In Nicaragua, the achievements are obvious. The Government of Luis Somoza Debayle, treating the projects of Unesco with due seriousness, has just put into effect a clearly-defined and orderly policy by launching a national plan of educational development with the following basic aspects: the training of educational leaders of all kinds; the establishment

of new teacher-training institutes and an increase in the enrolment capacity of the San Marcos and Jinotepe Associated Normal Schools; the graduation of unqualified in-service teachers within a maximum period of ten years; the launching of an ambitious school-building programme; the granting of the necessary minimum of furniture and teaching materials to the schools; the reform of syllabuses and curricula to fit in with the country's needs; and the overhauling of the administrative and technical structure of education.

6.12 This enterprising programme was welcomed and praised at the meeting of experts on the Major Project held in Quito last October, and has received the valuable assistance of Unesco from the outset.

6.13 The Nicaraguan National Commission for Unesco has for its part established a Special Committee for the Major Project, which includes active representatives from all walks of public and private life.

6.14 The work being done by the Unesco Regional Office in the Western Hemisphere and by the Office for the Co-ordination of the Major Project in Havana is extremely praiseworthy, dynamic and well-directed. Therefore, Mr. President, I should like to pay tribute here to two good Latin Americans, Guillermo Francovich and Oscar Vera, who are a credit to Unesco, an honour to our Continent and who share with us the responsibilities of this great cultural crusade in America.

6.15 Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of Nicaragua has read the Report of the Director-General on the Organization's Activities attentively and has carefully studied the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962.

6.16 From these we note that Unesco's aims are being pursued to the full extent of its potentialities. This justifies the faith of all the nations of the world which are following the Organization's development, requesting its aid to overcome traditional forms of spiritual subjection, and crying out for the divine sparks of Prometheus in order to forge their own cultural destiny and to enrich the common cultural heritage of mankind.

6.17 However, thought must be given to the dangers of dispersion. Unesco must concentrate its programmes into large units, in order, not to make an impression - as someone said - but to improve and strengthen the foundations of a world which today, more than ever before, is in a state of tension.

6.18 The Director-General should pursue, on a permanent basis, the policy already adopted of appraising Unesco's programmes, honestly, objectively and with absolute confidence. It is to be hoped that this judicious and timely assessment of methods and results will lead to readjustments which can but be beneficial to the structure and activities of the Organization.

6.19 An analysis of the proposed programme reveals three salient features: the continuation of the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, the introduction of coherent, properly planned programmes on the development of education in Asia, Africa and the Arab States, and the development of international co-operation in scientific research and in the social sciences.

6.20 We welcome all these features, and particularly the programme for education in Africa, for this rights a century-old injustice. We share the aspirations of Asia and the Arab States. We consider justified the emphasis laid on science, the humanization of which is vital to individual and collective security. On the other hand, we must draw attention to the fact that the funds allocated to the Latin American Major Project are still too limited. We should have liked to see them substantially increased in order to intensify this experiment, which we consider to be of immense importance and urgency.

6.21 The delegation of Nicaragua would like to suggest to the Director-General the following ways of extending activities under this project considerably: He might enter into negotiations with the Government of the United States of America with a view to securing the employment of a high percentage of the funds allocated for the implementation of the social development programme, listed among the objectives of the Bogota Charter, for the financing of national educational programmes in Latin America, and more particularly the construction of school buildings; he might try to arrange with the Inter-American Development Bank and other international banking institutions for the granting of low-interest loans to the governments of Latin America, to be used for specific projects in the field of general and technical education and for technical studies preparing the ground for overall educational plans. In this connexion, our delegation shares the view of the Latin American group that relations between Unesco and the Inter-American Development Bank should be made the responsibility of the Regional Office in Havana, which it considers the most appropriate organism within the area of the Major Project.

6.22 Mr. President, fellow delegates, Nicaragua has faith in Unesco as a non-political organization dedicated to the noble aims proclaimed at its inception. Nicaragua believes in the wisdom of the Director-General, who has our friendship and admiration. Nicaragua believes in the Major Project for Latin America, as it was conceived and as it is shaping in practice. Nicaragua has faith in national resourcefulness, combined with technical assistance and international loans, to solve educational and cultural problems.

6.23 Never before has mankind had so universal, so well-integrated and so promising an organization as Unesco to reduce tension among individuals and nations, to assert the basic values of the human personality, to construct the defences of peace in the minds of men. The last world war left a breach open to hatred and resentment, distrust and misunderstanding. Inhuman concepts expressed in ideologies justifying extermination and systematically pandering to the basest human instincts, seemed to be destroying the cultural and moral foundations of our civilization.

6.24 Nevertheless, the terrible havoc of the war, the anguish and sufferings of millions of human beings, the reduction to ashes of imposing monuments, of libraries, cathedrals and scientific centres which were the pride of our civilization, moved men to reflection, led them to take stock and to formulate a new kind of militant and loftier humanism, placing at the service of mankind all the formulae needed

for progress and for the material and spiritual development of the human race.

6.25 This type of humanism is embodied in Unesco. To it falls the urgent task of channelling, guiding and translating into action the efforts required to extend the benefits of culture, education and science to all corners of the earth.

6.26 In acknowledgement of this sacred mission, we must give it our whole-hearted support. Let us nor forget, Mr. President, that there can be no real progress as long as there are still human communities enduring hunger, illness and ignorance. As long as there are peoples living on the fringe of culture and history, side by side with rich, powerful and prosperous nations which are accumulating all the refinements of art and science, there can be neither stability nor peace in the world.

6.27 Fellow delegates, progress is a co-operative undertaking in which everyone should play his part. Science and culture are the common heritage of all mankind. For our generation, it is a challenge and a point of honour to provide education for all, irrespective of race, religion, ideology or frontiers. Therefore, we should like to urge all the peoples and governments here represented to give thought to the message contained in the lines of Ruben Dario, the sublime Nicaraguan poet who is known all over the world: "Let all these scattered particles fuse and shine together to form a single beam of universal light".

6.28 And I shall end by endorsing the hope expressed by Fontoura Xavier: "... May this great union never end!".

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Tchicaya, Head of the delegation of the Congo (Brazzaville).

8.1 Mr. TCHICAYA (Congo: Brazzaville) (Translation from the French):

Had I the honour of addressing a traditional gathering in the Congo, I should not, in view of my youth, begin with the words: "Mr. President, fellow delegates"; no, kneeling down, and speaking respectfully but not subserviently, I should say: "Grandfather, mother and father delegates". But, other places, other customs! Therefore, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I, as the youngest of the members of this assembly, am extremely moved at having the honour to greet the delegates to this session of the General Conference of Unesco on behalf of my country, the Congo.

8.2 This greeting is sincere. To be convinced of that, you have only to think how eagerly we hastened to join this great Organization as soon as we regained our independence. You accepted us, I think, without reserves, since you realize that our energy is a potential asset to the whole world.

8.3 This energy has already enabled us to overcome our bitterest enemy - colonialism - on several parts of the African continent.

8.4 Time passes. There will be generations in Africa who will be glad - just as you are today - that they were colonized. These generations in Africa will have their Ponts du Gard and their Roman amphitheatres and they will be proud of them; but they will also remember their very heavy sacrifices which decency forbids me to mention here.

8.5 Decency and also the fact that our rebirth requires a healthy atmosphere. Decency, and another reason, namely that we are impatient and suddenly determined to be effective - effective for the benefit of the men and women of our planet, which has now become so small.

8.6 Mr. President, if our time were not rationed, I should have liked to remind you of the bygone relationships of the Congo with Europe and the rest of the world before our three centuries of slavery. These relations were all impregnated with courtesy and understanding. We can now resume them and we shall learn to understand one another better.

8.7 Reference has already been made from this platform to our thirst for knowledge, that is, our inclination towards love, understanding and, ultimately, peace. We are too filled with love, our conscience is too clear and our capacities too modest for there to be the slightest chance of our throwing our energies into the heated controversies that divide the world.

8.8 It was in Africa that Gandhi, that noble spirit, became aware of the sufferings inflicted upon his own people. I hope that others like Gandhi, coming to Africa, will realize the sufferings of their respective peoples, and thereafter it may be that, stricken with remorse and richer in humility, they will be filled with that love which Gandhi described as the humblest but also as the most powerful force imaginable.

8.9 To be sure, twenty centuries of Christianity have not spared Europe from war!... Yet, during those twenty centuries, the Latin saying: "He who wants peace prepares for war" has not lost an iota of its meaning. War? But let us not forget that during these twenty centuries, while civilizations suffocated and died, nothing has been able to prevent the rise of that wonderful sap that nourishes all our hopes of peace. The obvious proof of this is that we are here, within these four walls, which are not those of a tower, and we are trying to speak simply and directly the language of understanding and of peace. While there may be regrettable - but not insoluble - misunderstandings among us, God and the South African writer, Alan Paton, alone know that our civilization is not a Christian one!

8.10 Our worries are those of egoists, money-grabbers, those who give nothing for nothing, who dare not give for fear of being had. But I do not want, by continuing thus, to suggest that there is no loophole of escape. I wish to revert to the saying: "Si vis pacem, para bellum", and to believe that the arms supplied for war may conquer war, that we shall impose peace on ourselves - not peace as the period between two wars, but a peace that will enable Unesco to be a new Tower of Babel, to have its foundations in the soul of every nation, all at last enjoying equal status.

8.11 There will no longer be the god of battles of a chosen people to blow down the new tower. And so it will not collapse and we shall not be scattered and find ourselves once more at the mercy of brutish internal struggles in " the fight for life".

8.12 But, if Unesco is to be the tower or ark of this new alliance, should we not all adopt the precept of François Rabelais: "Science without conscience is but ruin of the soul"?

8.13 Is not the soul that which makes any spiritual

life possible? And is not a full spiritual life the major prerequisite for a triumphant culture? A soul torn by the uncertainty of an atomic tomorrow - or an atomized one, unless a certain degree of conscience enters the scientific brains of our world - cannot have a very restful kind of peace.

8.14 Unesco must therefore get rid of this lack of conscience that gives us and our cultures so little chance of surviving if we stick to the motto: "Si vis pacem, para bellum". We Congolese, we Africans, are asking this of Unesco because what is the good of preaching culture if peace is only a word, if international peace is threatened? For my humble part, I have never felt more at one with myself or with the Congo than after having discharged my duties towards others. We lose nothing by admiring other people - on the contrary, we gain, I think. One of our proverbs is: "If you respect me, I respect you; if you look down upon me, I look down upon you". The nations of the world lack mutual respect. I am suspicious of respect imposed by force; I believe in the respect of people who think highly of one another.

8.15 And, in the same vein, I should like to tell you that my country, like all the countries of Africa, has enormous tasks to accomplish. From morning to night we say: "To work, Congolese!". But we do not say to our neighbours: "Fold your arms and admire us". We hope that they will work, too, and indeed they are working. The whole of Africa is athirst for knowledge and eager to work.

8.16 If the African States are appealing to their national conscience first, it is in order that they may be better able, afterwards, to gear their efforts to the fulfilment of their immediate needs and to establish a link between those needs and their future aspirations. We have needs and aspirations in all fields - including culture. That is why we have come here, in full force. Our common faith may appear too self-contained, but we share it with millions of men throughout the world, who have tasks and duties to perform. When they are men of science, culture and education, we find them here - when they are politicians, we find them elsewhere.

8.17 In conclusion, I would express my good wishes, but I realize that I have already done so. May I sum them up here by saying: Peace and culture and long live Unesco and international understanding!

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on H.E. Mr. Gerad Jama, Head of the delegation of Somalia.

10.1 Mr. JAMA (Republic of Somalia):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I stand before you in this great international gathering to express, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Somalia and our people, our deep gratitude to the United Nations Organization and all its various Specialized Agencies, because to a great extent we owe our freedom and independence to them. It is not easy for nations who throughout their history have not been in a position similar to that of Africa in the last two centuries to comprehend fully the happiness our people feel when they see the forces of colonialism departing from their lands.

10.2 My people are deeply attached to this Organization, because we feel it is spreading light and peace throughout the world so that peoples of all nations, irrespective of their colour and creed, may live together in friendship and co-operation and that no longer will some nations enslave and oppress others.

10.3 Those who have struggled long and bitterly for their freedom, and who now find such organizations as Unesco ready to help them, have the right and duty not only to benefit from guidance and advice but to contribute goodwill, respect for its principles and all other co-operation according to their means and full strength.

10.4 The new nations which have now become independent in Africa and in Asia have proved to the world that they are, when given any reasonable chance to do so, able to do without the control and guardianship of former colonial powers. They are active builders of a new life, new societies, rational and frugal communities. It is not therefore to be doubted that, within a short time, the effects of their work and co-operation with the rest of the world will be felt beyond the continent of Africa.

10.5 The new Republic of Somalia which I have the honour to represent today at this Conference, consists of the former Somaliland Protectorate and the ex-Trusteeship Territory of Somalia. These two zones of the land of the Somalis united immediately on their attainment of independence in July 1960.

10.6 Our independence was not without struggle and loss of lives over a long period of time, but whatever may have been our past history under the rule of colonial powers, today we look forward to the future and try to forget the past, even when it is very difficult to do so.

10.7 Our unification was immediately successful and it continues to be equally so, because the Somali people are the most homogeneous people on the continent of Africa. We all share one common language, one history, culture and creed. Even our separation into five zones, ruled by Italy, France, Britain and Ethiopia, did not succeed in dividing the natural unity of our people.

10.8 Today three parts of the country of the Somali people are still under the rule of France, Britain and Ethiopia. Surely, the unhappiness of our people still under the yoke of colonialism has increased since the independence of their brothers! This division of the Somali people into part free and part slave is obviously unnatural and has no possible justification except in the language of power. The arbitrary boundaries created by our foreign rulers, without regard to our traditional ways of life, the economy of the country as a whole, the needs of our people and the elementary rights of human beings, has destroyed not only our freedom but also our economy, so that it is no wonder that we are today both poor and ignorant. Complete disregard for the interests of the weak nations still persists in relation to our country, and we believe that until we are finally united we cannot greatly improve our economy, on which depends our advancement in education and the raising of the standard of living of our people. We cannot hide from the rest of the world that today, for the most part owing to the long colonial rule which we have suffered, and are still suffering, the Somali people are almost totally uninstructed and

ignorant. At the most charitable estimate only 3 per cent of our people can read and write.

10.9 The Somali people profoundly hope that the powers who are unnecessarily inflicting this misery upon us by insisting on ruling over us, will see reason and decide to win our friendship and future goodwill rather than sow hatred and strife. The Somalis are determined to unite but we hope that our unity will be achieved peacefully.

10.10 In this connexion, I am very sorry to state that in the month of August 1960 more than 400 Somalis were machine-gunned and killed in their villages by the forces of His Majesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia, in a campaign of horror and mass destruction, because our people wish to become united with their own brothers. But machine guns can kill people, they cannot kill ideas, although this simple truth is not realized by those who are blinded by the lust for power and the love of killing and enslaving other human beings.

10.11 There is a general impression nowadays that the word colonialism refers only to European powers who rule in Africa and elsewhere in this world. To us, the Somali people, there is no difference between European and Ethiopian colonialism. Colonialism has no colour and today our people are suffering from both white and black colonialism. In the name of this great gathering and in the name of peace and understanding, I call upon those who are still exercising their power over our people to restore to them their freedom, so as to enable us to turn our attention to the reconstruction of our country. By doing so they will gain the friendship and thanks of our people. There are still some nations who are unable to learn the lesson of modern history and who wish to turn back the wheel of time.

10.12 Mr. President, it is customary in his gathering for the countries belonging to this great Organization to give to the audience some indication of the progress they have made in education and other fields. Our independence is only five months old and we have inherited from our former rulers a host of difficult problems. The little of education they gave us was in different languages. The law of our country is writtent in English and Italian, even our units of measure and weights are of different systems.

10.13 We knew the difficulties towards which we were heading, but our people decided to face them confidently and to unite. We have never underestimated the seriousness of our decision, but we believe that a nation that fears its own freedom does not deserve it.

10.14 Since complete peace now prevails throughout the two reunified zones of our country, we have been able to begin to examine our position in education and our economy and, even in that short period of five months, there are signs of improvement. But our country requires assistance from friendly nations to help us to overcome our difficulties, particularly in the fields of education and technical assistance.

10.15 Throughout the period during which we were under foreign rule our language remained unwritten, but steps have already been taken to evolve a modern system of writing the Somali language which we hope will be completed before long.

10.16 The existing educational system in the country will require to be redesigned so as to meet our immediate needs, of which the most urgent are the training of teachers and the establishment of technical assistance projects.

10.17 Mr. President, I do not wish to tax the patience of the audience who have listened to me for this length of time, but we wish, finally to state before you that the Somali people desire to co-operate with all nations in spreading peace and understanding in this world, and particularly in the continent of Africa, because neighbours, above all, must live in peace.

10.18 We also hope that the great nation of France, whose motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" has contributed so much to the development of freedom and the evolution of human thought, will see fit to free those Somalis under its rule and allow them to determine their own future in accordance with the democratic principles for which Unesco stands.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, you will appreciate that I am in an extremely delicate position. As President, I should have preferred not to reply to the Head of the delegation of Somalia. The question to which he referred is outside the competence of Unesco. It was discussed at the United Nations and the Somali accusations were rejected. Finally, I should like to point out that the delegate of Somalia submitted his name after the list of speakers had been closed and that I nevertheless decided that he should be allowed to speak.

11.2 I now call upon Mr. Ouagadjio, delegate of the Republic of Chad.

12.1 Mr. OUAGADJIO (Chad) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am very proud to have been appointed by my Government to represent the Republic of Chad at this session of the General Conference of Unesco. This is the second time within the space of a few months that my country has acceded to the rank of an international power, firstly by its admission to the United Nations and now through its entry into this assembly.

12.2 Under these circumstances, on behalf of my Government and the President of the Republic of Chad, Mr. Tombalbaye, I should like to express my warmest thanks to France and the President of the French Republic, who honoured us by sponsoring our application for admission which will, I am sure, be of benefit to my country. We are basing great hopes on such aid as Unesco can give our people in continuing and developing on a larger scale the educational activity initiated by France.

12.3 How much there is to be done in the scientific and cultural spheres! This is virgin soil, but unfortunately we have not enough material means to secure satisfactory results. We need the aid, the experience and the understanding of other nations. We believe that what our leaders and students are aiming at will gradually be achieved as a result of our admission to Unesco and will no longer be a mere dream.

12.4 We are fully aware of our backwardness in the sphere of education and we know what impulse is needed in order that the proportion of children

attending school may be increased. This proportion is not yet very high, despite all the efforts made by President Tombalbaye and the Government, with the help of Technical Assistance, FEIDOM and FIDES. We need primary and secondary school teachers and teaching materials. We hope that other more fortunate nations will be able to provide us with a great deal of assistance through the medium of Unesco.

12.5 But these are not the only problems we have to solve. Another, with which we are still faced, is that of fundamental education and the teams of experts required to improve the living conditions of our people. A suitable system of this kind can only be initiated by an organization like Unesco, which has at its disposal all the necessary modern technical machinery and can draw on the particular genius and intelligence of every nation.

12.6 I shall not dwell any longer on the problems facing my country, which are the same as those of many of the new African nations which have recently obtained their independence. We are now no longer alone in seeking solutions, but are all united in Unesco.

13.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the general discussion is closed. The fact that there have been over 90 speakers indicates the importance attributed to Unesco. I thank all the speakers for their clarity and brevity and I hope that the atmosphere will be as friendly next week as it was during this.

REPLY BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

13.2 I now call upon the Director-General, who will reply to all the questions raised by the various speakers.

14.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the very large number of speakers participating in the general discussion provides striking proof, as the President has just said, of the interest - I might even say affection - shown by the delegations present, their governments and their people, in and for the work of Unesco.

14.2 In view of this large number of speakers, I hope you will forgive me if, while trying to group together the answers I intend giving you, I am unable to reply to every question and every statement. I shall try not to refer to any one speech in particular but shall, as I said before, endeavour to deal with several at a time when they bear more or less on the same subject.

14.3 By way of introduction, I should like to repeat my thanks to the speakers, without forgetting those who made criticisms, however severe, since these also testify to their interest in the Organization's work. I should like, too, to thank the Executive Board, whose Chairman was kind enough to open this discussion, and the Reports Committee, particularly its Chairman, who made suggestions concerning the form of the Director-General's Report. This is a subject which will be studied later and I shall be guided by the conclusions reached when the time comes to prepare future reports.

14.4 According to the agenda, the discussion was to bear on the Reports of the Director-General but in fact - as is only natural - it also covered the future programme. I shall therefore repeat that specific proposals for the 1961-1962 Programme are already being considered by the Programme Commission and will be discussed and voted on by it. The budget ceiling has been adopted unanimously and is now not only higher than that for the previous two-year period but also higher than that proposed by the Director-General. The findings of the Programme Commission will have to be examined and special efforts made to see that they are in line with the decisions taken, since new suggestions with important budgetary implications, which have already been adopted or will be adopted, go beyond the ceiling fixed. The necessary adjustments will therefore have to be made, in accordance with long-established practice.

14.5 I should like to deal with three groups of problems. These are, firstly, the Report on the activities of the last two years, secondly, educational problems and, finally, the adaptation of the Organization and its machinery to new circumstances.

14.6 With regard to the Report itself, I can only derive very great encouragement and satisfaction from the approval expressed in general by the various delegations with regard to the execution of the Programme. It is our duty to implement the decisions of the General Conference and, in so doing, to respond to the requests and needs of Member States. However, the great majority of you have taken the trouble to point out that this has been done and I repeat that this fact is a great source of encouragement both to myself and to the Secretariat.

14.7 During the discussion of this Report, a very important fact was brought out, namely the entry of new members into our family. The Congo (capital: Leopoldville) has just joined Unesco and I believe that we shall have 100 Member States by the end of the Conference. This highly significant fact calls for only two comments on my part. Firstly, you have noted that the Secretariat did not wait for these new Member States to be formally and officially admitted before taking steps to meet their needs and that, within limits, the proposed programme provided for the necessary measures to give these new States the impression, from the moment they joined us, of being in a family already fully prepared to welcome them.

14.8 The second observation I should like to make in this regard is that the high standard of the addresses delivered by the delegates of these States, and the dignity they displayed, clearly showed that they were fully aware of the rights and duties attendant on their entry into the Organization, for this enables them not only to benefit by Unesco's aid but also to make their own contribution.

14.9 Attention was also drawn during the discussion of the Director-General's Report to the speed with which events have succeeded one another in recent months, particularly within the United Nations, and to the appeals sent us by the Economic and Social Council. There too, the Organization has had to make a special effort to keep up with the tempo of life in the world today and in the States making up the international community.

14.10 For this purpose, we have also done our

utmost, as you have acknowledged, to seize every opportunity of obtaining extra-budgetary funds that could be added to our Regular budget. I mention this in order to express the Organization's gratitude publicly to the Technical Assistance Board and the Special Fund, which have always given sympathetic consideration to Unesco's requests relating to the needs of Member States. Finally, I should also like to refer to the satisfaction you have shown in regard to the great undertaking launched at the beginning of the year, namely the Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia. You have been kind enough to acknowledge the fact that the Secretariat has been capable of meeting an unexpected situation and of attributing the importance it deserved to the preservation of an important part of the cultural heritage of mankind.

14.11 I should like to say that none of this would have been possible without the hard work and competence of a Secretariat which, while not perfect - no one is perfect - has made every effort to live up to the tasks incumbent upon it.

14.12 I should like to give vent at once to the feeling of bitterness I experienced on hearing certain criticisms of the Secretariat. I have already expressed my opinion on one point which I considered inadmissible. I should particularly like to tell you how grateful I am to all those delegations who expressed their appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretariat as a whole, and gave it the praise it deserves and the support it needs. Of course we can improve our working methods, our contacts with permanent delegations and with Member States; naturally, we can - and ought - during our missions, our visits and our travels, to try and perform our task still better than in the past. But all this is based on something which I must stress with the utmost force, namely, integrity, a sense of service due to the international community, and devotion and conscientiousness in the performance of duties, sometimes carried almost to breaking point: as head of the Secretariat, I claim that these qualities are, on the whole, characteristic of members of the Secretariat, as they go about their daily work.

14.13 One delegation was good enough to remind you that someone had lost his life on the field of honour, in the performance of his duties. If I also mention this, it is not because I wish to introduce an emotional note, but because I think to evoke this moving fact will help to emphasize all I have said about the Secretariat and all that I intend to do in the future, in order that it may be even better fitted to acquit itself of its imposing responsibilities.

14.14 The criticisms of the Secretariat were mainly directed against its geographical make-up. In this connexion, I feel that I myself am under fire, since it is my responsibility to select the members of the Secretariat. This is an item included on the agenda of the Administrative Commission. The document which I have distributed shows very clearly that there has been a distinct improvement in geographical distribution from the point of view of those countries which were either insufficiently represented or not represented at all.

14.15 A great deal still remains to be done. However, ladies and gentlemen, you know that the composition of the Secretariat must not be based on geographical distribution alone, but also on the professional qualifications of candidates for vacant posts. People are not recruited in groups; specific posts are filled when they become vacant.

14.16 Whenever I have to make an appointment, these two factors - and others as well - have to be taken into account. Since the choice - like all choices - is always difficult, I am constantly faced with a question of conscience and I try to act in the fairest possible way.

14.17 I repeat that the improvement is evident from the figures. There is not, and there cannot conceivably be, such a thing as a recruitment policy of systematic discrimination, as some delegates described it. What is systematic is the attempt at improvement which I shall continue to make, even if it does not always satisfy everyone. Since there are clauses in the Constitution and Staff Regulations to protect the rights of the staff and to guide the Director-General in this particularly difficult task, let me say that I can see no possibility of introducing the proposed tripartite system into the Secretariat. In my opinion, it is impossible to define clearly and the Constitution - if it is not amended - makes no provision for it whatsoever.

14.18 In concluding my remarks on the criticisms and proposals made in this respect, I shall speak of the duties of the Director-General. I believe that these duties cannot be considered separately from myself as an individual. The Constitution provides for a head of the Secretariat. I have no choice but to continue to discharge these duties to the best of my ability. I am obliged to reject any other solution for the directorship of the Secretariat. If the purpose of the proposal is aimed at me as an individual and not at the post as such, that is an entirely different matter. It is for you to judge. But while the Constitution remains as it is, the Secretariat of Unesco is headed by a Director-General.

14.19 Another criticism made in connexion with the Report on the two-year period which is about to end was that it did not give due prominence to the steps taken in pursuance of the Executive Board's resolution concerning the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly on general and complete disarmament. It is not true to say that I did not mention it. I refer you to the text of my Report. Although the Executive Board did not request me officially to report to the General Conference, but only to the Board, I have mentioned in my Report to the Conference the only action which I can possibly take; before general and complete disarmament is achieved or even begun, all that I have been asked to do is to take all appropriate measures to bring about the formation, in all Member States, of a climate of opinion favourable to the idea of disarmament.

14.20 As I have said and written in my capacity as head of the Secretariat and representative of the Organization, I have not missed a single opportunity - and I believe that the post I hold is sufficiently important and representative of the Organization to allow me to speak on its behalf - I have not missed a single opportunity to associate myself, in accordance with my convictions, with the hope of general and complete disarmament, by emphasizing that it would open up hitherto unknown prospects for education and culture, but that all this would not be possible without international agreement.

14.21 Ladies and gentlemen, you are the

representatives of governments. Do not ask the Director-General to do more than you are capable of doing you are capable of doing yourselves.

14.22 I shall continue to express this belief, this conviction. If concrete proposals are brought before the Programme Commission, I shall naturally bear them in mind to the fullest possible extent. However, with regard to the Report, I hope that I have done everything I possibly could. In ending my reply on this first part of the Report, I shall not dwell on two items which were also criticized, namely the implementation of the emergency programme for the Congo, which the United Nations Security Council requested us to undertake, and the question of administrative methods and the reduction of administrative costs. I do not believe that you in this assembly would like to start a discussion on this subject, which might overlap with that taking place in the appropriate organs of the Conference.

14.23 If you will allow me, I should like now to consider that other group of very important remarks and statements concerning the most recent events and future prospects in the vast sphere of education, which is one of our main concerns. Without overlooking the balance that must be maintained among the various departments and activities of Unesco, I believe I can say that the vast majority, if not all, of the delegations represented here have acknowledged that I have adopted the correct policy in giving special priority to this category of Unesco's activities. I should like to say that I appreciate particularly the remarks and suggestions made regarding the necessary planning, the training of senior personnel, and the need to take account of all levels of education in the widest sense of the term.

14.24 All these suggestions are being constantly borne in mind by myself and my colleagues. I should like to thank you for your unanimous appreciation of our endeavours to draw up as complete a picture as possible of world needs. Henceforth, it must in all conscience be acknowledged that education is the foundation and keystone of economic and social development.

14.25 If I took the opportunity of speaking about the crisis in education, as some of you observed, I did so in a positive sense, i.e. to stress the importance of education in national development.

14.26 As was remarked, the expansion and extension of the education programme to all parts of the world implies a certain amount of regionalization. It is obvious that the needs and characteristics are not the same for every continent. But this does not mean, even if we are obliged to supervise certain aspects of the execution of our programme on the spot, that the regionalization of educational programmes necessarily implies the decentralization of the organs of Unesco.

14.27 After heaving your remarks, I should like to emphasize two things which I consider very important. In the first place, none of our activity in the field of education, whatever form it may take, is in any way designed to impose a specific system of education. In utilizing the means at Unesco's disposal, close contact will be maintained with Member States and their wishes and the specific needs of the different countries taken into consideration.

14.28 Further, however much the means made available for educational programmes may be increased, the discrepancy between the needs and the possibilities of meeting them will still be tremendous. The existing needs and our means are entirely disproportionate. In any event, I repeat, we shall try to add to the regular budget all the resources we can possibly obtain, those I have already mentioned - Technical Assistance and the Special Fund - those which the new International Development Association and the Inter-American Development Bank will set aside for education and, finally, those of the Emergency Fund for Africa, the establishment of which has been proposed and on which the Conference will have to decide. I would also mention the appeal which it has been proposed to address to the United Nations in order that educational needs may be taken into consideration.

14.29 It might have been said that the Secretariat and the Director-General have perhaps run a very serious risk and that what has been charitably described as a sign of courage was perhaps simply rashness or lack of restraint. To have drawn up this extensive list of needs when we realized that we did not have the necessary means to meet them might well have laid us open to criticism.

14.30 Well, ladies and gentlemen, I believe that, had I acted in any other way, the Organization and I myself might quite rightly have been accused of refusing to shoulder our responsibilities. It would be unworthy of an Organization like ours to turn a blind eye to the facts and the needs, even if we realize that these needs cannot all be satisfied in the immediate future.

14.31 I have already referred to the structure of the Major Projects and of our efforts in that connexion. You know that we have provided for the extension of the campaign for total literacy to all parts of the world. We shall certainly need experts to help us and to draw up our programmes. We must make a start resolutely, but without claiming to do everything and, believe me, no one knows better than my colleagues and myself that we ought not to raise hopes which we cannot fulfil. We have been inspired by that "prospective" spirit, which was referred to in connexion with the late Mr. Gaston Berger, who coined the term. As has been said, while we must be careful and modest now, we must be ambitious for the future. It is in this spirit that we shall carry out the Organization's programme.

14.32 I now come to the third and last part of my reply, which refers to the adaptation of the Organization to new circumstances.

14.33 I should like to repeat and to emphasize that, by giving special impetus to the expansion of educational activities and to scientific research, I sincerely believe that I have succeeded - and not merely outwardly - in achieving real concentration.

14.34 As several delegations have pointed out, concentration means that one must avoid dissipation and eliminate from the programme, for the benefit of more important projects, other activities which may be of minor importance. This is a course that must be followed. However, may I point out that, judging from what I have heard so far - including the speeches made, for example, in the Programme Commission - none of your delegations, to compensate for certain new activities or special efforts

in a sphere considered of high priority, has proposed the elimination of any other activities.

14.35 In my capacity as Director-General, it is my duty to take certain initiatives in preparing the future Programme. It is perhaps mainly because of this that I took the initiative of proposing new methods of drawing up the Programme and Budget, about which I shall speak in a few moments. I am convinced that the concentration achieved through the elimination of certain activities will sometimes lead to strong reactions on the part of Member States. This possibility must be faced bravely.

14.36 What I want to make quite clear here is that concentration, in the technical sense of the term, implies elimination and that all of you who want concentration in this sense - and that is the great majority - must be prepared to accept the sacrifices it involves for some Member States.

14.37 I have kept this problem of the Organization's adaptation to the new circumstances arising in the age in which we live until the end of my speech precisely because you have spent a great deal of your time discussing it.

14.38 Many speakers have wondered whether the way in which Unesco at present operates is suitable for the new needs. Operation means structure, and structure means working methods.

14.39 I have taken the initiative - and the Conference will discuss this - of proposing new methods of preparing the Programme and Budget. The present method has been described here, I believe, or in one of the organs of the Conference, as one of continuous shuttling between different bodies. Not only does this method make it impossible for a Director-General and a Secretariat, however competent, intelligent, imaginative and full of genius they may be, to become supermen who know and read attentively one-fifth of the documents - I can assure you that, without being a superman, the percentage, as far as I am concerned, is much higher - but, what is impossible for men like us is to embark, immediately the session of the General Conference is over, on two tasks quickly and simultaneously, i.e. on the implementation of the decisions taken and on the preparation of the future programme - and to do this with the amount of reflection, the overall view and the spirit of synthesis and concentration that you expect of us.

14.40 This is the basis on which I have worked out these new methods which are to be studied by a special working party and which, I am certain, your delegations will consider with the greatest attention and interest. As for the suggestion made by the delegation of Brazil concerning the form and actual content of the proposed programme and the possible decisions that the Conference would have to take, not only on the draft resolutions but also on the work plans, this problem, in my opinion, touches on a very difficult constitutional point.

14.41 Some speakers went much further, proposing that sessions of the Conference be held every three or four years only. Another delegation, considering that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the Conference to exercise any control over the activities of the Organization, recommended a semi-permanent basic programme and sessions dealing far more specifically with the execution of the programme and the planning of selected activities.

14.42 Finally, there was a proposal to hold major sessions every four years, for the purpose of discussing and adopting a quadrennial programme, with minor interim session, the main purpose of which would be to follow the implementation of the programme.

14.43 These ideas, and the principles underlying them, are certainly most interesting. Fortunately, the Executive Board itself, through its Chairman and at his proposal, has requested its successor, that is, the new Board, to study immediately, rapidly and in agreement with the Director-General, all possible methods of improving the functioning of the Organization and also the relationships between the various organs - i.e. between the pillars of Unesco, established by the Constitution: the Secretariat, the Executive Board and the General Conference.

14.44 Here, then, is a whole series of proposals in which I should like publicly to express my keen interest. With the delegations who spoke on this subject, I share the conviction that a study must be made of the question of improving our methods and perhaps of revising some of the rules and structures of our Organization, which should change with changing circumstances and move with the times.

14.45 There are certain other proposals which I must mention: the one which quite rightly aims at avoiding at all costs the addition of large sums to the budget at the last minute, and the one suggesting a regular lump-sum increase from one financial period to the next. As I have said, all these proposals will be studied. The budget problem has also come up in connexion with another question which I think is very important - that of keeping a general check on activities financed by the Regular budget and those financed by extra-budgetary funds, the amount of which cannot be determined by the General Conference.

14.46 Finally, several delegates expressed the opinion that the General Conference is virtually committed to the Proposed Programme and Budget, since it is practically impossible to introduce any important amendments during sessions of the Conference; they also thought that a careful study should be made of the whole functioning of the Conference.

14.47 All I am doing now is to remind you of the problems raised and to repeat that I fully agreee on the importance of these proposals and the need to study them. Before concluding, ladies and gentlemen, I would venture to say that, in my opinion, you should follow with special interest the general debate which will begin in plenary meeting towards the end of the session on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture, and will be based on the report that we drew up at the request of the Economic and Social Council. Even if this debate should not culminate in any formal conclusions, it will certainly be useful in providing a background for activities and relations for which the Organization as such cannot assume sole responsibility.

14.48 I apologise for the length of my address. I have tried, by consulting my notes and classifying under these three headings what seemed to me to be the essence of your debate, to forget nothing. If I have done so nevertheless, I crave your indulgence.

14.49 It now remains for the General Conference to adopt the programme with those adjustments and amendments which, as I have already said, are

dependent on the approval of a number of draft resolutions additional to those I have myself submitted. The General Conference has now to decide on the logical and objective relationship existing between the increased number of activities, the staff available to carry them out and the space required to work in. Finally, I believe that the General Conference has also to decide on its attitude towards the Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, in regard to which I should like to express my special thanks to those speakers who said that they were willing to contribute, particularly by providing the necessary funds. The General Conference must reach a decision on this Campaign and on those undertakings which the Executive Board did not for a moment hesitate to support and to request me to continue energetically.

14.50 Ladies and gentlemen, the man before you, like all his colleagues on the Secretariat, is aware of the limits of his physical endurance and abilities. In addition, being human, he realizes that he is capable of making mistakes and omissions.

14.51 In this connexion, among the criticisms and suggestions made, I have accepted all those which I considered well-founded but, where I felt that they were not, I have considered it my duty to say so clearly. In conclusion, I should like to say once again that the Director-General of Unesco, whoever he may be, and his colleagues, from the highest to the lowest in rank, are here to serve an Organization, which is not a foundation or an institution free to devote itself to the elaboration of theories and ideas, but an Organization conditioned by its intergovernmental structure - a fact which implies that no policy discussions are out of place within our walls and that every State has the right and duty to express whatever opinion it likes regarding the policy governing our Organization's activities.

14.52 This Organization belongs to the United Nations system, a situation which requires that we redouble our efforts daily to co-ordinate the implementation of our programme with the activities falling within the jurisdiction of each of the other organizations belonging to that system.

14.53 But, first and foremost, this Organization is not the Organization of education, science and culture, but the Organization for education, science and culture. We have the sacred duty not to forget what means we have and what are our aims. We are striving daily and with all our strength to serve the cause of education, science and culture - and I am not referring only to the Secretariat, but also to all of you, both here at the Conference and in your respective countries. For all of us, the supreme objective is peace, co-operation and understanding. This is what we are seeking to achieve each day to an ever greater extent.

14.54 I shall close with an anecdote which comes to my mind, no doubt because I feel a certain nostalgia for the culture and literature of my own country - an anecdote drawn from Alexandre Manzoni's well-known novel "The Fiancés". At one stage, the author describes the difficult situation in which the carriage of the Governor of the City of Milan is placed, in the midst of a riot in which it is liable to be overturned. Confronted with this difficulty, the occupant of the carriage says to his coachman - a Spaniard - "¡Adelante, Pedro! ¡Con juicio!", which means more or less: "Go ahead all the same, quickly but carefully". I do not want to end on a flippant note, but in all sincerity I should like to say this to you, ladies and gentlemen: I, the Director-General, and all of us ought to "go ahead, but go ahead carefully".

15.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French) Ladies and gentlemen, I interpret your unanimous applause as signifying a deserved tribute to the Director-General for his address and for the clarity with which it was delivered and I am convinced that you are all satisfied with the answers to which you have just listened.

15.2 I should like, on your behalf, to thank the Director-General for what he has done in the last two years. I should like to wish him good health and courage for the coming year, not only for his own sake, but also for that of Unesco.

15.3 Before closing the meeting, I should like to inform you that the General Committee of the Conference will meet at 9 a.m. on Wednesday, 30 November. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

TWENTY-FIRST PLENARY MEETING

3 December 1960, at 3.45 p.m.

President: Professor Lieutenant-General PHYA SALVIDHANNIQES (Thailand)

CONTENTS

Setting up of the Working Party of the General Conference on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget . . . 331
Place of the Twelfth Session of the General Conference . . 331
Consideration of the Second Report of the Credentials Committee 331

SETTING UP OF THE WORKING PARTY OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE ON METHODS OF PREPARING THE PROGRAMME AND BUDGET

1.1 The PRESIDENT:

The twenty-first plenary meeting is hereby called to order. The first item on the agenda to be considered is the setting up of the working party of the General Conference on methods of preparing the programme and budget. The General Committee has already considered this matter and has recommended that a special working party should study this question on the basis of documents 11 C/45 and 11 C/DR.34.

1.2 The General Committee recommended that the working party should be composed of representatives of the following 25 Member States: Argentina, Brazil, Ceylon, Chile, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, France, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Lebanon, New Zealand, Nigeria, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States of America. I trust that this recommendation of the General Committee is acceptable to the General Conference.

1.3 If there are no objections, the working party on methods of preparing the programme and budget is thus established with the membership as I have just read out.

1.4 Since there are no objections this is agreed, and the working party will hold its first meeting in the afternoon of 9 December and continue its work in the morning and afternoon of 10 December and in the afternoon of 12 December.

PLACE OF THE TWELFTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

1.5 We now come to the second item on the agenda, the decision, on the report of the Executive Board, concerning the place of the twelfth session of the General Conference. In accordance with Rule 2 of the Rules of Procedure, the General Conference shall fix the seat of its next session on the proposal of the Executive Board. The proposal of the Executive Board is contained in document 11 C/27 which has been distributed to all delegations.

1.6 I call upon the Chairman of the Executive Board, Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, to present the Board's report on this matter.

2.1 Sir Ben Bowen THOMAS (United Kingdom), Chairman of the Executive Board:

Mr. President and fellow delegates, in the document before you, 11 C/27, you will see in paragraph 2, the second paragraph of the Executive Board's report to the General Conference, that no Member State had invited the General Conference to hold the twelfth session of the Conference on its territory. Accordingly, in paragraph 4, the Executive Board recommends that the General Conference hold its twelfth ordinary session at the permanent headquarters in Paris. That is the Board's recommendation with regard to place.

2.2 With regard to date, you will see that the Director-General makes a recommendation, after consultation with the Executive Board, in paragraph 7. The Director-General, in agreement with the Executive Board, recommends that the opening date of the twelfth session of the General Conference shall be during the first half of November 1962.

2.3 Both these proposals are contained in the draft resolution which I now submit for adoption by the General Conference.

3.1 The PRESIDENT:

Does any delegate wish to speak on the report which has just been presented to the Conference by Sir Ben Bowen Thomas?

3.2 The resolution is adopted and I take it that the Conference has decided that its twelfth session shall take place at the Organization's headquarters in Paris.

CONSIDERATION OF THE SECOND REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

3.3 We now come to an important item, the report

of the Credentials Committee. I call on H.E. Mr. Matsui, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present his report.

4.1 Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Credentials Committee held its second meeting on Friday, 2 December 1960, for the purpose of examining the credentials received from certain Member States after the first meeting of the committee and, in particular, the credentials presented by the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville).

4.2 The committee noted that the delegations of a certain number of States which had already presented provisional credentials had later, in conformity with Rule 22 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, presented credentials in good and due form issued by the head of the State or Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs or a Minister authorized by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to issue credentials. The States concerned were: Albania, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroun, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Nigeria, Panama, Senegal, Somalia, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

4.3 The committee recommends that the delegations of these States be formally admitted to take part in the proceedings of the eleventh session of the General Conference.

4.4 The committee took note, in this connexion, of the fact that its Chairman, by virtue of the authorization he had received from the committee, had submitted direct to the General Conference verbal reports concerning the credentials presented by the delegations of Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mali, Paraguay and Saudi Arabia and that those reports had been approved by the General Conference.

4.5 The committee noted that two territories - Mauritius and Tanganyika - which had accredited observers to the General Conference, following on their admission as Associate Members of the Organization, had presented credentials in due form accrediting their delegations in this latter capacity.

4.6 Finally, the committee took note of the credentials presented by the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville), the text of which is annexed to the present report. Various proposals either for the acceptance or rejection of these credentials were made. Several members of the committee pointed out that account should be taken of the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations concerning the credentials of the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville) to the present session of the Assembly.

4.7 The representatives of Bulgaria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics proposed that these credentials should be rejected as not having been issued by the lawful Government of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville).

4.8 The representative of Bulgaria having proposed to defer consideration of the question until the next session of the General Conference, this proposal was put to the vote first and was rejected by five votes to two.

4.9 The proposal to recommend that the General Conference should accept the credentials presented by the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville) was then put to the vote and was adopted by five votes to two.

4.10 I should like to read to you the annex of which you already have the text:

"Republic of the Congo
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
WE, JOSEPH KASAVUBU, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO,
Have decided to select Mr. Ignace MAKUTA, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Jean SUMBU, Director, Head of Service for Education, and to invest them with full powers to represent the Republic of the Congo at the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco in Paris, and, to that effect, we have delivered to them the present credentials.
By the Head of State,
The President of the College of Commissaries-General,
The Commissary-General for Foreign Affairs,
(signed) J. BOMBOKO
Given at New York, 18 November 1960"

4.11 I recommend the adoption of the second report of the Credentials Committee by the General Conference.

4.12 Additionally, since the committee's second meeting, Honduras, which had only presented provisional credentials, has now presented credentials in due form, in accordance with Rule 22 of the Rules of Procedure. I ask that these credentials be accepted.

5.1 The PRESIDENT:

I thank H.E. Mr. Matsui for his report. The Conference has now heard the report of the Chairman of the Credentials Committee on the credentials of the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville) and concerning the credentials presented by delegations of other States.

5.2 I propose that we take up the report paragraph by paragraph, starting with paragraph 1. Are there any comments on paragraph 1?

5.3 Since there are no comments we shall proceed to paragraph 2. Does the delegate of Guinea wish to speak on paragraph 2? Since there is no comment on paragraph 2, it is adopted.

5.4 We shall now take up paragraph 3 Any comments? None. Paragraph 3 is adopted.

5.5 We now proceed to paragraph 4. No comment. Adopted.

5.6 We now take up paragraph 5. No comment. Adopted.

5.7 I would like you next to take up paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9. I call upon the delegate of Morocco, Dr. Elmanjra.

6.1 Mr. ELMANJRA (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, gentlemen, the Moroccan delegation feels that our proceedings should not be dominated by political considerations or discussions. Especially at the present session when so many African States have been admitted and when we are examining a very big programme for Africa, we have much more important tasks than to be drawn into political arguments.

6.2 The report submitted to us sets out the creden tials presented by the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville). The Credentials Committee has recommended that these credentials be accepted. We are well aware that the United Nations has already dealt with this problem. I do not wish to repeat here, on behalf of the Moroccan delegation, the same arguments which our delegate has already advanced at the United Nations. As regards the legitimacy of the Congolese representation, reference has been made to the Constitution of the Congo on which are based the powers of the President of the Republic of the Congo. In our view, the powers of the Premier are based on the same text. We therefore feel that it would be a contradiction to refer to a text and, on the basis of that text, to support the President of the Republic while declining to support the man whom we consider as the lawful Premier.

6.3 It was in order to avoid that contradiction that we opposed in the United Nations acceptance of the accreditation of the delegation sent by the President of the Republic of the Congo. However, as we said at the beginning, we do not wish to see this Conference involved in politics During this session, I am sure everyone has been struck by the great degree of African unity which has emerged whenever political problems have been set aside. We have to consider educational problems, urgent problems with which we are confronted, and, if all the goals are to be reached towards which the African States are striving in the field of economic, social and cultural development it is essential that this African unity be maintained.

6.4 I am afraid that, if a discussion begins on the merits of the accreditation of the delegation of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville), that unity will be endangered and the results we are seeking on the non-political plane also endangered.

6.5 Moreover, as you know, things move very fast in Africa. The United Nations has already taken a decision on the question. But we have only to read today's newspapers to observe the changes that have taken place since then. Africa is a continent which is moving and moving very rapidly. The elements we now possess towards forming an opinion are not those which existed when the decision was taken at the United Nations. We might apply the legal formula "Rebus sic stantibus". The conditions existing when the United Nations voted are no longer the same. I would like to quote a passage from an editorial in today's "Monde" - a Western newspaper which would scarcely favour the viewpoint which our delegation supports. Speaking of the arrest of Mr. Lumumba, of which you have been informed, this paper writes: "His imprisonment has certainly averted the immediate danger of civil war", but the same editorial continues, "If Mr. Lumumba is summarily condemned, there is every reason to think that the Congo will enter a new phase of uncertainty and unrest."

6.6 In such a situation, Mr. President, and even allowing for the decision already taken by the United Nations, the Moroccan delegation feels that, since our Organization should do its best to avoid any concern with political issues, we should not be required at present to decide on this question of the Congolese delegation's accreditation. If the matter is put to a vote, our delegation will obviously vote as it did at the United Nations. But we believe that there are many new elements and it is now certain that the United Nations will re-examine the question of the Congo. Some say that this will probably take place tonight in the Security Council, others believe that, since the Congolese question is still before the Political Committee, the re-examination will take place later. Since the United Nations is a priori the political organ of the United Nations system, I believe it should have time in which to reconsider this question in the light of the latest developments before an organization like ours, which is essentially concerned with cultural, educational and scientific questions, becomes involved. We therefore hope that this question will not even be put to the vote and our delegation reserves the right, by virtue of Rule 75 of our Rules of Procedure, to ask that discussion of this question be deferred.

6.7 On behalf of my delegation, I would like to appeal particularly to the African delegations which will be the first to recognize the unity so far shown - to such an extent that delegates from African States often forget which State is represented by colleagues with whom they come into contact. This atmosphere has been of the greatest value in reaching concrete results and will undoubtedly be endangered if we become involved in a political discussion. I likewise appeal to those delegations which have been prompt to ask that any political discussion be avoided whenever we have come close to such discussions.

6.8 I trust that we shall not see here a repetition of what went on in the United Nations which a highly respected English paper, "The Observer", termed somewhat unorthodox manoeuvres.

6.9 In conclusion, I renew my appeal, first and foremost to the African delegations, for the preservation of our unanimity and for a waiting period at any rate until the programme to be recommended for Africa has been submitted to the Programme Commission. When this report is presented to the Commission we hope that African unity will still exist. We have observed that this unity emerges as soon as we get away from politics. I therefore renew my appeal for avoidance of a political discussion in connexion with the Congolese representation and I repeat that, by virtue of Rule 75 of the Rules of Procedure, our delegation reserves the right at a later stage to ask for the examination of this question to be deferred so that we can do something for the great African continent which asks that you should not divide it.

7. The PRESIDENT:

Does the delegate of Morocco wish to put a formal motion for adjournment of the discussion of this question?

8. Mr. ELMANJRA (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the Moroccan delegation does not wish to impose its view on the Conference. If we had proposed an immediate adjournment, by virtue of Rule 75, you would only have been able to call on a delegate in favour of the motion and a delegate opposed to it. That is why we said that we reserved

our right for a later stage. If we were to put our adjournment motion to the vote forthwith it would oblige the Conference to vote on our suggestion, whereas we believe that there may be several delegations with similar or opposed viewpoints to express. I repeat, therefore, that we reserve the right to seek an adjournment and that we shall take up this question formally during the discussions.

9. The PRESIDENT:
I thank the delegate of Morocco and shall now call on the Head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Lapin.

10.1 Mr. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to express very briefly the opinion of our delegation in relation to paragraphs 6 and 9 of the report of the Credentials Committee.
10.2 We are asked to take a decision which could in fact involve Unesco in a serious and protracted political discussion. We might even say that Unesco is getting embroiled in an improper political game. For the question of course, has nothing whatever to do with the fact that the Congo has become a member of Unesco. The Soviet Union consistently stands for the universality of the international organizations, and we should be very happy to welcome representatives of the Republic of the Congo here, and hope that that time will come. But in the present case the question is whether the prestige of an international organization is to be used to conceal the anti-national political intrigues and the downright crimes which the colonialists have indulged in in the Congo. Everything is being done to cloak the criminal actions of Mobutu.
10.3 A document from New York has been presented to us. This paper is not signed by anybody. It was drawn up in New York, it is not a legal credential, and hence we cannot accept it.
10.4 The legitimate government in the Congo is the Lumumba Government. It was elected and approved by Parliament. This fact is unchallengeable by anyone. Everyone knows that the Lumumba Government, pursuing a course directed towards the independence of its country, aroused the displeasure of the colonialists, who have used the United Nations as a screen and an instrument to paralyse the normal working of the State machinery. They have suborned the adventurer Mobutu and stirred up civil war in the Congo. Finally, if the newspapers are to be believed, they put handcuffs on the man who was and remains the generally recognized leader of his people and the legal head of the government of that country. May this day, gentlemen, go down in history as a day of shame for the colonialists. The nations will never forget the perfidy and the crimes committed against the lawful government of the Congo. The latest events in the Congo have once and for all torn the mask from the faces of the colonial imperialists.
10.5 We have heard hypocritical words at this Conference about the colonizers' love for the oppressed peoples. There have been honeyed speeches here describing colonialism as a spectre of the past and urging that the past must be forgotten. The events in the Congo are helping the colonized peoples to understand who are their friends and who their foes. Remember Lumumba, gentlemen! remember the long suffering Congolese people! Colonialism is not dead, it is still alive, and capable of dreadful crimes. That is what the events in the Congo teach us.
10.6 Just imagine what will remain of the freedom and independence of States which were once colonies, if colonialism is thus allowed to make short shrift of governments which it regards as unsuitable. Today Lumumba is objected to, tomorrow it will be some other statesman, and the government will go on changing at the will of the colonialists like a pair of old gloves. This cannot be permitted, for what, in that case, will remain of the principles, embodied in the United Nations Charter, of non-interference in the internal affairs of nations? Human conscience forbids us to acquiesce in that policy.
10.7 We cannot permit Unesco to be transformed into an instrument of political intrigues directed against the new African States or against other States, for that matter. A discussion on the Congo is about to take place, gentlemen, at the United Nations General Assembly. Why, then, the hurry here? Why do we not await that discussion? I think the representative of Morocco is perfectly right, and that Unesco has no reason for haste.
10.8 We therefore also propose to eliminate from the discussion the question of the credentials of the Congo, inasmuch as the persons presenting these credentials are themselves the victims of political intrigue. We propose that Unesco, as an international organization, should forthrightly protest against the crimes committed against the head of the lawful government of the Republic of the Congo We are quite sure that the entire world, the whole of the peace loving public, will rise in defence of Lumumba and save him from the hands of the colonialists.

11. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon H.E. Dr. Lazo, Head of the delegation of Cuba.

12.1 Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, as delegate of Cuba I had asked to speak first in this debate. No doubt the President found it impossible to accede to my request, and therefore I am speaking third. I should like to draw attention to this fact, although, of course, it does not matter when I make my statement.
12.2 We are certainly somewhat surprised by the haste with which it is sought to solve the problem before us, particularly in view of the quite different reception which greeted certain motions presented by Cuba; my country has had occasion to discover the high degree of caution and delay - including deferment until the next General Conference - which were proposed in connexion with motions presented by Cuba, despite the fact that they dealt with subjects which concern Unesco. All this is in striking contrast to the present instance, in which it is sought to force Unesco to a quick decision.
12.3 I should first like to draw the attention of the President and my fellow delegates to a question which influences the present case and which is, moreover, of a general nature - a question of procedure I

wonder whether it is true, as has been said, that Unesco occupies such a subordinate position with regard to the United Nations that, when the latter has adopted a decision, it is pointless to consider it here. If the point at issue had already been decided by that body, and if it were true that the United Nations - of which we are undoubtedly an important branch - had been able to settle the matter once and for all, why should we be consulted at all? In a case such as the one now before us, if it is for the United Nations to decide, or if the latter has already adopted, or will shortly adopt, a resolution by which the whole affair could be regarded as closed, why are we being consulted? I think that this question is sufficient to show that even though we are an agency of the United Nations, we have complete and full authority to take decisions on the specific cases which come before us.

12.4 The Cuban delegation is not proposing to raise a political issue here; I simply wish to present a case which, in my opinion, is a matter of logic, and also involves basic human considerations I should like to dwell on these two expressions, which I shall now explain.

12.5 To begin with - a question of logic, of reasoning There can be no doubt that at the present time a state of confusion exists in the Congo; there is no final solution for the situation of that country, and Cuba can only hope that the Congo will shortly be unified and will solve its problems. There can also be no doubt that, however many resolutions are adopted by the United Nations and by Unesco, and whatever international information bodies may say, the problem of the Congo has not been solved Why then should we anticipate events by this exceptional haste to solve the problem? Looked at in this light, the issue is no longer a political one, but a question of logic and of reasoning. If we asked a citizen from any Member State represented here, regardless of his political persuasion, whether the situation in the Congo is finally settled, that person, whatever his political beliefs, could only reply that the situation awaits a solution. This is a question of fact and logic; a question of common sense.

12 6 In addition to this, the government which is asking for recognition, the government of the Congo which has presented this request, is responsible for very serious acts of a human, not a political, nature. In today's press, and not in a Cuban newspaper but in the "New York Times", there is a description of the arrest of Mr. Patrice Lumumba: with "his hands tied behind his back" he was taken to prison, not in a taxi or a car, but sitting in the back of a lorry, amid the jeers and laughter of the soldiers.

12.7 Is this a political act, or an outrage to human dignity? Mr. President, fellow delegates, I remember witnessing the departure of an ex-President of the Republic of Cuba to Miami (Florida), handcuffed, after trial. And I resented this, not because I was anti-North American - I should like to state this clearly; I regretted it as a Cuban, I regretted it as a man, I regretted it because the consideration due to a person who had been the head of State of my country was not respected.

12.8 These facts show that the methods now used by this government in the Congo conflict with respect for the individual. It could be shown that other groups in the Congo have committed similar acts but, taken all in all, what would this prove? It would merely prove that the situation in the Congo has not been solved, however many resolutions the United Nations has adopted and however many resolutions Unesco may adopt.

12.9 In the name of logic, reason and common sense we should support the ideas expressed by the distinguished representative of Morocco, and suspend judgement on the present issue. By so doing, we should avoid bringing politics into Unesco - we should wait. Have we not waited for long periods in other cases, and not only for motions proposed by Cuba? Have not many intelligent, discreet and cautious persons in this Organization risen to ask that we should study and re-study motions of such universal interest as that concerning world information?

12.10 Were not all possible procedural issues then raised? So why should we now hurry through a resolution which would be both artificial and premature?

12.11 With these words, Mr. President, fellow delegates, I believe that Cuba has helped to clear up the situation, not for any political reasons, but in the name of Unesco's true nature, and in the name of universal human principles such as logic, common sense and the desire to avoid a premature resolution.

13. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, Head of the delegation of Brazil.

14.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is certainly not for non-African delegations, at any rate in the initial stages, to take sides in a painful problem which has developed within the African continent. It is not therefore in order to take up a position for or against any representative of the Congo that I ask your permission to speak It is, first and foremost, in order to remind you that the links uniting Unesco and the United Nations do not involve abstract entities but Member States; the same Member States are represented in both assemblies. These Member States have divided the tasks to be fulfilled between the two institutions: my Brazilian colleagues in the United Nations have the prime responsibility for deciding, on behalf of my Government, what attitude should be adopted towards certain problems. On the other hand, it is for me, on behalf of Brazil, to accept the responsibilities with which my Government has entrusted me in other fields. But it is the same country, the same Brazil which should reveal itself in both assemblies and it is inconceivable that its representatives should act without a close concordance of views.

14.2 When this debate opened at the United Nations and a decision was taken by a substantial majority, for there were 53 votes in favour of accepting President Kasavubu's credentials, 24 votes against and 19 abstentions - the Brazilian Government - I might even say almost all, if not indeed all, the governments of Latin America - favoured acceptance of these credentials. I am not therefore involving myself in the Congo's internal affairs, much as they distress me, I am not involving myself in the internal

affairs of Africa - I have too much respect for the freedom of action of those concerned and their priority of claim to deal with their own problems - but I abide by the position which my Government adopted at the United Nations, and I think that many if not all Latin American delegations will be similarly situated, when I ask you to accept the credentials presented to you and to approve the report of the Credentials Committee which is devoid of complicity or ill-will of any sort whatever.

15. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon Mr. Godber, of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

16.1 Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, this is the first occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the plenary session and I am sorry in a way that it should be an occasion where we show such a clear lack of unanimity on the subject before us.
16.2 I have listened with great care to the points of view put forward by the distinguished delegates who have spoken before me. I am most anxious that we should not be drawn into political controversy in this matter, or indeed in any matter affecting Unesco. I think there is a grave responsibility on all of us to avoid political excursions affecting the matters that come before us. Conditions in the Congo are anxious and grave, and I think all of us, whatever our views on it, wish to express our sympathy with the people in that troubled land. I believe, however, that in this matter which has come before us there is only one logical course for us to pursue. I do not think politics should enter into the matters which we discuss at all. I believe the only thing we can do here is to accept the advice of the Credentials Committee on the basis that the representatives of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville) have been accepted by the United Nations in New York. As one distinguished delegate said earlier, we are a product of the United Nations. Article 2 of the Constitution of Unesco states quite clearly that membership of the United Nations should carry with it the right to membership of Unesco. That, I think, is where we stand.
16.3 It may be argued, indeed it has been argued, that the present representatives of the Congo who have submitted their credentials for approval here, are not of necessity the appropriate ones to be represented here. I would say that is not a matter for us to discuss, it is a matter which has been thrashed out most fully, deliberately, at the United Nations in New York. They have accepted not only the Congo's membership, they have accepted these representatives of the Congo as being right and appropriate representatives of that country. I believe that if we really are to leave politics out of this matter this is the only sound, logical and common sense way in which to view it. I believe most sincerely that this must be the correct way in which to approach this matter.
16.4 We have heard extravagant phrases from the distinguished delegate of the Soviet Republic in which he made strong accusations on a wide range of subjects against those whom he called the "colonizers". I do not think those accusations merit the consideration of a proper reply; I think they can be taken as coming from whence they came. The record of those of us who have been concerned with the question of colonies is not one of which we should be ashamed, but I do not intend to enter that field of controversy. Such remarks as those merely confuse the issue and I regret very much that they have been made.
16.5 It is my feeling, Mr. President, that we here in Unesco do have a duty, a very great duty, to see that what we are seeking to do should help these countries of the Congo, just as we want to help other countries who have got further to go on the roads with which we are concerned - the roads of education, of science, of culture - than perhaps some of the countries which we have the privilege to represent. We who represent those older civilizations and who have had greater opportunities have equally very much greater responsibilities on our shoulders in this sphere.
16.6 If our education and our culture means anything, it must mean viewing with tolerance, consideration and sympathy, the difficulties of peoples like this. And I believe that if we really view this matter with toleration, sympathy and understanding, we should be anxious, indeed determined, to try to help these countries in any way we can. Therefore what is the point of refusing membership at this stage? If we accept this country, with its difficulties, for membership, is it not possible that we in Unesco can do something to help? If we refuse, what do we lose? They lose, but we lose also. I say to you, Mr. President, with the greatest sincerity, I believe we have a duty to try and help. We do not help, if we turn down this application, and I put it to the distinguished delegates that this is really the issue before us. Do not let us become involved in wrangles about the merits or demerits of different factions in this troubled country, but let us act simply in a humanitarian way, and show that we in Unesco can rise above political problems on this occasion, as I hope indeed we can on many others. I therefore support the proposal that the recommendation of the Credentials Committee should be accepted.

17. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the Head of the delegation of Guinea, Mr. Sanguiana.

18.1 Mr. MOUSSA SANGUIANA (Guinea) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, following on the United Nations decision to accept Mr. Kasavubu's delegation, Unesco is now in turn required to decide on this question which is of great importance if we sincerely desire to see the promotion of the African States to international standing constructively reinforced.
18.2 We are faced with a problem of conscience: either to align our position unquestioningly with that of the United Nations in a spirit of political opportunism which I would describe as blameworthy or, from a concern for truth and justice, to accept the institutions which the Congolese people freely adopted once they achieved independence. This is an opportunity for our delegation to prove that, far from making deals, it always chooses the right path, the path which leads to the solidarity of peoples in the development of education and the progress of science and culture.

18.3 The disturbances in the Congo are creating great uneasiness in the world, outraging consciences and inclining new States to adopt an attitude of suspicion towards the United Nations on account of its partisan intervention. The delegation of Guinea would like here to reaffirm its Government's position on this particular problem: before the independence of the Congolese people came about, national institutions had been set up in conformity with the provisions of the basic Charter of the Congolese Republic. The drawing up of this Charter and the definition of the part to be played by the different institutions had been the subject of joint deliberations in which representatives of all the Congolese parties and of the Belgian Government took part. This constitutional Charter was accepted by all the Congolese parties and clearly defined the powers shared by the young State's different institutions.

18.4 A National Assembly and a Senate were elected by a democratic vote based on universal suffrage. In accordance with the same democratic procedure, the Congolese Parliament, comprising the Chamber and the Senate, was to appoint the Congolese Head of State and invest the Head of the Congolese Government. In the same Charter, resolution no. 4 concerning the competence of the first government of the Congo stated that this would replace the Belgian Government as of 30 June 1960 and, as a result, would exercise all the powers hitherto possessed by the Belgian Government. The main fields in which these powers were exercised included foreign relations, the national army and gendarmerie, national finance, customs, higher education, ocean, river and air transport, State security, direction of the economy, etc.

18.5 A provincial council and government were set up within each of the six provinces in accordance with a policy of administrative decentralization. But provincial power was to be exercised solely within the indivisible and unitary framework of the State, represented and led by the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo.

18.6 People unfamiliar with the Congolese legal system frequently ask whether the Head of State or the Congolese Government is the valid spokesman in dealing with foreign States and international bodies. That is why international opinion is now divided: some consider Mr. Kasavubu's actions as legal and regular while others consider the measures decided on by the Cabinet of the Congolese Government as regular. The Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of the Congo makes it possible to decide between the two opinions. It is not a problem of Kasavubu versus Lumumba but a problem of international law and national legality and Unesco's attitude should be in complete accord with the authentic expression of the will of each nation or the family of nations.

18.7 I quote from the Preamble to this Constitution: "The problem of the Head of State implies a choice of considerable political importance. A newly constituted State must choose between various formulas: is the Head of State to be distinct from and not responsible to the government? Or, on the contrary, should he be responsible and himself form an integral part of the government? Finally, should the essential responsibility of the Head of State be exercised directly before the people or with ministers before elected assemblies?" In line with European institutions, the Round Table Conference unanimously adopted - and this is still included in the Preamble to the Constitution - the system of a Head of State not responsible to the government (I stress this formula).

18.8 Before 30 June 1960, the two Congolese Chambers were to meet in joint session to decide on the appointment of a Head of State whose acts would be effective only if countersigned by a Minister of the Congolese Government, which would alone be responsible. Once again, I emphasize: of the Congolese Government, which would alone be responsible. This system was to continue until the definitive Constitution entered into force. In the event that no agreement could be reached on the appointment of the Head of State, his duties would be temporarily assumed by the President of the Senate or the President of the Chamber of Representatives or by the elder of the Presidents of either assembly. The Preamble likewise states: "It was therefore the system of a non-responsible Head of State which was finally adopted unanimously and without debate by the Round Table". It is therefore absolutely clear that the Government of Mr. Lumumba, which was elected by Parliament under regular conditions and which retains its confidence, is alone responsible for conducting the destiny of the Congolese people in accordance with Congolese law.

18.9 International intervention could only be justified, therefore, if it were requested by the responsible government - i.e. that of Mr. Patrice Lumumba.

18.10 How then can the object of this intervention on Congolese soil and independently of the will of the Congolese Government be defined? Is one entitled to enter a man's house with the expressed intention of helping him against a bandit and at the same time reserve the right to act in that house without any regard for the owner's wishes and the conditions which he has laid down? It frequently happens that the means replace the end but, in this case, we must frankly recognize that force has supplanted right and justice.

18.11 That is why we consider it opportune to appeal to all the nations of the world in the hope that their joint efforts will restore justice to international relations for the benefit of all peoples without regard to their material or military power.

18.12 We are well aware that divergent interests weaken Unesco's action. We need only recall the utter disregard with which certain nations, more confident of their military power than of the justice of their cause, are prepared to render international organizations frail and ineffective.

18.13 For our part, we realize that the international organizations have an important historical rôle to play and that they should retain the power of crystallizing all the positive energies and all the virtues of man to hasten the disintegration of those negative forces which still hinder the full development of societies. We do not regard Unesco as a guardian power whose judgements must be feared and whose favours must be begged for. We look on it as the crucible of the universal conscience but, in order to function as such, its conduct must invariably show it favourable to the forces of human progress, national independence and world peace. It must be

the effective centre of international co-operation where the destiny of all mankind will be positively asserted.

18.14 Our concern is that the cause of each people shall triumph, no matter what that people's race, religion or nationality. But leaving aside our desire to see humanity achieve that high level of awareness of its interdependent interests, we must take due account of current harsh realities in the Congo.

18.15 Certain Member States of international organizations are criticized for constantly denouncing the misdeeds of imperialism and colonialism. My country has a proverb which says, "If a man cries 'Fire!' when he sees his neighbour's hut burning, only incendiaries would dare to complain that he was spreading panic." Who can expect us to be indifferent to happenings in the Congo except those who nourish the mad hope of placing the existence of the Congolese brother peoples under trusteeship - and hence of taking the path which leads to segregation?

18.16 We are aware that the colonialist régime cannot be destroyed, removed from the face of the earth, merely by denouncing it. The process leading to its total disappearance can be hastened by combating colonialism wherever it resists and wherever it operates against the freedom of peoples.

18.17 There are two ways of protecting oneself against theft. The first is to take out an insurance and let the thieves do their work. The second is to denounce the spirit of theft and to unmask and combat the thieves. We choose the latter method because we know that the true freedom of our peoples will only be achieved and consolidated when all those with the evil design of seizing that freedom are blacklisted, denounced and put in a position where they can do no more harm.

18.18 We will never dissociate ourselves from what happens around us, on the contrary. We intend to take part in all such action as may be instituted on behalf of the freedom of peoples, all peoples, on behalf of the independence of nations, all nations, on behalf of international co-operation, on behalf of world peace.

18.19 We know that, if human faults and failings are destructive by nature, we should call on the human virtues and qualities in order to make our contribution to the building of a better world in which the resources of human genius will be devoted solely to man's happiness without discrimination of any sort.

18.20 The Congo must no longer be used either as a diversion or as a subject of experiment for foreign enterprises. The Congo must be seen as a part of humanity's existence, as a destiny for millions of men, women and children.

18.21 Let us talk less about Lumumba, Kasavubu, Mobutu, Ileo and the rest and devote ourselves seriously to finding a just solution to the cause of a people which seeks only well-being, peace and progress. It is not reasonable to justify an unjust reactionary policy on the grounds of a colour arbitrarily attributed to the political and juridical concepts of a man or a people. Each people has an absolute right to whatever concept it wishes so long as its actual behaviour harms neither the freedom nor the interests of any other people. Without these rules, brute force will triumph over moral force, injustice over justice and savagery over civilization.

18.22 Most of those who are represented as the main actors in the Congo drama are in fact no more than instruments set in motion by selfish interests.

18.23 As we know, corruption, that debasing instrument of imperialism, has played its destructive and degrading part. As we also know, the most contradictory pretexts have been brandished here and there to obscure the true Congolese problem, the solution of which calls for a decisive choice between the freedom and sovereignty of the Congolese people on the one hand and, on the other, the freedom of their exploiters.

18.24 We all know what has happened since 2 September. We are all aware of the assistance given to this group and that to increase the confusion, and the struggle for power between the Congolese leaders so as to justify the anti-Congolese plan which had been drawn up.

18.25 We do not think it necessary at this stage to reveal all the overwhelming mass of documents we possess on the Congo situation. We wish to build, even in association with those who have been guilty of errors, to the extent that their moral and political conscience enables them to appreciate the Congo situation and to take the path of respect for right, legality and Congolese interests. In this way we hope that all the concealed actors in the Congolese drama will reconsider their position and not compel us to discomfit them publicly.

18.26 It is no use today congratulating our peoples on their accession to independence when, moreover, those congratulations are accompanied by cunning manoeuvres designed to hinder the normal exercise of their national sovereignty. The freedom we value most is the freedom to use our independence, in other words that freedom which favours instead of jeopardizing normal conditions for the exercise of the attributes of our national sovereignty.

18.27 We urgently appeal to the sense of justice of all nations in the hope that they will undertake the effective defence of Congolese legality. The men in power in the Congo will disappear but the people of the Republic of the Congo will remain. We must not commit an act which would endure in history and which future generations in the Congo and elsewhere can forever hold against those who are today responsible for international life. Unesco should not be used as an instrument of division.

18.28 Unesco is required today to decide on the admission of a delegation which represents no legal governmental institution. The position in the Congo is all the more tragic because the true leader, the true representative of the Congo - the Head of the government invested by the two Congolese Chambers - is at present subjected to exactions by a politico-military third power. The confusion resulting from this de facto situation is such that our Organization is in no position to reach an objective decision on the present representation of the Republic of the Congo.

18.29 That is why the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, like that of Morocco, formally requests that any examination of this question be deferred until such time as an authority and institutions acceptable to the mass of the Congolese people are re-established in this brother country.

19. The PRESIDENT:
The delegation of Liberia wishes to raise a point of order.

20. Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, exercising my prerogative under Rule 75 of the Rules of Procedure, I hereby put forward a motion for closure of the debate.

21. The PRESIDENT:
The delegate of Poland wishes to speak.

22.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, what we are faced with so far as I can understand, is an attempt not to decide the essence of the point raised by the delegation of Morocco, under which it reserved the right to put a motion later, a desire to cut short the discussion at the very moment when many speakers wish to express their governments' views on this question of outstanding importance for Unesco.
22.2 It seems to me that it is better to delay the closure of the debate. Let the delegation of Morocco, whose position I fully support, use its right to put forward the motion referred to after everyone has spoken. So far as I understood the representative of Morocco, his motion amounts to a proposal not to discuss the credentials of the delegation of the so-called government of the usurper Mobutu at the present session, as compared with the motion put forward by the representative of Liberia, which amounts to silencing delegates who want to explain their countries' position here.
22.3 Now as to the essence of the question. From the very beginning of this session we have heard many speeches to the effect that we should not concern ourselves with politics, that we should not outstep the limits of the immediate tasks of Unesco, that all proposals, particularly those of deep concern to humanity such as disarmament, peaceful coexistence and the elimination of colonialism, are political proposals and that we should therefore not concern ourselves with them. Today the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom reiterated this argument. I must state that those delegates who have been insisting here that we must hold aloof from politics are the very ones who included in the agenda of the General Conference of Unesco the world's most burning political question of the day.
22.4 They included it wittingly, knowing full well that it would arouse sharp discussion among us, and that there are diametrically opposed viewpoints on this issue here. Thus they contrived not only to confront us with a sharp political discussion but also to put the delegations of a number of States in an embarrassing and awkward situation; and they did so just when our Conference is coming to a close and when it was improper to raise such thorny political issues and place representatives of a number of States in a difficult position.
22.5 I can only say that all the statements made at today's meeting to the effect that Unesco should not engage in political discussion are hypocritical, for while they maintain, on the one hand, that there must be no politics, they raise, on the other, political questions of a most acute nature.
22.6 The line put forward is that we are part of the United Nations family. Of course we are part of the United Nations family, but that does not deprive Unesco of its independence. I ask you, Mr. President and fellow delegates, taking up their argument, why is it, then, that we have a Credentials Committee? Why do we waste time there discussing questions of credentials? Why do we discuss them at the General Conference, if all these questions are decided beforehand by decisions of the United Nations?
22.7 Naturally, we should take account of United Nations decisions. We should give them careful consideration but that does not mean that we are deprived of the possibility of deciding on these issues independently. And it is idle for the United Kingdom representative to refer on this point to our Constitution. It says nothing about our not having the right to take our own decisions on questions that are most vital to Unesco. Mr. Carneiro has said that we represent here the same States as are represented in the United Nations. This is quite true, we do represent those same States.
22.8 But the fact that we are representatives of States does not mean that we are not representatives of men of science, culture and education, and that as men of culture and education we cannot have our personal opinion on a number of questions which are extremely important for Unesco. I would even go further and say that besides being representatives of States, besides being representatives of science and culture, we are also men and women as such. And as men and women we do not accept what we have read in today's newspapers about how the usurper Colonel Mobutu lords it in the Congo and young men brought into the Congo from outside are forming a so-called government.
22.9 We have heard a great deal here about parliamentary democracy. If I may say a word about parliamentary democracy, it would be this: anyone who defends the mandate of the usurper Mobutu is trampling the principles of parliamentary democracy underfoot. I shall not go into all the legal arguments which were so brilliantly expounded by the delegate of Guinea. I wish only to say that according to the Constitution of the Congo, the President has no right to travel outside the country without a decision by Parliament to that effect, and that the credentials presented by the Congolese delegation were issued in New York, that is, outside the country. If we base ourselves on the principles of parliamentary democracy and not on dictatorial edicts by governments of nondescript colonels, the first thing to take into account is a lawful decision by the Congolese Parliament, the elections to which no one has called into question And so if reference is to be made at all to parliamentary democracy, then do so, gentlemen, without applying a double standard.
22.10 Those who wish to recognize a delegation with credentials issued by the so-called government of Mobutu - the usurper Mobutu, to be precise - have always argued that it is wrong to erect an iron curtain between States. Permit me to ask, therefore, who it was that expelled diplomatic representatives from the Congo. It was Mobutu and his imported commissioners. They were the ones who created the iron curtain. They expelled diplomatic representatives

because they saw no need of unnecessary observers.
22.11 The same thing happened recently to the representative of the United Arab Republic, and the Government of that country gave an appropriate reply. It seems to me that if we can wait eleven years for the acceptance of the People's Republic of China, in which there is no government other than the central government of that republic, why do we have to hurry in this way when it comes to the Congo, where the situation, as has been pointed out by previous speakers, is very complex? One thing is clear to any dispassionate observer in any case: that this self-styled government, that is, the government of the usurper Mobutu, does not represent the Congo.
22.12 We have naturally welcomed the Republic of the Congo to our Organization with great sympathy and pleasure. It is now a member of it. At this moment we are discussing, not the question of the participation of the Republic of the Congo in the work of Unesco, but that of the credentials of impostors issued by the fellow impostor Mobutu and his Commissioner Bomboko.
22.13 I therefore maintain that the debate should continue until such time as the representative of Morocco puts forward his motion for closure. Furthermore, I fully endorse what the representative of Morocco has said. It seems to me that there is no reason to hurry, that haste can do only harm, and hence we should accept the Moroccan proposal, which I support, that there should be no discussion at the present session of the question of the representation of the Republic of the Congo.

23. The PRESIDENT:
I understand that we have before us a motion for adjournment. The delegate of Liberia has invoked Rule 75, I shall therefore ask the delegate of Liberia if he wishes to put the motion for adjournment.

24. Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):
Mr. President, I again invoke Rule 75 to call for an adjournment of the debate. I ask that a vote on that motion be taken by roll-call.

25. The PRESIDENT:
Your motion is for adjournment until when?

26. Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):
For adjournment without further consideration.

27. The PRESIDENT:
Mr. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America, wishes to raise a point of order.

28. Mr. THAYER (United States of America):
Mr. President, I rise to a point of order, to ask for an explanation. It does not seem clear to me from Rule 75 whether or not this means that we are to stop the debate and take a vote on this question, or whether it means that we are to cease all consideration of this question. If the latter, for how long? If it means the latter, I would oppose the motion very vigorously and associate myself with the delegate of Poland, because I feel this question must be settled today. We need clarification, because I do not believe the delegates here present are familiar with the rules and regulations and know exactly what Rule 75 means. If we are to adjourn our debate on matters because of what appears in the newspapers, then I doubt very much whether the Unesco Conference would ever assemble anywhere. I submit, Mr. President, that we should have a very clear explanation of what this rule means, so that we know what we are voting upon.

29. The PRESIDENT:
Will the Legal Adviser kindly explain Rule 75?

30.1 Mr. SABA (Legal Adviser) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I will read Rule 75:
"Adjournment of debate: During the discussion of any question, a Member State or Associate Member present may move adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion. Any such motion shall have precedence. In addition to the proposer of the motion, one speaker may speak in favour of, and one against, the motion."
30.2 It has not been specified for what period an adjournment is sought. In these circumstances, the General Committee may recommend again that the General Conference should resume the debate unless the author of the motion for adjournment specifies that he wishes an adjournment extending beyond the limits of this session of the Conference.

31. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Morocco.

32.1 Mr. ELMANJRA (Morocco):
I rise on a point of order, Mr. President. I am glad that the delegate of the United States raised the question of Rule 75. I think that the delegate of Liberia when he spoke, although he used the term "closure of the debate" referred to Article 75 which concerns adjournment. If you refer to Rule 77, the adjournment of the debate on the item under discussion has a priority. We of the Moroccan delegation feel somewhat responsible, because it was we who first raised this question. We did not wish to put it to a vote immediately because we felt that certain delegations, indeed, a good many, should have a chance to speak in favour or against. We think now that sufficient views have been expressed for and against, and that it is not up to us to move formally the adjournment of the debate because we consider that this has been done.
32.2 We would like to add the following clarification. When we asked for adjournment of this debate, we said that we wanted that at least the work of the special group on Africa be discussed and considered in the Programme Commission before discussing this question again. We do not intend to adjourn the debate until two years from now at the next Conference. In our view it is up to the General Committee to decide when it shall be opportune to raise this question again.
32.3 And here I would like the delegations to take into consideration one very important point. There are about 100 delegations here. Many of those delegations come from countries which do not have the same facilities as many of the other delegations to send cables or maintain permanent contact by

telephone with their governments. And most of us, as was so ably said by Mr. Carneiro, most of us here are not politicians The decisions are made for us in the United Nations or by our governments. Many of the delegations I have spoken to here have not had time, in view of the latest developments, to receive very precise instructions from their governments. Again I say, things move fast in Africa, perhaps if we postpone this debate, even for a week, we may see a change. I would not be surprised if tomorrow we read in the headlines that Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Mobutu have met, have agreed, have shaken hands! How much happier we would then be to accept here the same delegates who have come, and there would no longer be the feeling of antagonism within the working groups and within the working committees. This is the reason why we have made the suggestion.

32.4 Now to come back to procedure, since we have already a formal motion before us for the adjournment of the debate and since, according to Rule 75, there can only be one speaker for and one against, I consider, Mr. President (and here I would like the advice of our Legal Adviser) that since it was formally moved by the delegate of Liberia that we adjourn the debate, and the intervention of the delegate of the United States, unless he was out of order, was to speak against the motion, and since I consider my intervention as being in favour of the motion, I consider that if we are respect our Rules of Procedure, there can be no further discussion and that we must put to a vote the adjournment of the debate, with the understanding that the General Committee might at some other time, when it considers it appropriate, call for the discussion of this question to be resumed.

32.5 One further argument in favour of the motion has been expressed by the delegate of the United Kingdom, who urged that we should do something for the Congo. I am happy to say on behalf of the Moroccan Government that, although we did not recognize the Kasavubu delegation at the General Assembly of the United Nations, we have not withdrawn our experts from the Congo, our army is still there, our experts in telecommunications are still there, and we are thinking of sending experts in the field of education, because we are intelligent enough to make a distinction between the work which should be done there and these superficial political questions which we here should leave aside. So I think that the Congo is being helped, and will continue to be helped by Unesco, independently of our vote. Mr. President, again I beg you to put the motion for adjournment to the vote, considering that there can be no more discussion.

33. The PRESIDENT:

May I ask the Chairman of the Credentials Committee to make a few explanatory remarks before we proceed further?

34. Mr. MATSUI (Japan), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I would like to ask you a question: in the event that the motion for adjournment is adopted will Rule 24 of the Rules of Procedure apply? This reads: "Provisional admission to a session. Any representative to whose admission a Member State or Associate Member has made objection shall be seated provisionally with the same rights as other representatives, until the Credentials Committee has reported and the General Conference has given its decision." I think this rule applies and I would appreciate clarification of the point.

35.1 The PRESIDENT:

My opinion is that what the Chairman of the Credentials Committee has said is quite correct.

35.2 I will now put the motion for adjournment of the debate to the vote by roll-call.

36. (The vote was taken by roll-call.

In favour: Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Capital: Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Hungary, India, Liberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Rumania, Senegal, Somalia, Switzerland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Guinea, Iran, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstentions: Afghanistan, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Dominican Republic, Finland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Nigeria, Sudan, Tunisia, Viet-Nam.

Absent: Albania, Bolivia, Cambodia, Colombia, Dahomey, El Salvador, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Mali, Monaco, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Saudi Arabia, Togo.)

37.1 The PRESIDENT:

The result of the voting is as follows: for the adjournment, 26; against, 34; abstentions 13; absent, 24. The motion for adjournment of the debate is not carried.

37.2 The delegate of Morocco has asked to speak on a point of order.

38.1 Mr. ELMANJRA (Morocco):

Mr. President, on the basis of Rule 74 I would like to ask for the adjournment not of the debate, but of the meeting. That rule reads: "Such motions shall not be debated, but shall be immediately put to the vote." It appears from the vote we have just taken that there is a desire to continue the debate. We did not want such a debate, but if the majority wish to continue, in view of the great number of delegations absent, we ask them to let us come prepared. It is already 5.45 p.m., it is Saturday afternoon, and I think that there are other meetings which should take place.

38.2 I therefore move that we adjourn the meeting, and according to Rule 74 the motion for adjournment of the meeting shall be immediately put to the vote.

39.1 The PRESIDENT:

We shall now vote on the motion for adjournment

of the meeting. Rule 74 reads as follows: "During the discussion of any matter, a Member State or Associate Member may move the suspension or the adjournment of the meeting. Such motions shall not be debated, but shall be immediately put to the vote." We shall therefore put this motion to the vote.
39.2 We shall now take the vote by roll-call on the motion for the adjournment of the meeting.

40. (The vote was taken by roll-call.
In favour: Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Congo (Capital: Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.
Against: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Iran, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.
Abstained: Afghanistan, Austria, Cameroun, Ceylon, Dominican Republic, Israel, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sudan, Tunisia, Viet-Nam.
Absent: Albania, Bolivia, Cambodia, Colombia, Dahomey, El Salvador, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Korea, Kuwait, Laos, Libya, Federation of Malaya Mali, Monaco, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Togo.)

41.1 The PRESIDENT:
The result of the vote is as follows: In favour of the adjournment of the meeting 30; against, 31; abstentions, 11; absent 25. The motion is not carried. The discussion will therefore continue. I would like to ask the next speakers to be as brief as possible, because we would like to come to the vote on the report.
41.2 The delegate of Guinea wishes to speak on a point of order.

42. Mr. KALI (Guinea) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, in accordance with Rule 74, cited earlier by our colleague of the Moroccan delegation, I formally ask that the meeting be suspended.

43. The PRESIDENT:
The delegation of the United States asks to speak on a point of order. I understand he wishes a clarification which I will ask the Legal Adviser to give.

44.1 Mr. SABA (Legal Adviser) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I will read Rule 74: "Suspension or adjournment of the meeting. During the discussion of any matter, a Member State or Associate Member may move the suspension or the adjournment of the meeting. Such motions shall not be debated but shall be immediately put to the vote."
44.2 I think there is some confusion in the minds of certain delegates as to whether one identical motion is involved. There may be a suspension or there may be an adjournment. They are two different things. As I understand it, a motion for the suspension of the meeting has just been proposed whereas previously the motion was for adjournment of the meeting. Suspension means that the meeting is resumed during the same day.

45.1 The PRESIDENT:
The delegate of the United States of America is quite satisfied with the explanation given by the Legal Adviser and does not wish to speak further.
45.2 Now we shall proceed to vote on the motion for suspension of the meeting. Certain delegations want to vote by roll-call so I shall proceed to have the vote taken by roll-call.

46. (The vote was taken by roll-call.
In favour: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Central African Republic, Congo (Capital: Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.
Against: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Iran, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.
Abstained: Cameroun, Ceylon, Israel, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Switzerland, Tunisia.
Absent: Albania, Bolivia, Cambodia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Korea, Kuwait, Laos, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Mali, Monaco, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Thailand, Togo.)

47.1 The PRESIDENT:
The result of the vote is as follows: in favour 31; against 34; abstentions 7; absent 25.
47.2 The motion is therefore not carried. We will continue the discussion.
47.3 H.E. Dr. Beeby of New Zealand wishes to speak on a point of order.

48. Mr. BEEBY (New Zealand):
Mr. President, under Rule 76 I move the closure of this debate. I think we have done enough harm to Unesco's reputation for one afternoon.

49.1 The PRESIDENT:
According to Rule 76 only two speakers may now speak against the motion.
49.2 The delegate of Poland wishes to speak.

50.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, I wish to oppose the New Zealand delegation's motion for the closure of the debate. I oppose it because I consider that since motions for the adjournment of the meeting have been rejected

(although by insignificant majorities) and that a number of delegations have therefore been given no opportunity to get in touch with their governments, as they had requested, it seems completely unfair not to allow the floor to the various delegations which had asked to speak. It seems to me that in these circumstances we should continue our discussion.
50.2 If the majority, a tiny majority of one or two votes, considers that delegations are not to be allowed to think over this question and get in touch with their governments, and demands that the issue be decided forthwith, then we must at least be consistent and not gag even a single delegation which wishes to express its views on this question. I therefore oppose the motion of the delegation of New Zealand.

51. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the delegate of Guinea.

52.1 Mr. KALI (Guinea) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, gentlemen, since we are here discussing a question which essentially concerns the African nations, we feel it necessary that the voice of Guinea should be heard.
52.2 We have noted the results of the successive votes which have been taken following the debate on the admission of an African State, the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville).
52.3 The African countries came to the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization because they believed they had needs, concrete problems concerning Africa, to submit to this large and distinguished forum.
52.4 None of them, as has been emphasized, has tried to associate the problem with Tropical Africa's divisions or political situation. It is with regret, however, that we note that our Organization, although denying that it is engaged in politics, is so engaged at the present time; we note this and we draw from it the conclusions for the countries of West Africa and, in particular, for the republic which I represent, the Republic of Guinea.
52.5 We are all the more saddened to note this decision because we have been deeply moved on hearing delegates speak of this international assembly as being that of all Tropical Africa. We observe that words here are belied by deeds. That is all I wished to say.

53. The PRESIDENT:
A vote on the motion for closure of the debate will now be taken by roll-call.

54. (The vote was taken by roll-call.
In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Ghana, Greece, Iran, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.
Against: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo (Capital: Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, India, Lebanon, Liberia, Madagascar, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Rumania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.
Abstained: Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Finland, Ivory Coast, Tunisia.
Absent: Albania, Bolivia, Cambodia, Colombia, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Korea, Kuwait, Laos, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Mali, Monaco, Niger, Panama, Saudi Arabia, Togo.)

55.1 The PRESIDENT:
The result of the voting on the motion for the closure of the debate is as follows: in favour, 40; against, 25; abstentions, 6; absent, 26. Therefore the motion for closure is carried.
55.2 I want to make it clear that the debate is closed The position now is that we return to paragraphs 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the report which is before the General Conference - the recommendation of the Credentials Committee that the credentials presented by the delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville) be accepted.
55.3 We shall now proceed to vote by roll-call on that recommendation.

56. (The vote was taken by roll-call.
In favour: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroun, Chile, China, Congo (Capital: Brazzaville), Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Iran, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Viet-Nam.
Against: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Lebanon, Morocco, Poland, Rumania, Somalia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia.
Abstained: Canada, Ceylon, Finland, Madagascar, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia.
Absent: Albania, Bolivia, Burma, Cambodia, Central African Republic, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Korea, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Federation of Malaya, Mali, Mexico, Monaco, Niger, Nigeria, Panama, Saudi Arabia, Togo.)

57.1 The PRESIDENT:
The result of the vote is as follows: In favour of accepting the credentials of the Republic of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville), 38; against, 19; abstentions, 7; absent, 33. The credentials are therefore accepted.
57.2 I now put to the vote the second report of the Credentials Committee as a whole.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands)
57.3 The report of the Credentials Committee as a whole is adopted, by 36 votes in favour, 11 against and 9 abstentions. The meeting is adjourned.

The meeting rose at 7.00 p.m.

TWENTY-SECOND PLENARY MEETING

7 December 1960, at 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil)

CONTENTS

Discussion on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture 344

DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
The President of the General Conference has asked me to take the chair at this discussion on international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture. This discussion is planned to last two days. It is open to all those speakers who have applied and whose names are listed in the Conference Journal. Two other delegations have applied since the publication of this list: the delegations of Bulgaria and Madagascar. We hope to be able to call on them to speak.
1.2 To help you understand the spirit of this discussion, I call on the Director-General who will outline the considerations which led him to choose this subject for discussion.

2.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would just like to say a few words to introduce this discussion, the broad lines of which will be explained in a moment by Mr. Jean Thomas. Since I myself took the initiative of proposing something which is new to the work of the General Conference, I feel I should tell you what considerations and reasons impelled me to make that suggestion.
2.2 On the one hand, I believe that, no matter what the circumstances, one particular feeling has always emerged from sessions of the General Conference: a feeling that the representatives of Unesco's Member States would have greatly benefited by the opportunity to discuss a general topic lying outside the proposed programme and budget for the next two years and outside the immediate directives for the following years - a feeling that such discussion and exchange of views conducted at a high level would have shown to the leaders and members of delegations that we are well aware of the central issues which form the very basis of the Organization's work.
2.3 On the other hand, when I made this suggestion, which the Executive Board accepted and supported and which the General Committee of the Conference then approved, the exact topic for discussion had to be chosen. A great many topics were possible: the general subject of education, of science and, more particularly, the great survey that has been carried out at the suggestion of the United Nations General Assembly and of the Australian delegation to the General Conference. But when the Economic and Social Council entrusted Unesco with the preparation of a report on the study of international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture, I felt - and here again I was supported by the Executive Board - that this subject formed, as it were, the keystone, the backcloth, the truly general basis of all Unesco activity. For this was a matter of bringing together and combining several methods and techniques of international relations and exchanges of the greatest importance to all Unesco's work.
2.4 Additionally, the Economic and Social Council on receiving our report asked us to consider carefully the possibility of laying down principles which might govern this vast field of action in the future.
2.5 That is why, apart from what the Conference may be called on to decide in the way of concrete activities in this field as a result of this survey, which appears in the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 under consideration by the Programme Commission, the present discussion is of vital importance in that it will enable the Executive Board, the Director-General and the Secretariat to take what is said here as a pattern when the time comes to draw up the principles to be applied in the field which the Economic and Social Council has entrusted to us.
2.6 This discussion is therefore both theoretical and practical in character since it is a question of analysing the results of the survey already made and the principles which emerge from it and because it is intended to supply the Unesco Secretariat with the essential material on which to base the principles of long-term action.
2.7 You are not asked, ladies and gentlemen, to adopt any resolutions or formal decisions during or at the conclusion of this discussion. You are asked, in the light of the statement which Mr. Jean Thomas is to make in a moment, to give your reactions, to provide pointers and to suggest directions for activity in regard to this great problem which, I repeat, in my view influences to some extent the whole programme to which Unesco is dedicated.
2.8 I was anxious to give you the reasons for the

choice of topic and to indicate the scope and nature of this debate. Mr. Jean Thomas, Assistant Director-General, will now discuss the related documents.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on Mr. Jean Thomas, Assistant Director-General.

4.1 Mr. THOMAS (Assistant Director-General) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Unesco's Constitution provides at the outset that "the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives."

4.2 In one and the same paragraph, therefore, two essential ideas are outlined: Unesco was created in order to develop among peoples the free exchange of ideas and knowledge and to increase relations between those peoples with a view to better understanding.

4.3 These two key words, exchanges and relations, are those which, according to the Constitution, define the very reason for Unesco's existence. Unesco was created precisely in order to develop international relations and exchanges and these are the very words used by the Economic and Social Council to define the object of this survey.

4.4 But while exchanges and relations between peoples may be Unesco's reason for existing, it cannot be said that they are a Unesco monopoly even in the fields of education, science and culture. Other United Nations agencies are to varying extents likewise actively interested in the development of such exchanges and relations. For example, the World Health Organization is concerned with many aspects of exchanges and relations in the field of science; the International Labour Organisation is concerned with these same relations and exchanges in the field of vocational training; the Food and Agriculture Organization is also concerned with scientific relations and exchanges; so are the World Meteorological Organization, the Atomic Energy Agency and even the United Nations itself; and when we look a little more closely into the texture of these relations, we find that other United Nations agencies - the Universal Postal Union and the Telecommunication Union, for instance - are again very directly and deeply concerned with exchanges and relations.

4.5 Looking beyond the United Nations family, we find other intergovernmental organizations which are wholly devoted to relations and exchanges in the educational field and, first and foremost, the International Burea of Education.

4.6 Other international organizations of a regional type also carry out very important work in these fields: the Organization of American States and the League of Arab States, to name only two.

4.7 Leaving aside intergovernmental organizations, there are a great many international non-governmental organizations entirely devoted to the development of exchanges: in science, for example, there is the International Council of Scientific Unions; in social science, the International Social Science Council; in humanistic studies, the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies; among organizations concerned with the development of artistic exchanges, the International Music Council, the International Theatre Institute, the International Council of Museums and all the many international non-governmental organizations with which Unesco is required to co-operate under the terms of its Constitution.

4.8 Finally and most important, beyond the international organizations, the Member States themselves maintain a vast network of relations in these basic fields at what is called the bilateral level, either by virtue of treaties or agreements which they have concluded and which are generally known as cultural agreements - even when they concern fields which are not strictly cultural or when they also relate to science, education and information media - or without any treaty or agreement but simply as a result of arrangements or custom.

4.9 This complex of relations and forms of international relationship in these fields of education, science and culture has been a frequent concern of the Economic and Social Council in recent years. And, on various occasions, the Council has asked international organizations belonging to the United Nations family - especially Unesco - to submit information and studies on this network of international relations. In 1958, the Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution asking that a survey of international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture should be submitted to it together with recommendations on means of action, both separately and jointly, in order to carry international co-operation in these fields still farther; and recognizing that Unesco's competence was outstanding in this connexion, it was Unesco that the Council asked to undertake this survey, in collaboration with other United Nations agencies.

4.10 The basic document which you have before you (11 C/17) traces the history of this survey and I will not here go over the details again; they will be found specifically in paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 of this document. I will simply recall that the Unesco Secretariat immediately began consultations with other United Nations agencies, formed a liaison committee with those agencies to allot the various tasks and that Unesco called on its Member States and on qualified international organizations to provide information to supplement what the Secretariat had already assembled on this question over a number of years.

4.11 In February 1960, an expert committee was convened by the Director-General and, in April 1960, the Executive Board, which had received the conclusions drawn from this survey, itself formulated observations addressed to the Economic and Social Council. Finally, in July 1960, this survey was submitted to the Economic and Social Council which adopted the resolution quoted in paragraph 11 of the document before you. This resolution begins by congratulating Unesco on the work done; it then invites Unesco to study the measures still needed to encourage effective co-ordination between bilateral

and multilateral programmes concerning these relations and exchanges - including, for instance, the preparation by the Director-General of periodical reports to the General Conference containing information on national, bilateral and regional activities. It further invites Unesco, in consultation with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, to study practical and technical measures which would enable the objectives mentioned in the survey to be attained and lists a series of such measures which Unesco could study.

4.12 The report submitted by the Secretariat to the Economic and Social Council on this basis, with the collaboration of Member States and other international organizations, was drawn up by the Exchange of Persons Service - which the Director-General proposes henceforward to term the International Exchange Service - with the very valuable support and assistance of a special consultant, the Minister, Mr. Jean Baillou, who is with us today.

4.13 This lengthy report is not, of course, intended for detailed analysis on your part. But what the Director-General, first of all, and then the Executive Board hope your assembly will do is to provide by your observations certain governing ideas which can and should guide the Secretariat and the Executive Board when the time comes for them, in pursuance of the Economic and Social Council's recommendation, to study those governing principles and technical measures. It is therefore, if you will, a form of guidance which the Director-General and the Secretariat hope to receive from you during these two days of discussion.

4.14 As I said a moment ago, the Executive Board, to which the conclusions of the Secretariat's survey were submitted, formulated certain observations thereon which were communicated to the Economic and Social Council. I believe it is worth recalling some of them to you because it is just such considerations which, if confirmed by your own discussions, would provide certain guiding lines for the work of the Secretariat and no doubt for the work of the Executive Board also.

4.15 I want to refer to some of these points which occur in the Executive Board's observations and also in the conclusions of the Secretariat's survey, as well as in the report of the International Committee of Experts. The first of these is that international exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture have greatly developed in recent years, both in the activity of international organizations and the bilateral activity of Member States, and that States seem agreed in according an ever increasing importance to such exchanges, which they regard as increasingly vital for the maintenance of peace and the establishment of trustful relations between peoples. This is a very important point, a fundamental point, which the Executive Board wished to emphasize.

4.16 The Board next noted that, according to the data contained in the survey, international exchanges and international relations, however extensive, do not have the same range and intensity in or between all regions; that the network of relations is much closer in some parts of the world than in others; that it tends to bring certain parts of the world more closely together than others. And, here again, the Executive Board drew attention to that inequality which might perhaps furnish material for a more detailed survey and more detailed recommendations on Unesco's part.

4.17 Thirdly, the Executive Board noted that these international exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture seemed to have two essential aims, no doubt related but at the same time quite distinct.

4.18 The first is to establish a network of exchanges and relations between the different countries - exchanges of knowledge and exchanges of persons, ideas and material as well as the free circulation of persons, ideas and materials. This, may I point out, is entirely in accordance with the spirit and letter of Unesco's Constitution. It was for this that Unesco was created and those who took part in Unesco's early work know that this idea of international co-operation, of intellectual exchanges, underlay Unesco's activity for many years; and, needless to say, it remains basic to our work.

4.19 At the same time, a second idea has gradually emerged from Unesco's experience and work and has an increasingly important place in the Organization's activities and programmes and in the deliberations of the General Conference. I believe, moreover, that the present session provides a striking illustration of this idea, namely, the assistance given by the more fortunate countries, those economically most developed and technically best equipped, to countries which are less fortunate and whose needs are greatest. This is a second aspect of international relations in the three fundamental fields which concern Unesco, an aspect which, without replacing the first, without supplanting it, has none the less become increasinly important throughout the years.

4.20 The Executive Board noted this dual objective and, at the same time, expressed the hope that both objectives would continue to be borne in mind by Unesco and the other international organizations concerned.

4.21 Finally, the Executive Board enunciated a fourth general principle, namely, that the relations established between peoples should retain their character of true reciprocity, in other words, that they must not tend to become a one-way stream, running, for example, from the best supplied, best equipped and richest countries to the most unfavourably situated and poorest countries, but that there must be a genuine reciprocity in these exchanges. And the Board recognized that one of the fields in which reciprocity was easiest and most effective was the cultural field, applying the principle which has always been inherent in Unesco's work - that each people can offer all other peoples the fruits of its own culture and of its own cultural traditions. Thus the Executive Board was led to point out the importance of activities in the cultural field as a counterweight or complement to technical and economic assistance.

4.22 Those, I think, are four main principles which the Executive Board brought out and which it is perhaps worth recalling as this discussion opens.

4.23 The Executive Board, like the Economic and Social Council earlier, was struck by the complexity of international relations and especially by the need

for co-ordination between these relations and, still more - an extremely important point - by the need for co-ordination between activities at the bilateral, regional and international levels, to use the terms employed in the Economic and Social Council's resolution.

4.24 In other words, and especially as regards technical or economic assistance in all forms, the efforts of the various States at bilateral level and their parallel efforts at the international level must be co-ordinated since, while machinery exists within the United Nations system for the co-ordination of the plans, programmes and activities of different international organizations, there is so far nothing, nor any method other than pure empiricism, which gives reason to hope that bilateral and international programmes can be co-ordinated, at any rate at the implementation stage. This is the problem which the Economic and Social Council wished Unesco to examine with a view to finding solutions, not from the viewpoint of abstract logic but to ensure the efficacy of international action and the maximum advantage to countries receiving assistance.

4.25 In addition to these general considerations, the Economic and Social Council was anxious that Unesco should study in the years ahead a certain number of concrete problems of a practical and technical nature which the Council, in the light of the survey submitted to it, considered of particular importance for the development of international relations in the fields of education, science and culture. I would like simply to mention here some of the problems which the expert committee had already pointed to, which the Executive Board had likewise pointed to, and which the Economic and Social Council included along with many others. First of all, the difficulty, in relations between peoples, of overcoming the linguistic barrier and the advantage which would accrue from Unesco examining and instituting measures designed to promote the teaching and translation of living languages.

4.26 Secondly, the necessity of developing international understanding in education and the necessity of seeking methods which will ensure that education is increasingly imbued with the spirit of international understanding.

4.27 Thirdly, the importance, as I have already mentioned, of cultural programmes as a complement to programmes of a scientific, technical or economic nature.

4.28 Fourthly, the importance of communicating results of scientific research by means of scientific documentation available to all scientists. Then, the importance of exchanges of persons in all fields and, finally, the importance of all practical and technical measures facilitating the free circulation of information and ideas and, more especially, the exchange of educational, scientific and cultural material. Such are some of the very definite and very concrete problems which the Economic and Social Council singled out.

4.29 In concluding this outline of the document submitted to you and of the problem which the Director-General hopes will be discussed by the plenary assembly of the General Conference, I would like to say, Mr. President, that what the Secretariat especially wants now are governing ideas; these governing ideas will be conveyed in the speakers' observations and these will be read by the Secretariat when the texts have been printed.

4.30 It is possible - I take the liberty of making the suggestion - that the President will sum up some of these ideas at the end of the discussion. But, in any case, the ideas and observations which speakers will make on behalf of their respective countries will be of the greatest interest to the Secretariat when it continues the surveys which the Programme Commission will specify in detail and which appear in the programme and budget of the Organization for 1961-1962.

5.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The Assistant Director-General's statement has established the framework for our discussion.

5.2 In opening this discussion, I feel impelled to express my very great satisfaction. It is something of a red-letter day for Unesco when a free exchange of views is to take place with no rules of procedure, no points of order, none of the sometimes burdensome machinery which weighs on the ordinary work of a large assembly. You are invited to speak here in order that each of you may enrich Unesco's future programmes with suggestions concerning the problems with which we shall be dealing - problems which, as the Director-General emphasized, are as new to our work as they are basic to the future. I have no wish to impose strict time-limits on you; I hope that by giving each speaker approximately fifteen minutes we shall achieve a symphony in which each can play his part in a spirit of unity and harmony.

5.3 At the conclusion of our discussion, I will do my best to sum up as many of the ideas which have been brought out as possible - ideas which the Director-General will subsequently study at leisure and gradually incorporate in Unesco's work, as a sort of preview of the world of tomorrow which we are invited to build.

5.4 I would like to welcome to our meeting H.E. Mr. Baillou, the special consultant who has contributed much to our work. I would also remind you that you have an inexhaustible source of suggestions in the Director-General's report, which cannot be overpraised and which contains the germs of a whole series of work plans which the various speakers will doubtless develop.

5.5 I call on Dr. Reinink, delegate of the Netherlands.

6.1 Mr. REININK (Netherlands) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, before addressing this distinguished gathering on item 17.7 of the agenda, which includes a general discussion of international exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture, I should like to express my satisfaction that this discussion is taking place.

6.2 I believe that the Director-General of our Organization was very right in noting that a great many delegates and a section of public opinion have been very conscious since Unesco came into being of the absence or extreme rarity of dynamic and far-ranging discussions within the framework of the General Conference in connexion with the great problems of our time in those fields with which we are concerned.

6.3 It would have been hard to find a better subject for this first discussion than international relations in the fields of education, science and culture, not merely because it encompasses, so to speak, the raw material itself of Unesco's work but also because its discussion by the General Conference has been prepared over several years past. I am thinking, of course, of the two meetings of Directors responsible for the conduct of international cultural relations which Unesco organized in 1957 and 1958 and of the detailed survey of this question which our Organization carried out in 1959 and 1960 for the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. This survey, moreover, coincided with the evaluation of the Organization's activities in the years ahead. These discussions and reports together constitute, in my view, an excellent background for the discussion which begins today.

6.4 I therefore have no intention, in the course of this brief statement, of dealing with all aspects of international cultural relations nor even of singling out the guiding lines. These are very satisfactorily shown in the documents submitted to the Conference and, more especially, in document 11 C/17. I would merely like to submit to the attention of our colleagues and the governing bodies of our Organization a few reflections both theoretical and practical regarding points which, in my opinion, have remained somewhat obscured. In the theoretical realm, the term "international cultural relations" immediately raises the question of what meaning should be given to the concept of "culture". It has been observed on several occasions in the course of our meetings that this concept can be interpreted in various ways. The term "cultural relations" is therefore similarly subject to a variety of interpretations.

6.5 The human mind may be described as a constantly expanding universe. When we compare to our own the world of thought which belonged to ancient Greece or India we observe that a great many new problems confront modern man and that new ideas have emerged in respect of ancient problems. Thanks to the ever expanding universe of his mind, man occupies a unique place in nature and he owes that place to the very essence of language which, because of certain inherent qualities, is a vehicle which is in process of development and an instrument of expansion.

6.6 I am thinking, first of all, of what, ever since Ferdinand de Saussure created the term, linguists call the arbitrary structure of language: the absence of any direct link between the form of language and its function. Because of this phenomenon, language today represents more than in the past; but, for the same reason, it takes various forms in the different regions of the world. We might say that this differentiation of languages - and hence the differentiation of types of culture and phases of development - is the price man pays for the possession of that inestimable privilege represented by the expansion of his spiritual universe.

6.7 Again, it is the arbitrary nature of language and of the various forms of culture which encourages the faculty of understanding several languages and several cultures, thereby making it possible to establish contact with human beings who use language in another way and who possess a different culture. Throughout human history we observe that strangers behave towards each other either as enemies or as hosts and guests; it is no accident that the Latin word "hostis", meaning enemy, has the same origin as the English words "host" and "guest". Whenever two people of a different culture are confronted with the double possibility of basing their mutual relations on friendship or enmity and choose the former, they obtain the possibility of learning the other's language and type of culture and thereby of acquiring knowledge and enrichment. This process of exchange is as old as mankind itself and the part which Unesco should play in that process is, so to speak, to institutionalize it; it is the transposition of friendly individual relations into relations between communities, whether States or associations of a religious, social, cultural or any other nature. The concrete aim of that institutionalization is the creation of the most favourable conditions for the transmission of knowledge and spiritual attainments in the belief that the great problems of our time call for a combination of forces. But the value of this institutionalization must not be exaggerated; basically, all contacts between peoples can be reduced to contacts between individuals and the most promising cultural agreements will be valueless unless those responsible for implementing them possess the necessary qualities to become personae gratae in international contacts. Without training as world citizens, the building of a world brotherhood is impossible.

6.8 This exchange of ideas and information - i.e. the reciprocal fertilization of the mind - has certainly been examined and analysed in a variety of ways. But it is strange that the study of international law, which relates to the regulation of relations between States in the material sphere, developed well before the study of relations in the spiritual sphere which are based on mutual understanding. The study of international understanding, which is dependent on and essentially complementary to international law, has not yet found in most of our countries the place it merits in university studies. This seems to me to be an important task which Unesco might undertake. If study of the various aspects of international understanding were a specific subject of our university teaching, we could in the near future have available a group of experts who would have learnt to analyse these problems systematically and scientifically and who, in the exercise of their profession, could apply the principles so acquired, either as members of Unesco, as cultural attachés, as members of National Commissions, as Technical Assistance experts, as heads of departments of international cultural relations or in other similar activities.

6.9 A suitable curriculum in this field will not drop into our laps and I wonder whether Unesco could not convene an expert meeting to draw up such curricula and prepare textbooks. The elements for such a study undoubtedly exist since anthropologists, ethnologists, linguists, historians, sociologists, theologians and other qualified scientists are available. What is lacking, in short, is the sharing and co-ordination of the knowledge acquired in respect of the question now before us It is a matter of directing all this knowledge towards the problems

involved in contact between all communities on a world scale and, naturally, in our own time, in order to solve current problems. I would like to elaborate this idea in two ways.

6.10 In the first place, it would be necessary to carry out a survey in depth of the elements which underlie international cultural relations - a survey which would make the differentiation between peoples and their rapprochement comprehensible by defining and scientifically analysing the causes and the elements which govern and determine that evolution. Such a survey could be adapted to the requirements of secondary education. A subject could be included in curricula under the heading "history of mankind's development", which would seek to explain to students the essential elements of the "human situation" as well as the coming together of peoples as a result of increased international contacts.

6.11 The second point I would like to stress is that there are scarcely any practical textbooks adapted to the various specific cases. As one concerned with my country's international cultural relations, how should I proceed if, with a view to establishing relations with my colleagues in Ghana or Thailand, I tried to become acquainted with their environment and cultural traditions? Our libraries contain no books dealing with the essential elements of the spiritual, social and cultural development of the people of Ghana or Thailand nor with the great current problems in those countries. And yet I must be thoroughly grounded in all this in order to see how fruitful cultural relations can be established between the Netherlands and either of those two countries.

6.12 Moreover, I am obliged to recognize from the outset that it would be extremely difficult to explain to my colleagues in those two countries what are the essential elements in the culture of my own country at this stage of its history.

6.13 I feel that Unesco could do useful work by encouraging the publication of a series of specialized cultural textbooks or, failing that, by examining the most effective and least costly means of bringing about the publication of such books. Such steps, it seems to me, would be especially valuable to those who are concerned in one way or another with international technical assistance programmes. Before going to any given country, each expert should have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the nature of the community in which he is to work and with the relations between the various groups which make up that community. The present character of peoples should be clearly and succinctly described on a reliable scientific basis.

6.14 Document 11 C/17 outlines a number of the problems to which I have referred Paragraph 27, for example, quotes the opinion of the committee of experts which studied the report submitted by Unesco to the Economic and Social Council to the effect that "in improving the teaching of modern languages, ways might be sought for teaching about cultural values in general". I agree with this observation on condition that the meaning of the phrase "cultural values" is more thoroughly defined. It is true that we all have a half-unconscious awareness of the cultural values of the community to which we ourselves belong. But the cultural values of another community than our own are foreign entities which can only be understood to the extent that they are clearly defined and formulated in a language adapted to our way of thinking.

6.15 Here, in my opinion, is an important task awaiting the Associated Institutions for the Study and Presentation of Cultures which it is planned to set up within the framework of the East-West Major Project.

6.16 Mr. President, in examining the remarkable work done by the Unesco Secretariat in preparing the Director-General's report as regards international relations and exchanges in the educational, scientific and cultural fields, we are forced to recognize that it is impossible to have an all-inclusive view of the subject. It is clear that the main question - personal contacts, which are so frequent in the cultural field - cannot be dealt with in a report. We can never hope to take exhaustive action; let us therefore not devote excessive sums of money or efforts and restrict ourselves to being not unduly incomplete. The main outcome which we can expect from such a report is that it specify what is lacking - in other words, what parts of the world still have no cultural exchanges. It is not a new fact in its broad sense, but our suppositions are confirmed by the facts: cultural exchanges are numerous between countries of the same geographical region or the same culture, whereas they are few between countries which belong to dissimilar cultures, to different regions and, it must unfortunately be added, in today's world, to different camps.

6.17 To record the fact is one thing; to ask whether we should, at all costs, encourage cultural exchanges between all countries is another. I believe that in some cases we should recognize that it is not desirable. Too many initiatives run counter to each other and that is why we welcome the fact that in Tokyo, Beirut, New Delhi, plans are being made to set up institutes designed to encourage international exchanges.

6.18 When we recall, in this regard, the results obtained by the Arab League, the Nordic Council and the Latin American countries, it is obvious that sooner or later the series must be completed by an institute equipped to represent Europe.

6.19 There may be other reasons why cultural exchanges with foreign countries may be undesirable at a given moment. I am thinking of the powerful impression which the representative of Ghana made on me at the second meeting of Directors of Cultural Relations Services when he pointed out that several countries are still engaged in forming their type of culture and are therefore at a stage in which technical assistance from outside is certainly welcome, whereas it would be undesirable for foreign influences to make themselves felt.

6.20 In other cases, however, cultural exchanges are non-existent even though there are many reasons in favour of them. This lack may be due to a variety of causes: excessive distances, shortage of funds, but also, in various countries, a shortage of men capable of organizing these exchanges effectively. In many countries which are engaged in putting their house in order, it is difficult to detach men who are primarily needed for the building of their own nation in order to have them handle cultural relations. Is it not Unesco's task to study whether, in the more or less near future, experts could be sent to carry out this work.

6.21 I said a moment ago that cultural exchanges are often non-existent between countries which have indifferent political relationships. Speakers from various delegations have repeatedly pointed out during the present Conference that the maintenance of cultural links may be desirable in just such cases. If this is so - and I share the opinion of those who have advanced this viewpoint - could not Unesco examine the possibility of suggesting, within the limits of its competence, to two countries whose political relations are unsatisfactory that they should initiate exchanges in the cultural field?

6.22 The question whether, in such a case, cultural agreements should be reached forthwith seems to me to be of secondary importance, since these agreements are important for only two reasons. The first is that the budget of the countries concerned can make provision for the funds needed to implement the agreements; the second involves the obligation of the contracting parties to meet at specific intervals in order to discuss what decisions should be taken. But such agreements are in no way essential to the achievement of these objectives: two countries can undertake a number of exchanges in the cultural field without being linked by a cultural agreement. In other cases, an agreement may remain a dead letter with nobody giving any thought to it after a certain lapse of time.

6.23 In conclusion, I should like to sum up the suggestions which I have had the honour to make:

(a) The institution of scientific teaching for the training of experts in cultural relations;

(b) To this end, the preparation of the necessary textbooks;

(c) A definition of the "cultural values" of different countries;

(d) Encouragement of regional cultural exchanges between communities in different parts of the world;

(e) Action by Unesco to make experts available to certain countries in order to organize their cultural contacts with the outside world;

(f) Action by Unesco in regard to the establishment of normal cultural relations between politically opposed countries.

6.24 In asking us to consider problems which do not call for immediate action by our Organization, the Director-General rightly reminded us that we are engaged in a task where not all the elements can as yet be analysed and which none of us will see completed.

6.25 I think we should do well to remember this every so often. We live in an age which is pressed for time, in which urgent problems call for urgent solutions. To have been called on in such an age to remember Unesco's prime task - which is to work for peace irrespective of day-to-day developments - cannot but cause us the keenest satisfaction.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Raadi, Head of the Iranian delegation.

8.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, the Iranian delegation to the eleventh session of the General Conference is very happy to note that the fundamental importance of international relations and exchanges in the educational, scientific and cultural fields has been in turn a concern of the United Nations General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Executive Board It greatly values the work done by the experts and pays tribute to the initiative taken by the Director-General to include in each session of the General Conference a debate on a topic falling within its competence but independent of any consideration of current activities or of the proposed programme and budget for the succeeding two years.

8.2 As regards this year's choice of topic, it would be idle to dwell on its capital importance, since exchanges of persons, information and publications are, after all, the three vehicles for the transmission over continents, oceans and the sky of all that education, science and culture offer to all mankind.

8.3 While subscribing to the main considerations and observations embodied in the admirable document 11 C/17, I would like to make a modest contribution to this discussion in the form of a few reflections and remarks of a general or practical order which I submit to the attention of the General Conference.

8.4 As regards the general considerations, document 11 C/17 makes reference to the increasing scope and complexity of international exchanges, to the barriers to improved communications, to the need for co-ordination, to reciprocity in international relations, to legal instruments and regulating action. With due allowance for the inevitable connexion between these various aspects of the problem, I believe that they can be reduced to three essential elements: the technical inequality of information media (which results in lack of reciprocity), the absence of adequate co-ordination and, finally, certain obstacles - especially the psychological factor - which I will endeavour to bring out.

8.5 Concerning the inequality of information and publication media, it goes without saying that this will persist as long as there are differences in economic potential and the availability of qualified staff. But the situation can to some extent be remedied by technical assistance on the economic and social planes and by the training or strengthening of senior staff. The lack of reciprocity, in fact, leading as it does to what is called "a one-way stream" has the main disadvantage, as Mr. Jean Thomas pointed out, of depriving the better equipped countries of information supplied by the authorized spokesmen of less known countries. But, in addition, it involves a still greater danger which has not so far, in my view, been sufficiently stressed. I refer to the fact that most Asian, African and Latin American peoples have a duty to become aware of their own culture - or are at present becoming aware of it - so as to make it better known in other countries. But their exceedingly modest resources in research and circulation, compared with the abundance of publications and information they receive from developed countries, may discourage them to the point of causing them to underestimate their cultural heritage or to despair of preserving it. If I may make use of an example to illustrate this observation, I would refer to the Aswan Dam. While ensuring the economic and social prosperity of a vast region, this would have involved the risk, had not national and international action

been taken for their preservation, of drowning beneath the invading floods of the legendary river countless invaluable remains which are the source of pride and artistic inspiration for all mankind.

8.6 As for the necessity of co-ordinating exchanges, I consider that such co-ordination is required not only for non-governmental organizations and international organizations like Unesco but, first and foremost, for the member countries of these organizations. We all know that a variety of organs or departments dealing with international relations and exchanges exist within every country, large or small. But because of the number of such departments, the diversity of their tasks and the inequality of their resources, it is often increasingly difficult for someone seeking information on a given subject to know which national department he should apply to. Accordingly, without recommending an internal centralization which remains undesirable - and, in any case impossible - I believe it necessary that a technically well equipped body - especially linguistically well equipped - should, within each country, be entrusted with the required co-ordination. Its main task would be to harmonize the work of other national bodies and to serve as spokesman in dealing with international organizations and foreign exchange departments or correspondents so as to keep them informed and to facilitate their contacts with the foreign relations departments and with representatives of education, science and culture in the country concerned I even wonder whether Unesco, if requested by one or more Member States, might not initiate a pilot project aimed at creating such a co-ordinating body in whatever country requests it.

8.7 As regards the obstacles to be overcome, reference has rightly been made in document 11 C/17 to the difficulties arising from language differences and frontier formalities. It is obvious that increased teaching of living languages - especially widely used languages - would greatly contribute to the easing of international exchanges Similarly, the teaching of foreign languages at primary level and the use of audio-visual aids are unquestionably worth while.

8.8 Care must be taken, however, to ensure that the teaching of foreign languages, especially in primary schools, does not develop to the detriment of the national tongue. Otherwise, public opinion will react (as recently happened in my own country) when it is observed that certain parents or certain private schools fail to preserve a reasonable balance and neglect instruction in the mother tongue in favour of foreign languages.

8.9 There is another practical step which could be taken, in my opinion, to reduce to some extent the effect of language differences: failing full translations, summarized abstracts, or, at least, a contents page in a widely used language might be attached to documents intended for exchange, but written in a little used language.

8.10 As regards obstacles created by human agency, document 11 C/17 specifically refers to frontier formalities, without detailing the other factors which hinder the free circulation of ideas, publications and information. In my view, it would not be difficult to eliminate or reduce frontier formalities if they derived solely from economic and excise considerations. But they are rooted also - and let us be frank - even especially, in psychological motives and fears of a political order. It would be absurd to claim that, even in our age, education, science and culture can escape the influence of political systems and doctrines within countries and even within intergovernmental organizations. But it would be equally foolish to believe, even as things stand at present, that it is impossible to improve international relations and exchanges in those fields with which Unesco is concerned. To that end, it would be enough that each country, irrespective of its ideological or economic system, should abandon the use of cultural relations and international exchanges of publications solely for direct political propaganda. Let us remember that the mere fact that a country produces and exchanges worth-while works of art, high ranking scientific books and objective publications on the methods and successes of its educational work constitutes in itself the best and most persuasive form of publicity. What purpose is served, then, by peppering these publications with direct remarks, conclusions and reflections on the superiority of a particular system or with violent attacks against another one? The universality of Shakespeare may be due, among other reasons, to the fact that, after setting forth the facts and revealing the depth of the human soul and character, he leaves his readers to draw their conclusions.

8.11 As far as I am aware, ancient Greece indulged in no sort of cultural propaganda. On the other hand, the Athenian historian, philosopher and general, Xenophon, wrote the Cyropaedia as a tribute to the merits of the educational system of Persia, which at that time was the enemy of Greece. Nevertheless, Greek civilization and its works penetrated, even after the decline of the Hellenic State, to the heart of Asia. Eight centuries ago, one of our thinkers, Saadi, said: "The musk is recognized by its perfume and not by the cry of the perfume seller".

8.12 It cannot be too often repeated that the more attention is paid to psychological principles and rules of objectivity, the more cultural relations and the free circulation of publications will be ensured Exchange and relationships mean a relaxation of tension. That is why Unesco should take care in studies, surveys and publications emerging from independent initiative or undertaken under its auspices and devoted to historical sources or various cultures that no trace of aggressive nationalism or tendentious interpretation of facts and ideas should intrude upon historical truths or scientific data.

8.13 To illustrate what I have just said (and without any desire to start a controversy), I would take this opportunity of expressing with fraternal candour my regret at the attitude of certain Middle Eastern countries which, well aware of the large contribution made by various races and peoples (including the Iranian people) to the creation and spread of Islamic culture, seek to persuade people that that culture is the work of one race or that it exists within the limits of one language. They even carry this absurdity to the point of wishing, for example, to change the name of the Persian Gulf which has been so called for thousands of years. I cannot help wondering if they will not one day, leaping from the Persian Gulf into the Indian Ocean, demand for the same ridiculous reasons that the name of the Ocean should also be changed!

8.14 Still more regrettable is the indulgence shown by those, inside or outside Unesco, who, either from ignorance of historical or contemporary realities or from opportunist or political complaisance, encourage such countries to embrace an increasingly narrow concept of culture.
8.15 We are far indeed from the epoch when the Farabis, the Birunis, the Avicennas, the Razes, the Kindis, the Averrhoes and the Ibn Khaldouns, while faithful to their Turkish, Persian, Arab or Berber nationality, none the less considered themselves solely as scientists, as men belonging to a single scientific and cultural community, to a variegated civilization of a universal tendency. They and their works moved freely, from the foothills of the Himalayas to the Barbary coast. And, be it said in passing, when referring to Moslem civilization, we must eliminate any idea of race or religion and think rather of all the endeavours by different peoples and communities - including even Christians - to create a form of philosophic, scientific and artistic thought extending over the whole of a vast region.
8.16 However that may be, these new separatist approaches run counter to the development of regional cultural relations and exchanges. The proof of this lies in the fact that, in Iran, Arabic, which, because of its religious nature and its noble past, was regarded, after Persian, as the most important language, is now gradually sinking into oblivion. Recent cultural and historical publications, written in Arabic and sometimes containing tendentious assertions, are no longer read by Iranians nor by the inhabitants of certain other countries and their importation is continually declining.
8.17 As regards regulatory action, we agree with the conclusions of Economic and Social Council document E/3352 (quoted on page 6 of document 11 C/17). I may add, however, that, besides establishing criteria and standards in connexion with cultural relations, Unesco might offer its services to such Member States as might wish to consult it before concluding a bilateral or multilateral cultural agreement.
8.18 The encouragement and intensification of exchanges of persons certainly have a happy and important effect on the improvement of international cultural relations. I would even say that the human contact is a more important factor than any other form of communication. Consequently, the training of specialists in international exchanges, either through universities and national institutes or through travel grants, scholarships or courses, should be regarded not as a complement to but as the pre-condition of a sound policy of methodical development of educational, scientific and cultural exchanges. In a word, in this as in several other fields, man must come before materials.
8.19 For the reasons mentioned earlier and in order to ensure co-ordination within the programme of the Organization, we share the Director-General's view that a single unit within the Secretariat should be entrusted with the exchange of persons and co-operation with national cultural relations services. Two qualifications however, are necessary: first, we believe that this should be treated as an experiment; second, it is highly desirable that the new unit should co-operate closely with the Departments of Education, Social Sciences, Cultural Activities and Mass Communication.
8.20 In conclusion, I would remind you that at the time of the Crusades, when Islam and Christianity were locked in bitter conflict, swords drawn, scientists and manuscripts passed freely from one camp to the other. For those manuscripts contained only objective statements of scientists belonging to the three civilizations - the Greek, Roman and Islamic - and their free circulation advanced the cause of human progress. Whatever may be said, our divisions, our divergencies and animosities, if such there be, are no more intense than those of the Crusaders and their enemies. Why, then, should we not follow their example in the matter of cultural exchanges?

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on Mr. Amadou Hampate Ba, delegate of Mali.

10.1 Mr. HAMPATE BA (Mali) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, it goes without saying that relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture are a theme which should be treated in all seriousness by all the specialists concerned and which calls for more time than has been granted us.
10.2 The word "exchange" for our nations - those of Europe and America and our own, which were once European possessions - cannot be taken as meaning the barter of one object against another accepted as an equivalent, but rather as meaning a communication of cultural experiences and knowledge with a view to modifying the existing state of affairs - a communication which involves us in mutual appraisal based on criteria which are sometimes ill chosen and hence imperfect if not actually false. Unesco is therefore an institution to which each State can make its intellectual contribution, not in order that the latter be changed but that it may form part of a universal intellectual and scientific machine functioning for all. The word "exchange" alone is therefore sufficiently meaningful to ensure that we devote ourselves seriously to the problem in hand. As pointed out in paragraph 2 of document 11 C/17, the question has been thoroughly studied and discussed by the competent departments of Unesco and other organizations, but it is none the less true that all this study and discussion, however remarkable, is purely theoretical; it still remains to be applied in the field, according to the means, countries and regions involved, and, unless I am mistaken, it is concerning that application that the Director-General would like, and even requests, our views in order to facilitate both his task and our own.
10.3 The Economic and Social Council has expressed the wish - mentioned in paragraph 3 of document 11 C/17 - that Unesco should formulate principles on which Member States can base the development of their international relations and exchanges. For my own part, as regards Africa, I would like Unesco to be authorized to make immediate contact with Member States and Associate Members with a view to assembling the appropriate documentation, without which it will be impossible, at any rate

in the case of Africa, to make good serious omissions.
10.4 This said, I support on behalf of my country, Mali, which I represent here, the resolution adopted in November 1958 authorizing the Director-General to undertake the study planned. I would however suggest, and even urge upon all my colleagues to decide on the preservation of oral traditions in Africa, a unique basis, a guarantee of its political liberty and personality and the source of its original knowledge. I ask that this be added to sub-section (a) of paragraph 5, on page 4 of document 11 C/17. The text might read, for example: "promoting the teaching and translation of living languages, assembling, classifying and translating the oral productions of illiterate countries, whether members or Associate Members, with a view to the revival of their dialects and making them living languages." This would speedily make it possible to ensure that exchanges were not in one direction - the latter situation, humanly speaking, being humiliating to those who receive without hope of giving. Such is the case of certain African countries, especially in Tropical Africa, and this proposal would moreover ensure that exchanges were not confined to a single kind of ideas and information, as stressed at the end of paragraph 21 of document 11 C/17 (page 6).
10.5 I assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that Africa has its own personal forms of education for the development of physical, moral and intellectual faculties and it would be criminal to violate that personality. By developing humanistic studies in our countries you will learn about the customs of our societies and the spirit within us. All our traditional associations - known as "Bilakroton" in Mali - are governed by laws; they are sources of instruction for the young who learn from them to help each other, to suffer in common, to obey as well as to command, and to love one another. Our greatest wish is to be able to educate our minds so as to seek the truth in accordance with the promptings of our spirit. We hope that Unesco will provide us with the means: the method of reaching this goal should be much more ours than that of scientists with no knowledge of the mentality of our countries.
10.6 Finally, without abusing your patience, I should like to say a few words on the difference in our mentalities. By way of a striking example of the divergence between our conceptions, I may point out that music in Africa is dictated by the dancer whereas in Europe it is the dancer who follows the music.
10.7 I may also be allowed to say a few words about the measures which might be taken by the General Conference at its eleventh session. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for the delegates of the new African States, at any rate for the Mali delegate, to formulate appropriate directives here, even of a general nature, without referring them first to the various official scientific bodies in their countries.
10.8 I therefore ask that the date for the final formulation of plans be extended by several months or weeks but that the resolution be voted upon The arrival in Unesco of new States possessed of a new mentality and having new needs but also possessed of new potentialities should justify and gain acceptance of the fact that they are upsetting an order which was established before they came, but established also without them.
10.9 This must not be taken as a reproach but simply as a fundamental observation; for the rest, all Africa, a land with high traditions of hospitality - so much so that there are still vast regions where the stranger can travel without any provisions - can only support, favour and encourage relations between peoples and the circulation of ideas. In our country, the stranger is sacred. All that may come to us from other countries will be respected as such with a view to founding that union of mankind without which there can be neither peace nor happiness.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I would like to thank Mr. Amadou Hampate Ba, delegate of Mali, for reminding us of the respect due to the African personality and African traditions. But I should perhaps emphasize that the purpose of this discussion is not to open the way to immediate and concrete changes in the current programme, but to make suggestions which the Director-General will examine with a view to the future.
11.2 I call on Mr. Boris Kocijancic, delegate of Yugoslavia.

12.1 Mr. KOCIJANCIC (Yugoslavia) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I would first emphasize my view that it is very useful to include on the agenda of our Organization's General Conference a discussion of a question of general interest falling within the competence of Unesco.
12.2 Similarly, I believe that the problems under discussion are very important and that we are in full agreement with the United Nations Economic and Social Council's conclusions which hold that contacts between peoples and reciprocal knowledge of their ways of life are a pre-condition for the full development of a climate of peace and improved international co-operation.
12.3 We can congratulate Unesco and the agencies which have co-operated with it in the survey of international relations and exchanges in the educational, scientific and cultural fields - for this survey is very well documented, complex and important.
12.4 We are today witnesses to a rapid development of international relations and exchanges in these fields. Geographically, international co-operation is becoming ever wider; it is, so to speak, becoming ever deeper since governments are day by day committing themselves to a greater extent; and it is also becoming more varied since it is encompassing an ever growing number of activities in a wider framework.
12.5 We are all aware that we should make use of every possibility of contributing to the consolidation of peaceful relations and co-operation in the contemporary world, from which we are seeking to eliminate international tension with a view to establishing a lasting peace The possibilities afforded by international cultural relations are of great importance in this respect and play a preponderant part in the consolidation of international relationships. But, to achieve their aims, these international relations and exchanges - whose range and extension have been highlighted by the Unesco survey - should, in my view, meet certain essential conditions.
12.6 These relations and exchanges should develop

on a basis of equality and thereby encourage reciprocal understanding and appreciation between peoples of different cultures. Each culture, in as far as it is the expression of men, the expression of a people, is unique and original and can enrich others. Cultural relations and exchanges should therefore be stable and lasting and cannot depend on politics of the day. Similarly, these relations and exchanges, whether international, regional or bilateral, should complete and sustain each other and not form obstacles to the establishment and development of new relations and new exchanges.

12.7 I would now like to outline certain aspects of Yugoslavia's activity in the field of cultural relations.

12.8 We live in an age which is distinguished by the very rapid development of material and spiritual forces. This applies not only to the economic and cultural advancement of the so-called "developed" countries but to the whole world. We are witnessing a powerful movement in every field of human activity, including education, science and culture. My country is participating in this world-wide process in the conviction that it is in line with the fundamental needs of its own development.

12.9 Yugoslavia's activities in the international field are distinguished by the application of the principles of peaceful co-operation with all States - which means that it seeks to establish cultural relations and to intensify those already existing. This policy likewise derives from the fact that contemporary culture is becoming increasingly international, generalized and universal. It is primarily due to the technical progress made in recent years that favourable conditions are developing whereby mutual influences can be fruitful while isolation has become impossible; a narrow national autarky, moreover, is no longer possible in any other sphere of social life.

12.10 Since we do not believe that cultural co-operation between peoples is conditioned by the achievement of political plans, we hold that a deeper mutual understanding between peoples is reached through relations and contacts, not merely between peoples with similar systems but also between peoples whose social structures are different.

12.11 We must continue to seek in cultural contacts and relations an escape from the present situation which is baneful to mankind. This situation, in fact, because of the development of material resources, could quickly evolve in the direction of relaxed tension and the abolition of the poverty and underdevelopment from which a large part of mankind now suffers.

12.12 As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, the application of the principles of active coexistence has never been a tactical manoeuvre for political ends but the expression of a deep conviction that these principles represent the only way in which we can preserve peace and the future of humanity. That is why, as regards Yugoslavia, collaboration with other States in the cultural field finds expression in the forging of ever closer links with other peoples and at the same time constitutes a value in itself as well as an effective contribution to man's efforts to create the conditions needed for the development of a climate of peace.

12.13 But it should be emphasized that this process of mutual influence, the bringing together of different national cultures, of integration in a universal and humanistic culture - a consequence of the intensive development of humanity - in no way rejects the specific characteristics of the different national cultures. These must endure along with the peoples themselves. And that universal culture which encompasses all the elements of contemporary development remains varied and many-sided in line with the separate historical evolution of peoples.

12.14 Such is Yugoslavia's viewpoint in all its efforts on the cultural plane and on the plane of cultural relations and exchanges with other States. These relations are naturally influenced by the development of education, science and culture in the country.

12.15 Yugoslavia's new educational system is distinguished by the fact that it is available to every citizen, that there are no artificial barriers hindering any section of the population from attaining the highest educational level and that it affords not only to young people but also to adults every possibility of intellectual, professional, social or other advancement.

12.16 Parallel to and rounding out this educational system, there is an ever increasing number of adult education institutions (peoples' universities, workers' universities, courses, seminars, etc.) which give everyone the possibility of extending and deepening his knowledge at all ages.

12.17 The activities of cultural institutions, the content of theatrical and publishing programmes are always devised so as to offer the public maximum educational facilities and to enable that public to develop its capacity for understanding man's finest creations and to enjoy the products of culture.

12.18 The principle which governs cultural development in Yugoslavia is the suppression of the old distinction between the culture of a small élite and the culture of the masses and the development of a true culture expressing the convictions and efforts of free men.

12.19 We are convinced that educational and cultural organizations can only fully accomplish this task if, instead of being operated by centralized State organs, they are administered by bodies in close contact with all those concerned. All educational, cultural and scientific institutions in Yugoslavia are operated by organs of social management. These organs are composed of representatives of the community, the institutions concerned and a certain number of private citizens. Most of these representatives are recruited from the collectivity which the institutions are intended to serve. This method of administering cultural institutions establishes close reciprocal ties between those institutions and the public and confers upon the latter a positive rôle and the possibility of directly affecting institutional activities.

12.20 During their short lifetime the organs of social management have made rapid progress as is shown by the fact that they have been able without delay to devote themselves to the solution of problems concerning the institutions they manage and that they have been able to satisfy the people's ever growing cultural needs. As a result these bodies are increasingly becoming guiding organs of democracy and culture.

12.21 When these self-managing bodies were first set up, Yugoslavia, at least in the early stages, benefited greatly by the experience of other countries. We consider, however, that within the framework of our social life, we have extended the significance of this institution and have perfected it in certain respects. The process, however, is far from complete.
12.22 It should also be mentioned that, under the influence of social management, important work has been done in Yugoslavia for the protection, restoration and preservation of historic monuments. Until a short time ago, this task was entrusted to specialized organs of the Federative Republic and the Federated Republics. The transmission of these rights and responsibilities to the "circles" and communes has much extended this type of activity throughout the country.
12.23 The principle of the democratization of cultural life which Yugoslavia applies within the country and the principle of extending and consolidating cultural relations with other peoples especially condition Yugoslavia's view of its relations with newly independent peoples now attempting to consolidate and protect their independence. Determination to achieve rapid cultural progress is one of their first concerns since they have, through no fault of theirs, been hindered in their cultural advancement. That is why all assistance to these peoples, whether aimed at facilitating their development or at contributing to their cultural institutions, simultaneously helps to consolidate their national independence. Accordingly, in addition to other forms of assistance and co-operation, Yugoslavia grants more than 300 scholarships to students from underdeveloped countries as a contribution to the development of those countries.
12.24 Finally, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, which itself represents a State comprising a number of peoples with relatively different cultures which have developed in various circumstances and under various historic influences, I would like to draw your attention to a problem which we regard as important and which is not only a problem for the peoples of my country but for many other peoples: how can we enable numerically small nations to exercise a wider influence by transmitting their cultural values to other peoples?
12.25 Technical advances in recent decades have opened wide the gates to knowledge of culture and science throughout the world. But the underdeveloped countries do not benefit from these facilities and are not in a position to make the world aware of their own cultural values. To enable them to make their original contribution to universal culture, Unesco should accord more substantial aid to these peoples, who lack the necessary resources and the qualified staff but none the less possess undeniable historical and cultural values.
12.26 In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that Unesco and all the Member States should concern themselves still more with international relations and exchanges, thereby stimulating the growth of peaceful relations among peoples.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I call upon H.E. Mr. Picón Salas, Head of the delegation of Venezuela.

14.1 Mr. PICON SALAS (Venezuela) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President and fellow delegates. If I may I shall not restrict myself to mere comments on the Director-General's most valuable report and all the matters referred to in item 17.7 of the agenda, but should like to say a few general words on Unesco's rôle in a more active policy of international understanding.
14.2 In Tolstoy's well-known fable the happy man had no shirt. In a well-organized society, of course, he ought to have one; but his happiness did not lie only in the lack of that garment, but in the spiritual possession of a quiet mind and a charitable understanding of the world. When overwhelmed by the mass of documents at these lively meetings of the General Conference, I turn for relaxation to the poetry of those, for me, far-off countries - China, Japan, Korea, India, the Arab world, etc. - some of which has been published in English and French with commendable zeal under Unesco's auspices. I warmly recommend them to delegates who go home tired after lengthy speeches and verbose documents. For many of these poems, which crystallize the mystery of life in a happy phrase, restore in part the lost shirt of the happy man. I say this not as a comment on the Director-General's full report, but in recognition of the way in which poetry and art make us the contemporaries and compatriots of all peoples and all cultures.
14.3 But let us turn to more concrete matters, as this august assembly demands. What Unesco has so far done for international understanding makes us impatient for what it has still to do. There is the advantage for Unesco that, as a body dedicated to education, science and culture, the political rivalries among the great nations need not concern it. Absolute equality of peoples and respect for the wonderful variety of cultures are for me the essence of Unesco. But, fellow delegates, if that principle were to be violated, if accident, a quarrel or a political emergency, occurring elsewhere, were to divert us from our purposes, it would rest with the small nations, which are not strong enough to fight for domination, to warn the great powers. For true peace - the peace of which the happy man in the fable dreamed - cannot be gained from any aggressive balancing of political, economic or military strength, but by first being implanted in the minds of peoples. It is not through votes and resolutions declaring our love of peace that peace will be achieved, but by a wise strategy of agreement between men through manifest and determined goodwill. And the obstacles which are today - in an age of material and technical progress - preventing a secure peace of mind and prolonging the horrors of the cold war can be listed in a few short propositions:
14.4 Firstly, no peaceful coexistence will be possible if blind campaigns of hatred are carried on between countries or if attempts are made to divide mankind into good nations and bad nations. The criticisms levelled by a political or economic system against the opposing system should not be confused with the peoples who operate it. The justified struggle between political ideologies - justified in the name of inalienable intellectual freedom - should not extend to extermination or the silence we seek to

impose upon our adversaries. Like science and technology, intellectual freedom has been - in the West, at any rate - a conquest of the modern mind and it would be a major paradox of history if we were to assert our scientific and technical modernity while reverting to the heresy hunting of the Middle Ages.

14.5 Secondly, many of our modern sociologists have spoken of that bitter war of words in which contemporary mankind appears to exist, when the simplest term employed yesterday to designate a group, a State or a class is now charged with a strange, semantic violence and is fired off at the adversary as a weapon of destruction or damnation. How much better men would understand each other if, in the course of our quarrels, we had not distorted the true meaning of words! Could not Unesco, to give mankind more understanding, provide not only technical but also semantic assistance to all those peoples who live in this vast destructive verbal discord? For this superimposed feeling of hatred and fury with which words are so unjustly impregnated, this perpetual etymological sadism is an obstacle to historical understanding and a fair balancing of facts.

14.6 Thirdly, we speak of freedom of information as being essential to mutual knowledge and in order that men of every latitude may clearly understand what is happening in the world; but we do not speak with the same emphasis of the objectivity of information, that is to say, that a news report should be restricted to news and should not degenerate into insidious distortion, into a caricature or into propaganda far removed from the fact supposedly being reported. Such deformation arises from the anger, hatred or prejudice of one group against another, from a zest for sensationalism, or because, in reporting, we confuse two entirely separate intellectual spheres: the fact and its subjective interpretation. Two hundred years ago the cautious Hume taught us that man cannot have any clear knowledge, if it is imbibed with undisciplined enthusiasm or in a fanatical spirit

14.7 Fourthly, in another speech I said that it was only on the basis of the broadest and fullest cultural plurality, of the diversity of peoples and ways of life, of that "how to be a Persian" of which Montesquieu spoke, that true understanding between nations can be reached. If in times so difficult as those we live in it is necessary to plan education, housing, agriculture and industry, the experts or planners must always take into account, and understand, the spirit of the peoples among whom they are operating; they must appraise a series of spiritual imponderables which do not always figure in statistics. The most dangerous thing which could happen to Unesco in its programme for human understanding would be for it to judge other peoples from the standpoint of an exclusive metropolitanism. No single label can be attached indiscriminately to the peoples whom, in today's language, we call underdeveloped.

14.8 These plans for international understanding will be neither fruitful nor of value unless we can at times bring about what I would call a discreet decentralization of Unesco; that is to say, unless we try to obtain the co-operation and friendship of thinkers, philosophers, educators and scientists everywhere, whether or not they belong to the Organization. For as the delegate of Thailand so well expressed it in one of the debates on the programme, an intellectual from that country will understand the Thailanders better than one of another tongue and region. Perhaps certain Unesco publications could do useful work by including a series of monographs - as the delegate of the Netherlands hinted a few minutes ago - in which it would not merely be Unesco officials but representatives of the areas concerned who could give us the best picture of their peoples; for the essence of international understanding must penetrate the teaching of all nations. I shall continue to repeat that some of Unesco's projects - though excellent in themselves - have not been able to win enough friends throughout the world, possibly because of a certain metropolitanism which thinks that it is possible to forecast from an office in Paris how the public in Saigon or Santiago de Chile will react. And the best plans will not arouse sufficient enthusiasm unless Unesco learns everywhere to seek out, invite and commit its friends. Let us not always be calling meetings of officials; let us often sit down at small round tables with scholars, thinkers and philosophers from the farthest lands, who will offer us new experiences, incentives and points of view to make our programme more universal and dynamic. Let us not impose Unesco's plans bureaucratically from Paris offices; let us also learn to pick them out from the clamour and demands which reach us from the most varied latitudes. And the intelligent task of the Unesco expert would be to co-ordinate as well as possible this world-wide invitation to culture and real human understanding. The Unesco radio, reviews and books will then present a more changing and vital picture of world progress than emerges - sometimes because of the need for compromise - from one or other of its offices. Not merely to engage staff for new services, but to invite friends to co-operate with faith and enthusiasm in whatever can be done for international understanding - that is a task for Unesco. We must be on our guard against a bureaucracy, attached solely to the letter and chained by routine, such as always threatens organizations which have settled down and do not refresh and renew themselves from the creative fount of life. Sarmiento, the great Argentinian, the educator and civilian master of a great South American nation, said that the fertile contaminations of life were better than a sterile purity.

14.9 Fifthly, there will be much to suggest in regard to Unesco's plans - may they always be fertile and creative - for international understanding. Everything which the Director-General has to say about the matter in his full and valuable report and what is said in document 11 C/17 is of great value if the right spirit is behind it. May increasing attention be paid to the voices of the far-off peoples, of educators and philosophers who cannot always come to Paris but who, in the farthest corners of the world, would be prepared to battle for the same cause. Let us work for a genuine world culture no longer based solely on European models, since Asians, Latin Americans and Africans also need to give expression to their experience. That is the best hope, the most promising aim, for our Organization. It is not enough

that Unesco should be willing to provide education for still backward groups and peoples; it is also necessary to arouse among them a desire and love of learning. Intellect is not enough; what is also needed is the intuitive spirit of which Pascal spoke.

14.10 That is why, fellow delegates, at one of those afternoon meetings during which we had been overwhelmed by discussions and documents I, in my laziness, set to thinking about the shirt of the happy man and began reading, in the good translations sponsored by Unesco, the poets of China, India, Japan, the Arab world and Korea. My enthusiasm for the Organization then took on a new lease of life. I returned to work next day with faith revived.

15.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The suggestions of H.E. Mr. Picón Salas will be discussed at the end of these meetings.

15.2 The last speaker listed for this morning is H.E. Mr. Kulazhenkov, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, since the Swiss representative will not speak until this afternoon. But, as it is late, I think it would be better to postpone Mr. Kulazhenkov's statement until the beginning of this afternoon.

15.3 I would like to add that during the morning, in addition to the Bulgarian representative who had already yesterday expressed his wish to take part in the discussion, I have received requests from the Guinea and Cameroun delegations. I will of course try as far as possible to call on the representatives of these delegations during the four meetings to come. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

XXIII

TWENTY-THIRD PLENARY MEETING

7 December 1960 at 3.40 p.m.

President: Professor Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil)

CONTENTS

Discussion on International Relations and Exchanges in Education, Science and Culture (continued) 358

DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Kulazhenkov, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2.1 Mr. KULAZHENKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the delegation of the Soviet Union is glad that the question of the development of relations and exchanges between States and peoples in the field of education, science and culture has been placed on the agenda of this session of the General Conference of Unesco.

2.2 Our delegation pays due tribute to the initiative taken by the Director-General, Mr. Veronese, in having it included. Its importance lies in the fact that it is inextricably linked with the tasks of consolidating peace and security and with the development of mutual understanding and international friendship.

2.3 The Government of the Soviet Union, true to its policy of international peace and friendship, is systematically and steadily developing extensive cultural relations with all other States. This policy flows from the nature of the socialist structure of our country and from the tasks of cultural construction in the USSR, their main object being to familiarize workers with the cultural achievements of their own country and other countries throughout the world.

2.4 In the USSR, the entire way of living and the entire structure of social and public life are harnessed to the task of inculcating in the people the lofty ideas of peace and friendship between nations, fraternal solidarity and internationalism, humanism and high ethical standards.

2.5 National inequalities and racial prejudice have been eliminated in the Soviet Union for good and all, and any sort of manifestation of discrimination is forbidden by law and has long since vanished. In our country the ideology of friendship between nations prevails, and we are proud of this great moral conquest.

2.6 One special feature of the development of Soviet culture, science and education is that the Soviet people has been given full access to all the benefits of culture and science; the schools, higher educational establishments, theatres, clubs and other cultural institutions are open to all.

2.7 The Soviet Union has been maintaining and developing its cultural links with other peoples and States: in recent years, it has concluded more than 30 long-term cultural agreements with other States as well as more than 100 agreements covering individual aspects of cultural collaboration and providing for the development of cultural, scientific and other relations on a basis of equality and mutual respect.

2.8 Large numbers of Soviet citizens visit other countries and get to know their cultural and scientific achievements, while many foreigners, especially tourists, visit our country and get to know our scientific and cultural achievements in turn.

2.9 The exchange of persons also takes place, of course, under the auspices of Unesco, particularly in the form of the organization of tours of various countries by groups of workers. This is a praiseworthy activity of which we approve. We are in favour of the system of exchanges under Unesco's auspices being extended. Our only wish is that the organization of these tours could proceed more rapidly and without artificial difficulties being created, including those of a technical nature. Unfortunately these do occur.

2.10 Soviet representatives are actively participating in international conferences, congresses and symposia on questions of education, science and culture, and there has been an increase in the exchange of scientific, cultural and other information with a view to bringing the nations closer together and developing friendship between them in the interests of peace and co-operation.

2.11 The Soviet people regards international cultural co-operation as an equal and mutually advantageous exchange of national cultural achievements in both the material and intellectual sense, an exchange which simultaneously promotes the development of national cultures and helps to enrich world culture. The Soviet people is happy to make its cultural achievements common property and at the same time to take stock of the cultural riches of other peoples.

2.12 The works of foreign authors, both in translation and in the original, are widely represented in our libraries. Plays by foreign dramatists are never off the Soviet stage, and our cinemas show all the best foreign films.

2.13 During the period of the Soviet régime, more than 20,000 works by foreign authors to a total of over 750 million copies, have been published in the 76 languages spoken by the peoples of the USSR. According to Unesco figures, the Soviet Union has for many years led the world in the publication of translated works.

2.14 We consider that direct contacts between National Commissions for Unesco could play a substantial part in promoting exchanges and relations. The exchange of experience and achievements in education, science and culture would thereby find still wider application. Unfortunately, such contacts between National Commissions are still too few.

2.15 We take this opportunity to inform the delegates to the Conference that the Soviet Government in accordance with the International Convention on Exhibitions and the decision of the International Exhibition Bureau, is holding a World Exhibition in Moscow in 1967. The title of the exhibition will be "Progress and Peace", and all countries and international organizations, including Unesco, will be invited to take part in it.

2.16 We are in favour gentlemen, of a broad exchange of information and publications. But when we speak of the free exchange of information and publications, we are thinking primarily of the ideas of peace and peaceful co-operation, of the development of better mutual understanding between nations.

2.17 There are certain circles which would like to use the channels of cultural relations for the purpose of foisting upon the Soviet people ideas which are alien to them - militarism, racialism and the spirit of revenge - and of disseminating trashy literature and all kinds of pornographic gutter publications, degenerate gangster films, and so on. There is no market in our country for corrupt ideological productions of this sort, however. Our doors - we say straight out - are closed to trashy gutter publications and to films and broadcasts which feed base instincts and propagate misanthropy and enmity between nations.

2.18 We consider, too, that Unesco should speak up against the use of international cultural, scientific and other relations as channels for transmitting propaganda along militaristic, racial and revanchist lines and amoral ideas of all kinds. Again, we think that this point should be taken into account in formulating the principles of cultural co-operation, and that Unesco should condemn the use of the channels for international relations and exchanges in this way.

2.19 Mr. President and fellow delegates, the collapse of the colonial system, which is taking place before our eyes, and the emergence of new independent Asian and African States mark a new stage in the history of world culture and the development of international cultural relations.

2.20 The attainment of political independence by these countries provides favourable conditions for the revival, growth and blossoming of the original national cultures of the peoples of these countries.

2.21 Colonialism has done tremendous damage to the national cultures of the enslaved peoples. The colonizers tried to tread down these cultures and trample them under foot and they succeeded in interrupting the traditional cultural relations of the African and Asian peoples for several centuries. Yet Africa and Asia were once the cradle of great civilizations exerting a powerful influence on the development of all mankind.

2.22 And now, when the paths of national rebirth have opened before the peoples which have achieved their independence, the colonizers are trying to belittle their rich historical past and even to deny the originality of their national cultures and their contribution to world culture. Attempts are being made to foist upon these people the modern, degenerate, bourgeois culture of the West.

2.23 We should like to remind delegates of the statement made from this rostrum by the representative of Haiti during the first few days of this Conference when he protested vigorously against pernicious and alien influences exerted on the culture of peoples who had thrown off the yoke of colonialism or were in the process of doing so, and when he stressed the prime necessity of preserving and cherishing the national spirit of the culture and art of each people.

2.24 A nation's culture can be revived and reborn only on its own soil, and nowhere else. The Soviet Union's wide experience of cultural construction confirms this truth. With the establishment of the Soviet régime over the vast expanses of the former Tsarist empire, a real national revival of peoples began, and within a short space of time, backward border regions became flourishing States with a high level of educational, scientific and cultural development. In their level of economic and cultural development, to say nothing of social structure, the Soviet national republics have far outstripped that attained by many of the highly developed Western European States. This unprecedented leap from backwardness to advanced development is clearly demonstrable in any Soviet State.

2.25 Let us take Soviet Uzbekistan as an example. Before the revolution of October 1917, only 2% of the population of Uzbekistan could read and write. Today, there are no illiterates in the Republic. Forty years ago, there was not one higher educational establishment; today there are more than 30 and the number of students attending them and the technicians exceeds 140,000. The first university was founded in the capital of the Republic as early as 1920. At the same time, 400 university professors and teachers were sent to it from Moscow and Leningrad in order to train the nation's specialized workers and fulfilled their honourable mission with outstanding success. The same is true of the other Transcaucasian republics and the republics of Central Asia. The University of Tashkent, which was founded on the same principles, has become a real centre for science and culture producing the nation's own highly skilled workers. Similar successes have been scored in the rest of the national republics of the Soviet Union. And today Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and all the national republics have their own scientists, their own academies of sciences, their own scientific research institutes and their own national intelligentsia.

2.26 The Soviet Union delegation to this Conference includes among its members the Deputy President of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Azimov, and the Minister of Education of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Mekhti-Zade, who could

tell us a great deal about what has been achieved in their republics.

2.27 I shall give one more example which may be of special interest to certain delegations. More than 40 of the peoples living in Tsarist Russia had no national written language. After the establishment of the Soviet régime, not only were these peoples provided with a written language but their national culture developed apace.

2.28 We consider that this great experience of the development of the Soviet national republics should be popularized among all peoples. And we believe that in formulating the principles of cultural co-operation the question of the development of national culture is one of the main points to be kept in mind.

2.29 Mr. President, we think that the report which has been submitted to us on a survey of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture contains a number of positive suggestions concerning the development of international cultural exchanges. It is our opinion that Unesco should define the principles of international cultural co-operation, and that it should do so without delay. It is essential, in this document, to define the aims of co-operation, and the document should reflect, above all, the thesis that international co-operation in education, science and culture is a most important factor for peace and for the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

2.30 The guiding line, in working out the principles of this co-operation, should be participation in international cultural exchanges by all peoples and all countries of the world on an equal footing. This equitable principle, as we have already pointed out, is being violated by Unesco: we refer to Unesco's policy in respect of the People's Republic of China and to its policy of refusing to co-operate with the German Democratic Republic and a number of other socialist countries. This injustice must cease. Unesco should be a real world forum for the national cultures of all peoples.

2.31 The promotion of close and active co-operation between the national cultures of all nations without exception is the glorious and hopeful path which our Organization should follow in its future activities.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Awad, delegate of the United Arab Republic.

4.1 Mr. AWAD (United Arab Republic): Mr. President, fellow delegates, I need hardly say that this is my own humble contribution and in no way commits my country or my Government. My subject is a general one, it consists of an exposition of translation as a factor in international cultural exchange.

4.2 The word "translation" is quite common to all languages with which we are familiar. In English we have several expressions to convey the same meaning: translate, render, interpret. The practice must be an old one, because the words are of long standing. Shakespeare, in one of his comedies uses the word translate in the sense of transform, referring to one of his characters assuming the form of an ass. Shakespeare may or may not have been thinking of bad translations as being something similar to such a transformation, Macaulay at any rate, in one of his essays comments on a certain translation of the Iliad and referring to the incident in Shakespeare's comedy declares: "Homer though art translated indeed". Many cynical critics think that a great many translations are of this ass-transformation type.

4.3 In English we have also the word "dragoman", an Arabic word, referring to the person who acts as interpreter, usually an "oral" translator. The word is as old as the Arabic language itself, and we find it used in writing as early as the Seventh century. But the practice of translating dates back to very much earlier periods in human development. In this, as in many other aspects of human culture, we have to go back to the history of ancient Egypt, not because Egypt was the first country to practise translation but because some records of the past have been well preserved in that country. These records going back to the Fifteenth century B.C. are the famous Tell-El'Amarna Letters (Tell-El'Amarna, the town of middle Egypt) and the finds are referred to in all books about Egyptian history as the Tell-El'Amarna Letters. They consist of clay tablets covered with inscriptions in the Akkadian language, which in those ancient times was a kind of lingua franca throughout the civilized world. The text consists of correspondence received in Egypt from abroad embodying messages and reports from agents in foreign countries, and official epistles received from some prince or high official. Among the tablets were found pieces of broken clay bearing words in Akkadian and their equivalent in Egyptian. This is probably one of the earliest attempts at glossary making of which we have any knowledge.

4.4 The existence of the Tell-El'Amarna Letters is a sure indication of the existence of persons in the Egyptian court whose task it was to give some rendering of the texts received from abroad. They would also have acted as interpreters for foreign visitors and distinguished guests, and undoubtedly they occupied posts of very considerable distinction.

4.5 Thus, in those early days, translation was mostly oral and what writing there was consisted of official or semi-official documents. The text of a treaty has been discovered dating from the Twelfth century B.C., concluded between the Hittites and the Egyptians and written in the two languages, the one text being almost an accurate translation of the other. But this is merely another instance of official translation; we do not know of any translation of a "cultural" character, although our ignorance cannot be taken as conclusive evidence.

4.6 When Hellenic influences began to affect Egypt and Alexandria became a centre of Greek culture there must have been a considerable amount of translation. At any rate, we owe to this period the famous Rosetta Stone on which the same text was inscribed in three languages: ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, Demotic script and Greek. This tablet was the key to the reading and deciphering of the Egyptian language. At this period, also, Alexandria possessed the finest library in the world and it is difficult to imagine that, given the number of books and studies that were produced at that time, there was not also a considerable amount of translation of a cultural character. That we have one instance which dates back to the Second century B.C. is indeed rather significant.

4.7 To quote Mr. Edmond Cary's book, La Traduction dans le Monde Moderne: "Somewhat by accident we learn that, in the year 146 B.C., the Senate of Rome ordered that the great work on agriculture by Magon, the Carthaginian, should be translated into Latin". If that happened with regard to a Punic book, we cannot help concluding that a great deal of translation from other languages must have occurred during the early years of the Roman Empire.

4.8 We do know some instances of translations in those early times in Rome from Greek to Latin. In 240 B.C. a Greek slave, Livius Andronicus, put the Odyssey into Latin verse. Probably his effort was not the first of its kind, but it is particularly interesting because of its survival. The great poet Horace knew and used it, and some fragments of it still exist. Later other Latin authors translated Greek plays and Cicero himself was a frequent translator, as was Catullus. It is on the whole assumed by all writers than many translations from Greek to Latin were undertaken; but there is still very great need of a fuller account of translation during Roman times.

4.9 Roman history is also notable as the period in which both Judaism and Christianity developed and began to spread. Translation of the Bible - first of the Old Testament and then of the New Testament also - soon proved to be one of the most important factors in the promotion of translation. The earliest translation of this kind was one of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek as early as the Third century B.C. In the Fourth century A.D., Saint Jerome translated the whole Bible into Latin and, with the spread of the Gospel other translations followed. At the time when printing was invented there already existed 33 translations of the Bible in different languages. Today of course, with the expansion of modern missionary activity, the languages into which the Bible, in whole or in part, has been translated number nearly a thousand.

4.10 The languages into which the Bible was translated, even in the earliest times, were so different that the rendering from one to the other presented a set of problems such as are characteristic of the problems of translations even in the present age. I may also venture to add that the translation of books considered as sacred must have emphasized the importance of accurate rendering, and must have helped to encourage the careful translation of other works.

4.11 The spread of Christianity to Egypt, to Syria, and to Mesopotamia, brought to the Arab lands additional knowledge of the Greek language and of the works of Greek philosophers and writers. Syria and Egypt had for a long time been part of the Byzantine Empire, and there were several centres of Greek learning in these countries. In Mesopotamia, Assyrians and Nestorians carried out some translation from the Greek including texts on other than religious subjects.

4.12 The Koran as such did not exercise much influence on the promotion of translation. Converted Muslims soon acquired a good knowledge of Arabic, and the translation of the Koran was hardly ever encouraged. Few books are considered to lose as much through translation as the Koran.

4.13 But the spread of Islamic and Arabic influences, soon brought the Muslims into close contact with the civilizations of India, Persia and Greece. Many individuals, natives of the new lands became citizens of the Muslim Empire, which soon comprised lands extending from Central Asia to North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula.

4.14 Very early in their history, Arab rulers became deeply interested in the translation of scientific and philosophical works into Arabic from the Indian and Persian languages, and more particularly from the Greek. This movement began towards the close of the Seventh century, even less than 100 years after the death of Mohammed, and was first directed towards such utilitarian subjects as medicine, astronomy and chemistry. Soon, however, it was directed towards philosophy and science in general, and the great works of Aristotle, Plato, Galen, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, Ptolemy and others were translated and became available in the Arabic language. Such work was no longer the concern of rulers, but of men of learning everywhere; and from being the work of a few individuals, translation became a great movement sustained by the efforts of Arabs and non-Arabs, of Muslims, Nestorians, Jews, Assyrians and Copts. Special mention must be made of the efforts of Al-Ma'mun (Eighth century), both King and scholar, who actually asked the Greek Emperor to allow a special mission to proceed to Constantinople, in order to choose and bring back copies of important Greek works.

4.15 The permission was granted, the mission returned with a large harvest and soon translation from Greek into Arabic began to have repercussions in the Iberian Peninsula and a similar movement grew up in Western Europe. In Spain and Southern Italy centres of learning were established, attended by scholars from many lands. Arabic became a medium of learning and the Arabic versions of Greek masterpieces of science and philosophy were translated from Arabic into Latin. Soon original Arabic works of well-known philosophers were also translated into Latin. Indeed, some Arabic texts have been lost in the original and have survived only in the translation. These cultural contacts, in which translation played an important part, continued throughout the Ninth to the Fifteenth centuries and their influence on the revival of learning is generally admitted. From then onwards the practice of translation kept growing and its effect on scholarship was quite evident. Translation was practised both for the acquisition of knowledge and also for the enjoyment of all aspects of culture - poetry, literature, books on travel and so on. For some time translation was mostly into Latin but was probably never at any time exclusively so. Soon, however, all the languages of Europe were involved in this great cultural activity which became a great motive force in cultural contacts and cultural exchange. This phenomenon received a strong impetus from the invention of printing and the subsequent increasing demand for books, whether in the original or in translation.

4.16 This is a brief and undoubtedly very defective survey of the historical development of translation. There is great need for a full study of the history of translation, a task which apparently has not yet been attempted, or even contemplated. With the existence of Unesco sponsorship, perhaps there is still hope that such a work might be undertaken.

4.17 Translation has now become a world-wide activity of enormous dimensions, an activity which

embraces a large variety of fields. It is needless here to refer to such everyday aspects of it as journalism, commercial, official and similar translations. The important aspect which concerns international cultural exchange is the translation of products of the human spirit, particularly literature. The person who engages in the translation of literary products must himself be a creative literary writer. He must possess the faculty to feel the beauty of the work he wishes to translate, and the ability to recreate the same effect in his own language. If he has to translate poetry he must himself be a poet, or at least, must have the ability to produce in beautiful prose the same, or very nearly the same, effect produced by the original verse. There has been a great deal of discussion as to how poetry should be translated and there has been a considerable difference of opinion. Perhaps it is difficult to lay down a definite unalterable rule. Whenever verse has a special value in itself, which transcends every other consideration, as in the case of Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam, then verse must be employed, even at the expense of accurate rendering. But where the meaning is of a special importance, verse must be translated by prose. I have found it necessary while translating Hamlet into Arabic to employ three kinds of composition: prose for the prose passages; a special prose for blank verse, which was printed in separate lines in imitation of the original; lastly, verse for songs such as those of Ophelia and the grave-digger.

4.18 Of course some languages are sufficiently similar to make the rendering of verse by verse relatively easy. Carlyle's translation of Goethe's lines is a good example of this:

"Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen ass,
Wer nie die kummervolle Nächte
Auf seinem weinend Bette sass,
Der kennt Euch nicht, Ihr himmlischen Mächte!"

Carlyle's translation is as follows:

"Who never ate his bread in sorrow,
And never spent the midnight hours
Weeping and waiting for the morrow,
He knows ye not, ye heavenly powers!"

If you take the fourth line which, as in the quatrains of Omar Khayyam, is always the most important line, you find that Carlyle simply replaced the German word with an English word: Der kennt - he knows; Euch - ye; nicht - not; Ihr - ye; himmlischen - heavenly; powers - Mächte. So that the translation is absolutely word for word. Was he not fortunate to be able to write such lines as that in direct translation from the German?

4.19 You will find many instances of this in the translation by Tieck and Schlegel of the plays of Shakespeare. Just one example, from Henry IV, Part 2, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown". (I suppose if one always wears a crown one does not really sleep very easily, one must take it off! But in any case, Shakespeare meant this in the metaphorical sense.) Schlegel's version:

"Unruhig liegt der Kopf der trägt eine Kron".

Again, word for word, as easy as that! No wonder that with such natural facilities Tieck and Schlegel were able to produce a wonderful translation in verse of Shakespeare.

4.20 With other languages the problem is vastly more difficult. In Arabic the metre is entirely different from that of European languages, and considerable latitude must be allowed if verse must be rendered in verse.

4.21 There can be no doubt that the standard of translation has immensely improved of late years; and great writers find it now quite agreeable to undertake literary translations. Baudelaire translated Edgar Allen Poe and André Gide took great pains over his translation of Blake, Conrad and Shakespeare. André Gide thought that great writers ought to undertake a certain amount of translation. He once reflected that had he been Napoleon he would have imposed on each writer worthy of the honour the task of enriching his own literature with the translation of some foreign work. Thus, the great Frenchman gives eloquent expression to the fact that translation is a great art, worthy of the attention of great writers and his words are also indicative of the vast improvement in modern times of the quality of translation and of translators.

4.22 Unesco, for its part, is doing a great deal and will certainly do more, to bring the creations of great minds throughout the ages and throughout the world to the knowledge of all peoples. The translation programme of Unesco is steadily growing and the quality of its products is, with few perhaps inevitable exceptions, especially high. One other part of the programme which should receive special attention, is, I believe, the encouragement of the acquisition of a good knowledge of Oriental languages through provision of adequate fellowships and scholarships. It is important that we add to the number of suitable men and women writers who could devote part or most of their activity to the translation of Oriental classics and outstanding modern works into some well-known world language. A recommendation to this effect was made at the Congress of PEN clubs, held at Tokyo in 1957, and Unesco will surely do its best to carry out such a recommendation.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Dr. Onabamiro, delegate of Nigeria.

6.1 Mr. ONABAMIRO (Nigeria):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, first of all I would like, on behalf of the delegation of the Federation of Nigeria, to express my thanks and appreciation to the General Conference for placing on the agenda this very important subject of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture, which the Conference rightly regards as a theme of vital concern to Unesco.

6.2 As there will be many speakers on this subject, which has many aspects, I shall select as my special theme paragraph 4a on page 2, Section IV of Journal No. 18, The teaching of living languages and the adaptation of education to the needs of international understanding as a measure of a practical and technical nature in educational, scientific and cultural fields.

6.3 Mr. President, I would ask your indulgence to trace briefly some events in past history which appear to me to indicate the trends that events in Tropical Africa may take in the future. We are told by historians that the Boths, the Vandals and the Huns conquered the Roman Empire in the West

in the Fifth century A.D. All the lands and the peoples formerly under the Pax Romana split up after that conquest. They developed rival nationalisms and built up independent nations, and so we had the Germans, the French, the Spanish, the Italians, the English, and so on. These nations, spurred on by their rival nationalisms, soon began to fight one another and, in the process of fighting, the pursuit of learning and the cultivation of the arts receded into the background and darkness fell over Europe.

6.4 We are warned that history never repeats itself in exactly the same pattern; yet I see a dangerously close analogy between the newly independent nations of Tropical Africa of this century and those of Western Europe which gained their independence from the old Roman Empire in the Fifth century A.D.

6.5 Within the last three or four years not less than 14 African States have become independent. Of these, 11 new States with a population of about 23 million people have gained independence from France, three new States with a population of approximately 50 million people have gained independence from Great Britain, and one with a population of 13 million people has gained independence from Belgium. In the next two to three years more African nations are likely to achieve full independence.

6.6 Now, what are the realities of the present situation? People in independent Ghana cannot correspond with those in independent Guinea, since Ghana is English-speaking and Guinea is French-speaking. We in independent Nigeria, for the same reason, cannot communicate with independent Dahomey or Togo, our neighbours, unless we have linguists from Europe to serve us as interpreters. I shall not be very much surprised if I am told that the two Republics of the Congo, now both independent, cannot communicate with one another for the same reason.

6.7 As these newly independent nations are sealed up from one another by the barrier of language, international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture become virtually impossible. As rival nationalisms develop in these newly independent nations, ignorance of one another's problems and difficulties may engender distrust and suspicion. The distrust and suspicion may grow into hostility.

6.8 We in Tropical Africa may well be grateful to Providence that our present leaders who struggled and achieved independence for us are moderate, liberal-minded and enlightened men. But these leaders are not immortal. Before long their places will be taken, one by one, by new leaders, some of whom may develop not only dictatorial but also imperial ambitions. Such tendencies would greatly endanger the peace of the world, even far more than the world witnessed a few centuries after the downfall of the Roman Empire, because in those ancient times newly independent nations that were small went into warfare against one another without drawing in big powerful nations on opposite sides, since these did not exist. In the present century, however, if a newly independent African nation were to be rash enough to sally forth into battle against another newly independent nation, the chances are that the war would not be localized between the two African nations, but would spread beyond Africa to draw in bigger and more powerful nations from abroad. That, of course, would be a world-wide tragedy.

6.9 It is a possibility of this kind, even though it may be thought to be remote at present, that the Nigerian delegation would like this Conference to bear in mind. And it is for this reason that we regard the question of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture, particularly among the newly independent nations in Tropical Africa, as being of vital importance for the maintenance of world peace. We believe also that Unesco is eminently placed to build up the machinery for making international relations and exchanges possible in the African continent.

6.10 Mr. President, forgive me if I continually speak about the new nations of Tropical Africa. The delegate from Great Britain very rightly said yesterday that this is Africa's year in Unesco and I speak, Sir, on the assumption that we all agree with that distinguished delegate. If you draw two lines across a map of Africa, one along latitude 25° north and the other along latitude 10° south of the Equator, you enclose between those two lines more than 20 African nations, with Mauretania and Ethiopia on the extreme north and Tanganyika on the extreme south. Of these, 11 new nations with a population of approximately 23 million people were formerly under French domination and the majority of the literate people of those countries speak and write only French. On the other hand, between these two lines, we have a population of about 56 million people of whom the majority of the literate people can only speak and write English.

6.11 Looking again at the map of Africa, if you draw a line along latitude 10° north of the Equator, you will find that from that line northwards there is a belt of Hausa-speaking people extending from Senegal on the extreme west coast of Africa to the former French Cameroons, well to the east of Nigeria. Among these Hausa-speaking peoples, a second language, Arabic, is used particularly by the intellectuals and unites the millions of Moslems in West Africa with their co-religionists in North Africa and beyond. But these two languages are not understood by the peoples of the coastal belt, among whom have arisen the majority of the present leaders of the newly independent nations.

6.12 One very great contribution which Unesco could make to foster international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture among the newly independent nations of Tropical Africa would be to build an international college for the purpose of teaching four languages (English, French, Hausa and Arabic) somewhere in Tropical Africa, at a point fairly equidistant between Senegal in the west and Somalia in the east, where teachers recruited by Unesco from other nations could teach English, French, Hausa and Arabic for a period of about ten years. The task of the international college would be twofold: to run vacation courses which could be attended by leaders from the different African nations, and to send members of the staff to the various countries to teach in the secondary schools during part of the year.

6.13 We in Nigeria, for instance, are very conscious of the disadvantage of not understanding French, particularly as three of our four national boundaries are formed by French-speaking countries and the fourth is the Atlantic Ocean! Efforts are being made by the Ministries of Education in the

Federation of Nigeria to secure teachers from France to teach in Nigerian secondary schools, but a far better solution to this problem would be for Nigeria to be able to call upon teachers from the suggested international college to work in Nigerian schools during certain months of the year. This proposal would also meet the requirements of the other newly independent nations in Tropical Africa as well.

6.14 It is not without reason that I suggest a period of ten years. Among newly independent nations it is inevitable that some sections of public opinion propose the adoption of an indigenous language in place of the language of the former imperial power. But the experience of nations which have achieved independence before us in Africa indicates that the most realistic approach to this problem is to continue to use for a time the language of the old imperial power, which has served to unite the different tribes and ethnic groups of a former colonial territory, while an indigenous language is being developed to the stage where it could usefully take the place of the foreign language. In this connexion, I was impressed by the advice given by the Indian delegate yesterday when he told us that, on achieving independence, India resolved to continue using English for a period of ten years, by which time an Indian national language was to be developed. It is also of interest to hear from the distinguished delegate of the USSR that in the early years of the Soviet republics the Russian language was adopted as the official language for all the republics for a period of ten years, while the native languages of 47 republics were being developed.

6.15 It is for these reasons, Mr. President, that I am suggesting a period of ten years for the operation of the proposed international college so that, while the newly independent nations of Tropical Africa are developing their indigenous languages, French, English, Hausa and Arabic would be taught to and used by students of secondary schools and leaders of public opinion in the areas mentioned, and serve as a means of communication for the conduct of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Zulawski, delegate of Poland.

8.1 Mr. ZULAWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the purpose of this discussion is to formulate general ideas, with a view to establishing the principles on which international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture should be based. It is both a thrilling and a difficult task. There is no burning bush in which we may find a decalogue containing these principles - we must seek and find them where they really are - in the past and in the present of the human race.

8.2 We must search in the past, because cultural relations and exchanges are as old as humanity itself. They are not the discovery of our generation or our century, nor even of our Organization - on the contrary, Unesco owes its existence to them. They go back to the day when the first rule of international law - "Kill all foreigners" - was replaced by another - "Welcome and protect foreigners". And at all stages in their development, the object, whether conscious or not, of these international cultural relations has always been the same as in our day - to attain greater mutual understanding through greater mutual knowledge and to provide an opportunity for each country to learn from the values of the other and to proffer its own values in return. This constant, age-old exchange of the cultural, intellectual and material values of national and regional civilizations is precisely what constitutes the heritage of mankind.

8.3 If this is so - as I believe - is there anything still to be done? And, if so, what?

8.4 There is indeed something still to do. Now that we have searched for and found the common factor in the philosophic mechanism of international exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture in the past and in our own day, let us try to determine the differences.

8.5 It appears to me that there is at least one new phenomenon which is characteristic of our period and which is fundamental to any discussion of the problem - the realization that international cultural relations and exchanges need not necessarily follow the improvement of political relations, but may precede it, pave the way for it and reduce international political tensions. This realization of the political implications of cultural exchanges was a consequence of the two wars, which laid waste the most beautiful regions in the world; and not only individuals and nations realized its importance, but also governments. The first world organization for education, science and culture in the history of mankind was founded after the most terrible war that man has ever experienced, and it was an intergovernmental organization. Today the smallest embassies or legations have their cultural attachés or advisers - an office that did not exist after the First World War. In our day, the nations realize - and governments ought to realize - that cultural relations with other nations serve the cause of peaceful coexistence - and it is their wish that they should do so.

8.6 This function of international cultural relations, however, depends upon two mutually contradictory phenomena which are characteristic of our era - on the one hand, the high degree of perfection attained by technical communication and transmission media, and on the other the wide gap between the stages of economic and technical development reached by different parts of the world and different countries.

8.7 Taking these general considerations as a basis I should like to say something about certain aspects of the principles which should be observed in international cultural relations and exchanges. Having defined the object of these exchanges, in fact, we must now define some of the conditions under which such relations and exchanges must be established.

8.8 In the first place, I should like to bring up a difficult but important problem - the problem of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations when cultural contact and exchanges are being made. It is a difficult problem because, in the nature of things, any cultural exchange is to some degree an interference in the life of the receiving nation; it brings in foreign elements from outside. And it is an important problem because, if we take it as a fundamental that cultural exchanges cannot be used to promote war, yet it is, unfortunately, quite possible that they should be used as a stimulus to the

cold war. There is, therefore, one principle - the principle of considered non-interference - which means that each partner has the right to refuse any exchange it deems unacceptable; and this principle should be generally accepted and applied.

8.9 Another problem is that of just and equitable reciprocity in international exchanges. A problem arises where there are rich countries side by side with poorer ones, countries whose language, culture, art and literature are universally famous side by side with others whose cultural values, while they may be of an equally high standard, are not yet well known. Would not the rich countries be tempted to suggest to their less favoured partners a parity like that offered by the pork-butcher to his customers - a pâté made of horse-meat and lark, in the proportion of one horse to one lark?

8.10 And would there not be a temptation for the poorer countries whose needs in the fields of science and culture are great, to accept from their more affluent partners cultural exchanges based on the method used in regiments by canny soldiers - the principle of "You mount guard today instead of me, and in return I'll collect your tobacco ration tomorrow"?

8.11 The problem of reciprocity in cultural relations and exchanges will always be difficult and perplexing, because the basic facts relating to the two countries concerned are not always comparable. Some countries are great exporters of cultural and artistic values and some are great importers - but, unfortunately, they are not always the same countries. Generally speaking, the range and scope of a country's thought, artistic achievements and language depend on its political and economic power. In a world in which more than half of the human population lives in countries which history has not spared and which must begin by creating a better future, the heritage of these countries is a grave handicap to them. They have to cope with many problems on which their cultural development depends - that is obvious. To illustrate my point, however, I shall take one detail - the question of copyright. There are many actual cases in which copyright, legitimate in itself, runs counter to the exalted belief that all the inhabitants of our planet should have access to the treasures of human creativity. How many countries are forced to limit the number of books translated or to permit only a small number to be printed, simply because material circumstances make it impossible for them to find the foreign currency required in order to transfer the author's royalties? My own country, which is a signatory of the Berne Convention, but which is also a major publisher of foreign literature and has a large market for it, knows something about this problem. And then there are all the countries which have recently achieved independence who are hungry for books, but short of foreign exchange. Is not this exaggerated commercialization of western culture cutting the ground from under their feet? There is no question of challenging the validity of the principles underlying international copyright conventions, but some way should be found of dealing with this aspect of the matter.

8.12 Another point is that it is not always easy for what we call a "small" country to solve the problem of just reciprocity without falling into the snare of one-way exchanges. Anyway, in the field of cultural exchanges it is hard to say how much is giving and how much receiving. Often enough a country will make a mistake, and think that it has been the donor when in fact it has been the recipient and vice versa. A few years ago, for example, one of my illustrious fellow-countrymen was carrying on an international campaign for the publication, in foreign languages, of the works of our most famous poet, Adam Mickiewicz; those who know of him will agree that he is one of the world's greatest poets. Speaking to a distinguished audience in a great foreign country, my fellow-countryman deplored the fact that, in that country's encyclopaedia, he had not been able to find the name of Mickiewicz, which ought to have come after that of Mickey Mouse. Nobody laughed. Nobody knew who Mickiewicz was. Returning to Poland, my illustrious fellow-countryman related this mishap to an audience of young students. Nobody laughed. Nobody knew who Mickey Mouse was. The result of it all, however, will be that Mickiewicz will have his place in the foreign country's encyclopaedia and Mickey Mouse will have his in the Polish encyclopaedia. And I do not think that the foreign country had the worst of this particular cultural exchange.

8.13 A few words about modern media of communication and the exchange of ideas. While these technical means of transmission are very important, two grave dangers lie concealed behind these amazing technical achievements. One is the danger of forgetting that only a country which possesses modern methods of transmission such as the press, radio and television can engage in the free exchange of information and ideas. A glance at "World Communications", which is published by Unesco, will show that the greater part of the human race is still without any modern means of transmitting ideas and information. While this is so, we have no right to talk about the free circulation of ideas or the free exchange of information.

8.14 The other danger is that we shall become intoxicated with the technical possibilities presented us by the modern means of communication and transmission at our disposal and take no thought for the material transmitted.

8.15 A friend of mine always keeps clear of people who suggest that he should sit down quietly in a corner with them and exchange ideas. "What use is it", he says, "to exchange my ideas, which are good ones, for another person's ideas, which may well be bad ones?"

8.16 And here I conclude my remarks. They may sound frivolous, but they are intended seriously. For the subject is a serious one, and of the utmost importance. The scientific and technical achievements of the world are receiving admiration. It would be wise to work out the principles to be followed in establishing bilateral, regional and international activities to promote contact and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture on this earth before technology enables man to suggest such exchanges to thinking beings on other planets.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Dr. Gustavo Lagos Matos, delegate of Chile.

10.1 Mr. LAGOS MATOS (Chile) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I shall not dwell on the need for international exchanges in education, science and culture, for such exchanges constitute the very basis of Unesco's work and the reason for the Organization's existence. I will only emphasize certain ideas which might inspire these exchanges in view of the present-day division of the world into developed countries and underdeveloped countries.

10.2 The first thing that confronts us when we recognize, on the one hand, the need for international exchanges in education, science and culture, and, on the other hand, the needs of the so-called underdeveloped countries, is the limited resources available for the financing of such exchanges. This raises the question of the necessary priorities between these exchanges, which we all wish to organize, in the field of art as well as in the cultural and scientific fields.

10.3 One fact of fundamental importance is that a large part of the world's population is living in wretched conditions, both social and economic. It is therefore both essential and urgent to devise all possible means of ensuring the rapid and harmonious social and economic development of this part of the world, which is inhabited by some two thousand million persons.

10.4 Away back in the Middle Ages, the schoolmen pointed out that men needed a minimum of material welfare before they could live the good life; we too might say, mutatis mutandis, that, in order to participate, as it were, in art and culture, the peoples must first enjoy a minimum of social and economic well-being.

10.5 Awareness of underdevelopment has only recently awakened within the last ten years. I have been studying the United Nations discussions which led to the establishment of the Economic Commission for Latin America, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and commissions for other regions of the world. These discussions, held in 1947, shortly after the creation of the United Nations, described the situation of underdevelopment without actually using this term, which appeared much later. Indeed, only 13 years ago, this term, which now serves as a criterion for dividing the world into two zones, had not even been coined. The term coincided with awareness of the fact itself, or to use Myrdal's words, with a great awakening: the underdeveloped countries became conscious of their underdevelopment.

10.6 Just as in the Nineteenth century the workers became aware of their human rights, so in the Twentieth century certain countries have become conscious of their underdevelopment in comparison with other regions of the world.

10.7 Yet, Mr. President, what do we know about this phenomenon of development and underdevelopment, the fundamental phenomenon of our time, the phenomenon that is now dividing the world and influencing the policies of the great powers? Eminent economists, such as Myrdal and Prebisch, have pointed out that the theories of social and economic development worked out in Western countries, particularly in Europe and the United States of America, are not applicable to underdeveloped countries. Thus, we note, an hiatus between this awareness of underdevelopment and the need to promote harmonious social and economic development on the one hand, and, on the other a lack of adequate knowledge - from the standpoint of the social sciences, economics, political science and sociology - concerning the social and economic machinery capable of enabling underdeveloped countries to become developed countries.

10.8 This phenomenon is of the greatest importance, for whereas the social and economic development of Western Europe and of the United States of America took place spontaneously, thanks to the efforts of what Schumpeter calls the "innovating entrepreneur", in present-day underdeveloped countries, social and economic development must take place on a basis induced to some extent by the State; thus, it is necessary to establish social and economic development plans, and, if we have not sufficient knowledge of this social and economic machinery, we come up against a very serious difficulty, the impossibility of drawing up plans on a truly scientific basis.

10.9 Experts from developed countries go to underdeveloped countries, but are sometimes unfamiliar with the conditions existing in these countries and try to transplant there theories or concepts appropriate to developed countries.

10.10 On the other hand, specialists belonging to underdeveloped countries sometimes lack the necessary theoretical knowledge and research techniques which would enable them to make a scientific study of their own social and economic situation.

10.11 Thus, Mr. President, I am of the opinion that the working out of a theory of social and economic development and underdevelopment, which we still lack, calls for large-scale international co-operation between experts from both developed and underdeveloped countries; it is a typical case of a study which should be made of the different cultures and of the different social and economic systems through comparative research conducted by experts from both zones or regions of the world.

10.12 Mr. President, in Latin America - as you are well aware, for you come from Brazil - we are engaged in the so-called "Pan-American operation", which was launched on the proposal of the President of Brazil and which is a total war by the Latin American countries and the United States of America against underdevelopment. For the purposes of this campaign, the problem has been posed in terms of planned economic development, i.e. social and economic development based on plans drawn up by State or public organizations in conjunction with private enterprise.

10.13 We are of the opinion that Unesco, when working out its plans for international exchanges in education, science and culture, should give priority to the study of these problems of social and economic development and underdevelopment, otherwise we shall be working on a false basis, an unscientific basis, Mr. President, and, as it is one of the aims of this Organization to further science, we must endeavour to promote through our Organization such research as will enable the world to ensure the social and economic development of underdeveloped countries on a more practical and scientific basis, taking full advantage of the experience of developed countries.

10.14 At the same time, the inter-American initiative can serve as an example to other parts of

the world: twenty Latin American countries and the United States of America have set up a regional organization to wage total war upon social and economic underdevelopment.

10.15 It would be interesting to see how far this experiment by a regional organization could be repeated in other continents, such as Africa (for this has been said to be Africa's year) by promoting, through co-operation between the African underdeveloped countries and the developed countries of Western Europe in closest contact with this region of the world, a vast plan for total war upon this fundamental evil of our day.

10.16 That is my first point, Mr. President. The second point also refers to the limited amount of resources, but is viewed from another angle.

10.17 We know that there are at present multilateral plans for international exchanges (Unesco's plan is a typical example of such plans); but there are also bilateral plans for international exchanges, sponsored by the governments of certain developed countries, such as the United States Government, the French Government and the German Government, in co-operation with other countries wishing to receive technical assistance.

10.18 I feel that Unesco should try to co-ordinate these multilateral programmes for international exchanges with bilateral programmes, in order to avoid overlapping and make a better use of the available resources, which are very small in proportion to the immensity of the needs.

10.19 In this context, I should like to refer to an experiment which is now being carried out - at the very time when the General Conference of Unesco is in session - and in which I have taken part as Secretary-General of the Latin American Social Science Faculty of Santiago de Chile, which, as you know, is an institution sponsored by Unesco.

10.20 We are now studying with the French Government a bilateral agreement under which a contract will be concluded between the Sixth Section of the "Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes" at the Sorbonne and the Latin American Faculty, which, it is hoped, will be subsidized by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

10.21 The object of this contract is as follows: the Sixth Section of the "Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes" will ensure liaison for all social science institutions in France, and the Social Science Faculty of Santiago de Chile will ensure liaison for all social science institutions in the Latin American region, with a view to promoting jointly a series of studies relating to the social and economic development of Latin American countries, in order to increase scientific knowledge about the still inadequately known theory of underdevelopment and development and in order to establish permanent co-ordination between the development of the social sciences in France and their development in Latin America.

10.22 This experiment has been undertaken in agreement with the Unesco Department of Social Sciences and, although it is of very limited scope, it is an example of the co-ordination which is possible between bilateral and multilateral plans.

10.23 In conclusion, Mr. President, I feel that Unesco, whose work is so important - and that is why it receives our enthusiastic support - might take into account the two principles I have endeavoured to outline.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Malalasekera, Head of the delegation of Ceylon.

12.1 Mr. MALALASEKERA (Ceylon): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we are here gathered together, as I understand it, to discuss matters of policy. When we speak of policy we should be clear in our own minds about the motives that inspire our policy and the criteria by which it can be defined. Clearly a list of projects and activities cannot, by the mere fact that these are related to the objectives of Unesco, demonstrate a policy. In the general statement which I made earlier on behalf of the delegation of Ceylon I referred to Unesco as being above all an instrument of international co-operation and of international exchange. With your permission, may I quote a few relevant sentences from that statement? "My delegation" I said, "would like to lay great stress on the fact that it is not enough for Unesco to be the internationally recognized channel for aid to developing countries. Unesco was not founded for the exclusive purpose of being an agent for the economic development of retarded areas. It is one thing to be the instrument for developing the human and other resources of Member States and it is quite another to be only an agency for assistance to underdeveloped countries. There should be a two-way flow between countries which are economically retarded and those that are, if I may say so, technologically overdeveloped. There is an equilibrium in the field of culture and, by that word, we mean the entire complex of the sciences and the arts which Unesco must constantly keep before it as the basic and fundamental purpose of its programme and action. It is not for Unesco to caricature itself before the exigencies of economic development by training a specialized labour force of experts and technicians who confine their activities to ambulance work rather than to the splendid task of world transformation. In fact, the very economic development in these countries demands a fuller, bolder and broader programme of general education in order to have an informed citizenry of creative technicians, capable administrators and trustworthy leaders. This is the test of education. The task before Unesco is that of advancing and enriching the culture of each country, whatever its stage of development. Herein lies the true meaning of development and exchange. It is this mutual exchange and enrichment that is the key to aid which comes from an international organization. It is this key which makes such aid different from purely bilateral assistance. It is the responsibility of Unesco to demonstrate this difference. What, in fact, we are trying to say is that it is not enough to refer to the Constitution in happy preambles. The Constitution must be demonstrated in the programme and the programme must represent a coherent whole, a clearly-defined policy".

12.2 Mr. President, there are the directives of the Constitution which are, above all, summed up in the reference to "popular education and culture". It will be noted that this term is not used in any restrictive sense; it refers rather to the development of the totality of educational and cultural resources, for a balanced and healthy society. Further,

there are the directives of the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, etc. None of these additional charges are in contradiction with the basic responsibility of Unesco. The question is whether it would not be advisable and realistic to consider, in each two-year period, a phase of activity within which the detailed work of the various Departments takes meaning, and which, in their ensemble, will represent a planned advancement towards the achievement of the total objectives of Unesco. For instance, if emphasis is placed on primary education in certain areas, it must be clear not only that this is because there is a need for it, but also because, as far as Unesco is concerned, the step is taken as a necessary condition towards raising the popular cultural standards in those areas. It must also be made clear that the action taken is envisaged in correlation with those taken in other areas where a different type of action may be required. It should be demonstrated as a type of action which is also carried out in reference to the general objective of maintaining and developing cultural levels, international understanding, etc.

12.3 Rapidity of communications makes our planet daily smaller and we have attained what has been well described as "physical neighbourliness and spiritual distance". This sudden proximity of other races has created problems of understanding, particularly in the Occident. To bring about international understanding and goodwill there must not only be tolerance of each other's values, but also true comprehension and appreciation of them. Technologically underdeveloped countries often have a precious heritage that must be preserved. Undue emphasis on technical ability may well destroy important values and important cultural patterns. Mahatma Gandhi once said that, while our windows should be open for the winds from all the four quarters to blow through them, they should not allow blasts to enter which will rock the very foundations of our house. Who would be daring enough to say that the Asian peasant who is prepared to walk twenty miles, often with an empty stomach, to attend a rendering of his folk music and folk dance is less "developed" than his counterpart elsewhere, who is able to drive a tractor but has no appreciation at all of his country's culture? Who can say that literacy and culture are necessarily synonymous or that illiteracy necessarily means lack of culture? Economic imbalance need not always connote imbalance in the realm of the mind. In a truly educated world the culture of mankind must be an "orchestrated" culture of diverse national contributions but harmonized and integrated in its totality.

12.4 Mr. President, in Unesco's programme for education frequent reference is made to the methodology of education and its accompanying techniques. I wish that there were greater awareness of and more frequent reference to the content of education. Education is not only pedagogy; the training of a teacher is not merely a question of methods of teaching. What provision do we have for the general education of the teacher? We do not want skilful exponents of methods and techniques who are intellectually arid and culturally poor. In this connexion, I am glad to note that the Director-General stated in the Programme Commission that he would set up in January a working group of staff members with full responsibility to plan a coherent and administratively unified programme for adult education. But, I would urge that it is not only adult education that needs to be so treated; there must be a basic and integral purpose informing all the activities of the programme of the Organization.

12.5 In my earlier statement I also referred to the advisability of the Executive Board setting up a working party to consider what should be the appropriate functions of the General Conference. I would further suggest that it should consider how the Executive Board itself may fulfil its functions of acting as an interim General Conference between two sessions of the Conference. Some of us feel that members of the Executive Board tend to represent their particular countries, whereas their mandate requires them to represent the collectivity of Member States, all of whom they are expected to serve. They should consider themselves like members of the cabinet of a world State who represent not merely sectional interests but protect the well-being of the whole nation.

12.6 Mr. President, I would repeat that there is urgent need for the reorganization and reappraisal of our work, and my delegation feels strongly that it would be useful to set up a working party of the Executive Board with co-opted representatives of a limited number of Member States, to meet during the next year to think out afresh the rôle of the General Conference in the new context of our greatly enlarged representation.

12.7 There is one other matter I should like to mention, with your indulgence, even if it is not directly concerned with the present discussion. Last year, and for six weeks again this year before coming here, I was a member of my country's delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, and I have been greatly worried by what I saw there. I refer in particular to the splitting up of Member Nations into blocs and groups, and the apparent rivalry and hostility that exist among them. I was here at the Unesco General Conference in 1958 and I am here now, and I seem to find the same tendency making itself felt in this world organization also. I am sure, Mr. President, that all right-thinking people will agree that it would be most unfortunate should such a tendency be allowed to grow, for it is completely contrary to the ideals of Unesco and inimical to the unity and solidarity which are so essential for our work of international goodwill and mutual understanding. How this tendency for isolation into groups can be arrested I do not know. I merely pose the problem as worthy of consideration, in the fervent hope and belief that a solution can and will be found.

12.8 Delegates to the United Nations are primarily politicians, and politicians are expected sometimes to wrangle and fight. They are allowed the concession, one might even call it a luxury, of sometimes baring their teeth and their claws and banging with their fists and, on rare occasions, even with their shoes. But we here in Unesco are not politicians; we are essentially men and women of education and culture. We naturally have our different points of view and, being human, may sometimes lose our temper. But let us always remember that the hallmark of culture is sobriety of conduct and

self-discipline, and if I may say so with deep humility and with great respect, we must never allow our debates to deteriorate from the high standards which the founders of Unesco set up for themselves. This Organization is far too precious an instrument for the health and happiness of mankind for it to be allowed to suffer loss of dignity and prestige. I ask your forgiveness, honourable delegates, if I have erred in any way in saying this, but it is my great affection for this institution and my firm conviction of its immense value to humanity that has prompted me to do so.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Dr. Hilding Eek, delegate of Sweden.

14.1 Mr. EEK (Sweden):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I think you know from long experience that it is with great enthusiasm that one receives documents from Unesco. And when one receives a document which contains 500 pages one starts to read it with great interest. To me, the reading of the survey which we have before us was most interesting and exciting. These 500 pages tell us of travel abroad, studies in foreign lands, exchanges of television programmes, congresses, symposia, and so on. This is a tale of persons and matter in constant motion, as bewildering and enchanting as the scenery one meets when one goes into the woods to observe the strange and busy life and movement in an ant heap.

14.2 A few considerations came to mind while I was studying this document, and I would like to make some remarks on them. The first was the amazing quantity and diversity of these exchanges we read about, and the second was the fact that these exchanges are the result, at least in part, of organized international co-operation. I will deal first with the second point.

14.3 Textbooks on international organizations usually include introductory chapters on such organizations in ancient days, but in fact, and in my opinion this should be strongly emphasized, organized co-operation between States and nations is a creation of our own century. It was not more than 15 years ago that the United Nations came into being as a universal - universal in principle, at least - international organization, and Unesco is equally young. When we examine a survey such as the one which is before us today, there is reason to recall that the kind of international co-operation of which this study is one of many results is something novel in international life. The fact that we work together here in this Conference, and that all nations from day to day, in the United Nations and all its Specialized Agencies, take care of their many common concerns - be they mundane or glamorous - indicates the possibility of a co-operation which political dissonances should not be allowed to destroy. This continuous co-operation carried out by devoted persons of all nations has made possible the results reported. It is, moreover, this kind of quiet work towards agreement and for common aims that, more than anything else, promotes mutual understanding in our work.

14.4 My second point is this: there are special reasons to underline the richness and diversity of current exchanges as reported in the survey. Not only is the coming into being, since the Second World War, of a whole family of universal international organizations a new feature of world community which offers great possibilities; we must also note and reflect on the fact that the growth of exchanges during the short period of 15 years since the war has been enormous and is something new in kind. A young student of today would probably consider this survey as a catalogue of how to go about making travel and studies abroad pleasant and useful, how to find materials and books from foreign countries, how to learn of ideas and receive news from abroad. That this extensive exchange is possible and actually exists may seem quite natural to the young student. But those who are a little older, not so very much older, would easily recall the days when most people - and I am speaking of the world as a whole now - could not afford to travel abroad or were not interested in doing so, when studies abroad were possible only for a very small and selected group, and when our knowledge of foreign peoples - their ways of life, modes of thinking, languages - was extremely limited. The picture given us by the survey is quite different. We must realize that we are faced with a new phenomenon, a new world in movement, full of people who are eager to learn about others and are given the opportunity to learn, who seek and receive more information from abroad than ever before. This development would perhaps appear to someone who might look at it in the beginning of the next century as being of a revolutionary importance in our history. We who live today may well, then, put to ourselves the question whether the generations who actually benefit from current exchanges will not be more fit than the generations they succeed to carry out the policy of good neighbourly relations for which the United Nations and Unesco were created.

14.5 Moreover, we must remember that, in a sense, the present international relations between individuals and between the associations of which they are members have to a large extent been developed by individual free will and initiative. There is in existence a genuine people's movement for a better knowledge of other countries, and perhaps this movement should not be strictly regimented by governmental action or too eagerly watched over by intergovernmental organizations. While Unesco and other agencies must continue to promote and facilitate exchange, they should let life take its own course. For this reason I do not see much use in the suggestions made in the paper before us that we try to formulate, at this stage, principles or standards which could serve as guiding lines for action in the field of education, science and culture. I think we are moving ahead quite well in spite of the fact that we have not yet formulated such principles.

14.6 Leaving these general considerations, Mr. President, I would like to say a few words concerning the work of Unesco in the field of mass communication, and I hope you will excuse me if I introduce a slightly personal note into this exposé. I have had an opportunity over the past ten years to observe the evolution of the concept of freedom of information - first as a member of the Secretariat of the United Nations, and now in the capacity of consultant to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in

the preparation of a report on recent developments in the field of freedom of information. The United Nations has been concerned with the broad legal and political or ideological aspects of freedom of information, and its efforts have centred around the problem of how to define that elusive freedom. This problem will not be discussed here. But I would like to point out that freedom of information is being continuously furthered by the work of Unesco of which we read in the section dealing with mass communication in the survey we are discussing today. In doing so, Unesco fulfils its obligation under our Constitution to "promote the free flow of ideas".

14.7 The free flow of ideas, with which this whole survey is concerned, depends in large measure on a full and free flow of educational, scientific and cultural materials of all kinds and on the unimpeded movement of persons. It has been a special task of Unesco to deal with the existing economic and technical obstacles to the international circulation of both materials and persons. These obstacles and restrictions have, on the whole, come to flourish by accident rather than by design. For example, protective tariffs have grown up for the regulation of international commerce as a whole, but have been reluctantly applied to books, works of art and other materials the circulation of which governments would not wish to impede.

14.8 It has been the rôle of Unesco, and a very important one, to keep constantly before governments the necessity of promoting the free flow of materials and persons and of indicating the practical means whereby this objective could be realized. In an era of striking technological advance it becomes all the more necessary that the new means of communication between peoples should be used without restriction to promote educational advancement and international understanding. This is a duty which is, of course, incumbent in the first place on Member States, but we shall continue to look to Unesco to point the way, to focus attention on the obstacles and to devise possible solutions. This, indeed, is what was done at this Conference when the Programme Commission, by a unanimous vote, approved a series of suggestions to Member States as to measures they might wish to take to promote the free flow of information. In carrying out these suggestions, Member States will be helping to see to it that all the channels of communication are used effectively to promote international relations in education, science and culture.

14.9 In conclusion, Mr. President, I want to recall the text of the Article dealing with freedom of information in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It confers upon everyone the right "to seek, receive and import information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". It is difficult to reach agreement upon a detailed definition in legal terms of this right, as I have already said; a higher degree of mutual understanding between all nations, of tolerance and good faith will be required before such an agreement can be reached. But, in the meantime, Unesco's programme in this field most effectively helps to allow people everywhere to enjoy the kind of broad access to knowledge which is the aim of freedom of information, however defined. This programme, I think, needs all our support.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Simeon Songue, delegate of Cameroun.

16.1 Mr. SONGUE (Cameroun) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and delegates, I shall not take up a great deal of your time with the very interesting problems with which we are now dealing. Those who attended the meetings of the Programme Commission and of the Working Party on Tropical Africa already know of our needs. I shall, however, take the opportunity of speaking about problems connected with education, science and culture and the free flow of educational, scientific and cultural information throughout the world, and draw the attention of the Director-General to two specific points: first the problem of the teaching of living languages in primary schools. I am fully in agreement with this idea, for the matter is an urgent one and of the first necessity for Tropical Africa.

16.2 You all know how many languages there are in the area covered by our States. Strictly speaking the multitude and diversity of our dialects are unbelievable. I think therefore that pending the solution of this problem - for it must be solved - Unesco can use translations into the two living languages which are most widely spoken in Tropical Africa - French and English. But these translations must not cause us to forget the need for developing and making a profound study of the vernaculars spoken in our countries; for although "Traduttore e traditore", it is quite certain that if international culture is to find its way to the vast mass of our peoples, and if Africa is to communicate its own cultural wealth to the rest of the world, it can only be through the use of the vernacular languages which are the storehouse of that wealth.

16.3 I would therefore draw the Director-General's attention to the necessity for rapid translation into the living languages most widely spoken in Tropical Africa today, at least among intellectuals - that is to say French and English - of works published in Europe, America and Asia.

16.4 There is another and much more serious point still to which I would like also to draw the Director-General's notice - the problem of information. It has frequently been pointed out at meetings of the Programme Commission that Africa is above all lacking in means of information. Our requirements in this field are immense. Five years ago when I left the Sorbonne, I went home to teach philosophy; a year later I felt to what extent I was cut off from the rest of the educated world. I no longer knew what had been published either in France or other countries, as I did when I was living here in France.

16.5 We should therefore like, as the Ceylon delegate said, to see translators given the opportunity of making translations without being slaves to copyright so that the translated works may not cost too much. I would also like to suggest, to simplify Unesco's work, that there should be set up in Africa a board - or institute if you prefer - which would have the task of centralizing cultural, scientific and educational work carried out in the rest of the world and centralizing also efforts made

in this field in the countries of Tropical Africa. I think that the work would be simplified and information would be more rapid if, instead of always resorting to Unesco, we could have competent representatives on the spot whom we could consult immediately when the need arose.

16.6 Obviously, resources would have to be made available to this institute, for it is above all the media of information which are lacking in Africa. I am speaking particularly of the cinema, radio, television, and other media which would enable us to save what can still be saved of African culture. These means would also enable us to spread among the African masses the cultures of other nations. It would be an effective way of enriching our people's culture, and also that of the remainder of the world through the common cultural heritage.

16.7 Finally, I would like to point out that, in such a board or institute, measures would have to be taken to train African technicians, for it should be recognized that, if Africa is to assert its membership of the human family and impose its personality in the cultural field, it is Africans who must do it. I would therefore urge that, in connexion with the proposed programme, you also consider - as we have already pointed out at meetings of the Programme Commission - that training Africans will help you to understand Africa and understand the remainder of the world.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I call upon Mrs. Magda Joboru, to speak on behalf of the Hungarian delegation.

18.1 Mrs. JOBORU (Hungary):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Hungarian National Commission for Unesco has studied with great interest the survey on international educational, scientific and cultural relations and exchanges. We believe that the detailed factual material in this document is most useful for Unesco, several other international educational, scientific and cultural organizations and for individual countries. We are of the opinion, however, that this work could have been even more valuable if, rather than being only factual, it was also analytical and more conclusions had been drawn. We feel that there is a certain disparity between the detailed factual material of the survey and the conclusions reached, including several of the statements on the broadening of international cultural relations and their uneven geographical distribution, and some technical barriers to these international relations.

18.2 How can international educational, scientific and cultural relations be used to ease and eliminate the prejudice, distrust and reserve between nations living under different social circumstances, having different traditions and opinions, and how can these contacts strengthen their mutual interest, understanding and co-operation? This is the great problem now under discussion and upon which I want to comment.

18.3 The healthy development of a national educational, scientific and cultural system is the primary condition of all international relations. The quicker and fuller the cultural development of a country, the greater is the demand of its intellectuals and of the whole people to become acquainted with the outstanding cultural achievements of all the world in order to avoid the danger of provincialism and to enrich and colour its national culture with the cultural values of other countries. At the same time, of course, there is a growing demand for making the values of this developing national culture available to the whole world. I belong to those Hungarian intellectuals who can make a comparison, based on personal experience, between the cultural life in Hungary during the inter-war period and that of the liberated country, and I declare with deep conviction that international cultural relations which strengthen friendship and peaceful co-operation between nations can best be served by the cultural development of individual countries.

18.4 In this connexion I would like to mention how much I was impressed by the facts of the survey which show the great educational, scientific and cultural differences between peoples, and the shocking backwardness of a considerable part of the world. I already knew many of these facts but they really shocked me when I saw them assembled in the survey. We agree with the conclusions of the survey which aim at the further promotion of the cultural development of Africa and Asia. Not only international organizations, but all the various countries of the world should participate in this expanding support, in a spirit of generosity and non-interference. We should all accept responsibility for the social and cultural development of these people.

18.5 It is essential that all those who are responsible for the development of international educational, scientific and cultural relations should be convinced that better understanding and co-operation between nations can only be served by knowledge of the life and ideals of other peoples. The technical tools of cultural contacts, such as books, newspapers, films, radio, television and so on, important as they are, do not always give a true picture of national life even to people living in the same country. They, of course, know their own country from personal experience, but it is always more difficult to communicate with distant lands and people.

18.6 We often experience the need for the free flow of information which is referred to in Unesco's programme and also in the survey as the basis of all international relations. We are in complete agreement with this, provided each country gives to its people true information concerning the life and culture of other peoples, and provided all the international organizations promote this same purpose. The free flow of true information really brings different peoples nearer to each other. But the free flow of distorted ideas does exactly the opposite; it poisons the international atmosphere and creates distrust and prejudice.

18.7 We Hungarians might have a great deal to say on this subject, since so much distorted information has been circulated concerning our country in the past few years. But the creation of direct international relations, even in well developed countries, is for the present reserved for only a small part of each nation. And we who promote education, science and culture belong to this minority. I believe that this position of advantage and privilege places a great responsibility on all of us; our task is to endeavour, with open eyes and heart, to become

acquainted with each other's thoughts and ideas. This is the only way for us to become the advocates of friendship and understanding among those who, for the time being, have no chance of making direct international relations.

18.8 Good and bad experiences of many years have led me to conclude that international contacts between those who promote education, science and culture can serve mutual understanding, appreciation and co-operation between people only if this work is undertaken by persons of intellectual, cultural and moral integrity who are capable of exchanging ideas with others who have different opinions, and are inspired only by the search for truth in science, the arts and community life.

18.9 Once at an international meeting I was told by the representative of a Western country that he did not like to enter into controversy with representatives of socialist countries, because he thought that they only participated in international conferences in order to propagate their own ideas and because they had no interest in or understanding of people with different ideas on education, literature, the arts, and especially social development. As I listened to him, I thought of all the Hungarian intellectuals who try to take every opportunity of broadening their outlook through direct contacts, who are very interested in opinions in the fields of education, science and the arts which differ from theirs, opinions on the social development of humanity included. We reject only those ideas which are clearly contrary to scientific truth and are lacking in the spirit of humanism. At the same time, we are sincerely interested in every opinion which is based on real fact and which is influenced by the spirit of humanism and by the desire to make life better, more reasoned and more human. We believe that practice will decide which of these opinions or which of our own ideas will prove to be right; they will surely be those which are not the dreams of well-intentioned dreamers, but those which are able to make the lives of people better, pleasanter and more human.

18.10 This is how we approach ideas different from our own and it is for this reason that we believe that our ideas should be approached in the same way by others holding different opinions. Some of the speakers who preceded me mentioned Unesco's task in helping to spread the cultural values of nations with isolated languages. I propose without any national prejudice and I request Unesco to give us more help than in the past in making the more outstanding achievements of Hungarian culture better known. Many of our values in the field of education, science, literature and the arts are little known at present because of our isolated language and also for other reasons; our culture is less known than its international value would justify.

18.11 Mr. President, the Hungarian delegation thinks that Unesco has done very useful work in preparing the survey and in organizing this discussion. This should be followed up by drawing the logical conclusions. Unesco should give ever increasing assistance to the cultural development of the less developed countries; it should help more in the free flow of true information concerning the life and culture of different countries; it should try to ensure that international cultural relations and exchanges be established among liberal-minded persons and based on unprejudiced and sincere interest and understanding. If Unesco does all this, it will make an appreciable contribution to the solution of the greatest problem of our age, the promotion of understanding and peaceful co-operation between peoples.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Before closing this afternoon's meeting, I call upon Professor Assen Hadjiolov, delegate of Bulgaria.

20.1 Mr. HADJIOLOV (Bulgaria) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria considers that the decision taken by the Executive Board at its 56th session was a very valuable one. There is no doubt that the discussion, at the highest level of our Organization, of questions of general interest, apart from our work in connexion with the proposed programme and budget for the next two years, can be of great importance for the better guidance of Unesco's work in the future.

20.2 Nor is there any doubt that the problem we are discussing today - international relations and exchanges, or in a word the aims and methods of international co-operation in education, science and culture - is a basic problem both for peaceful co-existence and the better organization of Unesco's future work along specific lines.

20.3 Allow me first of all to tell you on behalf of my delegation that the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which directs education, science and culture in the interest of the people and along the lines of accelerated conversion to socialism, sincerely desires to help and do everything possible to develop and extend relations and exchanges in education, science and culture, in order better to serve peaceful coexistence, international solidarity and the progress of mankind.

20.4 It is scarcely necessary to give proof before this assembly of the fact that science and culture are creations of the people closely bound up with the production of material goods. I think we are all convinced that these human activities by their very nature have largely contributed to peace and to the fact that both great and small nations are becoming aware that they are an integral part of a mankind which must live, work and develop in peace in order to attain its rational objectives. The great desire of my country to develop scientific and cultural relations with all peoples is easily explained by the social structure, which is characteristic of a people's democracy and also by the very rapid development of its economy, simultaneously with education, science and all cultural activities.

20.5 Over the past fifteen years, since our people took its own destiny in hand, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has transformed itself from an agricultural country with a weak economy into a socialist country with a flourishing industry and agriculture. Overall production and the number of institutions devoted to education, science, public health and culture have increased eight to tenfold since 1939, and in certain fields, for example that of science and the Academy of Sciences - fifteen to twenty-fold and over.

20.6 Illiteracy, as you know, has been banished from the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Seventy-five per cent of the children leaving primary school pursue their studies in secondary schools and technical colleges; higher education is increasing fast. In the universities and higher schools there are about 50,000 students. From 2% to 10% of these are foreigners who come from Albania, Hungary, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the United Arab Republic, Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, Indonesia, Jordan, Iran, Cameroun, Argentina, France, Finland, Belgium, etc. In addition there are 100 students from the German Democratic Republic who are continuing their studies at the Faculty of Medicine of Sofia. About 300 Bulgarian students, apart from the 50,000 in Bulgaria itself, are studying abroad (in the Soviet Union, Hungary, France, Belgium etc.). The chief aim of the education provided in these establishments is to train the staff necessary for the rapid development of industry, agriculture, science and culture.

20.7 Progress in science is even greater. In the People's Republic of Bulgaria with a population of about eight million, the number of scientific workers now exceeds 6,000. More than half of these are engaged only in research; the others also act as teachers or assistants in the universities and higher educational establishments. In order to be accepted as an assistant or a research worker, a public competitive examination is compulsory. Apart from disciplines in which they specialize, candidates take tests in Russian language and in one of the three Western languages - French, English or German.

20.8 In order to meet the needs of our rapid economic and cultural development, the Academy of Sciences has set up more than 60 research institutes covering nearly all fields of pure and applied science; the work of these institutes is co-ordinated but, administratively, they are completely independent of the institutes and laboratories attached to the university faculties and higher educational establishments. In addition, research institutes and laboratories have been set up under the auspices of ministries, factories and other undertakings. Each Academy institute publishes a review, of which the bulletins of the physics, chemistry, morphology institutes are examples. All articles are accompanied by a summary in Russian, and in French, English or German as the author chooses. The Academy publishes monthly reports of its proceedings, which include short articles in one of the four major foreign languages - Russian, English, French and German. Both reports and bulletins are sent on an exchange basis to all foreign Academies and many other foreign scientific institutions, but a lot remains to be done in this field, and I believe that Unesco should be able to find appropriate means of helping Member States. I have a number of issues of our journals available for distribution.

20.9 Every year the Bulgarian Academy of Science organizes, in co-operation with the higher educational establishments and those ministries which have research institutes, an increasing number of congresses, conferences, and national and international symposia covering the various branches of science. In November of this year, for example, an international round-table on vitamins was held at Sofia. Fifty delegates from nearly all countries - notably France, the United Kingdom, etc. - took part. This discussion, like all the others passed unnoticed by Unesco.

20.10 Bulgaria exchanges scientists with foreign countries to the number of 200 a year, either for the purpose of taking part in international congresses or for further study. We consider, however, that this figure is too low. Although our Academy, and the national research institutes and scientific associations, are already members of many international organizations, much remains to be done in this field. The Bulgarian Academy of Science and the Committee for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries have concluded agreements and take part successfully in annual programmes of collaboration and exchange of scientific and cultural representatives with all similar academies and scientific institutions in socialist countries. We have either concluded agreements or worked out joint study plans with many other countries, such as Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Indonesia, India, France, etc., and yet the wish of our Government to widen these relations stirs no echo in Western countries.

20.11 Time is too short for me to tell you about the results of cultural activities in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and about the results of relations and exchanges in this field; it must suffice to remind you of the great successes of our artists, especially our singers, our orchestras, choral societies and theatrical companies, which have had the opportunity of performing abroad, and even in Western countries. Our recent exhibition in Paris under the title "2,500 Years of Bulgarian Art" had a great success. But although our Government gives us all possible help we do not always meet with the necessary understanding. For example, our great composer Pipkov was refused a visa to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Music Council in Paris (even though his works are played in that city). We come up against other difficulties, too, which we hope to be able to overcome with *Unesco's help*.

20.12 I have taken the liberty of giving you this summary of the development of relations and exchanges by the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the fields of education, science and culture, in order to show you that, because of the increasing progress we are making every year in these fields, we feel a great need to increase and expand our relations and exchanges with foreign countries. Although our relations and exchanges with socialist countries - above all with the Soviet Union - are excellent, and although such relations with neutral countries are good and developing rapidly, the situation is different where capitalist Western countries are concerned. If we analyse the facts objectively, we find that the political, economic, social and financial causes of this situation are well enough known. But the documents which the Director-General and the Secretariat of Unesco submitted to us for this debate on a topic of general interest do not sufficiently stress these causes, and above all - and this is a matter for regret - these basic causes are not, in my opinion, analysed objectively and scientifically and with a desire to use the means available to Unesco of diminishing the effects of these causes,

at least so far as relations, exchanges and co-operation in education, science and culture are concerned. What can this be but the result of preconceived ideas on the part of capitalist countries about socialist countries - lack of confidence, discrimination, and the absence of any real wish to co-operate in a spirit of peaceful coexistence? In other words, are we not faced even in the fields of education, science and culture, with manifestations or, at least, repercussions of the cold war?

20.13 And this in spite of the urgent necessity, in the interests of mankind and of international co-operation in education, science and culture, to establish the necessary climate of peaceful coexistence, mutual esteem and common work for the ideals enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the Unesco Constitution and those of the other Specialized Agencies. It is in this way that Unesco can fulfil its basic mission and help the nations of the world to live in lasting peace by implementing the resolution which has already been voted by the General Assembly of the United Nations with a view to general and complete disarmament.

20.14 So far as other obstacles are concerned - technical, financial, administrative, customs, etc. - they are generally well analysed in the Director-General's report. But with regard to international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture, our delegation has a number of remarks to make, although I shall confine myself to only a few. The description of institutions, for example, and the analysis of the activities of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and other socialist countries are, to say the least, either incomplete or fragmentary, and the conclusions are frequently inexact or contrary to the facts. The Bulgarian National Committee reserves the right to revert to these points on another occasion.

20.15 I venture to make a few other remarks of a general nature. In the Director-General's report and to some extent in Professor Auger's report, and in the work of organizations affiliated to Unesco or acting on its behalf (advisory councils, International Council of Scientific Unions, conferences and symposia) the word "international" is frequently used without any relation to the facts. For example, in descriptions and critical analyses of the activities of various countries in the fields of scientific co-operation and scientific information, how can it be believed that these analyses are objective and conform to the requirements of scientific method, when it is plain at once that the activities of the scientific institutions of entire countries are left out of account? How, for example, can the activities of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Republic of China or of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin be ignored, in spite of their hundreds of great scientific institutes and reviews covering every field of pure and applied science? Or, in the field of scientific information when we consider analytical reviews and summaries, how is it possible to omit mention of such important publications as the excellent "Zentralblätter" published by the German Academy of Science in Berlin and those issued by other publishers of the German Democratic Republic, such as the "Chemisches Zentralblatt" and the "Landwirtschaftliche und Technische Zentralblätter"? There are, of course, other things which are lacking in Unesco publications for the simple reason that the countries concerned are not members of the Organization. Well, in my opinion scientific method should not include discrimination of this nature.

20.16 I imagine that the General Conference and other organs of Unesco will manage to conclude that such a situation is secure from criticism. However, now that the necessity for organizing scientific and cultural life at a truly international scale is so urgent - and the discussions we have had during the present session, in the Working Party on trends of inquiry in the natural sciences, and again today at this meeting, give striking proof of it - I think that, in order to achieve its proclaimed objectives, Unesco should do everything possible to do away with the kind of abnormal situation to which I have referred, and of which I could quote further examples.

20.17 In conclusion, I will again emphasize that Unesco is in a position to discharge its mission more effectively and in conformity with the ideals of its Constitution and through the methods appropriate to it, by making its contribution, which can undoubtedly be a large one, towards ensuring general and complete disarmament and peaceful co-existence, thereby opening the way towards an epoch of education and prosperity for all mankind.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): We have heard 16 speakers today and 19 more are down to speak tomorrow; in addition, three delegations have asked to speak if possible - Guinea, Cuba and Lebanon. I believe that, if tomorrow's speakers will bear in mind the need to condense their remarks and confine their comments to the main subject of the debate we shall succeed in getting through the list of speakers and leaving a little time, if not for reaching conclusions at least for comments on the opinions which have been expressed. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.

TWENTY-FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

8 December 1960, at 10.40 a.m.

President: Mr. Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil)

CONTENTS

Discussion on International Relations and Exchanges in Education, Science and Culture (continued) 375

DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE (continued)

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I declare the meeting open. Allow me to remind you that this is the last day for discussing the question submitted to us; 19 delegates are already down to speak and three others will only be able to speak if there is time. I shall therefore be most grateful if you will keep as closely as possible to the main subject, so that every one may have the opportunity of putting forward his proposals and suggestions.
1.2 I call upon H.E. Mr. Thayer, Head of the delegation of the United States of America.

2.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America): Mr. President and distinguished delegates, I wonder how many of us have had the opportunity of examining closely the biographical information concerning the delegates assembled at this Conference? Who are the individuals present here? They are ministers of education, ministers of culture, professors of law, of science, of agriculture, of economics. They are learned scholars, specialists in the field of the humanities and the social and natural sciences. These men and women have gathered here for the purpose of exchanging views and planning a common effort in the fields of education, science and culture - fields in which they all have a common interest, a common concern and a broad background of experience. They are bound together by the common objective of advancing human knowledge, as expressed so nobly in the words of the Unesco Constitution. The personal relationships among delegates in their respective fields of interest at this Conference are a perfect example of the relationships of people to people. Scientists are meeting here with scientists, educators with educators, scholars with scholars, in earnest discussion of their specialties. As I said in my opening speech to this Conference, we are today entering a new era of people to people relationships as opposed to the old era of relationships of government to government.
2.2 And yet, Mr. President, as I have attended working party meetings, commission meetings and plenary meetings, I have been struck repeatedly by the extraordinary obstacle that, in spite of these common bonds, seems constantly to plague, delay and sometimes to disrupt our labours here. What is this obstacle? It is the failure of communication. How many times have I listened to confused arguments consuming valuable time - arguments which have been resolved finally by the sudden discovery that there was a misunderstanding about the translation of a noun or a verb or an adjective or an adverb. Even when the words themselves were the same, different connotations, meanings, emphasis, arising from different habits and customs in different countries, made it difficult to reach complete understanding.
2.3 In these days of extraordinarily rapid change is there any question, Mr. President, but that the most important thing in human relations is mutual understanding? What does one mean by mutual understanding? Mutual understanding does not mean that we must agree with one another, it does not even mean that we must like one another. It does mean, however, that there should be such comprehension, by one human being of another as to make it possible for us to accept each other, intelligently and realistically, as individuals, and as individuals possessed of all the dignity and rights to freedom of belief and expression which we Americans believe are the inalienable rights of all human beings. It means the ability to establish complete and accurate communication.
2.4 How can we rid ourselves of this obstacle of failure of communication? How can we find a way to establish mutual understanding?
2.5 We in the United States believe that there is no better method of establishing mutual understanding than through what we term international exchanges, particularly the exchange of persons - bringing to America students, teachers, scholars, leaders, lecturers, artists, men and women in every field of endeavour, to see our country with their own eyes, to live in American homes, to participate in the life of our communities, to enter the doors of our institutions, and sending Americans in all these same categories abroad to your countries for the same purpose.
2.6 Lectures and films and books and stories - even the most modern devices of radio and television - are all very well, but nothing can or ever will match the

magic of the contact of one human being with another. The warmth of close personal relationship can only lead to mutual understanding.

2.7 It is interesting to note how different are the thoughts I am expressing today from those of the American leaders in the early days of our freedom. Thomas Jefferson, who was one of the greatest advocates of freedom of thought and one of the most farsighted of early American leaders, once said: "Why send an American youth to Europe for an education? Of all errors which can possibly be committed in the education of youth, that of sending them to Europe is the most fatal." The American student who went abroad, said Thomas Jefferson, would end by losing "in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits and in his happiness." The reasons for this declaration of Thomas Jefferson were very clear. In order to foster the growth of our indigenous culture, including an indigenous education, it was believed necessary in those early days that we be separated culturally as well as politically from the rest of the world. George Washington told the Americans of the Revolution to beware of entangling alliances. This desire for isolation is a normal one for a young country. It can be seen today and understood very well in the desire of the newly emerging nations everywhere in the world to keep away from the stormy winds of political tension. They have too much work to do of their own to get involved in the modern, entangling differences of the great powers. We in America can understand that feeling for we experienced it once very strongly indeed, ourselves.

2.8 But today, Mr. President, isolation of any kind in this modern world is well nigh impossible. The advancements of science have made the peoples of the most remote parts of Africa about as close to me in Washington, today, as New York was to Boston when I was a child. And in those days, may I tell you, there was great rivalry between Boston and New York. We in Boston, to borrow from Dr. Samuel Johnson, said that the only good thing they had in New York was the ten o'clock express train to Boston.

2.9 And because isolation is difficult today we must find quickly those common denominators which will bind us together. We in the United States believe that there is a field outside the tensions of politics, outside the disagreements and differences of both great and small powers, where all people can come together and in so doing achieve mutual understanding. This is the field of education and cultural relations. This is the field of the relations of people to people . This is the field of international exchange.

2.10 I cannot agree with those who assert that the cultures of the new nations of the world must be developed within their borders without reference to other cultures. We in the United States owe our culture to the culture of all countries in the world. In each State of the Union there live groups of individuals who speak only the native tongue they brought with them; most of them have retained their native language to this day and we encourage them to do so. But I believe it is of the utmost importance that every area of the world have a lingua franca, that all peoples be able to speak to each other with one voice. There was a time when the Italian who came to New York could not understand a word spoken by the Pennsylvania Dutchman who lived not far across the river, even as today the people of one African country who speak French cannot understand their adjoining neighbours who speak English. These evident obstacles to communication must be swept away, and one of the primary obligations of the countries of the Western world should be to help bring to the continent of Africa common languages which will facilitate communication.

2.11 But I am not only talking about communication by word of mouth, although such communication will necessarily facilitate the effectiveness of international exchanges. The basic objective of the international exchange of persons programme - that of establishing mutual understanding - is also one of the basic objectives of Unesco. There are of course other objectives of the international exchange programme, and it is interesting to note how identical these also are to the objectives of Unesco.

2.12 Now let us consider what some of these are. First of all there is the objective of enlarging man's knowledge of himself and of the world about him. This purpose stems from the ancient concept of the international community of scholarship and it accepts the proposition that knowledge is both the heritage of, and a legacy to, all mankind and cannot be confined behind national frontiers. Unesco almost by definition is dedicated to this same proposition and purpose.

2.13 Then there are exchanges for the purpose of providing technical assistance to countries that need and desire such assistance, for example, in acquisition of the specialized skills needed for eradicating disease, the construction of dams and highways, the diversification and increase of agricultural production, and other measures to ensure the necessities and some of the niceties of life. Many of such techniques and aptitudes must be acquired or improved mainly through study and training in another country. Here again, Unesco's efforts in technical assistance are testimony to the importance of this objective.

2.14 Another objective is that of enhancing capacities for civic leadership and responsibility. This aim is not yet as widely recognized as the others I have mentioned, but at this Conference it looms as one of the most important of all owing to the attainment of independence, and the admission to Unesco and other agencies representing the world community, of so many new nations during the past year - with others to follow suit in the years immediately ahead. These new nations, in developing their own forms of self-government, seek to send their present and potential leaders to study the arts of government as practised elsewhere. The United States recognizes that its own political structure, a product of its own history, has many features that are not exportable. Nevertheless, many of the philosophical concepts underlying this structure are widely shared by others and have, we believe, universal application: the rights of the individual citizen, representative government, a responsible and informed electorate, the community spirit which pervades our country. We welcome study by others of these concepts as they operate in our society. Here again, I believe this objective of our international exchange programme is fully consonant with the purposes of Unesco.

2.15 In carrying out these objectives, Mr. President,

the American people have embarked upon a great programme of international exchanges. At least 50,000 foreign students from 131 countries were enrolled in institutions of university level in the United States last year. Nearly 2,000 foreign visitors were associated with the faculties of 288 American institutions and almost the same number of United States professors were going abroad. I said that the American people had embarked upon this programme, because it is not only the United States Government which is involved. We have in the United States a pluralistic society, and nowhere is the vitality and achievement of this society more evident than in this area of international education and cultural relations. American citizens, in their voluntary associations, in professional and civic groups, local communities and autonomous educational institutions give generously of their time, their energies and their private personal resources to promote communication with other peoples. American private foundations, as many of the member nations can attest from direct experience, administer their great resources to give disinterested assistance to projects that broaden man's knowledge and enhance his welfare. The part which the American people play in this exchange movement, entirely independently of the United States Government, is very great indeed and is growing larger every day, as community after community enthusiastically join together in a common effort to get to know and understand all the peoples of the world and to be understood by them.

2.16 The United States Government offers every possible assistance to these private efforts and orchestrates its own government programmes to conform with them. The Fulbright programmes with their binational character are, of course, well known to all nations; and I think it is an extremely important concept on which they are based, that exchanges should be carried out in close consultation with the nation concerned.

2.17 Time will not permit me to give more than passing reference to exchanges in cultural materials of all kinds and to the many examples of our artistic endeavours in both the performing and visual arts which we send to other countries annually. Suffice it to say that along with students and teachers and scholars must and do go books, periodicals, films, musical scores and instruments. The successful international exchange of persons builds relationships which inevitably lead to exchanges in every facet of the life of each country involved - that is why they are so important. And with this exchange comes understanding, and with understanding comes the ability to communicate clearly and accurately.

2.18 As is apparent from speeches that have been made from this rostrum during the last day or so, many nations in the world have seen the value of cultural diplomacy and the relationships of people to people and have embarked on important programmes of international exchange. As these programmes necessarily now turn instinctively towards the new nations of Africa and the fast developing areas of Latin America, the Arab States and Asia, some form of international co-ordination of these programmes assumes considerable importance It seems to me, Mr. President, that Unesco can play a rôle of great importance in the dissemination of information about the activities of Member States in the field of international exchange and act in an advisory capacity in all such efforts - both bilateral and multilateral. I hope that this rôle will continue to be studied carefully by the Executive Board and by the Secretariat in the months ahead, so that at the next Conference all of us who look with such hope and enthusiasm upon this great effort towards improving mutual understanding and communication between the peoples of the world can turn to Unesco for assistance in achieving our common objectives.

2.19 In this rich field of education, science and culture, it seems to me that we have a golden opportunity to create, in the decade ahead, a basis for international relationships which the world has never known before. To do this we must control the instincts of that very political creature, the human being, set aside those things which divide us and search out only those things which bind us closely together.

2.20 I am glad to say, Mr. President, that in my Government today there is no opposition to international exchange. Senator John Kennedy, the President-Elect has said: "There is no more natural rôle for the United States of America on the world scene than to lead the way in a programme of international educational development. The new generation of Americans is not complacent. They have the insight and the will to share a part of their professional lives working side by side with the men and women in the underdeveloped areas. They have inherited in full measure the sense of human fellowship, the sense of mission and of adventure that sent their grandparents and their great-grandparents out into Asia as missionaries, doctors and teachers."

2.21 And may I close, Mr. President, with the words of President Eisenhower, spoken at New Delhi University, in India, on 11 December 1959: "More enduringly than from the deliberations of high councils, I believe mankind will profit when the young men and women of all nations - and in great numbers - study and learn together. In so doing, they will concern themselves with the problems, the possibilities, the resources and the rewards of a common destiny. Through centuries, nations have sent their youth, armed for war, to oppose their neighbours. Let us, in this day, look on our youth, eager for larger and clearer knowledge, as forces for international understanding and send them, one nation to the other, on missions of peace."

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Professor Rodolphe de Salis, delegate of Switzerland.

4.1 Mr. de SALIS (Switzerland) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my country is taking an ever increasing interest in international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture.

4.2 It has no hesitation, therefore, in approving and supporting Unesco's work for a better understanding between the peoples of the world. Peace - a true peace and not a cold peace - is the aim towards which we are all aspiring, and we are completely in

favour of obtaining this peace by means of intellectual co-operation, technical assistance and ever closer relations in the field of education, science and culture.

4.3 It appears to me that, no manner what our nationality or form of government, we have certain principles in common, and the same applies to the techniques governing exchanges.

4.4 It seems, however, from the Economic and Social Council's examination of this problem that "there is no recognized procedure for co-operation, let alone co-ordination, between the activities of the international organizations and those developed by States within the context of their bilateral relations."

4.5 In document E/3352/Add.1 dated 10 May 1960, to which I have just referred, the Economic and Social Council suggests that we should develop exchanges of information between intergovernmental organizations and the authorities responsible for bilateral programmes, and that the latter should be brought to the knowledge of the intergovernmental organizations.

4.6 So far as Switzerland is concerned, I may say at once that we hope for better co-ordination between bilateral activities and the multilateral ones of Unesco. If Unesco, in accordance with its programme, is to promote mutual understanding and appreciation between peoples of different culture, it must be able to depend on the fairly close network of bilateral relations between those peoples.

4.7 Moreover, if Unesco wants to devise a method of co-operation and co-ordination between multilateral and bilateral activities in education, science and culture, we are quite prepared to give our assistance.

4.8 Incidentally, the absence of cultural agreements has in no way prevented my country from developing its relations and exchanges in the fields under consideration with countries all over the world. The following are the principles governing Switzerland's educational, scientific and cultural relations with other countries:

(a) We try to develop such relations quite independently of politics, and that is why we entrust them to autonomous national non-governmental organizations.

(b) We do not allow activities and propaganda of an indiscreet or inappropriate nature.

(c) We aim at exchanges of as disinterested and spontaneous a nature as possible and such as safeguard the freedom of action of the parties to them and ensure the good faith of their relations.

4.9 In the interests of a better co-ordination of bilateral and multilateral programmes, Switzerland is of course prepared to supply Unesco with any information it would like about our activities in the field of bilateral relations and exchanges. We should like to see a special service established at Unesco for receiving information from Member States concerning their programmes, activities and requirements in the field of cultural, scientific and educational relations, and for supplying Member States with information on the activities of other States in the same field. This would furnish knowledge of the existing network, recognition of shortcomings and gaps, and would create a still closer network in the interests of better understanding between the peoples of the world.

4.10 As for the practical ways and means of attaining the objective under consideration, we are in full agreement with the move to increase the teaching of living languages. Switzerland, whose laws and customs ensure peace and close solidarity between populations speaking four different languages and whose intellectual traditions are cosmopolitan, has always fostered the teaching of living languages At the Zurich Polytechnic School where I teach, the language and literature of the principal European countries are spoken and taught in separate faculties; Russian and Chinese are also taught.

4.11 But the teaching of living languages should not be considered merely from a practical angle, as a means of communicating with foreigners. What is important is that knowledge of a language should be the means of getting to know the literature, philosophical thought, history and scientific work of the country in question. It is not the language but the civilization expressed by the language which matters, if we really want to achieve a better understanding between nations with different histories, and ways of thinking and feeling.

4.12 Looked at in this light, translations are merely a means of approach. I will, however, add that the leading nations ought themselves to have the most important scientific works appearing in their countries translated into one or two other widely spoken languages. The leading non-governmental scientific associations should agree among themselves on the publication of the results of their scientific research in two or three of such languages.

4.13 Need I add that, in my country, technical assistance to underdeveloped countries is a popular movement. The authorities lend their support to it; business and industry, the universities and various ad hoc associations take an active hand in the matter. I have rejoiced to learn that Swiss youth - especially university students and even secondary school children - ascertains the needs of the emerging countries of Asia and Africa and associates itself public spiritedly with the assistance we give them in their admirable efforts to increase their freedom and well-being.

4.14 Our young people have met their fellows from the newly independent countries and have exchanged views with them. Young African scientists, lawyers, teachers and administrators have visited our country to study the working of our scientific institutes, our schools, our law courts and our democratic institutions. Many students from the Arab world and from other countries of Asia and Africa attend our universities and our Polytechnic School. They are welcomed as brothers. They must, of course, follow the same curriculum and fulfil the same conditions as Swiss students, if they wish to obtain university degrees; for this is the only way really to render them service and the only way of ensuring perfect equality between peoples of different origins and races.

4.15 I imagine that we all agree in wanting technical and economic assistance to be accompanied by a cultural programme. Direct intervention in economic and technical development would be insufficient if it were not supplemented by a more or less indirect humanitarian and humanist influence. It is obvious that highly developed countries can render service to other countries which are in process of developing

their national economy and assimilating the techniques of contemporary industrial society. But we do not live exclusively by machines, industrial and agricultural production, public health and good administration. The human mind, the human intelligence and the human soul require other sustenance than bread.

4.16 Here, I think, lies true reciprocity of exchanges and relations in the field of culture between countries and continents at a different level of development. Exchanges of persons are essential, not only for new countries which need the technical assistance of older countries, but also for the old countries themselves, if they are to get to know and appreciate better the "rising generation" of mankind.

4.17 The safeguarding of Africa's cultural heritage and local languages - as our colleague from Madagascar pointed out the other day - is just as important as the building of factories and hospitals. The delegate of Mali, who pleaded the cause of folklore and crafts, was no doubt right in accusing Europeans of not understanding the meaning of traditions as handed down from father to son. Tradition has a power, he said, which is more rapid and effective than administration in getting things done.

4.18 It now appears from what our African colleagues have told us that we too, in Europe, have much to learn from them and from the people whom they represent. Our educational system needs modifying for use in Africa. It would be wrong to try to impose our ways of thinking and living on people who have developed their own civilizations and customs to suit their social climate. Unesco and its Member States should recognize the basic principle that a respect for national and cultural differences is the basis of mutual understanding and equality between peoples, whether they are large or small, rich or poor, economically developed or in process of development. Assistance should not be offered in a patronizing way, but in a spirit of brotherhood and mutual respect. The assistance will be all the more effective if those who want to help do so not only spontaneously and disinterestedly, but draw inspiration from the experience and advice and also from the accumulated store of wealth in those countries we miscall "new".

4.19 I now come to my last point - the practical measures to be taken to facilitate exchanges of educational, scientific and cultural material and exchanges of persons. You may be quite certain, ladies and gentlemen, that my country approves these measures and is ready to implement them in a most liberal spirit. Would it not be possible also to use the press to spread this information?

4.20 Let me give you an example. Recently, a Polish newspaper and a Swiss newspaper decided to publish on the same day a cultural supplement, each dealing with the other's country. The daily "Zycie Warszawy" made available to the "Journal de Genève" articles dealing with various aspects of cultural life in Poland, and the Geneva daily sent to its opposite number in Warsaw articles on cultural life in Switzerland.

4.21 Here, it appears to me, is an excellent example of a spontaneous initiative representing a new form of cultural exchange. In articles and essays, the two sides informed each other with complete good faith and frankness of the cultural efforts and achievements of their countries. I think this example is all the more striking since the two countries are of different culture and language and also differ in their political and social structure.

4.22 We know that there is still a lot to do before we attain the objective of real understanding and peace based on an intimate knowledge of the way of life and mentality of different peoples. But we refuse to be discouraged. Mr. President, my delegation expresses its entire confidence in the Executive Board and the Director-General of Unesco, who will successfully achieve the immense and difficult task to which they have devoted the best of themselves.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Dr. Adolf Hoffmeister, delegate of Czechoslovakia.

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

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, if there is to be healthy cultural development it is essential that there should be international exchanges of thought, creative suggestions and knowledge.

6.2 I would therefore draw your attention to the large selection of classical, contemporary and avant-garde works published by Czechoslovakia, which is a country that can be proud of its enormous production of translations from all the languages of the world. Possibly we publish almost too many of them.

6.3 The number of foreign exhibitions, concerts by foreign artists and orchestras, and performances of foreign plays is very large. As an example, I would remind you that exhibitions of Dutch, Swedish, Brazilian and Yugoslav books have been organized in a single year.

6.4 Czechoslovakia is trying to become a centre for organizing international meetings and for the holding of artistic competitions and scientific congresses. It is also a meeting place where artists and scientists can get to know one another and form friendships.

6.5 It will suffice to recall to you that the International Music Festival "Springtime in Prague" - a recognized member of the Association of European Festivals - has become a tradition in the musical world. Ladies and gentlemen, you should come one day and listen to this harmony of sounds in Prague, a musical capital, and very beautiful in cherry time.

6.6 The same applies to the International Film Festival at Karlovy Vary, one feature of which distinguishes it from other festivals: it regularly receives a large contingent of young film producers (about forty).

6.7 And this year for the first time the International Amateur Film Festival was held at Marianské Lazne.

6.8 Among the conferences organized in 1960, I may mention the great International Conference on the Physics of Semi-conductors, organized by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

6.9 As from 1962 the Strezníce Folklore Festivals will also assume the character of an international festival of folk music, songs and dances.

6.10 The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has concluded cultural agreements and made plans for

co-operation with a number of States. In addition to the Socialist countries, with which agreements were made as far back as 1948, these include the following: United Arab Republic, Iraq, India, Indonesia, Guinea and Ethiopia. Agreements with Mexico, Mali and Ghana are being worked out.

6.11 We consider that cultural relations imply that the liberated African nations should be allowed their say, and we disapprove of the attitude adopted in plenary session at the close of the debate on the admission of the Congo (Capital: Leopoldville) when those who wanted to express their point of view on a problem of direct concern to them were gagged.

6.12 Czechoslovakia has also established excellent cultural relations with the Chinese People's Republic, and we derive the greatest possible intellectual benefit from them. You may well regret depriving yourselves of the experienced representatives of what the whole world recognizes to be among the foremost civilizations of the world, for the Chinese are a nation of sages. As has been said within this building, the Chinese invented printing, but they took good care not to invent newspapers; they invented gunpowder, but not the gun; they discovered the compass, but did not use it to discover America. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic welcomes systematic co-operation with all countries inspired by the same desire to develop friendship and mutual respect between the peoples of the world and to lay the foundations of peaceful coexistence. For Socialism has created not only the political but also the material conditions for the cultural advance of society, and the harmonious blossoming of man's talents and capabilities.

6.13 The Czechoslovak Government devotes considerable financial resources to the development of cultural exchanges. It is only with the material help of the State that it was possible to undertake the organization of exhibitions such as those held recently in Prague and the Soviet Union to mark the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, the exhibition of Czechoslovak glassware shown in Moscow, and later in Paris, the exhibition of ancient art from prehistorical times to the end of the 15th century - about which "Le Figaro" wrote: "It is the sort of exhibition which can only be seen in Paris once in a hundred years" - and lastly the exhibition "The Little World" by Jiri Trnka; although you may not have seen it yourselves, your children certainly will have.

6.14 Mention should also be made of the Czechoslovak Philharmonic Orchestra's tour of Australia, New Zealand, India, Japan and the Soviet Union, the visit of the orchestra without its conductor to several countries of Latin America, the Czechoslovak Circus tour to Japan, Burma and India, the exhibition of Czechoslovak glassware in India, etc.

6.15 With generous help from the State, it has been possible also to organize in Czechoslovakia large foreign exhibitions such as the exhibition of the great Brazilian painter Portinari and those of the Japanese artists who described the tragedy of Hiroshima.

6.16 Czechoslovakia gives much friendly assistance to the young States which have emerged or are emerging from their struggle for national independence against colonialism. It welcomes large numbers of foreign students, of whom there are about 2,500 from various countries now in Czechoslovakia. Nearly all of them hold Czechoslovak scholarships, most of which are granted to the nationals of Asian and African countries. Thirty scholarships are awarded each year through the United Nations to young people from non-autonomous territories. Several dozens of others are allotted to international organizations such as the International Union of Students, the International Federation of Democratic Youth, etc.

6.17 The Czechoslovak National Spartakiade is a great cultural and sporting event which has always aroused much interest abroad. The Strahov Stadium in Prague, where the 1960 Spartakiade was held, can hold 70,000 competitors, constituting a huge mass demonstration. Moreover, if we add the local Spartakiades to the regional ones, the number of men, women and children taking part comes to several millions. It is already possible to deliver mankind from the nightmare of another world war and to establish cultural relations between all countries on a basis of peaceful coexistence. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore strongly protests against the obstacles which certain countries put in the way of cultural relations.

6.18 In conclusion, I should like to express a wish on behalf of my delegation. We do not want so much to change methods and reorganize working programmes, but we should welcome a new atmosphere at Unesco, a spirit of friendship and brotherhood which alone can do away with the abuses of bureaucracy and the time wasting accumulation of paper work.

7.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I think that the spirit of solidarity which Mr. Hoffmeister would like to see reigning at Unesco is already being manifested at this present exchange of views.

7.2 I call upon Professor Mahadevan, delegate of India.

8.1 Mr. MAHADEVAN (India):

Mr. President, and honourable delegates, having been born at the very beginning of the century and having witnessed two periods of world war, I feel that we are today living in an age of miracles - a most momentous period in the history of mankind. It is not the discovery of the atom bomb or the hydrogen bomb, the sputnik or the guided missile that inspires me, I have no interest in them. From legend and epic, from ancient history, mediaeval history and modern history we know the end of all brute force. We have as a reminder the classical story of Kausica, an arrogant prince who wanted to subdue the sage Vasista, of great spiritual eminence. Kausica gathered all his brute force to vanquish the sage, but he could not. Ultimately, he came to the conclusion: "Dig balam kshtria balam - brahmathaejo balam balam" - "Brute force is absolutely useless before spiritual power." We have also witnessed often in our own lifetime the end of brute force. Therefore, I am very happy that in this age, under the inspiring guidance of the United Nations and of this Organization particularly, we are witnessing miracles.

8.2 A few years ago, as the President of the Rotary

Club of Vishakapatnam, I invited an African national who was a sponsored scholar at our university to take part in our United Nations day celebration at the university. That boy said, almost with tears in his eyes: "Please don't forget Africa, as long as Africa is in bondage there can be no true freedom in the world". I am proud today to feel that nations which were subject nations yesterday and the day before, are today sitting on terms of perfect equality, of fraternity, with their erstwhile masters, who are sympathetic and understanding and are trying to solve their national problems. This, to my mind, is a miracle, we are living in an age of miracles. The greatest achievement of this age is, as I have said, not the great destructive weapons that are being discovered and perfected but the idea of the United Nations and the ideology for which Unesco stands.

8.3 I am very happy that we in Unesco, and in the United Nations, practise international relations and exchange in education, science and culture, international, scientific and technical co-operation and exchange of cultural workers. This lays stress on exchange, not on aid - I hope you sense the difference between aid to underdeveloped nations and exchange. The materially well off nations today are in a position to give scientific help and material help to other nations which are not, some of them for historic reasons, so prosperous as they are. We are grateful for that help, at the same time I am happy to feel that Unesco has realized the importance of the interchange or the exchange of values. These nations, like my own for instance, have something to give to the nations which are giving us material help - our philosophy, our long history, our social achievements and our tranquility, our attitude towards life which teaches us and helps us to maintain balance of mind, detachment from material objectives. The great message of Gftah, that is a message which we have to give and one which I consider to be no less valuable to all the nations of the world than the material help that we are receiving today. Buddha in the past, Mahatma Gandhi, not so long ago, have taught the world the doctrine of love, toleration, the doctrine of Ahimsa, or non-violence, and they are living forces the world over. Buddhism has spread to practically half of humanity, Gandhian ideology is certainly an inspiration to most of the thinking minds of the world. Those are also our contributions and therefore the term "exchange" is eminently suitable. People in prosperity, for whose gifts to us we are grateful, may also, I hope, receive something of lasting value for their own happiness and for their peace of mind which they will cherish.

8.4 The United Nations and Unesco conferences have been a great source of inspiration to me. The various conferences and committees have taken measures long thought out, for helping all the countries. I have been associated with the Natural Sciences Commission on work in the arid regions, oceanographic research, etc., in which projects have been approved in the committees, and will have far-reaching importance for the happiness and material prosperity of the underdeveloped countries.

8.5 India has participated very actively in the exchange visitors programme. I do not propose to catalogue here the various things that we have done in our country in the fields of education, sociology, science and translation to further the objects of Unesco. Almost every university in India has a United Nations club and a Unesco club, and United Nations Day and the opening of the United Nations General Assembly are celebrated as great events in my own university, when students and teachers act as representatives of the various nations in discussing world problems.

8.6 Unesco's help is apparent to us in several fields: whenever we lack a small part of an instrument we write for help, not to the Government, but to the Unesco Office at Delhi, and we receive it promptly. Unesco is a living institution in India. During the years 1958-1960 about twenty Indian nationals in different fields were sponsored by Unesco for visits to various countries. We also received during these years 1958-1960 scholars in various fields and of different nationalities and gave them opportunities to visit institutions, study in universities or to travel and investigate for themselves the special fields in which they were interested - education, trade unionism, technological studies, culture, dancing, music, and so on.

8.7 We are also very grateful to Unesco for the help received in technical assistance and I would like to mention here, too, our participation in these programmes. I myself had the great good fortune, in 1955, as I was going to Brazil as an expert in geology to work with the FAO Commission, to be given by our President, H.E. Dr. Carneiro, introductions to the Director of the Bureau of Mines, and a number of other important persons. I believe that in my own humble way in the seven months field work I carried out in Brazil, I contributed my mite. I claim that I brought to light some very important alluvial tin deposits which ought to be worked in Amazonia, and I have submitted all my notes to the Department of National Production of Minerals in the hope that they will bear fruit at some time when it is possible to pursue investigations.

8.8 On the other hand, the cultural contacts we made - the understanding that we brought to the people with whom we came into contact and the friendships and observations that we were able to make were of colossal significance to me. Brazil, and I have been to most countries in the world, offers without doubt the most perfect example of racial integration, of absolute lack of any colour consciousness. The pretos, the blancos, the morenos, the blacks, the whites and the browns live in perfect harmony. I have seen this with my own eyes, as nowhere else. During the time I was there, a teacher who refused to admit a dark boy in his class was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. This is a country which I learned to respect and regard as a most perfect example of the integration of various colours and nationalities of the world. I still cherish the happiest memories of the hospitality, too, of the Brazilians in far-off places - in the Amazon and its tributaries when sometimes my family was with me on the expeditions. They would give us fruits and vegetables saying: "If you want to pay, pay us so much, otherwise you need not". Such hospitality and friendliness I have seen nowhere else. Apart from our technical work, I believe that we, in our

small way, brought our culture to those who came into contact with us. Columnists often used to come to us to discuss our social customs and system and write about them in their papers. They also wrote about our work and our stay there. Therefore, technical assistance is not only a question of technical help but it also broadens the cultural background. We try, as we work in a particular country, to understand the country and to transmit to them our own cultural heritage. I therefore feel this is one of the greatest things that Unesco has done.

8.9 I wish now merely to touch upon some aspects of the work that we have been doing in India in the translation of books of living languages. A catalogue of those which have been translated into Hindi is given in the report of the National Commission for India. In adapting education to the needs of international understanding, we are trying to rewrite history free of prejudice, of political tints and to bring out the salient features of the greatness of nations so as to foster human understanding. Our Government has appointed some outstanding historians, Professor Magumder and others, to do this most important work. You cannot pour poison in the form of distorted history into young minds and expect them to develop into the kind of world citizens which are needed today. Everywhere, in whatever country, we must foster in our young people respect for other nations, other cultures; we must not poison their minds or try to indoctrinate them We have found the need for books to foster international understanding and are taking active steps to produce them. INSDOC, which is sponsored by Unesco, is doing wonderful service to all research workers in assembling scientific documentation, and we are greatly interested in the programme of scientific documentation and its systematization in order that such documentation shall be available to all.

8.10 Almost every programme that has been detailed in the documents that have been given to us has been actively pursued in our universities and institutions. I wish merely to make a few suggestions. I take it that bilateral help is understood in two ways, bilateral help from government to government, bilateral help between one government and another, through Unesco. In our country we have both types of help. We receive direct help - under the Fulbright Act I myself was a recipient of a grant to visit the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1951 as a visiting professor for one term under the exchange visitors programme. I visited other universities and institutions as well, and I know what good it has done me. Out of 350 members in the faculty about 120 had carried out post-doctoral work in the United States and in other countries, under the Colombo Plan. Some of them are now in the USSR, indeed, one of my own colleagues is now studying in Moscow. Through bilateral arrangements a good deal of work is being done, but I often wonder whether all bilateral help should not be processed through Unesco. I know that help is given without strings, help is accepted without strings. But whatever the understanding that there are no strings, when help is received an obligation is felt by the receiving country toward the giver. Not that there should not be a feeling of obligation, but the donor country also feels it is giving. In this connexion, I might cite from one of the great Vedic texts, the Upanishads, some instructions given by the preceptor, the guru or the teacher, to his student at the time of his leaving or, as we might say, on his graduation. "Whatever you give, give with reverence. Do not give without reverence. Give out of your prosperity. Give with all your heart. Give with humility. Do not give with the feeling of patronage". I often have felt that, while we are very grateful for the help we are receiving through bilateral arrangements, it might be an excellent idea to process it through the United Nations organization such as Unesco. In my opinion it will be twice blessed if that is done. I know that we have our Institute of Technology at Bombay; the Russian help is processed through Unesco. In addition to the bilateral arrangements there are also direct arrangements through which some help is received directly. But if all countries would decide to give through Unesco whatever help they give, from whatever source, it would indeed be a very great day. We will not feel the less grateful - for those countries are known - the donors will be known, but those who receive will be, I feel, somewhat happier.

8.11 With the entry of many new African States into the United Nations and Unesco, we face the problem of trying to give them the necessary help. I do not wish to appear wise, when the Director-General and his associates have put their hearts into the work. I feel that field services are necessary and that we must support the Director-General in all the field services that are necessary to gauge requirements on the spot and to see what type of help is really required. Different countries are at different stages of development, even the so-called underdeveloped countries. I do not like that term. We may be underdeveloped in certain respects and overdeveloped in certain other respects, but I somehow resent the term "underdeveloped". Given time and opportunities every country will be as good as any other country. Let us remember this basic fact. At the same time Unesco will have to decide the relative priorities, in consultation with the governments, and convince them if necessary, and show what type of help is really required.

8.12 Whereas we are all keen to help the nations of Africa, other nations in Latin America, in South East Asia, which are receiving help, should not be ignored. We are progressing very rapidly, indeed I am amazed at the progress that my own country has been making within the last few years. We are trying to make most of our equipment ourselves. Most of what we thought we could not do we have found today that we can do, and we want to do more. But we will require the continued help of Unesco under the Technical Assistance programme and in almost every other branch. We hope that Unesco can continue to give us help and will not feel that resources are limited, that it cannot give anything to those countries which have already received some help. I believe also that Unesco should sponsor only technical assistance of a limited nature and at the end of which the country concerned will be able to stand on its own feet. This is very important. I have stressed it on other occasions because I am aware that some of the help that is being given by Unesco lasts only so long as the expert is there When he leaves there is nobody to continue the work. Unesco must organize its help in such a manner that in a limited period of two or three or four years, the nationals of the country will be able to continue the

work. It is absolutely essential that the expert should have an understudy; if not, it is better not to give help until such time as the country is able to produce one. The continuity of the work will depend on the availability of persons to take up the work. There is sometimes a tendency to feel that help from Unesco will continue for ever, without any efforts on the part of the recipient. I do not say that this is universal but I would suggest that experts must be given proper understudies, so that they can come away with the feeling "here I have done my job, the job is going to be done by the national as well as I have done." That, in my opinion, is most necessary.

8.13 I urge also that some amount of active, definite help be given by Unesco to universities and scientific institutions for the purchase of books and equipment. I know of the Unesco coupons, but those coupons are given to the governments, and the governments have their own priorities among technical institutions that they have set up. The universities can only receive a very small part of that help, and this is hardly enough. Our own exchange resources are very limited. We must see that first things come first, and therefore I urge that Unesco find the ways and means by which universities, technical institutions requiring help in the form of books or equipment for which they are prepared to pay, can receive some exchange facilities. Such help will go a long way to step up our standards of work; we are held up even in my own laboratory, in my own university, where I happen to be in charge of the Science Departments. We are very often held up by lack of exchange facilities and, if Unesco can come to our aid, it will be of the greatest assistance.

8.14 I wish also to stress the point that, in our cultural exchanges and cultural missions, we ought to ensure that the best of a nation's culture is represented elsewhere. In all countries there are different types of culture, and we must see to it that the best of these cultures - what is representative of their highest traditions - is shown and encouraged, so that people will gain a true, healthy and appreciative perspective.

8.15 With regard to mass communications I have a further suggestion to make. In our programmes we refer to books and periodicals; but the people behind the periodicals are the journalists - they can work havoc and they can also do a great deal of good. Editors and journalists are the people who make the newspapers and I would say, therefore, that special attention should be paid to encouraging journalists and editors, under the exchange programme, to visit other countries, to see for themselves and go back with ideas which will be helpful for mass communication, for the exchange of ideas and for cultural appreciation. My friend, Mr. Rao, who is the editor of one of our most influential and respected papers, has just suggested to me that if such a proposal were taken up more actively, it would do much to improve international understanding.

8.16 Gentlemen, I shall close my talk with a Vedic incantation which to me symbolizes the spirit of Unesco. Sahana Vavatu - "Let there be toleration". Sahanau bhunaktu - "Let all of us seek nourishment - both spiritual and material knowledge". Sana Viryam Karavavahai - "Let us act and do great deeds together, in a common spirit of understanding". Thejaswina Wadhitamastu - "Let there be spiritual enlightenment to all of us". Om Shanti Shanti Shantihi - "Let there be eternal peace for all of us".

9.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I would like to thank Professor Mahadevan for having so strongly emphasized that assistance is only truly efficacious when it is a two-way service and that this is the spirit in which Unesco should do its work of international assistance. You will excuse me if I add a word of thanks for his reference to the welcome he received in those remote districts of the Amazon which are spiritually so akin to the ancient districts of the Ganges.

9.2 I call upon Mr. Bernard Ducret, the representative of the international non-governmental organizations.

10.1 Mr. DUCRET (International non-governmental organizations) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, may I first of all on behalf of the non-governmental international organizations as a whole, express our profound gratitude for the honour you have done us in allowing us to take up a few minutes of your precious time. We hope that the precedent thus created, which we appreciate, will not be forgotten in the future. We know in any case that to a very large extent it is owing to the quality of the work of the non-governmental organizations and the care they devote to collaborating in Unesco's work, that they can justify being allowed to speak in such an assembly. Mr. President, I would also like to excuse myself if the few remarks I shall make differ somewhat from the speeches delivered this morning. My words of course are influenced by my situation as President of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations and not by that of mouthpiece of those organizations. At least, I shall be much briefer than the distinguished speakers who have preceded me. I thus hope to gain your indulgence.

10.2 Document UNESCO/CAX/RP.1 shows that there are already more than one thousand non-governmental organizations. It would therefore be both foolish and presumptuous for me to attempt in these few minutes to give you an account of their work or to draw attention to the features of their co-operation with intergovernmental organizations, more particularly with Unesco. I shall confine myself to a few points which my experience and relatively close association with various aspects of Unesco's activities have shown me to be particularly important.

10.3 Anyone studying this problem may well feel somewhat perplexed by the large number of non-governmental organizations - a feeling which may be further increased on hearing that efforts are to be made to promote the creation of yet more non-governmental organizations. Although this form of over-population inevitably creates problems and is liable to add to the number of strictly administrative services and activities with which we are all burdened, it must not be forgotten that, today in particular, everything designed to unite men, to break down the barriers by which they are so often divided, and to promote understanding among them, should be encouraged. I am therefore inclined to welcome this tendency towards a degree of proliferation as evidence of a deep desire among men to know each other better, and to esteem

one another more, both knowledge and esteem being essential to peace.

10.4 I am well aware that this increase in the number of non-governmental organizations, and the diversity of their aims, create problems. What can be done to arrange for co-operation among them and to facilitate their collaboration with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies? It is not possible to answer these questions here, but I should like to emphasize that, while, in some cases, re-groupings are possible and desirable, in others they would be inopportune and run counter to the objects sought. Many organizations, because of their origins, aims and membership, have a unique and irreplaceable contribution to make; any attempt at overall federation might deprive us of what is the distinctive value of their contribution.

10.5 My second point concerns the geographical coverage of non-governmental organizations. The report I mentioned a moment ago and the working papers prepared for the General Conference are extremely encouraging with respect to the results achieved by non-governmental organizations in their efforts to extend their geographical coverage. I will spare you figures with which you are already familiar.

10.6 It is true that the overwhelming majority of these non-governmental organizations were founded in Europe and in North America, where they still have their headquarters; that is an historical fact, and we must not allow it to give us a complex. Great efforts have already been made - and still more will be done in the future - to enable all the peoples of the world to play their full part in the common task. In this matter, the non-governmental organizations rely enormously on the understanding, sympathy and support of all Unesco's Member States. In many cases, these States can do much to help in the establishment of new local and national branches of non-governmental organizations, as well as in the implementation of certain practical projects that non-governmental organizations would like to undertake. By granting material facilities, they can also promote the organization of international meetings on their territory. In this context, however, I should like to point out, in passing that not all meetings are suitable. The organization of a more or less purely administrative international meeting in a country in process of development may occasion more disappointment than enthusiasm on the score of the need for the work of non-governmental organizations.

10.7 But it seems to me that to take geographical coverage as the sole criterion is liable to present the problem in a rather false light. The establishment of new national branches, participation by all the peoples of the world in meetings and in various other activities, the presence of non-Europeans in the different governing bodies, are all highly desirable and, in these respects, our non-governmental organizations are becoming more and more international; but, in my view, what is essential is that everyone should become fully alive to the universal implications of all that now exists. From this point of view, geographical coverage means also more open-mindedness, more open-heartedness, a genuine solicitude for all our brothers and their problems, a common aspiration after a more human and more charitable world. As for Unesco, so for the non-governmental organizations, it is useless to go on increasing the number of bodies and activities unless at the same time, at least as great an effort is made to give this expanding world that "accession of soul" - to use Bergson's term - which it needs.

10.8 Thidly, there is the rôle of non-governmental organizations in the implementation of Unesco's programme. The necessary distinction which has had to be made between the intergovernmental and the non-governmental sector may sometimes give the impression that the two entities are completely distinct and could do without one another. That is not my view. If Unesco were to be suddenly deprived of the co-operation of non-governmental organizations, the efficacy of its action might be seriously reduced. Likewise, a large number of our non-governmental organizations would encounter serious difficulties if the support of governments and intergovernmental organizations were withdrawn from them.

10.9 I should like to say again how much we appreciate the advice and suggestions, and often the financial help we receive from governmental and intergovernmental organizations; but this will never induce us to sacrifice our independence and autonomy in the slightest degree. If non-governmental organizations ever become semi-governmental or semi-intergovernmental, their specific rôle and the real value of their contribution might be seriously jeopardized.

10.10 When we consider the results secured by Unesco during these early but fruitful years of its life, it is clear, I think, that very few of its aims could have been achieved without the understanding, sympathy and support of the peoples constituting the United Nations. I know, moreover, that one of the fundamental concerns of those in charge of Unesco is precisely to give the Organization's manifold undertakings ever deeper roots among the masses whom they are intended to benefit and to bring home to the man in the street that international action is not a luxury or some unnecessary amenity of modern life like the cinema and the television, but an urgent need imposed by history itself.

10.11 Far be it from me to say that the non-governmental organizations alone represent the whole of the private sector - a term which I prefer to non-governmental sector. However many non-governmental organizations there be, and whatever the theoretical or actual number of their members, we must recognize that our own sphere of influence is still restricted to a relatively small number of people.

10.12 Several of our national branches, facing many, far-reaching problems, find it difficult to undertake what they regard as supplementary activities. We shall encounter this difficulty as long as we are unable to solve the problem to which I have just referred, as long as we have not succeeded in making people understand that they cannot hold aloof from Unesco's projects and activities.

10.13 It is none the less true that, by their enthusiasm and reliability, their experience and their means of influencing the public, the non-governmental organizations play an important part. I would mention in passing that non-governmental organizations have often taken the initiative before Unesco in the field with which the present discussion is concerned. Although, during the last few years, the problem of the participation of non-governmental organizations

(it would perhaps be more accurate to say the participation of the international secretariats of non-governmental organizations) in the preparation of Unesco's programme has to a large extent been solved, that of the necessary collaboration at the local and national levels, with respect to both the preparation and the implementation of the programme, still awaits solution.

10.14 I therefore venture to appeal again to all the Unesco National Commissions to avail themselves, on every possible occasion of the co-operation offered to them by the non-governmental organizations...

10.15 Allow me to make one last remark: it would be wrong of me to conceal the dismay felt by the non-governmental organizations at the increasing intrusion of politics into Unesco debates, just at the time when the world is calling out for a supra-national order to secure the transfer of wealth of every kind to mankind above and across frontiers. The increased speed at which the human race is growing makes it necessary to use, for the benefit of all men, the still unexploited material wealth of the world. The fight against starvation, poverty and ignorance must be conducted jointly, so that the peoples may be rescued from distress without falling at the same time beneath the domination of private interests. The full development of cultures and languages within the context of a common civilization, and freedom of work and movement for all men, are typical of the aims which must be pursued in the world today.

10.16 International work therefore has nothing speculative or purely ideal about it; it is not a matter which can be settled simply by invoking theoretical principles, such as the unity of human kind, or fine ideas and high-sounding words; it is, first and foremost a practical and moral undertaking.

10.17 The practical aim of this action is the welfare of the world, i.e. the welfare of the human community as a whole, the temporal well-being of mankind. It is thus the greatest moral task conceivable at the human level, calling for the greatest detachment and readiness to sacrifice private interests; it is none the less a human task, a task within man's scope.

10.18 So long as Unesco remains faithful to this ideal and remains open to all international non-governmental organizations wishing to share in carrying out this joint task, it can count on our full co-operation.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Giuseppe Vedovato, delegate of Italy and Vice-President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Italian Parliament.

12.1 Mr. VEDOVATO (Italy) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in 1949 I had the privilege of taking part in a similar debate which dealt with a very general subject closely bound up with the present one in several respects. When I look back and refer, in the proceedings of the fourth session of the General Conference, to what was said eleven years ago by various speakers and by myself, I am obliged to admit that a very large number, if not all, of the problems then raised, today constitute a firmly established part of Unesco's programme. This only goes to show how certain debates can prove to have concrete results, providing they are kept upon a high spiritual level, even though this may make them look unduly abstract.

12.2 That is why I must congratulate the Director-General and the Executive Board on having once again given us the opportunity for a free exchange of views - free in so much as it is inspired by the liberty which is part and parcel of any spiritual act, and free because relieved of budgetary and administrative restraints.

12.3 I propose first of all to examine the real reasons which lead representatives of culture to engage in conversations among themselves and cause States to take an increasing interest in them. We shall see how far this is justified and how in turn it justifies our hopes and in what direction we should turn our efforts. We may be able to draw a few practical conclusions of use to Unesco and to Member States.

12.4 We certainly live at a time when international relations - and particularly cultural relations - are still in an experimental stage. If this is true, as I believe it is, we must continue to devote ourselves to the study of phenomena; our action will still be dominated for a time by empiricism, and we should be extremely cautious in the use of reason in our natural search for a theory.

12.5 First of all we have to admit that exchanges between men of culture are as old as culture itself; Mr. Reinink, in a speech as remarkable for its doctrine as for its common sense, brought out this fact. Cultural exchanges go back to a period when the means of communication were practically non-existent compared with those of today and could not therefore be held responsible for the phenomenon. I shall not weary you with examples, for anyone can choose them at his fancy; one only has to think of the large-scale artistic and literary influences which have been felt between continents throughout history. The historic and social fact preceded the search for its justification by a long time - in somewhat the same way as the penal code was formed and put into force well before any thought was given to justification of the right to punish.

12.6 The fact then is primary, and the reason for this resides in the very nature of the creative mind, which is free and can only be free; ideas gain strength, perfect themselves and live or die by mutual contacts, by confrontation and perpetual exchange. Cultural exchanges are vital to ideas; here then is a first justification - and how powerful in its primacy - of a phenomenon which by its antiquity is an imperative of intellectual life.

12.7 But here too, and above all, is an indication of two factors which I will only emphasize at this stage, though I shall return to them later: freedom which must guarantee that ideas meet one another, and reciprocity which is implicit in such meeting and justifies the very term exchange.

12.8 Although cultural relations in ancient times attained an astonishing range of distance, they often retained a personal character and, since frontiers were less rigid than they are today, they could not be described as international in the modern sense of the word. On the other hand, those who took part in such exchanges succeeded in forming among themselves a sort of "community of scholars" which transcended national values.

12.9 It was the creation of modern States on a national basis and the intensification of nationalism which erected barriers in the cultural world. It was at the same period that cultural relations began to assume their present form and that States began to take an interest in them and make them either a subject for concern or an instrument of policy. This attitude appears to be fully justified in the light of what I have just said, providing it fosters culture by reacting against nationalist isolationism; but it also arouses increasing and no less justified distrust, if it has the propagandist aim of spreading a rigid doctrine divorced from liberty and reciprocity, as H.E. Mr. Raadi rightly pointed out in his very fine speech.

12.10 Cultural relations, then, in their modern form are at an even earlier stage than international relations in general, but although this prevents us from theorizing about them one must at least admit as a working hypothesis that they are aimed at improving mutual knowledge which should lead to mutual understanding. This assumption appears to me to answer the misgivings expressed by Mr. Malalasekera, Head of the Ceylon delegation.

12.11 From this we may conclude that the considerable efforts made throughout the world on behalf of cultural exchanges, and the material resources used for the purpose are indeed devoted to a work of peace, in the sense of the declared aims of Unesco.

12.12 We are certainly interested in everything which can foster science and culture as such, but how great is the political value, in the highest sense, attaching to the certainty of contributing to the brotherhood of peoples, each respecting the spiritual values of the other. That more than anything else justifies and demands the intervention of the State and interests us as politicians.

12.13 I also see a third justification, no less rich in consequences, for cultural exchanges as a means of preventing war. It has been said that the first world war demonstrated the indivisibility of peace and of world security: no State could feel safe if there was a war anywhere in the world. The Second World War was fought with a belief in the indivisibility of freedom; we have no right to feel truly free in a world where slavery of an ancient or modern kind still exists. I shall not devote time to bewailing the fact that we are still a long way from these objectives which, it is probable, no war will be able to achieve. I will only say that there is now a growing conviction that progress is indivisible and that it rests with us to see that this belief does not lead to a war unparalleled in its destructiveness and futility. When we think of the indivisibility of progress, we think first of economic and social progress, for these are its more striking aspects. But economic and social progress could not exist without the educational and cultural progress which alone can ensure for it the necessary success and stability.

12.14 In my opinion, these few observations, which may well appear too general or abstract, have certain very definite and positive consequences.

12.15 First of all, we can state as a principle that international exchanges, to be valid, must be carried out in the name of liberty and reciprocity. If these two qualities are missing, the result will be propaganda, which seeks to impose from without an indisputable and irrevocable doctrine. That is a sterile attitude: cultural exchanges are only a means to cultural understanding. And if there is no reciprocity of interest, there is no cultural understanding; all that remains are foolish manifestations of national exhibitionism and cultural arrogance.

12.16 We cannot draw up hard-and-fast arithmetical balance sheets of cultural exchanges, as we can with economic exchanges, as was well pointed out by Mr. Hampate Ba, delegate of Mali. Reciprocity is an attitude of mind which, even when it gives something away, is always prepared to revise its opinions, enrich them by new experience and communicate in the very act of giving.

12.17 The present session of the General Conference is marked by the presence of States which have only recently been constituted. I have myself had experience and personal knowledge of these States. I know how much they distrust certain forms of cultural relations in which they see the manifestations of a new imperialism. What I have just said should interest them directly, for it proves how right they are to be on their guard and yet how wrong they may be if they refuse all exchanges. The criteria of freedom and reciprocity should enable truth to be distinguished from falsehood in cultural relations.

12.18 While avoiding the new imperialism, the young States ought also carefully to avoid yielding to an exaggerated nationalism by systematically and a priori repudiating the recent past and fresh cultural exchanges. I know how difficult that is (my own country has behind it only 100 years of political independence), but we should call here upon reason rather than emotion. As far back as 1825 one of my compatriots, Alessandro Poerio, as he was about to embark upon a cultural voyage, said that "while my head is cosmopolitan, my heart remains national".

12.19 If all cultural exchanges enrich, to reject them out of hand is to impoverish oneself; it is not only bad business, but a wrongful act. In the same way, in combating racialism, we should not fall into the abominable excesses of racialism, and in order to avoid imperialism, it would be unreasonable to adopt an equally mistaken attitude by withdrawing into proud isolation.

12.20 There has recently been an unexpected development of cultural exchanges between States in Western Europe at a time when any suspicion of aggressive design would be manifestly absurd; we, for our part, hope that these exchanges may, if possible, be further intensified. We see in them the clearest proof of the results that may ensue from mutual knowledge, and of the existence and happy outcome of disinterested action undertaken for the sole purpose of mutual understanding.

12.21 A well-founded distrust of totalitarian doctrines and one-way cultural relations brings us to consider Unesco's rôle in the establishment of multilateral relations. Bilateral relations, it is true, will be irreplaceable, at least for a long time, and will continue to offer the best, the cheapest and most sensible solution wherever cultural affinities and long established relations have set up a strong current of exchange. Our African brothers already perceive - and will perhaps see better in the future - the advantages of not rejecting the recent past en bloc, but of using the linguistic and cultural machinery bequeathed to them by old European civilizations,

whose particular genius will certainly be of use to them.
12.22 It is possible, however, to foresee that Unesco will have an increasing part to play not so much in attempting to achieve a co-ordination which will be difficult, costly and probably not so necessary as is thought, between bilateral and multilateral exchanges, but rather in promoting regional activities, and, even more, in acting as a clearing house and furnishing the necessary political guarantees in order to overcome unjustified mistrust. Many States will have to recognize in future the importance of proferring in the form of multilateral co-operation, services and resources which are at present allocated to bilateral assistance.
12.23 Liberty is the best soil for fertile ideas, the one in which they can live and grow. If that is true, as I fully believe and as is proved by this brief summary of cultural exchanges, both Member States and Unesco are assigned a first-priority task - that of removing all obstacles to the free flow of information and ideas. I am delighted that Professor Eek, of the Swedish delegation, has given his authority to an essential contribution in this field.
12.24 If we have faith in our ideas, we must not fear to submit them to the freest and closest comparison with those of others - indeed we should welcome such comparison in the hope of seeing them confirmed and improved. When ideas are perpetually in competition, the only ones to suffer final defeat are those which are afraid to enter the lists. Even if artificial barriers may allow wrong ideas to survive for a while, enforced isolation condemns any idea to decay and ultimately to perish from atrophy. That is the just punishment - slow, perhaps, but sure and almost automatic - for committing the sin against the spirit which consists in arrogant adherence to an intangible doctrine which usually stigmatizes the one-way action of fanatical propaganda.
12.25 It is our duty to employ all our moral resources to reduce as far as possible, even to the point of total elimination, those areas in which such denial of freedom persists. Only thus can we be sure of always and everywhere addressing ourselves to those who are able to communicate with us in freedom and reciprocity, the only condition, as we have seen, under which true cultural exchanges can take place.
12.26 I said just now that the consciousness of the indivisibility of progress is continually increasing; this implies the need for powerful and co-ordinated effort at international level to ensure that peoples who, for historical and geographical reasons, have only recently had access to technology, shall participate in that progress. This raises the difficult problem of technical assistance, in its widest sense, and of its limitations and methods. I shall not discuss these problems, for which an entire debate such as this one would not be long enough.
12.27 I will only point out that the use of methods which have now become traditional, such as fellowships and expert missions soon comes up against serious difficulties. Technical assistance is limited by the human factor; attempts must be made to extend it in another direction, by making the activities of the available experts more effective. I think that Unesco, by its nature, has a definite job to do in this field, not only for itself but also for the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies as a whole, connected with the analysis of problems confronting all experts in their relations with the authorities and for the training of local experts in the use of new and more effective methods of teaching, such as audio-visual aids, and finally as regards training for specific tasks of assistance.'
12.28 Fellowships in any case, have disadvantages that are difficult to avoid if, instead of being used for after-training, they have to be used for full-course university courses. I have seen examples of these disadvantages, especially in Africa. The uprooting which occurs can produce results favourable neither to the country which sends, nor to the country which receives the student. The presence of university students in their own country, is moreover a normalizing factor which can raise the cultural level of recently formed States.
12.29 Although such difficulties should not be exaggerated, they must be taken into account in order to avoid disappointments, setbacks and wasted effort. They prove in fact that, in this field, the real aim can only be the setting up of a complete system of education on the spot, not one imposed from without but one adapted to the requirements and characteristics of the country concerned. The widely varying experience acquired, especially in Europe, can provide useful suggestions. But it would be dangerous and wrong to create illusions about the time needed for such an undertaking and to imagine that it is possible to take short cuts.
12.30 Only a moral and spiritual view of life, of relations between States, communities and individuals, and an understanding which rises above material interests, will enable this long-term joint task to be put in hand with joy and confidence. Only thus, by arousing the conscience of both parties, givers or receivers, will it be possible to disregard the sorry balance of advantages conferred or received. Only thus will it be possible to understand that the human contact established is a source of mutual enrichment where reciprocity is automatic and complete.
12.31 This must be brought about. History is made, not so much by spectacular undertakings as by simple everyday acts of faith, goodwill and perseverance. I shall therefore conclude by saying that this is possible, especially as culture appears more and more to work, in international relations, the miracles which charity most certainly achieves in individual relations.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Okamoto, delegate of Japan.

14.1 Mr. OKAMOTO (Japan):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Japanese delegation I should like to say how happy we are to have been among those who welcomed as fellow Members the very many States which have recently achieved independence. These new adhesions demonstrate the universal recognition now being given to the importance of the work undertaken by Unesco and the growth of its prestige with each succeeding year.
14.2 We are sure you will want to rejoice with us at these gratifying and encouraging developments. However, we believe it is also high time that we

should give serious thought to the following question: "How best can all the Member States make useful contributions to the heritage of mankind, on the basis of the social and cultural heritage of their respective States?"

14.3 The independence of a nation is not only a cause for rejoicing by the people concerned, it also calls for congratulations from other nations, for national independence provides the genuine basis for international co-operation in promoting human welfare and world harmony.

14.4 We believe, however, that the independence of a State is not a goal in itself, but rather the starting point in the making of a nation. Upon achievement of independence, new policies suited to the character of the State must be worked out through its own efforts. One of the essential policies will be that dealing with education: it will become a matter of urgency to develop school education; to promote social education and to encourage the rise of national leaders. It is for this reason that we believe special attention should be paid to the question of language.

14.5 In our opinion, there are two points to be considered with regard to language which may have an important bearing on the progress of developing nations in general. One is the use of languages of wide communication and the other is the preservation and improvement of national or vernacular languages. If the intellectual level of a nation in education, science, culture, administration and economy is to be raised to the world level, it is indispensable for the people of that nation to learn and to use languages of wide communication.

14.6 We do not believe that the use of such languages can be branded as a form of cultural colonialism. On the other hand, the national or vernacular language is a cultural and social heritage of the people who use it, and it is thus best suited for the promotion of popular education. The necessity will naturally arise for improving the language so that it may digest the science and culture of other countries. In this particular respect, Japan has had a fruitful experience which may be of interest and can perhaps serve as an example to developing nations. It is within the span of the last hundred years that Japan has emerged from the status of an isolated and unindustrialized nation. While preserving and developing her own culture and moral traditions, she has succeeded in forging her way to her present position among the modern States of the world. This has called, we assure you, for a long struggle and great efforts, for it meant absorbing through foreign languages certain aspects of the advanced cultures of the West needed by Japan, while not neglecting simultaneous efforts for the constant development of every branch of education through the use of the Japanese language.

14.7 We also wish to raise on this occasion the important question of the international exchange of persons. Developing countries are usually faced with the urgent necessity of training and developing able leaders in as large numbers as possible in order to promote social and economic development. This requires sending as many promising young men as possible to advanced countries for the study of science, culture and other aspects of modern civilization. At the same time, advanced States can extend a helping hand to those young nations in need of technical assistance by sending experts in various fields to teach modern methods, as desired by those on the spot.

14.8 We believe that Unesco can play a significant rôle in facilitating this exchange of persons, at an international level, so as to meet the needs of the developing countries and at the same time draw on the rich human resources available among the advanced nations.

14.9 We have submitted these observations in the light of the experience of our own country, which, as I have said before, we believe could serve as an interesting example, particularly in the building up of an industrial nation.

14.10 This session of the General Conference has aptly been called "an African Conference". Nevertheless, the strong emphasis we are giving to Unesco's African programmes should not prejudice the realization of the successful programmes in other parts of the world. As an Asian delegation, we believe that we are justified in reminding all of you that within the whole context of Unesco's programmes Asian programmes should receive due attention.

14.11 I should like to conclude by voicing our whole-hearted appreciation of the excellent work done by Unesco in various fields and our full confidence in its future development. We can assure you that the people of our country consider Unesco today as one of the essential instruments for the building of a firm basis for the peace of the world. They are convinced that its work must be pursued in the spirit of the Constitution, so that Unesco may serve as a lighthouse to humanity in its quest for lasting peace and progress.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Litvin, delegate of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

16.1 Mr. LITVIN (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Ukrainian delegation attaches great importance to the development of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture. The discussion on this question at the Conference confirms the immediacy of the problem of developing international cultural relations, and any denial or artificial restriction of this development would be evidence, indeed, of gross unawareness of current events.

16.2 The range of international cultural ties has steadily widened during recent years. They are developing along many different lines, multilateral and bilateral alike. Cultural relations between nations take various forms - exchanges of dramatic and musical companies, all-round co-operation between scientists in different countries, organization of film festivals, creative meetings between writers, sports contests, the exchange of students and visits of hundreds of thousands of tourists to foreign lands, and these and many other forms of international cultural contacts are becoming a regular feature of international life.

16.3 Unesco, it should be said, has latterly taken what may be described as the first steps in organizing

the work of its various departments for the extension of cultural exchanges. In 1958, for example, the National Commission of the Ukrainian Republic, with the co-operation of Unesco, organized an international work camp near Kharkov in which young people from a number of Unesco's Member States - France, Belgium, India and others - took part. Similar youth camps were organized this summer in the Crimea and at Vinnitsa.

16.4 In 1960, representatives of the Ukrainian SSR took part in a number of international and regional conferences, meetings and seminars under Unesco's auspices, including the Paris meeting of governmental experts to discuss the preparation of a recommendation and convention on discrimination in education, the international conference on the use of radio-isotopes in the physical sciences and industry, the World Conference on Adult Education held in Montreal, seminars on "The rôle of club-type institutions in adult education" (Czechoslovakia) and "The access of workers to education and culture" (Rumania), the Conference on the international exchange of publications in Europe (Hungary), and others.

16.5 In 1959-1960, under Unesco's Participation programme, three study grants of from three to six months' duration were allocated to the Ukrainian National Commission (for work on the teaching and dissemination of science, the rôle of television in education, and advanced training for journalism).

16.6 During the same period, four delegations representing Ukrainian trade unions went on interesting study tours in France, the Netherlands, Belgium and the Federal Republic of Germany under the workers' study tour programme. These gave our workers the opportunity of meeting workers in those four Western European countries, getting to know the living and working conditions there, and establishing useful direct contacts with their trade unionists.

16.7 And there are other useful projects carried out by the Ukrainian National Commission with Unesco's co-operation which could be mentioned. However, the extensive and wide-ranging contacts which are being developed with a whole host of countries by the National Commission and other governmental and public organizations of the Ukrainian SSR are in many cases established quite apart from Unesco.

16.8 In recent years, cultural relations between the Ukrainian SSR and other States, and between Ukrainian and other scientific, literary, educational, cultural and similar public organizations, have steadily increased in scope. They are being developed through many different channels and assume the most varied forms. Our Government makes a great point of strengthening and developing cultural relations with all other countries in every possible way, on a basis of equal rights and mutual advantage. One evidence of this is the number of visiting foreign delegations, which increases year by year. In 1959, the number of delegations, groups of specialists and companies of artists visiting the Ukraine totalled one thousand, and they came from 68 different countries.

16.9 Particularly interesting and useful are the contacts maintained by Ukrainian scientists with their foreign colleagues. In 1959 alone, for example, 600 scientists from other countries visited our Republic at the invitation of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, while numbers of Ukrainian scientists went abroad on scientific missions. Meanwhile, the Academy, with the collaboration of the National Commission, organized such important measures for the promotion of international relations in the field of science as the XIVth All-Union Astronomical Conference and the IVth Congress of the Carpathian and Balkan Geological Association, both of which were held in the Ukraine and were attended by large numbers of scientists from other countries.

16.10 The Academy of Agriculture and the Academy of Building Construction and Architecture of the Ukrainian SSR also have wide scientific contacts. And not only our academies but also our universities, institutes and other educational establishments give active support to international relations. The numerous visits made by Ukrainian and foreign scientists to each other's countries have contributed towards the establishment of regular working contacts in many fields of scientific research. Individual scientific concepts and ideas have in many cases been the subject of joint study, and this has been of considerable assistance in the development of certain branches of knowledge.

16.11 An important part in strengthening the ties of friendship between the Ukraine and other countries is played by exchanges of artists, arranged with the National Commission's co-operation. More than 20 large groups of foreign artists and musicians and about 1,500 persons active in the fields of culture and art in other countries visited the Ukraine in 1958-1959 alone.

16.12 The Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Albanian Culture Days celebrated in the Ukraine in recent years are a significant contribution towards the further development of international cultural co-operation. In the same way, Ukrainian Culture Days have been organized in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Mongolia and Czechoslovakia. To mark these Days of culture of these countries joined in friendship, exhibitions of various kinds are presented, films festivals organized, performances given by groups of artists, and delegations of scientific and cultural workers exchanged.

16.13 Very successful have been the performances by individual Ukrainian artists and groups of artists who have visited other countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Belgium, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, Poland, and Bulgaria. About one thousand representatives of Ukrainian cultural and artistic life have visited other countries during the past two years.

16.14 Festivals of foreign films are a frequent occurrence in our country - more than 30 of them including festivals of Chinese, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian, Italian, English, French, Indian, Egyptian, Finnish, Belgian, Austrian, Yugoslav and Mexican films, have been held during the past few years alone.

16.15 One interesting form of international exchange is the systematic organization of exhibitions of graphic and applied arts. With the assistance of the National Commission, regular contact has been established, for example, between the Kiev Historical Museum and the Nanking Museum, and between archaeological museums at Kherson and Plovdiv.

The Kiev Museum of Western and Eastern Art co-operates actively with the Venetian Institute of Art History and the National Gallery in London. Other major forms of international contact, such as literary exchanges and the pairing of towns, are also widely practised.

16.18 But whatever form these contacts may take, the most important point is to inform them with a spirit of practical co-operation and friendly assistance on the basis of peaceful coexistence, leading to a common urge for peace, friendship and prosperity.

16.17 It is important that the Unesco Secretariat should study the forms and content of international relations and exchanges in science, culture and education, and that the focus of attention in such exchanges should be the basic problems which concern all countries and all peoples. Yet time and money are often spent, on costly studies of some such problem as "The threatening extinction of bird life", and the like. It is hard on the birds, of course, but in many capitalist countries people are dying of hunger, cold and disease, or are living in primitive conditions. Let us tackle these problems first, and through our own work help to translate Unesco's principles into practice and give body to the glorious idea of peaceful coexistence.

16.18 With the break-up of the colonial system and the rise of the new independent States of Asia and Africa, we are passing, Mr. President, through a new stage in the history of world civilization and the development of cultural contacts between peoples.

16.19 The General Conference of Unesco has been working for almost a month and it is already possible to make certain preliminary deductions about the attitudes of delegations towards many problems, including those of cultural contacts, colonialism and so on. What deductions can we make from the speeches of the delegates of the colonialist countries? If we brush aside the smoke-screen of words, we can clearly descry the desire of the representatives of these countries to distort the concept of colonialism and divest the term of its social and economic essence.

16.20 The ingenuous approach is often adopted to that end; and the concept of colonialism interpreted as an "interaction of cultures", I recall, for instance, the assertion by the American sociologist Thomas Adam, in his work "Modern Colonialism", that colonialism is simply the "historical extension of Western culture into less highly developed territories"; and he goes on to say that "colonialism is contact between cultures... an experiment in intercultural relations", and so on. A similar interpretation of colonialism is to be found in the three-volume "Sociologie coloniale" by a French professor at the "Ecole Coloniale", R. Maunier, in which colonization is defined as "a means of communication between two social entities, bringing about contact between two civilizations".

16.21 This sort of effort to embellish colonialism stems from the basic theses of bourgeois sociology, which in general strips social phenomena of their qualitative nature and defines them without reference to their connexion with actual social and economic conditions. The elucidation of the problems of colonialism from the standpoint of the "interaction of cultures" is a direct consequence of the theory of what is called "cultural adaptation" or acculturation.

16.22 An English sociologist who supports this theory, Professor Little of Edinburgh University, claims that the basic problem of Africa today is to adapt Africans to "Western ideas and methods". He considers that, in the main, the important aspect of relations between Africans and Europeans is the cultural aspect.

16.23 Accordingly, this professor, whose views are shared by other writers in various Unesco publications and many of the delegates from the Western countries who have spoken at the plenary meetings and the meetings of the Programme Commission, completely ignore such forms of "contact" between Western Europe and Africa, and between the United States of America and Africa, as we are now witnessing, for example, in the Congo, Kenya and other parts of the African continent.

16.24 The representatives of a number of Western countries not only substitute the concept of the "interaction of cultures" for that of colonialism but present this interaction in a light favourable to the colonialists, in the light of young countries' "need" for guidance from the West, or, to speak more accurately, of their "need" to be kept in political, economic and ideological subjection to the imperialist powers, headed by the United States of America.

16.25 There are other ways in which the concept of colonialism may be distorted, apart from representing it as the "interaction of cultures and civilizations". At the Conference held at Taormina in the spring of this year, it was interesting to hear the comments made by the National Commission of France on the programme of technical co-operation. Along with some valuable comments, which are no less useful today, the French National Commission's "Observations" contain certain debatable propositions that our delegation disagreed with then and disagrees with now - for some of these same propositions have again made their appearance - admittedly in veiled form - in the speeches of a number of the delegates of the Western countries in the present discussion. In particular, while duly recognizing Europe's rôle and significance, and its place in world society, we cannot agree with the "Eurocentric" conception which permeates some of the ideas expressed in the "Observations".

16.26 Our basic attitude on this question is that there are no great and small cultures, but that the national cultures of all the peoples of the world together constitute the culture of all mankind. To our great regret, however, this principle, which is fundamental to our Organization's activities, is being violated. How can we talk about mutual exchange between the cultures of different peoples when Unesco excludes the culture of the great Chinese people and that of a considerable section of the German people included in the German Democratic Republic, and of other peoples? The absence of these and other peoples from our Organization seriously hampers the process of neutral cultural enrichment. We feel, and we are profoundly confident, that the time will come when this serious defect will be removed and Unesco will transform itself into a truly universal international organization.

16.27 If Unesco's machinery were concentrated on

the objective implementation of the Organization's basic principles and aims, many problems could be solved on a larger scale, with better contacts and a keen sense of purposefulness, and the wealth of experience possessed by many countries could be widely and generally popularized and extensively used in the practical activities undertaken both by Unesco and by the National Commissions.

16.28 The Ukrainian delegation accordingly considers that the Unesco administration should reorganize its style of work, taking as the basis of its activities the main principles set forth in the Unesco Constitution and the decisions taken by the General Conference for the development of co-operation, mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and economic systems. Only if this be done can Unesco fully carry out the tasks entrusted to it by the world community.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): We have tried to keep this debate as free as possible from the restrictions imposed by the Rules, but time also imposes its obligations. I therefore first of all declare the list of speakers closed, as in addition to the list contained in today's issue of the "Conference Journal", the delegates of three countries - Guinea, Cuba and Lebanon - applied yesterday to take part in the debate. The time problem will certainly force us to prolong the debate for a further hour or an hour and a half during a plenary meeting which could be held on Monday morning, when we can listen to the four or five speakers who were unable to speak today and try to draw a few general conclusions from this very interesting discussion. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

TWENTY-FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

8 December 1960, at 3.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Paulo E. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil)

CONTENTS

Discussion on International Relations and Exchanges in Education, Science and Culture (continued) 392

DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Agustín Yañez, Head of the Mexican delegation.

2.1 Mr. YANEZ (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Mexican delegation considers the report now being debated an excellent one. In connexion with this document, and with special reference to the ends and means of cultural exchanges, we have a number of comments to make and certain points to stress which we believe will be of help in achieving this Unesco objective.

2.2 As regards especially the two dangers about which so much has been said during the Conference, we should like to urge that the determining factors in cultural exchanges should not be political strength, economic power or the unilateral interests or egotistical calculations of Member States, but a fair and objective assessment of the needs of the other Member States.

2.3 To counteract this danger, and the danger of Unesco becoming too bureaucratic, there is nothing better than exchanges, by which I mainly mean systematic and ever increasing contacts, with the original sources and agents of education, science and culture.

2.4 How can Unesco be true to its destiny unless it keeps in direct and regular contact with teachers, who in turn will keep it informed of the exact feelings of the children and young people, as well as of the educational desires of the different peoples?

2.5 The care taken in securing the co-operation of teachers, scientists, men of letters and artists can never be too great. In all countries there are still many more possibilities of increasing the number of fellowships. Mexico's experience in this respect has been satisfactory and it is proposed to find larger resources for encouraging exchanges of this type, as well as exchanges in the form of travel by teachers, research workers, writers and artists.

2.6 As regards technical assistance plans, may I give our views in the words used by Mexico's Secretary of State for Education, Mr. Jaime Torres Bodet, who, when opening the courses in the applied social sciences arranged under the Inter-American Programme of Technical Assistance, said that "the execution of such plans, is apt to come up against many social obstacles and not a few psychological reservations".

2.7 "The experts appointed to carry them out", Mr. Torres Bodet declared, "often come, because of the high degree of specialized training demanded of them, from countries where wealth and an old culture have accumulated considerable sources of learning. Trained in higher institutes, where the habits of certain privileged levels may inculcate in the student a one-sided view of the receptivity of the less fortunate peoples, such experts are apt to regard the mission entrusted to them as a simple experiment in short or long-term material promotion.

2.8 They imagine that the communities whose governments are enjoying their help are, for that reason alone, interested in receiving them and that they will immediately be accepted, without suspicion and perhaps even criticism, by all members of those communities. On occasions some of these experts arrive as though they were the colonizers of a new absolute government: the government of technocracy.

2.9 On arriving at the place assigned to them they soon realize - if they are wise as well as expert - that if the technical assistance is to bear fruit, those providing it must not only have a mastery of the specialization in which they graduated, but also require a knowledge of the human beings without whose collaboration their efforts will remain unavailing and may even produce the opposite results. They then understand that every technical assistance mission needs the advice of an anthropologist with both theoretical training and practical experience".

2.10 (In this connexion, I should like to mention and restate the Mexican delegation's contention regarding the importance which Unesco should attach to applied social anthropology.)

2.11 "Progress is never achieved by mere technical skill, let alone theory by itself. The action demanded by progress implies a prerequisite: a desire to progress. So, to awaken that desire - the irreplaceable ally of technical work - the experts, whether national or international, must be thoroughly acquainted with the ethnic, physical, linguistic, and demographic

characteristics and the social psychology of the human elements who are to be not merely the direct assistants, but also the indispensable agents of their work of renovation.

2.12 Accordingly just as in a co-ordinated building - or rebuilding - plan the architect pays heed to the advice of the town-planner, so we believe that in any technical assistance plan the expert on agricultural machinery, or electrification, or the organization of craft work or the improvement of unhealthy areas, or problems of teaching or the promotion of science, must heed the advice of the anthropologist. If the latter acts with integrity, modesty and simplicity, his work will make it easier to arrive at a fair comparison of what we are and what millions of fellow inhabitants of this earth still are today.

2.13 Thanks to their social research the anthropologists know that even in the most primitive circles there is a human response which will listen and which demands our respect. Through their studies they daily acquire a clear awareness of the reciprocal nature of our responsibilities and learn to place greater trust in the solidarity of the human family regardless of differences in customs, languages, races and degrees of technical development."

2.14 On the other hand, it is Mexico's view that artistic exchanges should unquestionably be given first preference for purposes of world understanding. That is because art, being fundamentally based on feeling, speaks and makes its impact through the channel of human sympathy. In the intellectual field prejudices against ideas often build up difficult and even insuperable barriers, whereas art, whose universality is in direct relation to its national essence, makes firm brothers of men through the loftiness of sentiment and the higher, enduring forms of culture.

2.15 Morals and light, demanded the eloquent Bolivar in one of those succint and flashing phrases of his; science and conscience was the earlier advice of Pantagruel's genial doctor. Both phrases well summarize the problem of culture in the second half of a century so rich in conquests of the mind and so gravely threatened by one of those same conquests. What we need is a culture capable of making us daily stronger and more responsible so that we may daily become freer and more human.

2.16 We live amidst the dangers of a troubled age. The immensity of the needs requiring attention explains the zeal of the research workers in their insistent search for new inventions with which to extend man's mastery over matter. But, for all that zeal, we cannot but recognize the imperious nature of yet another requirement: that of culture, of an intellectual, moral and emotional order to extend man's mastery over himself.

2.17 We must therefore so direct the energies of this Organization, which we have called the best hope of the modern world, as to foster the development of that culture through an education that will strengthen the sense of national solidarity, so that in every student is the promise of a good citizen. And furthermore, in a world of so many and so frequent exchanges, our educational processes must be based on a broad and just understanding of international co-existence so that every citizen may be and feel and work like an integrated man.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Jean Basdevant of the French delegation.

4.1 Mr. BASDEVANT (France) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and delegates, the French delegation pays tribute to the quality and value of the work done by Unesco and its advisers in the field of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture, and would merely like to make a few practical observations such as, in our opinion, may help our Organization in its task. The abundant documentation which has been collected and which was essential for a proper appreciation of such a complicated problem, will only bear fruit if it enables us to formulate at once certain principles on which the activities both of our organization and of each Member State should be based.

4.2 The French delegation's first comment will deal with the importance of education for the development of international cultural exchanges. The reports which have been submitted to us and which emphasize the disparity between the resources of various groups of countries and the unequal extent to which they participate in international cultural relations, reflect only the tragic deficit from which a large number of nations, some of which have just achieved independence, are suffering. What would be the use of these young States' becoming sovereign and full members of the concert of nations if the insufficiency of their cultural equipment, which is perhaps even more serious than imperfections in their administrative or economic structure, prevented their peoples from taking full advantage of such independence? By a cruel irony of fate the continual advances made in communications and in particular in mass communication media, by allowing these countries to compare their situation to that of others and thus become more fully aware of the difference, can only serve to emphasize, in their own eyes, their wretched and abandoned state.

4.3 A most urgent task therefore is to use all our energy and resources in the cause of education in countries in process of development. No matter how interesting and necessary may be the perfecting of cultural co-operation between countries which are already developed, it counts for nothing in comparison with this, not only political, but human duty? When compared with this basic task, some of the polemical arguments which have embarrassed our proceedings appear out of place and useless. Rather than quarrel about the good or bad effects of the past, rather than waste time on endless discussions about the means to be used, would it not be better to get on with the job, all together and immediately? The task is sufficiently vast for everyone to take a hand in it and the future is exacting enough to satisfy the demands of all.

4.4 That, in any case, is the light in which France has viewed its task for a long time. At times when it could, like others, devote its efforts to development within its own frontiers - knowing well that many imperative needs remain unsatisfied - France has progressively established beyond the seas and, more particularly over the last hundred years in the countries of Africa and Asia, a network of primary and secondary schools and higher educational institutes of a quite exceptional range.

4.5 Although the requirements of schooling within its own frontiers call for further efforts, on account of the increase in the population over the last fifteen years, France, is at present maintaining outside her frontiers 18,000 teachers and professors, all of whom are partially or wholly paid out of the national budget; this represents an expenditure of 330,000,000 new francs, or 66,000,000 dollars every year.

4.6 I doubt whether any other country is doing as much. And even these figures cannot describe the effort made over a number of years not only to extend this educational programme - school facilities in the States of Africa and Madagascar have been tripled over the last thirteen years - but also to improve methods and efficiency. It is owing to initiatives taken by French specialists and to experiments carried out by them in various parts of the world, particularly in the Arab countries and Africa, in fundamental education and the techniques of audio-visual teaching, that French specialists are today in a position to make a vital contribution to Unesco projects, and it is in that same bold spirit that Gaston Berger drew up, just before he died, the project which the Programme Commission has unanimously adopted.

4.7 I do not cite these achievements in any spirit of nationalist vainglory, nor in an attempt to justify a work which is not denied by those who have benefited from it. I merely want to emphasize that this effort in terms of men and money has been accomplished and is being pursued by France, often at the cost of its own development and the requirements of its own youth. France does this as a duty to a language, a culture and an ideal of which it is the depository, though not the sole depository. In addition to countries of Europe and America where French has for centuries been the national language, there are today, as has been strikingly demonstrated by the present Conference, all those nations of Asia and Africa which have found in the French language, not only the means of access to a culture which attracts them, but also - and perhaps above all - a means of communication with their immediate neighbours, with the rest of the world and with the century in which we live.

4.8 Before finishing with this point, may I be allowed to add that the French view of cultural relations is not one-way. France gives, but it also wants to receive. It devotes considerable material and financial means to increasing its knowledge of languages and civilizations and to encouraging all expressions of foreign culture through books, museums, the theatre, the film, sound broadcasting and television.

4.9 My second remark is linked closely with the first. It is concerned with the most effective means of developing exchanges and relations in education, science and culture - in other words technical co-operation, which may be defined as the help given by one country to another in laying the foundations of its development.

4.10 Here again, the balance-sheet of France's activities is worthy of some attention. At present more than 7,000 French administrators, technicians and experts are in the service of foreign governments. To this figure should be added the teachers of whom I spoke just now and 10,300 French technical assistants who have been placed at the disposal of the African and Malagasy States which have recently become independent.

4.11 It is, however, the training of national staff rather than the sending out of French experts which we want to emphasize. This very year 2,000 foreign students, in addition to 8,106 students from French-speaking Africa, have received financial aid from the French Government in order to attend our universities. Further, 3,000 technical co-operation fellowships have been granted for the teaching and advanced training of young people for exercising administrative or professional functions. These figures will be further increased in 1961.

4.12 In this connexion, I should like to draw attention to the fact that France is probably the only country where, at the administrative level, questions of technical assistance are dealt with by the same department as cultural relations proper - which clearly indicates the spirit in which we view such assistance.

4.13 We consider that it is well to distinguish between, and so far as possible to separate, two spheres which are essentially different: first, material assistance in the form of credits, equipment and services for the purpose of facilitating the accomplishment of specific tasks which are considered to be of the first importance for economic development: second, human assistance by means of education, training and advice with the aim of training staff and establishing the institutions necessary to the life and prosperity of a modern nation.

4.14 We consider that the second type of assistance is infinitely more important and more urgent than the first. The men must be trained before money or machinery are given. Qualified and experienced staff is necessary if financial and economic aid is to be used effectively. First-class technicians are not enough; we must also have men capable of setting up all the institutions which make the modern life possible and which guarantee the liberty of the individual. Only thus can assistance to young nations be a real instrument of education, liberation and progress.

4.15 I would like to finish with a third remark concerning the futility and danger of controversies about whether assistance should be bilateral or multilateral.

4.16 Our aim is clear and urgent enough for the only permissible criterion to be that of efficacy. It seems to me to matter little through which channels our assistance is administered providing it is effective and fulfils requirements. If political or economic circumstances make it preferable for there to be co-operation between several countries for the benefit of another, it is obvious that all of them should agree to organize such assistance on a multilateral basis, and we must be grateful to Unesco for providing the means of putting this type of assistance into effect.

4.17 If, for historical or technical reasons or on grounds of mere convenience, one particular country seems to be better placed for supplying effective assistance, why hesitate to resort to bilateral aid? The problem is less one of choosing between one form and the other than of ensuring not only that there is no risk of the two competing but that they combine together for the benefit of the receiving countries. There would seem ot be no insurmontable difficulty about this nor anything to merit such an expenditure of doctrinal subtleties.

4.18 In the same way, the French delegation considers that Unesco ought resolutely to pursue the aims laid down in its Constitution. For ours is the only organization which is in a position to pursue them on behalf of all of us in a world where solidarity is now enforced upon us by technical uniformity. Moreover, at a time when the United Nations is assailed by highly complicated political problems, it is more than ever essential that a Specialized Agency such as Unesco should devote itself to the task entrusted to it, without going beyond its terms of reference. That is the best contribution it can make to peace.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mrs. Gerónima Pecson, a member of the Executive Board, to speak on behalf of the Philippine delegation.

6.1 Mrs. PECSON (Philippines):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of my Government I congratulate you all on your decision to discuss a subject of such vital importance to Unesco and mankind. I deeply appreciate this opportunity to participate in the discussion.

6.2 Having had the privilege of collaborating actively in the development of Unesco's programme during the last decade, in addition to having taken positive steps in its implementation, I strongly feel that an assessment at this stage of its work on international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture, which are the sources of its strength and sustenance, is not only desirable but urgent. This need arises from the fact that the Organization is fast growing in size and complexity and the demands addressed to it from Member States and non-governmental organizations are correspondingly increasing in number and difficulty. Only a dispassionate and searching evaluation of its work will yield the information necessary for future adjustment.

6.3 Winning Unesco's goals of human dignity and fundamental freedoms rests four-square on the degree and quality of its international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture. For this reason, Unesco, under its Constitution, is mandated to employ all possible means "for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives; to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;... and to maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge ... by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information; by initiating methods of international co-operation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them..."

6.4 A perusal of the various documents available on the subject under consideration, in particular E/3352 of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and its Addendum, 11 C/17 and 11 C/PRG/11, both of Unesco, is most enlightening and yields a number of significant observations, some of which, if you permit me, I mention as follows: (1) that Unesco itself constitutes a great network of systems of international relations and possesses the organization as well as the channels for the development of international scientific, educational and cultural relations which are at present unmatched by any other entity; as an intergovernmental organization, it has the stability of authority to perform its task; (2) that considerable progress has been achieved in recent years in the fields under consideration; (3) that, despite this fact the resources of Unesco, particularly technological, scientific and institutional, have not been fully exploited so as to secure the maximum possible results; (4) that there still exist barriers - human and natural, political and ideological - that must be overcome, if not obliterated; (5) that certain means of communication and methods of exchanges are more efficacious than others; (6) that 45 per cent of the world's adult population are illiterate, and are therefore unable to appreciate any form of literature or to acquire knowledge of their own environment from the printed page; (7) that 60 per cent of the world's population are inadequately supplied with information media, in the form of newspapers, radio and the cinema, to enable them to be fully abreast of events at home and abroad; (8) that educational levels will have to be improved or elevated to ensure a supply of persons intellectually equipped to handle scientific and other information of a theoretical and abstract nature; (9) that language is one of the major problems in the domain of international relations and exchanges which must be faced and overcome; and (10) that there is a growing realization of the value of first-hand personal contacts in learning one another's ways of living and working; and this being the case, that increased action is needed in the matter of facilities offered for educational, scientific and cultural travel.

6.5 As we all know, the current activities of Unesco for the promotion of free flow of information are grouped in five fields, namely: removal of tariff and trade obstructions, free flow of publications, wide use of telecommunications, development of information media, and movement of persons.

6.6 The General Conference has adopted a number of agreements, conventions and recommendations to remove obstacles in the foregoing activities, among them: (1) Agreement for facilitating the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of an educational character; (2) Agreement on the importation of educational, scientific and cultural materials; (3) Universal Copyright Convention; (4) Convention concerning the exchange of official publications and government documents between States; and (5) Convention concerning international exchange of publications.

6.7 From the picture I have tried to give you, it is not difficult to see the great and gratifying achievements already chalked up by Unesco, but the tasks before it are also clear. The accelerated development in recent years of means of communication, coupled with unprecedented cultural interpenetration among many nations and the multiplicity of human wants in the face of rapidly advancing science and technology, press the urgency of further exploiting the opportunities, means and resources of Unesco, the Member States and non-governmental organizations, to the end that the goals of international

relations and exchanges may be attained. The interaction that would result from such further exploitation would mean the enrichment of the cultures of nations involved, on the basis of mutual benefit or reciprocity, respect and dignity. Through technical assistance, both bilateral and multilateral, further efforts should be exerted to remove, or at least minimize, the inequalities of economic development in different areas of the world. More attention must be given to the sharing of technical knowledge than to its diffusion, and to the application of such knowledge both to peaceful ends and to the improvement of the standard of living, so that full cultural participation can be truly satisfying.

6.8 There is need for keeping the gates between nations wide open so that the movement of cultural workers and materials can be promoted effectively. Unesco can do much here by further assisting and urging Member States to take full advantage of the provisions of existing international conventions, agreements and recommendations, and to conclude such bilateral and/or multilateral arrangements as would facilitate exchanges in education, science and culture. Frontier formalities might also be relaxed further.

6.9 What kind of information should flow through these open gates? I would stress here that the right to information should include the word "correct". Unesco can and should develop universal conscience against incorrect or biased information, for it provokes wrong reactions which can have tragic consequences for international amity and culture.

6.10 In the field of education, the Director-General and the Secretariat deserve an accolade for the surveys and massive programmes carried out for the advancement of compulsory primary education. Compulsory primary education is essential; it is like ploughing the soil in which to sow the seeds of further knowledge so that man may harvest the maximum cultural benefits both for himself and others. I would quickly add that, judging from current events, it is urgent that we pay more attention to education for international understanding. Objectiveness in international relations should be cultivated and, here again, exchanges play a decisive rôle. I submit, Mr. President, that in the relations of nations, as among individuals, justice and mutual respect and cultural harmony should reign.

6.11 Lastly, Mr. President, there seems to be no traffic in the high realms of the intellect. I refer to the paucity of exchanges among the top philosophers and thinkers of the world. I urge that they be asked to exchange ideas at round-table discussions, or through correspondence, and that the results be printed and distributed widely. Small groups of from six to eight at a time would perhaps be most convenient. There is need for them to provoke, challenge and inspire the intellectual curiosity and activity which is so vital to cultural growth and solidarity.

6.12 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have given you a broad view of the conditions obtaining in international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture. I have also pointed out that, although definite gains have been made, there remains a great deal to be done. Fortunately Unesco's dynamism and vigorous leadership are equal to the task. I have faith that success will in the end be won.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Luis Jordana de Pozas, delegate of Spain.

8.1 Mr. JORDANA DE POZAS (Spain) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Spanish delegation considers that the Director-General's initiative, in arranging this debate, an initiative approved by the Executive Board, is to be commended. The high level of the theme and of the various speeches has renewed our confidence, which had been somewhat shaken by other happenings preceding the Conference.

8.2 Nevertheless, the wording of the proposed theme could give rise to a basic misunderstanding. For the problems which Unesco has continually to face are not so much those of international relations proper, i.e. relations between sovereign States, as they are of inter-cultural relations. It might, perhaps, have been better to say so.

8.3 International relations are really nothing but an expression of those public relations which have recently been raised to the status of a science. The sole purpose of a great part of international public law is to regulate the form of such relations, regardless of their content. Therefore, the truly singular feature of such relations in Unesco's own field is not so much what they are as the fact that they always signify a relationship between countries belonging to a single culture or to different cultures.

8.4 Culture only really begins when in it and through it we can form a picture of the exemplary type of man who understands the meaning of the world he is living in and who also knows what it means to be a man in this world. Only thus can Europe, the Orient or other particular areas be conceived as cultural bodies, syntheses of living ideals, legal systems or religious prescriptions.

8.5 What is a culture? How many are there today and which are they? What should be the choice between the aims of knowledge, mere coexistence, struggle or integration or discussion? All these are subjects which Unesco should study by its usual methods. There is undoubtedly a certain desire to merge all cultures into a single one embracing the whole of mankind, just as one is entitled to dream of a single language or of a single race resulting from the systematic mingling of all those we now know; but these are Utopias or, at best, such remote possibilities as to have no bearing on our present decisions. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that a diversity of cultures is a part of the divine plan.

8.6 The fundamental problem facing Unesco is, I would stress, the possibility and the channelling of discussions between the different existing cultures, discussions which are only possible when each of them accepts personal freedom in all its inexhaustible possibilities and provided that none of them saps or extinguishes the reality of such personal freedom. And for such discussions it would be necessary to go back to the original principle where all cultures meet, to those "Mothers" of whom Goethe spoke in his Faust. Our desires cannot be satisfied by the mere coexistence of cultures. Only through discussion, which presupposes open minds and individual freedom, can the real work of our Organization be done.

8.7 The foregoing considerations, which time does

not permit me to develop, have an undoubted influence on the subject we are debating. There is no point in hastening without knowing where we are going, nor in concerning ourselves with the immense variety of practical questions while losing sight of the supreme objective.

8.8 Another consideration of a general nature is that a prerequisite for the establishment and efficacy of any international relations and exchanges is the existence of favourable conditions, a propitious atmosphere or climate, the creation of which is, to some extent, suitable work for Unesco.

8.9 It would be a serious mistake to allow oneself to be carried away by the Socratic conviction that intellectual knowledge is a sufficient basis for mutual understanding and esteem or, in more common terms, that to know one another is to understand one another. On the contrary, history shows us, today especially, that all these intellectual ideas scattered throughout the document on which our discussion today is based, are not enough. The possession of modern languages, a technical education, scientific documentation, exchanges of persons and many other things may undoubtedly serve the ends of culture; but they can also be of use for other much baser purposes: espionage, black marketing, exploitation and the white slave traffic. In short, not all existing means of intellectual development are ends in themselves; they are simply means for which a final end must be found. And here that end can only be the changing of attitudes of exclusivism and self-containment for one of understanding and co-operation. Such a change will not come about merely through knowledge; it will mainly be effected by love and justice. We must never lose sight of this supreme requirement.

8.10 The magnitude and growing complexity of cultural relations and exchanges have rightly been pointed out. On this I have nothing to add to the Director-General's report and the excellent comments of the Executive Board. Every State can find adequate proof of this in its own experience. I could quote the experience of my own country, Spain, as an example and refer to the eight Spanish cultural institutes in Europe and the forty-three which it maintains in America; its schools and reading rooms on nearly every continent and its cultural offices attached to nearly all embassies; the fact that we were the second country to set up, in 1921, special services for cultural relations with foreign countries; the foundation of such establishments as the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientfficas; and, finally, as regards co-ordination, the fact that it has been entrusted to such an important body as the Directorate of Cultural Affairs.

8.11 But a point of extraordinary interest in this complex of relations and increasingly intensive exchanges is the orbit within which they start and are maintained. For although in many cases such relations may be world wide and embrace all peoples, the normal thing is for only a certain number of nations to have relations at the same time for specific matters. With that I should like to refer to the problem of the region in international relations and exchanges.

8.12 The difficulty of the region as a concept stems mainly from the variety of meanings given to it and from the fact that the concept is constantly changing.

8.13 When speaking of a region, we often specifically or tacitly refer to a geographical area and apply it to neighbouring countries which form part of a continent, sub-continent or achipelago. We sincerely believe that it would be an extremely dangerous thing for this geographical concept of the region and of the relations and exchanges established within its bounds to prevail in Unesco.

8.14 It is universally recognized that countries forming part of the same continent have completely separate, or even opposed, cultures and interests. On the other hand, other countries separated by oceans and mountains may form authentic human communities with identical cultural bases that encourage close relations and intensive exchanges.

8.15 Nor can race, if one can speak of race today, be used to characterize the term region for purposes of Unesco. Moreover, to do so would be to set Unesco in opposition to one of its noblest tasks: that of ending racial discrimination. How could we possibly condemn discrimination in others if we ourselves practised it.

8.16 Thus, fellow delegates, the framework for the relations and exchanges with which we are concerned must be, mainly if not entirely, the cultural region. Language, tradition, customs, a common conception of the world and things, feelings of brotherhood and mutual understanding and esteem, these are the factors which determine a cultural region.

8.17 But, as already indicated, there must be no question of drawing a single, permanent, final regional division. For one thing, history is perpetually in the making; for another, the level of the class of knowledge or aims pursued necessarily eliminates some countries and adds others, or creates high-level cultural zones which thus bring together nations from other quite separate motives.

8.18 In any case, any work carried out in connexion with this subject must be based on the reality of cultural regions in order to correct an apparently growing tendency to think of the region in terms of physical geography.

8.19 The inequalities of national participation pointed out in the report are an unquestionable fact and are one of the greatest obstacles to the relations and exchanges with which we are dealing. Only to a very minor extent are their causes to be found in Unesco's field of action.

8.20 Nevertheless, our programme should, perhaps, make some provision whereby, in certain cases, the conclusion of some of the international conventions and agreements sponsored by Unesco would be sufficient reason for granting assistance to countries which, despite goodwill, do not have the means to fulfil the obligations they have gladly accepted. An example is the exchange of information, documentation, publications, etc., which is only possible with means and an organization that presuppose an economic effort which is not always viable.

8.21 What is necessary, and this has our full support, is that Unesco should intensify its already great and commendable efforts to eliminate certain obstacles to international relations and exchanges, particularly in regard to mailing facilities, frontier formalities and other similar obstacles.

8.22 The effectiveness of what has already been achieved is frequently balked by ignorance on the part

of the public, including officials in other departments, or the contents of the conventions and agreements signed by their own country. We suggest that the governments of Member States be recommended to take special care to make such facilities known and to give instructions to the departments concerned, so that what today appears to be the complete exception can become the normal practice. Such useful measures as the Unesco Coupon system would gain even more in effectiveness if they were accompanied by information on the mailing rates for books, scientific equipment and other materials hard to come by in far off countries.

8.23 There is at present a notorious lack of co-ordination in the various fields of international relations and exchanges. Above all, co-ordination must be established within every Member State by entrusting it to bodies specially set up for the purpose. It would, for example, be of value if Unesco were to collect and issue information as a guide to countries which have not yet set up such services and, in particular, were to recommend the creation of such services. Secondly, the co-ordination which we preach to others must become an accomplished fact in our own Organization, and for this reason we support the proposal contained in paragraphs 46 and 47 of document 11 C/17.

8.24 In this connexion we can already point to the value of periodical contacts between Unesco and the cultural relations services operating in Member States. It was, in fact, on the initiative of Spain, approved at the eighth session of the General Conference, that the First Conference of Directors of Cultural Relations was held in Paris in 1954 and was followed by others at which documents of great interest to the present subject were drafted.

8.25 Thought should also be given to the question of extending co-ordination to the field of international non-governmental organizations. There has lately been discernible a marked trend towards the proliferation of this type of organization, with no advantage as regards the work accomplished and with consequent difficulties in respect of their relations with Unesco and among themselves. Although the matter is a delicate one, we believe that it would be worth trying to establish criteria which would discourage the multiplication of these otherwise necessary institutions - not of those concerned with cultural aims but of the various other types.

8.26 Of all the subjects mentioned in the report now being considered there is perhaps none of greater novelty and interest than the one referring to the need for reciprocity in international relations. It is perfectly true that, as pointed out, there is a tendency to divide nations into two not merely separate but almost opposing groups: one consisting of nations which, thanks to their wealth and technological development, have more resources, personnel and material than they need, the second of others which, in what is, perhaps, a rather unfortunate expression, form the category of the insufficiently developed.

8.27 I call it an unhappy expression, because no country is completely developed and there are many countries which are sufficiently developed in one particular line or sphere. To begin with, the classification is inexact, because between those two classes there is yet another consisting of nations with a high cultural level but a poor economy. But, even more serious, it produces the opposite results to those intended, since it causes disillusion among the great nations and a feeling of inferiority and resentment among the small ones; and because it is at the root of what the assisted nations might dub neo-colonialism and the assisting ones ingratitude. The whole edifice of technical assistance, so laboriously put together, is thus seriously endangered.

8.28 The basic mistake was probably due to the fact that such relations were built up almost exclusively on strictly technical needs, with a consequent neglect of the much fuller and fundamental range of other types of knowledge, such as those pertaining to the philosophical, moral and social sciences and the arts. A second reason for the defects and danger to which we refer is to be found in the selection and training of the persons charged with the work of technical assistance.

8.29 Looked at in this way, the remedies suggest themselves. Above all, international relations and the exchanges and programmes in which they are given practical shape must be expanded to include these other questions of philosophy and the pure and social sciences, as well as the immense field of art in all its various forms. Then, as regards the personal side, an effort must be made to eradicate much of the prejudice regarding the geographical origin of the experts, not only in the matter of their technical training but also as regards their kinship in feeling and culture with the countries to which they go. The ideal would be gradually to entrust this task to men belonging to the country which is to receive the assistance, their training being given in ad hoc institutions set up either inside the country or abroad.

8.30 We would also suggest that greater attention be given to the possibility of exchanging all manner of objects which could be of interest for teaching or scientific purposes. Many countries abound in specific types of works of art or works of nature or archaeology which, on the other hand, are lacking or very rare in other countries. To quote a few examples, I need only refer to countries which abound in ancient pottery, in archaeological remains, in paintings - not exactly first class, but second class and in any case very interesting - in sculptures of the same type, in works of craftsmanship and, from other points of view, in the variety of fauna and flore of the highest educational interest. Many other examples could be given.

8.31 As regards legal instruments, we should like Unesco to intensify its efforts to induce as many Member States as possible to adhere to and ratify the conventions and recommendations drawn up here. It is really shocking to compare the number of Member States of our Organization with the number of those which have ratified such important agreements as the Copyright and Exchange of Publications Conventions.

8.32 Despite the kindness of our President, to whom I should like to pay a tribute of gratitude in which I think we all join, it is our duty to keep within the time-limits laid down for speeches, I shall therefore end now.

8.33 Every country has a raison d'être, a certain

"ethos", a constitutional ideal, so to speak, which may take one of two forms: it may either be concentric, centripetal, introvert or, on the other hand, excentric, centrifugal, extrovert. Spain has always belonged to the second type and, although this is not only a high honour but also carries with it a heavy responsibility, I should like to say here that anything leading to the extension and intensification of cultural relations between peoples will always obtain our support.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Dr. Walker, Head of the Australian delegation.

10.1 Mr. WALKER (Australia):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the subject under discussion is indeed an enormous one; it is enormous as measured either by the quantity of documentation or by the range of the debate to which we have been listening. I would like to congratulate the Secretariat on its voluminous but excellent report, and also the experts and the Executive Board on the important observations that they have added to that report.

10.2 The Australian delegation agrees that this is the time for some stock-taking of the work that is being carried on by this Organization and by others in the field of international exchanges in education, science and culture. Whether a discussion such as this in the plenary session is best calculated to lead to any firm conclusions is perhaps questionable. Perhaps all that we can do, Mr. President, is to sow ideas in the course of a general discussion such as this, and to hope that these ideas will be taken up by the Director-General and the Executive Board and by the Economic and Social Council in their further consideration of this matter. In my modest contribution to this discussion, I wish to deal briefly with two main points. First, I will offer a few comments on international exchanges in education, science and culture, from the Australian point of view, as a country remote from the great centres of political power, industrial strength and cultural and scientific advance. Secondly, I shall offer some suggestions as to where emphasis should be placed by Unesco in the future work in this field.

10.3 I have said that Australia is a country remote from the great centres of political power, of industrial strength and cultural and scientific advance, at any rate through recent centuries. Australia's own history is a relatively short one - the first settlers arrived in Australia in 1788. In those early stages and throughout the greater part of our national history, Australia has been very dependent in the educational, scientific and cultural field on what we could receive from other countries in the way of assistance - assistance in the form of persons of experience and special qualifications in their own field, assistance in the form of education for those of our young people who went abroad to further their own studies. When the first Australian universities were established, we naturally turned to Great Britain to supply the first teachers and to assist in the planning. The arms of the University of Sydney, our oldest university combine the arms of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the motto is "mens eadem, sidere mutato" or "the same mind under a different sky". In fact, in the early development of the Australian universities it was not only Oxford and Cambridge that played a great part but also the great Scottish universities sent professors to Australia. And throughout the years we have found it necessary to send many young people abroad, particularly to the United Kingdom but also to other countries, for part of their training once they had completed their earlier studies. Not very long ago it was almost impossible for a young man to get a permanent teaching appointment in an Australian university if he had not completed post-graduate studies overseas. And we in Australia are grateful for all the assistance that we have had throughout our development from other countries that have contributed to our education, the development of our scientific resources and the application of science to our productive activities and to the development of our continent. While our cultural links have naturally been closest with the United Kingdom, I would also like to pay tribute to what we have received in the way of assistance from other countries and perhaps, particularly at this meeting in Paris, I might refer to the generous grant of scholarships that we have enjoyed over the years in so far as the teaching of the French language is concerned. The general level of French teaching in Australian universities owes very much to the large number of young Australian professors who have had their advanced training in the great universities of France. Other European countries have assisted us in similar ways.

10.4 But there has been a dramatic transformation in the Australian scene and in the Australian position in relation to international exchanges, particularly since the Second World War. Whereas in the past we have had to look outward - although over the years we have been building up our own systems of education, our own scientific institutes and our own cultural life - in recent years we have found it possible to contribute to meeting the needs of other countries. And so, as I remarked in the debate on the Director-General's report, you will find many foreign students in Australian schools, colleges and universities today. Some 6,000 students from Asia alone are now studying in Australian universities, colleges and schools. About half of these are actually in universities, so that the proportion of Asian students in Australian universities is a very significant one.

10.5 People from other countries are turning to Australia for assistance in many fields, sometimes through scholarships provided by the Australian Government, very often on a private or individual basis where the people themselves from other countries bear the main costs involved.

10.6 Who would have thought, even twenty years ago, that young men from Asia and Africa would be coming to Australia for training, not only in such subjects as agriculture and pastoral pursuits that are well known to have been prominent in the Australian economy, but even for training as civil servants and diplomats. At present, of the group of young men who are in their first year of training in our own diplomatic service in Australia, more than a quarter are not Australians at all, but are young men from Asia and Africa who have come to Australia by arrangements with our Government to gain experience and be initiated into the earlier stages of a diplomatic career.

10.7 And so, too, in the field of science: whereas, over a long period, Australia was benefiting primarily from the advice of scientists from overseas and sending its young scientists overseas for training, nowadays we find ourselves in a position to contribute and to help meet requests from other countries. I am glad to say also that the range - the geographical range - of this co-operation is being broadened. Under the auspices of the United Nations or of one or other of the Specialized Agencies, Australians have undertaken scientific missions to Latin America, to Chile, Uruguay, Ecuador and Argentina concerned with animal husbandry and animal disease control, to Central America - El Salvador and Venezuela - for animal husbandry, marketing of primary products and food hygiene, and to Bolivia for animal husbandry. Australian scientists have gone to South East Asia, particularly, although by no means solely, for work in connexion with animal disease control; to India and Pakistan, also, to advise for instance, on the preparation of wool for market.

10.8 There has been no ideological limitation on this sort of exchange as far as Australia is concerned. Last year a Soviet delegation of scientists in the field of animal disease and wool production visited Australia, and this year, at the invitation of the Soviet Government, a group of Australian veterinarians and wool growers have visited the Soviet Union to study methods of sheep raising and wool production within the Soviet Union. Such exchanges reflect matters of common interest between our respective countries.

10.9 Thus, the picture has changed and, today, while we still continue to profit enormously from studies conducted by our young people overseas and by visits from scientific experts and advisers, at the same time this is a true exchange. I would like to say for the record how much this has meant to Australia, not only in terms of a positive contribution to our own economic and cultural development, but I believe also that it has undoubtedly contributed to the quality of our national life and to our capacity for international understanding. The thousands of young Asian students who study in Australia today are welcomed into the homes of Australian families, and I think that when the time comes for them to return to their own countries they carry back with them the memory of an informal and friendly society where they have been made very much at home. We believe that this is contributing to building an important bridge between the Australian people and the peoples of Asia.

10.10 Our experience also illustrates that it is no longer sufficient to think in terms of countries that give and countries that receive, of countries that make sacrifices and countries that benefit. No, Mr. President, this is a two-way traffic. It is a matter of mutual benefit, a matter of co-operation from which both sides benefit.

10.11 The second point to which I wish to address myself, fellow delegates, is the question of Unesco's own activities in this field. The whole question of international exchanges, of people and ideas, of publications and information looms very large in Unesco's purpose and functions. But it is not, of course, in any way a monopoly of Unesco; there are other international organizations, fortunately, that are active in this field, and the far greater part of exchanges today are carried on throughout the world on a bilateral basis, with governments playing some part, and on a private and individual basis in a less organized way. I think I have just three observations to make on this general question of Unesco's contribution in this field. Firstly, I believe that the main task of Unesco is to encourage and to assist and where necessary, of course, to supplement government and private activities in the field of exchanges. Not, Mr. President, to attempt to regiment them, perhaps not even to attempt to co-ordinate them too much. Co-ordination is a word we hear very often nowadays, and I would not say that we were opposed to co-ordination, but let us not have co-ordination for the sake of co-ordination. If waste can be avoided by comparing plans and avoiding overlapping, well and good, but in the domain of international exchanges in science, education and culture the important thing is to maintain the impetus.

10.12 It is quite evident that in the great world of science, the most important exchanges are undertaken in terms of science and very often on an individual basis. Science is a very difficult thing to regiment or control. Much of the work of Unesco has been carried on through non-governmental organizations by assisting international scientific organizations which are not governmental bodies at all, but which needed assistance particularly in the early post-war years. It has been our object in Unesco to maintain and develop the republic of letters and of science rather than to attempt to direct their development. And just as that applies to science, it also applies to culture.

10.13 The second observation, Mr. President, fellow delegates, is in relation to the question of where Unesco should concentrate its efforts. In our view, Unesco should concentrate mainly in the fields where exchanges otherwise would be less well developed. It has been remarked in the reports before us that the current of exchanges has naturally been strongest and most developed in Europe and North America, for very obvious reasons. There is the factor of distance, there is the factor of wealth, and there is the factor of the development actually attained already in the fields of education, science and culture. Where else than in Europe or North America, for instance, could one hope to see organized the sort of magnificent exhibition of painting that no doubt many delegates have had the opportunity of visiting during their stay in Paris, the magnificent exhibition - the Sources of the Twentieth Century.

10.14 But from these great centres channels have been developed and it is rather striking that the cultural channels reaching out into the more remote parts of the world have very often tended to follow established political links and established economic links. This is apparent in Africa and it has been apparent also in Asia and in other parts of the world. This is not necessarily a bad thing; it has permitted a more intensive cultural development in some of these parts of the world than would have been possible had they been subjected to the confusing and complex impact of the whole of the modern Western world at one time. But it would, of course, be a grave obstacle to the future development of the world and its culture, if these old established channels were to be rigidly maintained in the future. The time has

come for closer relations between regions which themselves are remote from the old established centres of political and industrial power and of advanced scientific and cultural development.

10.15 In this way there will be a progressive enrichment of the world's culture, and very often countries which are distant from the world's centres have much to learn from each other, as well as from the great centres. And thirdly, Unesco's experience already shows that there are very great direct benefits from these international exchanges, benefits to the progress and development of the individual countries, to the development of their economic life and the struggle against poverty, and to the enrichment of the life of the ordinary citizen. But we must never lose sight of the other aspect of these exchanges, the contribution that they can make to the building of a world community through a world-wide spirit of community based on the realization that all men are brothers.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I should like to thank Dr. Walker, who has taken part in Unesco's work since 1946, for this excellent speech of his on what international exchanges and collaboration can achieve in a comparatively short space of time.

11.2 I call upon H.E. Mr. Kiselev, Head of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

12.1 Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, it is fitting that the question of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture should be discussed at a plenary meeting at the Unesco General Conference. We are firmly convinced that the development of cultural relations and international exchanges by every possible means is a powerful weapon at Unesco's command in its fight for peace and mutual understanding.

12.2 In the opinion of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, it would be wrong to consider any aspect of Unesco's work in isolation from the problem of peace - the most burning question of our time. And this fact needs to be stressed more than ever today, when, despite the successful efforts of the peace-loving countries to preserve peace, the threat of another world war still hangs over us.

12.3 A new war, if it is not averted, may bring with it unprecedented destruction, reducing the greatest centres of world culture to rubble and bringing suffering and death to hundreds of millions of people.

12.4 It is common knowledge that the theory of racial superiority, as it is called - a theory which constitutes the ideological preparation for revanchism and war - is finding currency in a number of West European countries. The facts show that the forces of reaction in certain imperialist countries are trying to use the press, the cinema, radio, television and even the schools to instil in young people the spirit of racial superiority, chauvinism and fascism.

12.5 In the capitalist countries of the West, more and more gangster films and books are being produced which extol fascism and the cult of war thus exerting a pernicious effect on the young. Indeed attempts are often made to disseminate such productions as a form of cultural exchange.

12.6 It is Unesco's duty to denounce not only the theory of racial superiority but also the practice, adopted by some countries, of using international cultural relations for the purposes of propagating racialism, revanchism and hatred of mankind. Unesco's duty is to use international cultural relations to propagate ideas of peace, friendship and humanism, with a view to the mutual enrichment of culture and the creation of an abundance of cultural wealth for all peoples.

12.7 We speak of peace and unceasingly strive to preserve it, for we know what war is like. The Soviet people loves and deeply cherishes life, and sees before it the glorious prospect of building a new and radiant communist society, the most equitable society in the world. The Soviet people is doing all in its power to consolidate peace and international co-operation, and Unesco should make extensive use of its efforts.

12.8 Our people regards the cultural achievements of all nations, large and small, with keen interest and profound respect, and values their contributions to the general stock of world culture.

12.9 Thanks to the application of Lenin's national policy in the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian people - like all the peoples which make up our multi-national country on the basis of equality - has been able, in a short space of time, to achieve tremendous successes in the development of education, science and culture.

12.10 The Byelorussian people now lives and works as sovereign master on its own free soil, with schools, institutes, books, films, theatres, television, museums, cultural centres, clubs and libraries to satisfy its intellectual needs.

12.11 The total production of books by the Republic's publishing houses in 1960 alone will exceed 16 million, or two per head, as against only one for every 25 people in pre-Soviet days.

12.12 The Government of the Byelorussian SSR gives generous financial support to cultural activities both in town and country. One-half of the Republic's budget goes for social and cultural activities. The successes of the Byelorussian people in the development of education, science and culture are proof of the tremendous strength of the Soviet Socialist system, which has opened up infinite horizons for the all-round progress and prosperity of the Socialist nations in general.

12.13 The Byelorussian Republic, as a sovereign Soviet Socialist State, conducts extensive cultural exchanges in education, science and culture.

12.14 Byelorussian scientists play an active part in the work of the major international conferences and congresses. Every year we attend international gatherings on educational questions such as the meetings of the Executive Committee of the International Bureau of Education, we send the Bureau copies of our school textbooks, books on teaching methods, photo-exhibitions and other essential material.

12.15 The higher educational establishments in the Republic maintain close relations with educational establishments in the people's democracies and a number of capitalist countries, and among

those attending them are students from Poland, the People's Republic of China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and other countries.

12.16 Byelorussian teachers and students have visited France, the United Kingdom and other countries to perfect their knowledge of foreign languages, while teachers from our neighbour, the Polish People's Republic, come to the Byelorussian SSR every year to engage in specialized studies in Byelorussian language and philology. Foreign delegations to Byelorussia often include educational workers, who take a close interest in the organization of public education in our Republic. In particular, we have received visits from delegations of leading educational workers from the United States of America (headed by Mr. Derthick), Chile, Yugoslavia and other countries which inspected schools, technicums, institutes and other educational establishments, and familiarized themselves in detail with their work.

12.17 The system of teaching children in our country - and indeed the whole system of educating young people - is rooted in the principles of friendship and humanism and of deep respect for the achievements of world science and culture. The study of foreign languages and the history of the literature and art of foreign countries is compulsory in all schools.

12.18 We have an extensive network of evening "cultural universities" where workers of all ages and professions can enlarge their knowledge of world culture free of charge.

12.19 International exchanges also take the form of the exchange of books on art and science, periodicals, tape-recordings, films and filmstrips, the organization of exhibitions, festivals, visits of delegations to other countries and the establishment of personal contacts.

12.20 Byelorussian audiences have given an enthusiastic reception to the Italian conductor Carlo Zetti, the song and dance company of the Korean People's Army, the Finnish ballerina Else Silverstenson, the All-Negro "Columbia" ensemble, the great United States pianists Van Cliburn and Byron Janis and the famous Australian violinist Beryl Kimber, and to the numerous art exhibitions and exhibitions of books and photographs held in our Republic.

12.21 Representatives of Byelorussian art and literature have visited Belgium, the United Kingdom, Finland, Rumania, Austria, Bulgaria, Poland and many other foreign countries.

12.22 Cultural co-operation also takes the form of special days and weeks organized in Byelorussia to publicize the cultural achievements of other lands, similar steps being taken in other countries to familiarize the public with Byelorussia's cultural achievements. Exhibitions are presented during these special weeks to illustrate the economic and cultural advances of the country concerned, music and film festivals are held, meetings with foreign workers arranged, literary evenings and concerts staged and the members of the public assisted by these and other means to gain a deeper insight into the work and life of other peoples.

12.23 As one of the ways of strengthening international friendship and understanding, the Byelorussian SSR during the past few years, has published upwards of 100 books by foreign authors in editions totalling about four million copies. Plays by French, English, German, Chinese, Polish and Greek dramatists are produced in Byelorussian on the Byelorussian stage, and performances of the music of many nations are given in our concert halls. As for the works produced by Byelorussian writers, artists and composers, they are permeated with the ideas of friendship and respect for all nations. The bust of the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, produced with masterly skill and loving touch by the Byelorussian sculptor Azgur, People's Artist, is a case in point.

12.24 The Byelorussian SSR has a clear object in mind in encouraging such international relations - the strengthening of international co-operation and friendship, the mutual enrichment of national cultures and the enlargement of the great store of world culture by the addition of fresh treasures.

12.25 Our delegation recommends that Unesco use the wide experience of cultural construction garnered by all the republics of the Soviet Union in order to help those nations in need of it.

12.26 When we say that one of the main objects of international cultural co-operation is the mutual enrichment of national cultures, we must remember that a process of national cultural revival and upsurge is at present taking place in a number of countries that have been freed from the colonial yoke. Colonialism halted the cultural development of these countries, and in some instances destroyed national cultural values, as is evident from Unesco documents and from what the representatives of the African countries have said. It should be one of Unesco's primary tasks to provide these countries with effective assistance in promoting their national cultures.

12.27 We hold that a thorough knowledge of the major cultural achievements of other peoples enriches national culture and promotes mutual understanding and international peace. Unesco, in its activities, should take into account the diversity of cultural forms so that exchanges in education, science and culture can be developed between all countries regardless of their social and economic systems. This task is especially urgent now that many countries which were once under the colonial yoke have attained political independence and are in a position to develop their national culture.

12.28 Colonialism is the worst enemy of national culture. For centuries it has trodden underfoot, crushed and stifled the original national culture of a host of African and Eastern peoples.

12.29 Unesco should concentrate its efforts on organizing the large-scale exchange of experience and achievements in the field of culture so as to promote peace and peaceful co-operation between different nations. It should strive, by effective action, to help the African nations to preserve, develop and extend African culture, and similarly with the culture of the peoples of the East.

12.30 Our delegation considers that this effective action by Unesco to preserve, develop and extend the culture of the African countries should include a campaign against illiteracy and the development of instruction in the mother tongue at all levels. It would be useful, in this connexion, to convene a world conference in 1961 on the campaign against illiteracy so that experience may be exchanged and a broad programme for Unesco's anti-illiteracy drive drawn up.

12.31 A proposal has been made from this rostrum that centres should be set up in Africa to study various educational problems and especially - as part of the problem of development of national languages - that of the use of the vernacular as the language of instruction. This proposal deserves full support. Unesco should take account of the fact that the economically underdeveloped peoples possess great cultural wealth, particularly in the field of national folklore, which the ferocious colonial system was unable to destroy.
12.32 On the subject of cultural exchanges and the mutual enrichment of national cultures, we must once again express our profound regret at the absence from Unesco of the lawful representatives of the Chinese People's Republic and other Socialist countries which are still not included among the Organization's members. Can we seriously speak of carrying out the East-West Major Project when a major world State - a country with a highly developed culture - is excluded from Unesco?
12.33 The Director-General and the Secretariat should increase their efforts to strengthen and extend contacts with the National Commissions of the Member States and to communicate their working experience to other countries in furtherance of international exchanges in education, science and culture.
12.34 It is clear, from the present discussion, gentlemen, that all the Member States hope that Unesco, by making the necessary effort, will be able to develop into an useful instrument for international co-operation so that the ideas of peace and humanism may prevail.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mrs. Sabattini de Barón Biza, to speak on behalf of the delegation of the Argentine Republic.

14.1 Mrs. de BARON BIZA (Argentina) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of Argentina does not propose in this address to cover all the subjects which might concern and should be included in a full analysis of international relations and exchanges. Instead, we should like to make clear our attitude on specific aspects which are of particular interest to us as an integral part of the family of nations.
14.2 In the first place Argentina wishes to draw attention to the significance of the creation of an international body to deal specifically with education, science and culture and to which all member countries of the United Nations would belong. This meant, in effect, giving international legal standing to a phenomenon which has become increasingly marked in recent years: international cultural exchanges, using the word culture in its broadest sense.
14.3 Although the history of civilization teaches us that the influence of the great cultures of East and West extended over vast and specific areas, that influence developed through indirect channels during conquest: the union of ruling houses, trade and other forms of expansion. Today cultures get together by themselves, which is the same as saying that culture is carried by research workers, technicians, artists, teachers and all who are convinced that international relations should fundamentally be based on a complete knowledge of peoples and on contacts between them.
14.4 From this we may infer that the international organization concerned with education, science and culture will daily continue to grow in importance, provided that it sticks to its own field of activity and leaves to other international bodies those specific matters within their jurisdiction.
14.5 That is why Argentina, as a member of Unesco, is anxious to keep to an invariable rule, believing that politics should be referred to the relevant international body. Thus by our criterion, Unesco should ignore any problem unconnected with education, science or culture. To do otherwise would be not merely inopportune but a duplication of the work of other bodies and would condemn Unesco to premature extinction.
14.6 Argentina has emerged from a period of relative isolation imposed upon it by internal conditions; now that these have been overcome, it is anxious to maintain its enthusiasm for international relations in the field of education, science and culture. The body responsible for such work in my country, the Argentine National Commission for Unesco, with headquarters at the Ministry of Education, has just completed two years of work carried out by governmental and non-governmental institutions. In each province we are delegating subcommissions which carry the work of Unesco throughout the length and breadth of the 1,084,120 square miles of which our homeland consists.
14.7 In all our embassies abroad we are now building up, as delegations of our country, the services of the Cultural Attaché departments, which come under the Directorate of Cultural Relations of the Foreign Ministry.
14.8 We stress this because we believe that the work of Cultural Attachés is bound to be of increasing importance. We therefore hope that a general study will be made of appropriate methods of increasing the effectiveness of the work carried out by such cultural delegations abroad.
14.9 We have been pleased to note a constant increase in Government expenditure on cultural relations, the budget of the Ministry concerned being augmented by contributions from other ministries, as happens with the British Council, or from private sources. In spite of our international information organizations, the whole of Latin America has major problems to overcome in advancing its international relations, problems mainly arising from the special economic conditions and the difficulty of communications within the huge continent of America.
14.10 Generally speaking, the normal media for disseminating news and information operate unhampered, as the statistics submitted to Unesco show, though they need supplementing in order to reach the whole population.
14.11 In 1957, 129 books were published in Argentina for every million inhabitants. In South America the daily papers have a circulation of 74 copies for every thousand inhabitants. I would add as a point of interest that "El Correo" (The Courier), the official Unesco publication, has more than 12,000 subscribers in Argentina. This is more than the number of copies read in many European countries and in the United States.
14.12 As regards the application of the international agreements concluded in the last hundred years

in the fields of education, science and culture, the important thing is not so much the criteria which govern their purpose and pattern as the fact that the specific task of each of them is to give and to receive. The principal thing is to ensure that such conventions are put into practice and do not remain dead letters.

14.13 Our country is now studying the possibility of undertaking, by means of regional agreements, joint action in the dissemination of news and exchanges of cultural activities between other countries faced with the same problems.

14.14 One of the most effective means of communication between countries and one which promotes international solidarity in the field with which we are concerned is the system of fellowships and the sending of experts to establish contacts between two or more nations. Those who go away to study or who come to teach establish very fruitful intercourse between the various national cultures.

14.15 According to the 1959-1960 statistics, 49% of all fellowships are offered by Governments, 14% by international organizations, 21% by universities and other institutes and 16% by private bodies. The highest percentages are in the applied sciences, particularly medicine. This shows the intense cultural effort made by many countries, an effort in which Argentina aspires to join and to increase as the full potential of her resources is realized.

14.16 Latin America possesses two focal centres for bringing nations closer together, which cannot be omitted from this list: (1) CREFAL, the Regional Fundamental Education Centre for Latin America, set up at Patzcuaro to foster the educational and cultural development of the indigenous communities by improving the living conditions of 30 million Indians inhabiting America.

14.17 Although Argentina itself is spared this problem, it shares the concern of so many South American countries at the intellectual and material level of their communities.

14.18 (2) The Unesco Regional Office in the Western Hemisphere, with headquarters in Havana acts as a kind of sounding box in the field of international relations, by promoting the work of the National Commissions, co-ordinating the activities of the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America and stimulating cultural work.

14.19 The Bulletin of the Major Project, published by the Regional Office, does effective work in bringing together the countries of Latin America. It would therefore be worth translating into other languages, so that the experience gained through the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education could serve as an example for other countries, particularly those of Africa and Asia which are today facing very similar problems.

14.20 At the same time CREFAL is also a notable instance of co-operation between governments and between such international organizations as the Organization of American States, the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and Unesco.

14.21 In our country languages used to be taught in the secondary schools and universities; since the beginning of 1960 they have been taught in primary schools as well. Our institutions of higher education take in more than 10,000 foreign students each year, and the number is constantly growing. In Argentina education is free at all levels. In primary schools, textbooks and working instruments are also provided free in many cases. Advantage was taken of a seminar, held in Tucuman this year, on the "Standardization and Comparability of Educational Statistics" to unify terms, to link, co-ordinate and compare statistics - the basis of all educational, social and economic development - and to improve techniques and specialized organizations.

14.22 The census conducted throughout America this year will provide us with data for future planning and will enable us to adapt means to needs.

14.23 We believe that it would be of interest for Unesco to act as the co-ordinating body for all the educational, scientific and cultural activities of every Member State. It would therefore be worth recommending that all countries centralize their data on such activities, so that Unesco could from time to time prepare an exhaustive repertory of information and demands accurately appraised and arranged in strict order of priority.

14.24 It is gratifying to note the attention given by the General Conference at this session to such topics as the Project on the Extension of Primary Education which are of crucial and immediate importance to many countries that wish to play a worthy part in contemporary history.

14.25 In conclusion, I should like to express our gratitude for the high degree of co-operation accorded our initiatives and, once again, to pay tribute to the unanimous desire of delegates to achieve a cordial and loyal coexistence based on education, science and culture.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. MacEwan, delegate of Canada.

16.1 Mr. MacEWAN (Canada):

Mr. President, honourable delegates, the Canadian delegation would like first to congratulate the Director-General on his proposal that a subject of general interest should be discussed in the plenary session, with the object of clarifying existing policies and perhaps formulating new ones. The consideration of a specific problem in this manner is a new departure and we welcome the idea because we feel that if an objective examination is made of one aspect at a time of Unesco's programme it will not only constitute an assessment of the programme itself, but will also relate it to the changing circumstances of recent times. This would not mean an appraisal of the kind made in 1958, but a re-examination to ensure that each major aspect is in keeping with the basic aims and philosophy of the Organization.

16.2 Unless we take a long and deep look at the programmes we have, where we are going, what can be done, and moreover, what should be done with the limited resources at our disposal, we shall fail dismally in our attempts to achieve the purposes of Unesco. For unless we do take time out to take stock of ourselves, as it were, we shall find that we are engaging in a multiplicity of activities with the very real danger of dissipating much needed resources and so diminishing the effectiveness of this Organization.

16.3 For this reason, Mr. President, we welcome the Director-General's initiation of this discussion. We have heard many speakers from the various countries, we know that the discussion has been a full one and we hope it will be a beginning towards the greater goal of total reassessment. Certainly the subject chosen for this debate has many implications for Unesco - it is not only an interesting but an extremely difficult question. Therefore just such a debate is needed in order to afford some measure of clarification of a subject which appears to be conducive to woolly or muddled thinking. My delegation shares the opinion of many delegations that this question of international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture is in essence the "raison d'être" of Unesco. Every part of its programme works towards this goal, exchanges of ideas, exchanges of cultural information, exchanges of techniques, exchanges of experts, exchanges of scientific data, and exchanges of all forms of information through all possible media in the fields of education, science and culture.

16.4 We whole-heartedly support in principle this programme of international exchange, because international understanding, which is the goal of the Organization, will only be achieved if Unesco is, in truth, an instrument of international exchange. However, we must stop to assess what exactly is being done. Such an examination should first make it abundantly clear that every part of our programme must be in keeping with the basic philosophy and aims of Unesco. If there is any part which does not meet this criterion then it should be abandoned forthwith. We may take a concrete example in the Exchange of Persons programme: it is not, nor should it be the aim of Unesco to promote exchanges simply for the sake of exchange. The underlying philosophy of Unesco in this instance is, rightly, to work through appropriate organizations and voluntary bodies to promote and stimulate interest in the exchange of a certain type of person, one who not only benefits personally from seminars and study tours abroad but who will, through his work and influence in his community, be able to use the experiences gained in such a way as to contribute to the improvement of international co-operation. If the programme does not achieve this, then its existence cannot be justified.

16.5 As for the programme and its possibilities, it is indeed laudable and has tremendous potentialities. Nevertheless, we are painfully aware that the needs are of a phenomenal magnitude. Unesco cannot do everything for everybody in 1961 or in 1962 or even in the programmes of ten or twenty biennia. Fortunately Unesco is not alone, there are other agencies in the United Nations family that are concerned with exchanges, and we must all work in harmony so that the maximum results are achieved with minimum expenditure of talent, time and money. To achieve the most effective results in terms of Unesco's aims it is essential that each agency direct and limit its attention to those matters with which it is best qualified to deal, and that each keep in step with what is being done by the others. In many countries of the world large numbers of the population are starving, diseased and illiterate. It is clear that first things must come first, and, in consequence, Unesco must act with the greatest restraint to keep pace with the programme in economics and sociology, and not exceed it. Exchanges of professional anthropologists may indeed be necessary; exchanges of scientific data, valuable; or exchanges of bibliographical material, advantageous; but, under certain circumstances, some of these must wait while priority is given where the urgence is greatest. We would request the Director-General to keep this in mind when he prepares, as envisaged in paragraph 2, Economic and Social Council resolution 803, "the principles to serve as guiding lines for bilateral, regional and international action regarding relations and exchanges in the field of education, science and culture".

16.6 Mr. President, we might make reference also to two other matters connected with this topic. Firstly, we take it as a fundamental principle that Unesco should use, to the greatest possible extent, the existing non-governmental organizations. Their contribution has been great and they are ready to do more. Secondly with regard to the collection and preparation of information for Unesco, it is time perhaps to determine whether or not a principle might be established in this matter. That is to say, Unesco, before requesting Member States to undertake urgent tasks of gathering and reporting information, should be quite certain that the work entailed is justified. The ultimate objective in view must be such as to warrant the time and energy needed to submit the required information. Unesco Headquarters should not become a giant depository of unread, unused reports.

16.7 I conclude with the hope that this experiment in self-examination may be followed again at the next Conference, but perhaps a topic of more restricted proportion might be considered. It occurred to me, for instance, that in 1962 we might consider a topic which would be both challenging and stimulating, and which at the same time is in need of review and perhaps also the development of a sense of direction, "education", a word that has been used many times during this session. In view of Unesco's mandate and of recent developments, we wonder if it might not be useful to undertake a study of the whole philosophy of Unesco's policy and operations in this field. An assessment in this extremely important segment of Unesco's programme could be very rewarding. Once we establish a definite philosophy as to what should be considered as Unesco's rôle in education, once we clearly delineate the problems involved and establish a workable system on a long-term basis, then and only then shall we be in a position better to perform the true function of Unesco as it pertains to one part at least of the magnificent aim of promoting peace through education, science and culture.

16.8 Mr. President, my country whole-heartedly supports the underlying philosophy of the Unesco programme of international exchange. Our own contribution has not been inconsequential - I need only refer here to our National Research Council and the Canada Council's programmes which supplement a great variety of important non-governmental activities. However, the time of this debate is too limited to allow a detailed description of Canada's rôle in this field.

16.9 Finally, Sir, we look forward with all Member States to the day when international exchanges will bring about the necessary community of spirit of

which mankind stands in such desperate need and towards which we steadily advance day by day - the kind of co-operation practised in this Organization and all other Agencies of this great family of the United Nations.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H. E. Mr. Vasile Dumitrescu, delegate of Rumania.

18.1 Mr. DUMITRESCU (Rumania) (Translation from the French): Mr. President and delegates, now that the present Conference is drawing to a close and we are preparing to break up after a lengthy and intense period of work, the debate devoted to international exchanges in education, science and culture allows us to glance back, assess the work accomplished and draw lessons from it for future use.

18.2 Taking one thing with another, the balance-sheet is a positive one, and the work which Unesco will have to pursue in order to carry out the projects voted for at our meetings will bear fruit which all men of goodwill throughout the world will appreciate at their true worth. The Rumanian delegation approves all the constructive proposals that have been submitted; and will certainly make a valuable contribution to the cause of co-operation and understanding between the peoples. We particularly appreciate the contribution made by the representatives of the many countries of Africa and other parts of the world which have recently attained independence and have brought with them the refreshing wind of change which is blowing today throughout the world and in the minds of men.

18.3 My country's Government pays a great deal of attention to cultural relations, which, in our opinion, are an integral part of the policy of peaceful co-existence - the only realistic policy today. Since the last meeting of the Unesco General Conference, Rumania has considerably extended her relations and personal exchanges in the various fields of culture and science. At the present time it maintains cultural and scientific relations with more than 60 countries; in the case of 20 of these, relations are based on agreements or official exchange programmes. More than 1,000 foreign students from more than 40 countries are studying in Rumanian universities; these include students from countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and most of them are holders of Rumanian State scholarships. Rumanian students are following courses in foreign universities in European countries, such as the Soviet Union and France, in the countries of Asia (India and China), in the Middle East (Cairo, for example), and in the United States of America.

18.4 Rumania is a member of more than 170 international cultural and scientific organizations. This year alone about 5,000 Rumanian intellectuals, artists and scientists attended cultural and scientific meetings abroad, while an equal number of foreign scientists and intellectuals visited our country. Nevertheless, we are convinced that cultural and scientific relations can and must be still further intensified in the interest of peace and co-operation between peoples.

18.5 Before making a few suggestions in the light of the recommendations of document 11 C/17, allow me to submit a few criticisms, which need stating if our Organization is to avoid certain errors and be guided along its proper course towards the aims for which it was created.

18.6 First of all I want to say that dismissal of the disarmament problem - in flagrant contradiction both with the recommendations we received from the United Nations and with the very spirit of our Organization - was one of the errors committed during this session. Paragraph 5 of document 11 C/17 recalls, inter alia, the express desire of the Economic and Social Council that the General Conference should draw up during its eleventh session "certain fundamental considerations with a view to guiding the action of the Director-General and the Executive Board" - and I might add the action of all National Commissions and non-governmental organizations - "during the preparatory period".

18.7 How can we work in the cause of education, science and culture if the world remains armed? The ancients used to say that the Muses were silent amid the clash of arms. That same silence will haunt all activities deployed for culture, if men's minds are the prey to fears of a possible war and are dominated by propaganda made by certain monopolistic circles. Unless there is a genuine desire to snatch the weapons from the hands of those who might use them against their brothers, education, science and culture will remain inanimate spectres. It must be understood that disarmament and peaceful co-existence are the very basis of our activities and that those who work against such ideas transgress the very aims of our Organization.

18.8 Unesco, in our opinion, should make full use of all the means at its disposal with a view not only to combating aggressiveness in men's minds but also to taking active steps to put disarmament into effect. I do not need to point out the vast possibilities which disarmament would create in the field of cultural, scientific and other relations. It is only by solving this problem that Unesco would cease to be the poor relation of the United Nations which she is at present. That is why I consider it absolutely necessary that the Conference should insist on Unesco's activities being guided along these lines.

18.9 I would also like to say a word about the rôle of experts and non-governmental organizations with regard to the spirit in which our work should be pursued. In the opinion of our delegation, it is not the experts, non-governmental organizations, etc., which ought to decide Unesco's activities, but the contrary. Otherwise Unesco may well become a victim of technicality and political short-sightedness, as may be seen from the regrettable shortcomings of the Proposed Programme and Budget, which we are called upon to examine and vote for by the light of the great events which occurred in the world just before the present session. I refer to the bankruptcy of colonialism and the achievement of liberty and independence by numerous States of Africa and Asia; these are scarcely reflected at all in the assessment of the programme.

18.10 Thus it was that problems connected with them were sometimes the subject of insufficiently prepared debates or of projects introduced on the very eve of the opening of the session. A more careful study of the means to be used for liquidating once and for all

the consequences of colonialism should, therefore, become one of the essential concerns of our Organization, even before the twelfth session of the General Conference.

18.11 It appears to me that we have devoted too little thought to improving co-operation between National Commissions for Unesco. In most cases these Commissions remain isolated and have not discovered how to allow others to benefit from the results obtained in their respective countries in the fields of education, science and culture. Take, for example, the problem of illiteracy, which has occupied some of our meetings. This question has been completely solved in the Socialist States; I think that countries where ignorance still exists would have every interest in knowing what means the Socialist countries have used in order to eliminate this scourge and what results have been achieved.

18.12 But I am bound to observe that, in the main, co-operation between Socialist and Capitalist States in the fields of education, science and culture is avoided, and that it is perhaps not the general opinion that efforts should be made to abolish mutual distrust and to correct certain surviving prejudices. Yet this is one of the aims which our Organization should set itself for the immediate future.

18.13 The Rumanian delegation has also at times deplored a lack of co-ordination between the work of the Secretariat and that of certain affiliated scientific organizations. Since so much has been said about education, why have we not set the International Bureau of Education to work on the problems with which we are concerned? If we had relied on the experience and preparatory studies of that Bureau, our resolutions would have contained more body and been more precise.

18.14 Instead of there being a reasonable division of labour between the organs at Unesco's disposal, certain bodies such as the Programme Commission have been overloaded and have had to give an opinion on widely different problems and take improvised decisions. I believe that one requirement of which we have become aware during the present session is that of increasing the number of commissions and working parties so that they can take decisions on the basis of a fuller knowledge of the problems submitted to them.

18.15 These, Mr. President, are the few remarks which I thought I might make at this advanced stage of our proceedings. I have made them in all sincerity and with the desire to see, in the future, an improvement in our work, on which the eyes of the world are turned as one of the sources from which humanity hopes for peace, mutual understanding and emulation by the peoples, and the social and intellectual advancement of all mankind.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Professor Arnold Bergstraesser, delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany.

20.1 Mr. BERGSTRAESSER (Federal Republic of Germany):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, towards the end of such a prolonged debate, one of the last speakers cannot hope to contribute anything substantially new. Nor should I like to ask you to give your attention too long to general observations about Unesco, since I have learned from this discussion that in regard to the principles to which Unesco is devoted we are rather unanimous, although we may, once in a while, understand the same words quite differently. To my mind, in this present hour of world history, co-operation in the fields of education, science and culture, the goal of Unesco and its practical experience, play a considerable part. And I wonder whether the work of Unesco might not be furthered if we were to give special weight to the fact that for the first time in history we are technically able to meet and consider issues in common.

20.2 We have been witnesses, throughout these weeks, of an international encounter which has been made possible by the very foundation of Unesco, and this encounter goes far beyond bilateral or multilateral exchanges. It is an encounter of global scope and I think this is very significant. I am convinced that even the National Commissions for Unesco, in each one of the countries which we have the honour and the pleasure to represent, has a particular duty to meet with this point of view in mind. Unesco should have an increasing repercussion on the national scene of each of these delegations, and I think that foremost among the tasks of the National Commissions should be that of watching public opinion in the respective countries in regard to the basic issue at stake for Unesco and all its Member States. I would even go so far as to recommend the continuous criticism of national legislation from the point of view which is to be the centre of Unesco's efforts.

20.3 This, as I have said, is an hour of history in which, for the first time in the development of mankind we are technically able to meet and to consider issues in common, to exchange criticism and to offer and work out creative suggestions. If we consider the work of Unesco as a model of mutual help and co-operative common action we are grateful enough, even though, at the same time, we ask what are the next steps to be considered, and are therefore bound to hit upon the shortcomings of which I am sure the Director-General, the Secretariat and also the delegations are aware. What would Unesco be, were the dissensions in the world of today not to make themselves felt in these rooms? The world of the Twentieth century is unique in the history of mankind in that political issues, wherever they arise, form an integral part of one network of world affairs. For the first time, we sons and daughters of the Twentieth century experience world history in the literal sense of this term, and this hour is unique in that for the first time no single nation can any more afford to neglect the sorrows, the difficulties, the needs - political, economic and cultural - of any other nation. None of these sorrows and needs are alien to its own future, even to its own ultimate destiny, this is the unique characteristic of this century. We are confronted in the most serious fashion with the question whether or not we shall be able to put our technological, intellectual and spiritual resources into the service of man, or let us say, of humanity, or whether we shall permit these resources to be turned against humanity.

20.4 Whoever has lived through a General Conference of Unesco and listened sensitively, will understand the challenge to this Organization expressed by the question, "Are we going to be able to put politics into the service of the civilization of man, or shall

we permit short-sighted political considerations to dominate civilization and put into their service the potentialities of civilization?".

20.5 If we are aware of the momentous character of this present hour of history, we may discover that the term "international exchanges", as we discuss it today, has a very far-reaching significance. This is an age of international exchanges; three or four decades ago it was not modern, it was exceptional and outstanding to think of international exchanges. The time we live in is still an age of nationalism, although the age of nationalism - and this also is characteristic of the second part of the century - has gone, it belongs to the past even if there are still people who do not yet know it. Nationalism is a contagious disease which never allows one nationalism to remain alone but necessarily arouses a counter-nationalism. And nationalism prevents the one who is obsessed by it from experiencing the reality of the world, a world which, as we have seen and could have learned, is destined to promote the art of living together with others. Nationalism is but one of the forms of self-centredness which make us blind to other human beings, other nations, other social and cultural systems. It is one of the forms of egotism blocking the road to co-operation. And I think we should welcome the new nations entering the community in that they have the chance of being spared, from the outset, the error of believing that "my country, right or wrong" or "right or wrong, my conception of world history", are statements capable of leading us anywhere into the future.

20.6 These new nations are entering a world which through bitter experience was forced to strive for understanding and co-operation. And I am sure they will learn how to distinguish among their fellow nations those who are reliable and convincing partners in the common development of mankind, from others who may be merely verbally expressing themselves in favour of international purpose. I hope that these new nations will, with us, take part in an international movement towards the disarmament of the spirit which may be a precondition of military disarmament.

20.7 But we ask these questions in order to find out whether anything can be done by Unesco. In an attempt to use this international intercourse constructively and towards a common purpose, and to help us to listen to each other with more and more understanding and to renounce our preconceived ideas and even more our prejudices, I would like to point out some possibilities for common work. Wherever Unesco has tried this route, Unesco has been successful. In widening the horizon of each participant, in proving by experience that any kind of assistance - technical or organizational - if granted with an open mind is bound to be a two-way partnership, it may bring to the one who is asked for help, more education and productive enlightenment than perhaps to the one who is to be helped. Many suggestions for such common work have been made during this debate. May I add a few more, which when thought out properly may constitute a further step, may contribute to meeting the challenge of the hour? This hour in which one technological civilization begins to spread over the whole world and in which, at the same time, the multitude of nations with their different ways of living find themselves compelled increasingly to seek means of improving mutual understanding and of living together in pursuit of their common cause.

20.8 These proposals which I permit myself to make are very simple in that they merely try to render topical some of the efforts of international exchange. Unesco has taken a momentous step in furthering the very foundations of education all over the world, and rightly so. The future of all else would be hopeless without free and equal access to education, which paves the road to the civilization of the human being. However, in listening to our debate, I wonder whether a few seemingly modest steps towards the improvement of our mutual understanding might not be feasible. For example, might not international working parties, selected from among the nations and civilizations represented at Unesco, tackle with an open, though philosophical mind, some of the great cultural issues of today? The first of the topics I wish to suggest is the question whether our view of our own age, our interpretation of this particular moment of history is alike, or should be investigated in order to find out the basic differences of our interpretation.

20.9 Certainly this picture is alike in regard to the most obvious phenomena of the surface, the differences would be brought out if this diagnosis of our time could constitute the central topic of an international encounter, which I think could be useful and productive for the future of Unesco's work. A common effort, well prepared, and a diagnosis of our time is, it seems to me, indispensable to our future work and at the same time promises to be of great assistance to every participant nation.

20.10 Secondly, all of us need to impart to our own educational systems the art of growing up and of living before a world horizon. You see that I take it seriously when I say that this is a momentous hour in the history of mankind, an hour in which the isolation of minds and the isolation of education has proven, and is further to prove, its incapacity to cope with the issues facing mankind in the Twentieth century. But I am much less sure, and I suppose most of us are, when the question arises of how to do this, how to impart to our educational systems the world horizon we need in this present hour - in an age which demands specialization, in an age which maintains and even develops national cultures - and should do so within the limits reasonable, within the limits acknowledged and recognized in view of the proper perspectives in which national culture has a legitimate rôle to play. The question of how to impart the reality of the world horizon of culture to the young generations cannot be solved so long as nations remain isolated from each other and we must encourage and invent a common start in the direction of solving this problem.

20.11 And thirdly and lastly, on this road of common work, we arrive finally at certain variations which are basic to quite a few misunderstandings in the present-day world, differences in man's comprehension of himself. Some of them are really fundamental to our difficulties in understanding each other and in paving the way towards co-operative partnership. But at the same time the biological, anthropological, sociological and humanistic sciences of today master a field of knowledge concerning man

as well as man's comprehension of himself - a field of knowledge which is much wider and much richer than it ever was before.

20.12 I suggest that some day a working party of Unesco be encouraged to undertake a comparative study of man's comprehension of himself in the present-day world. Perhaps such a study, remote as it seems at a first glance from the demands of the day, might grow into a most helpful and effective contribution to the one goal which is before us - to enhancing the respect of the human being, the human being as a creature destined to conduct his own life maturely. And perhaps such a study could help us to translate this basic respect of man into terms of daily conduct and international cultural relations and, indeed, ultimately, of international politics also.

21.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): We shall resume this debate on Monday morning, and I would ask you to agree that the meeting should start at 10 a.m.

21.2 Professor Marcel Florkin, delegate of Belgium, will be followed by the delegates of Guinea, Cuba and Lebanon. We shall then try, not to make a summary of this series of speeches, but to bring out certain viewpoints and perhaps certain differences and contrasts which were noted during the debate. Without claiming at the moment to know what the Director-General and his staff will be undertaking in the next few months, I should like us to be able to separate at the end of the present proceedings with the feeling of having made an effective contribution to Unesco's future plans. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

TWENTY-SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

12 December 1960, at 10.35 a.m.

President: Mr. Luis R. MAC KAY (Argentina)

CONTENTS

Discussion on the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples 410

DISCUSSION ON THE ROLE OF UNESCO IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE BY COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): Ladies and gentlemen, the twenty-sixth plenary meeting of the General Conference is open.

1.2 According to the agenda, we should have begun by discussing item 17.7 at the previous meeting and several delegations had already handed in their names to speak on it. As H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, whose report should wind up this discussion, is detained in the Executive Board, I propose to continue with the next item, no. 29, on the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples (documents 11 C/45 and 11 C/45 Corr.1).

1.3 This report will be presented by the Chairman of the Working Party, Mr. Mahmoud Messadi, Head of the delegation of Tunisia, whom I now call upon.

2.1 Mr. MESSADI (Tunisia), Chairman of the Working Party, (Translation from the French): Mr. President and delegates, the Working Party, set up by the General Conference on 25 November during the fourth plenary meeting, to consider the new question included in the agenda as item 29 and submit any appropriate resolution to the Conference, held two meetings on Thursday 1 December and on Saturday 3 December 1960.

2.2 The Working Party consisted of the representatives of the following Member States: Brazil, France, Ghana, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Tunisia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

2.3 The Working Party did me the honour of electing me as its Chairman.

2.4 Observers from Australia, Bulgaria, Iran, Nigeria, the Republic of Niger, Sudan and Switzerland, and the representative of the United Nations attended one or both of the meetings.

2.5 The Working Party decided to draw up a draft resolution on the basis of draft resolution 11 C/DR.183, submitted by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and draft resolution 11 C/DR.187, submitted by the delegations of the following Member States: Afghanistan, Burma, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (capital: Brazzaville), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Jordan, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Republic of Niger, Pakistan, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic and Viet-Nam.

2.6 Note was also taken of draft resolution 11 C/DR.125 submitted by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2.7 The various paragraphs of the preamble were adopted at the first meeting and those of the purview at the second.

2.8 There was discussion on a number of important points, but there was no question about either the general spirit of the resolution or its essential provisions, with the result that it was unanimously adopted, paragraph by paragraph.

2.9 At the first meeting the French representative said that his delegation felt bound to abstain, because the question did not fall within Unesco's competence and was currently being discussed by the United Nations, which was the organization to take the decision on it.

2.10 The representative of the United Kingdom stated that he had no instructions from his Government empowering him either to approve or not to approve any draft resolution which the Working Party might prepare.

2.11 A proposal to introduce a paragraph inviting the Director-General to report to the Executive Board and to the General Conference during the twelfth session on measures taken to implement the present resolution was submitted by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2.12 The Working Party considered whether such a paragraph was necessary and several members asked the Secretariat whether, in the absence of such a paragraph, the Director-General would have to make a report. When the Secretariat replied in the affirmative, the Working Party finally decided not to include this paragraph.

2.13 At the end of the debate, the representative of France, referring to the decision he had taken at the first meeting to abstain on principle, added his vote to that of the other members of the Working Party in favour of the last paragraph of the draft resolution.

2.14 The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics expressed itself in agreement with the text

of the draft resolution but reserved the right to make a statement to make up for what appeared to them to be deficiencies.

2.15 At the end of its proceedings, the Working Party expressed unanimous satisfaction with the atmosphere of understanding and friendly co-operation in which the exchange of views between the various members had taken place. The Chairman of the Working Party expressed the hope at the end of the discussion that a document drawn up in such a spirit of understanding might be considered by the two delegations which had abstained and receive their votes in favour, so as to confer upon this draft resolution the unanimity of the General Conference, in this way doing honour to it and to Unesco, whose spirit would thus be faithfully interpreted.

2.16 Accordingly, the Working Party recommends to the General Conference that it adopt the text attached as an Annex to the present report, which, I must truly say, was drawn up and adopted in an atmosphere devoid of all passion and polemics and in the spirit of our great Organization's noble mission.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I thank Mr. Messadi for his report.

3.2 I call upon the delegate of the United States of America, Mr. Thayer.

4.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America): Mr. President and distinguished delegates, I would like first of all to pay particular tribute to the extraordinary job done by the Chairman of the Working Party. He showed patience and skill and in every way performed his duties in an outstanding manner. I am sure that every member of the Working Party has nothing but the greatest admiration for his performance.

4.2 I do not suppose, Mr. President, that there exists a more powerful human emotion than the desire for individual freedom - freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom to determine one's own destiny. It is a human emotion which will not respond to logic, nor can any number of years of tyranny and oppression ever succeed in destroying it.

4.3 I listened, Mr. President, to the impassioned speeches of the delegate from Morocco and the delegate from Guinea, on a noisy afternoon a week ago last Saturday, with the deepest possible sympathy. I understood the emotions that necessarily are involved in all the complicated questions of the coming into freedom of the peoples of Africa. I know the deep bonds of sympathy that exist between these peoples. The feelings to which these delegates gave expression on that Saturday afternoon were very understandable to me. I did not agree with their proposals because, as I have said very often, I do not believe that in this Conference we should be concerned with political matters which are bound to cause tensions and clashes that are quite out of place here. I believe we should accept decisions of the United Nations on all political questions. But I understood the feelings of these delegates then - and I understand them now, and I respect them - and I regret very much that the various suggestions for adjournment made it necessary at the close of a long afternoon to stop the debate, because, though I disagreed, I understood the pressing need of human beings to give sincere expression to their emotions on the subject of freedom and independence. The force of this emotion creates a very close bond between those who, now free, have in their history had to fight for their freedom and those who are not yet free, or have just achieved freedom. It is for that reason, Mr. President, that we in America respond so strongly and so emotionally to any mention of the attainment of independence by countries and peoples under any circumstances. When a new nation comes into being in the world it stirs within us in America the memories of the time when our nation was born, only 185 years ago. May I repeat, Mr. President, what I said earlier in this Conference: we Americans, as the first colonized people to gain their freedom, need never be reminded by anyone what it is like not to be free.

4.4 People and countries can attain their independence in many ways. Some, like us in America, have had to fight for liberty, as have the peoples of many other countries. Others gain access to freedom through negotiation. The United Kingdom and the French Republic have granted independence to many nations during these last years and even these last months. I have listened with much interest to the remarks made from this rostrum by the representatives of many of these nations, expressing their appreciation for the contributions which these once colonial powers have made to their peoples over the years. Although my ancestors fought for independence on the battlefields of the State of Massachusetts, they were the first, after we achieved independence, to appreciate what earlier British rule had contributed to our development. The bonds that bind the former colonies of the United Kingdom to the great family of the Commonwealth are of a strength that cannot be ignored. I think that the distinguished delegate from India will be the first to testify to this. So also, I think, will the distinguished delegate from the Philippines testify in similar fashion to the efforts of the United States.

4.5 Now, what is our business at this Conference in so far as Unesco is concerned? Is it the past or the future? If we are concerned with the past and with calling up out of history the evils of tyranny and oppression, it might be interesting to remember that there was a time when the United Kingdom was a colony owing allegiance to the Romans, that many peoples of Europe were once governed against their will by great empires. This is true, for example, of Switzerland and the Netherlands. Are we to spend our time bemoaning and reviling the conquests of Genghis Khan or Attila? Should we make endless speeches about Napoleon or Frederick the Great? There have been tyrants and oppressors of large segments of the people of the world since the world began. They exist today in some parts of the world and I venture to say that they may exist here and there until the world comes to an end. But, Mr. President, in Unesco we are concerned, not with the past, but with what the rôle of Unesco shall be in the future in helping to contribute to the education, science and culture of those peoples who have not yet attained their independence so that they can be made ready, and of those who have only recently become free and need assistance so that they can join the family of nations on a basis of equality. We are concerned with what education can do to make liberty an effective social force.

4.6 That is why the United States delegation was glad to take part in the endeavour of the Working Party to define what the rôle of Unesco can and should be with respect to these peoples. I believe that the resolution drawn up by this group and embodied in the report just submitted to this plenary meeting sets forth very well the basic principle on which the rôle of Unesco rests. The United States delegation would like to point to one interpretation of certain words of this resolution which it believes to be important; I refer to paragraphs 1 (a) and (b) of the resolution where reference is made to the fact that "accession to freedom and independence" should not be delayed under false pretexts. There are in many parts of the world, notably in many of the islands of the Pacific, small groups of peoples who desire and are entitled to self-government, but who of their own accord would prefer to associate themselves in federated groups or with other independent powers, rather than have their own complete freedom and independence. The United States interprets the words freedom and independence as applying as well to those peoples who seek self-government as to those who do not wish to become free and independent nations. The United States delegation would not wish to see these peoples ignored or omitted from this resolution. We agree that independence and freedom should not be delayed on the basis of any false pretext. We also believe, however, that a definite relationship must exist between the economic, social, educational and cultural advancement of the people and their ability to assume the obligations of freedom and independence.

4.7 Unesco has indeed a rôle to play in contributing to the attainment of independence of peoples in the world. For people who have received the benefits of education and science and culture, people who are allowed to have complete and open association with other peoples of the world cannot and will not long remain in bondage. We believe, as the resolution states, that colonialism in all its forms and all its manifestations should be speedily abolished, and when we say that, we refer to any form of alien subjugation and any manifestation of the hegemony of one State over another, to the detriment of the latter's interest. Not all colonialism has been overseas colonialism, not all colonialism has worn that frank label, not all proclamations of independence have meant that real independence was firmly established. There are many people who have been loudly proclaimed as free peoples who have been suffering under the worst forms of tyranny. If the older type of colonialism, and particularly the forms decried by the younger States which have recently achieved their independence, well deserve to pass away, we must be careful that new forms of colonialism are not implanted to solidify the subordination of weaker countries to those more strong, of small States to their more powerful and ruthless neighbours. We see this resolution, Mr. President, as directed against all the deplorable aspects of colonialism, both overt and covert, both ancient and new. It is in that spirit that the United States delegation endorses the directive it implies for Unesco to give its full support and aid to the growth, development and educational progress of newly independent countries and those which will become independent in the next few years.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. Lapin, head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we are glad that the Soviet Union delegation's initiative in presenting a proposal to promote the liquidation of colonialism for consideration by the General Conference has found support among many other delegations, and that the Working Party's discussion of the Soviet Union draft resolution and that presented by the Afro-Asian group of countries has resulted in agreement on the draft text which is now before you at today's plenary meeting.

6.2 We can thus state with satisfaction that the attempts of certain delegations to draw Unesco aside from life and from the problems which are agitating the nations today have not succeeded. Life is inexorably breaking through and penetrating the walls of our international Organization.

6.3 We support the draft resolution presented by the distinguished representative of Tunisia, although we regard it as not entirely satisfactory; and we should like to express our opinion on various points in that connexion.

6.4 Its first shortcoming, in our view, is the extreme vagueness of its reference to the time-limits for liquidating colonialism. It expresses the desire that colonialism should be abolished speedily. But what is meant by "speedily"? As far as the colonial countries are concerned, it might be a matter of several years or even decades. Is it possible to tolerate the shameful system of colonialism even if only for a period of a few years? Is it possible to hope that the colonialists will deign to grant independence to the oppressed peoples of their own accord? We must not forget that more than one hundred million people are still living in colonial bondage, in need and privation, and subject to unrestrained exploitation and pillage.

6.5 Colonialism is an ulcer which has hampered and to this day continues to hamper the progressive development of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

6.6 As the President of Ghana so rightly declared at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the world will know no peace so long as a single foot of African soil remains under foreign domination.

6.7 Nor can our programmes, Unesco's programmes be effective so long as colonialism exists, for it hampers, and has done for centuries, the development of education and culture, and keeps the masses in poverty and ignorance.

6.8 Accordingly the Soviet Union delegation proposes another word, a more definite word in our view, instead of "speedily" - the word "immediately".

6.9 It is necessary to finish immediately with the disgrace of our time, to liquidate colonial systems and grant independence to all colonial countries and peoples forthwith, as the peoples themselves demand. No longer must the putrefied régime of colonial oppression and servitude be preserved by force.

6.10 Assertions that some peoples are not yet ready for independence, that they are not yet capable

of directing their affairs by themselves, cannot restrain the inexorable urge of peoples for liberation.

6.11 This is the colonialists' old, old story - nothing more. History is breaking new trails, without asking the consent of those who still think in terms of the concepts of the last century.

6.12 The realization of the peoples' national hopes and aspirations is inevitable. If the supporters of the colonial régime obstruct the peoples' march to independence, they will end up by being swept away.

6.13 It is the duty of our Organization to put its full authority behind the demand for the complete and immediate liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. This demand was contained in the Soviet Union delegation's proposal.

6.14 The second shortcoming of the draft resolution presented today is that it contains no clear and forthright condemnation of colonialism. The misery and privation which colonialism has brought to peoples are passed over in silence. We regard this as a concession, as it were, to the colonialists who are trying in some measure to embellish colonialism, to demonstrate its "civilizing mission" in respect of the oppressed peoples.

6.15 Over the centuries, hundreds of millions of people enslaved by the colonialists have been forcibly prevented from reaching the highroad, the main thoroughfare, of human development. In their pursuit of profits, the colonialists condemned these peoples to unspeakable hardships, to poverty and ignorance. Colonialism has held back the economic and cultural development of the oppressed peoples, many of whom had a high level of culture before colonialism came on the scene.

6.16 Colonialism has left, as a legacy, an unprecedented rate of mortality from disease and hunger, it has left illiteracy and an almost complete absence of trained national personnel.

6.17 How can we forget this, how can we fail to mention it in our resolution when we speak about colonialism? I shall cite only a few examples. During a half-century of Belgian rule, the population diminished by nearly one-half. The proportion of the population of Africa to world population has fallen from 20% in the Sixteenth century to 8% in the Twentieth century. These are facts which the colonialists cannot get away from.

6.18 The rate of illiteracy among the adult population of Africa is 85% and in Tropical Africa the population is illiterate almost to a man. How, in the face of such facts, is it possible to speak of the civilizing mission of the colonial system?

6.19 In the speech which he made here, the United Kingdom delegate spoke with pride about the way in which his country is helping Dahomey. But then comes the delegate from Dahomey, gentlemen, who tells us that only 30% of the men, women and children in his country can read and write. The rest are illiterate. That being the case, how, without a sense of shame, can one speak of the success of education in a country like Dahomey? And the position is the same in nearly all the countries which English colonialism is now quitting under the pressure of the liberation movement.

6.20 Since the question of the civilizing mission of the colonialist countries is so often raised, let me quote a few words from the will and testament of the great Indian writer Rabindranath Tagore. This is what he wrote, as he was taking leave of us: "The day will come when by the will of fate the English will be obliged to quit their Indian colony. But what kind of India will they leave behind them, what dreadful misery? When the river of centuries-old English dominion dries up, at long last, how much filth and slime will remain on the river-bed?". Rabindranath Tagore went on to say: "There was once a time when I believed that the springs of civilization welled from the heart of Europe, but today, when I am making ready to quit the world, not even a vestige of that belief has remained". These are Tagore's unforgettable words, and whatever efforts are made to sell us the idea of the love of the English monopolies for the enslaved countries, we shall always remember them. Unforgettable words indeed.

6.21 This is a deadly assessment of the rôle of the colonialists; and many delegates from recently liberated countries have had something to say about this, in fact, at the United Nations General Assembly. I should like to recall the words spoken in New York by the Mali delegate, Ousman Ba: "We are not aware that slavery has any positive aspects". Neither is the world, gentlemen, aware of any positive aspects of slavery.

6.22 Naturally, certain colonialists have no objection at present to forgetting the past, for it all too clearly shows the path they took. But the peoples cannot forget it, and our Organization would not be doing its duty if it failed to condemn colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

6.23 I agree with Mr. Thayer, of course, that there is no need to bring up the story of how ancient Rome subjugated Europe. That was in the distant past, and can be forgotten. But what is happening now in the Congo, what is happening in Algeria, what is happening in Laos and what is happening in certain countries of Latin America - these are things we must not forget. They are matters of the present, rather than past history. We must remember them, we must talk about them, for otherwise our discussions about education would be hypocritical.

6.24 Some delegates here have tried to suggest, in their speeches, that reminders about colonialism and its past engender hatred between peoples. No, gentlemen, nothing is more untrue than an affirmation of that kind. The truth is that the French, English and American peoples are one thing, and the French, English and American monopolies and colonialists are another. We never confuse the two and neither can anyone else. It is impossible to confuse the peoples with the monopolists who conduct a colonial policy of plunder and violence.

6.25 We have, and always will have, the utmost respect for the American, French and English peoples, and for their cultural greatness and creative genius. But that does not prevent us from being totally irreconcilable in our attitude towards the colonialists and monopolists and any condonation of their pillaging of the colonies is out of the question.

6.26 The truth is that some of the plunder from the colonies has always found its way into the pockets of the higher officials, and sometimes of the middle classes of the population. That is true; it is a fact. But the peoples, the workers in those countries, were and are, opposed to colonial policy. Take, for instance,

the French workers, who, under the leadership of their militant party, have always fought, and are now fighting against the colonial policy of the ruling classes.

6.27 The appeals so often made here to forget the past simply amount, in fact, to attempts to weaken the vigilance of the colonial peoples. Life teaches that the colonialists, who are giving way under the pressure of the liberation struggle, are trying to restore their domination and to retain their hold on the wealth of the colonies. In our day, they have even had recourse to hiding themselves behind the flag of the United Nations.

6.28 Events in the Congo, the plot against the Cuban people to bring it to its knees and restore the domination of the United States monopolies, the attempts to suppress the national liberation movement in Algeria - these and many other things teach the peoples to be vigilant. They teach them that the colonialists surrender nothing of their own free will. Every concession is wrested by force, each step towards freedom is the result of a struggle. The events in the Congo and the forcible suppression of the Lumumba Government are dispelling any remaining spirit of patriarchal trust in the new oppressors.

6.29 The draft resolution which we are today discussing does not include the proposal made by the Soviet Union delegation for the restoration by colonial powers of even part of the wealth acquired by the monopolies through exploitation.

6.30 We proposed its inclusion and submitted a special resolution. It would be simple justice if the former colonialists returned part of the plunder to the former colonies so that it could be used for educational and cultural needs.

6.31 The Indian delegate, at the XVth General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Menon, proposed that a special levy amounting to $15,000,000,000 a year should be imposed on the industrially developed countries for the development of the underdeveloped countries. He proposed it as a form of repayment of merely a part of the enormous profits which the colonialists had squeezed out of the colonies and dependent territories over the course of many decades.

6.32 I should like to emphasize once again the direct relationship existing between colonial plunder and questions of education, as witness the experience of my own country. In former times foreign monopolies extracted enormous profits from Russia. The largest enterprises in our country belonged to French, English and German shareholder-monopolists. In those days most of our people were illiterate, for the masters of the country were the foreign monopolists. But when the State structure in our country changed, when we expelled the foreign monopolists, resources immediately became available for education, also, and in a very short space of time our country ceased to be backward and became a leading country in the field of science, education and culture.

6.33 In other words, the whole point is to throw the foreign exploiters out of the country. This is the central problem.

6.34 In those days, too, we were told that the working class in Tsarist Russia could not cope with the task of social construction, that it lacked experience, that it was absolutely necessary to have foreigners to help the Soviet Union. Nothing of the kind. The working class coped with these problems, created its own intelligentsia in all branches of science and culture, and forged well ahead.

6.35 You will recall how 16 imperialist countries attacked Soviet Russia in order to destroy the new State and restore the former foreign masters in our country. But we smashed these interventionists, defended freedom in our country and went boldly ahead towards the heights of science, culture and education.

6.36 Herein, lies the key problem, and we regret that the draft resolution now before us takes insufficient account of this great and unforgettable experience. At the same time, however, we are convinced that the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, will always be present before the eyes of the peoples who have gained freedom or are struggling to achieve it.

6.37 Much has been said here about philanthropic grants on behalf of the colonial peoples. There has been talk of certain sums which the colonizers are giving for education and cultural needs. This, gentlemen, is a half-measure, it may be useful, but it does not solve the problem.

6.38 I should like to quote what the delegate of the Republic of Guinea, speaking in New York at the United Nations General Assembly said: "Yesterday's oppressors, speaking in the accents of pure philanthropists, are hoping to cajole the independent governments of Africa, represented in the United Nations into supporting their reactionary policy". Such is the price of this philanthropy.

6.39 In our opinion, the solution of the problem lies in effective and all-round help to countries in raising the level of their economy, culture and education both through the organs of the United Nations and through Unesco, as well as on a bilateral basis. The Soviet Union, for its part, has given and will give help to the underdeveloped countries without attaching any political conditions, on the basis of mutual respect and independence.

6.40 While we are on the subject of colonialism, gentlemen, I should like to draw attention to several manifestations of what might be called vestiges of colonialism within Unesco.

6.41 Can anyone deny the existence of such phenomena in the present method, for example, of selecting the staff of Unesco, where the overwhelming majority of posts are occupied by representatives of the Western countries, and particularly those countries which had or still have colonies? And attempts are being made to perpetuate this state of affairs; it is proposed to give practically life tenure to officials on the Unesco staff, which means that for decades the representatives of the countries of Asia and Africa will not be allowed sufficiently wide access to Unesco.

6.42 Can this be described as just? No, it is decidedly unjust and I consider it essential to arrange matters so that, within two or three years, at least one-half of the Unesco staff is composed of representatives of the countries of Asia and Africa, including the People's Republic of China. At least one-half! Then we shall be getting justice!

6.43 Consider the nature of the work of our Conference and the staffing of the delegations. The French

delegation consists of 57 members, including assistants and experts. The United States delegation has 29 members, and the United Kingdom delegation 26. Nor is our own delegation a small one. With delegations of this size, the representatives of the big countries can sit on commissions, make many speeches and exercise influence. But what about the representatives of the African countries? Their delegations are small, consisting of two, three or four members. They do not manage to attend commissions or working committees, and are unable in practice to work like the representatives of the great powers and big countries. Is this fair? Hardly. We must make a radical change in the nature of the work of the Conference so that large countries and small can participate equally.

6.44 It is impermissible that certain countries which pay a large part of the expenses of Unesco should give orders, should suddenly begin to say "We are quitting Unesco", and thus exert pressure on the other countries. This is not right, either. It creates a situation of inequality of rights, and is a vestige of colonialism in the work of Unesco.

6.45 Lastly, let us take Unesco's programme. Here, too, the fear of effective measures to help the underdeveloped countries is perceptible. I comment on only one fact. It is stated, in the appraisal of Unesco's programmes for the Economic and Social Council, that in 1961 a first study will be made of training facilities for mass communication in Africa, with special attention to the requirements of newly independent States. This is for 1961. It is further stated that this study will lay the basis for action, in 1963-1964, for development of professional training in Africa. The conclusion is that the African countries will have to wait three or four years before Unesco lifts a finger to go ahead with professional training. Is this the proper way to do things? Surely this is not the way to organize the work of our Organization, which claims to be helping the underdeveloped countries.

6.46 There are many such facts regarding Unesco's activity. What we need is a blast of fresh wind to blow through Unesco's work and programmes in order to sweep away all vestiges of colonialism.

6.47 The Soviet Government recently made a statement about the situation in the Congo. We transmitted it officially to the President of our Conference, and we hope that he will bring it to the notice of all the Conference delegates. This statement, gentlemen, makes an exhaustive analysis of what is taking place in the Congo. It says that events in the Congo are destroying the spirit of servility, the naive belief in the promises being made by the colonialists from the rostrum of the United Nations. But this servile spirit lives on in certain countries.

6.48 Already the peoples are regarding the colonialists and their henchmen with anger. Among the popular masses there is a growing consciousness of the need for a radical change, a consciousness of the impossibility of continuing the colonial system, the impossibility of compromise between the old order of bondage and slavery and the new order of freedom. People everywhere are learning these things from events in the Congo.

6.49 Gentlemen, despite our critical remarks, we support this draft resolution which the representative of Tunisia had the honour to present here in the name of many countries. Despite its incompleteness, we are convinced that it serves the cause of the liberation of the peoples from colonial servitude and opens before them the road to education, science and culture on terms of equality.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. Abdesselem of the delegation of Tunisia.

8.1 Mr. ABDESSELEM (Tunisia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, a few days ago Professor Mahadevan, the distinguished delegate of India, said in his speech during the discussion of item 17.7 of the agenda that the real miracle of the age in which we live is not the perfecting of new means of action or of physical destruction, but the large-scale and almost simultaneous accession to independence of a large number of countries which have hitherto been dependent. If, as we believe, it is true that human progress is at the basis of all scientific and technical progress and that the advancement of mankind is the final aim of all research and all activities, the present epoch will be characterized and justified in the eyes of future generations by the speed and success of a process by which, over a period of a few decades, all the peoples of the earth have achieved full exercise of their rights and responsibilities as human beings.

8.2 Although this process throws a strong light on the immediate problems and difficulties of mankind, it is likely in the long run, providing mankind has sense enough not to destroy itself, to be a factor in the universal development of science and culture. Unesco, first of all through its Director-General and secondly through the eleventh session of its General Conference, has endeavoured to adapt itself to this historical process, an effort which, although it is necessarily limited, is none the less commendably substantial. Quite recently our Programme Commission, in response to the vast needs and the urgent appeal of the newly independent countries of Tropical Africa for more education and a more modern culture, agreed to revise the budget estimates.

8.3 For their part, those countries which have been independent for a few years have drawn up and partially carried out plans of educational and cultural development in line with the confidence place in them and the solidarity shown them. But above and beyond programmes of assistance and the applause which greets newly independent States on their admission to Unesco, there is, I believe, a feeling which transcends the sympathy we feel for one or another of these new States and which includes them all or - to be more exact - goes farther still extending to the inevitable advance of mankind towards more liberty, more fraternity and more happiness. There is also the conviction that the speeding up of this move towards a world worthier of mankind is a moral advance towards the creation of a world of physical and moral harmony. We consider that Unesco should clearly express this conviction and its awareness of this progress and declare its satisfaction and determination to contribute by all the means at its disposal towards the consolidation, maintenance and speeding up of that progress.

8.4 Education, science and culture, even more than other human activities, need a breadth of view exceeding that of the technician closely confined within the limits of his daily job. Education, science and culture demand that the lofty principles which govern our activities should be explained or reaffirmed. By doing so, by reasserting the right of peoples to enjoy more liberty and to benefit from their independence, Unesco remains faithful to its origins and to its Constitution; that Constitution, addressed to all nations, declares that the dignity of man demands the wide diffusion of culture and the education of humanity for justice, liberty and peace and that the last war was made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation in their place of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races.

8.5 By a clear expression that it is aware of the beneficial effects of the liberation of all peoples and all nations, the General Conference of Unesco will be faithful to the very spirit of these programmes of education, information and exchange which, over and above their details, signify solidarity and fraternity. But fraternal solidarity can only exist among nations which are free and equal, in their rights and in their responsibilities, and are therefore fully sovereign. It excludes all inequality and all spirit of domination. Here once again I will recall the preamble to the Unesco Constitution, nearly every paragraph of which mentions the dignity of man. It is self-evident that the dignity of man involves liberty and equality. It is obvious that men's freedom may be restricted and their equality upset by the inequality of nations and by the power of one to rule the destinies of another. Subjection to foreign rule places any country in a position of all-round inferiority, in which the limitation of cultural development is closely bound up with that of political rights - in the same way that dictatorship limits the free pursuit of objective truth and that free exchange of ideas and knowledge which the preamble to the Unesco Constitution considers the necessary condition for all human progress.

8.6 We should not be deluded by any partial successes that may be played to the credit of certain colonial systems, any more than we can be converted into disciples of political tyranny by the accomplishments of certain so-called enlightened despots. For every item on the credit side it is easy to find debit balances and indictments of failure. Above all we cannot accept that freedom is an evil from which a part of the human race must be preserved. That we cannot do without opening the door to the doctrine of the inequality of races and men, which, twenty years ago, brought disaster to mankind and which continues - though fortunately only locally - to be a disgrace to mankind and a danger to its future, implying as it does hatred and recourse to violence.

8.7 Let us not deceive ourselves. The movement of independence which is sweeping through the world aims at restoring man to his full dignity. President Bourguiba, Head of the Tunisian State, summed up this aspect of independence in the speech he made on 1 August 1959 at the opening of the Second Conference of African Students: "The aim of independence and national liberation is to restore human dignity. A man who is subject to foreign law has his dignity insulted; but dignity is an inherent right of every man no matter what his race, his colour, or the country or area from which he comes".

8.8 But the attainment of independence and the restoration of man's dignity release energies hitherto dormant and arouse an enthusiasm which could not find an outlet so long as men were deprived of responsibility. It is for the common good that these energies are deployed and this enthusiasm aroused; this year and in this very hall you have heard encouraging echos of it. Speeches that we have listened to remind me of something else which President Bourguiba said: "Independence is necessary, not only to get rid of foreign rule but also to guide a country towards the training of leaders, to an economic and social struggle to raise the standard of living, to combat ignorance, obscurantism and poverty. Only national statesmen devoted to their countries and holding the reins of power can do this; foreign rulers cannot make an acceptable job of it".

8.9 President Bourguiba went on to say: "The struggle for liberation is a perpetual battle. After political liberation come economic liberation and the liberation of man from fanaticism, ignorance, poverty and destitution. To free ourselves from economic, cultural and social underdevelopment requires co-operation with the powers who have outstripped us. Even if we have painful memories of their domination, once we have rid ourselves of it, we must get them to co-operate with us".

8.10 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we want the era of domination and exploitation to give place, as now appears inevitable, to an era of equality and co-operation, without violence and, so far as possible, in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding. Some countries which have transformed their relations with certain of their former colonies have understood this. We note with satisfaction and hope that these great nations will succeed in transforming their relations with the other territories still dependent on them. We hope that, to this end, they will succeed in overcoming the difficulties they meet. These, however great, are nothing compared with the dangers of delaying recognition of independence. We think that it is the duty of international organizations to help overcome these difficulties; we believe that the effort of moral reconversion implied in the refashioning of international relations is sometimes such a difficult one that it calls for help and advice for both colonizers and colonized.

8.11 This is the spirit in which, in order to substitute negotiation and co-operation for the vicious circle of violence and war, the President of the Tunisian Republic with admirable foresight proposed as far back as 2 March 1959 a round-table for the purpose, as he expressed it, "of allowing mankind to emerge from the colonial age and to enter into that of co-operation". Here is an extract from what President Bourguiba said: "I can easily imagine a big conference uniting all countries which still have colonies or semi-colonial territories. Meeting among themselves, these countries might come to an agreement. Next they would invite representatives of the people concerned to a round-table conference or they might set up committees for studying the cases of individual countries separately and considering

their possibilities and particular conditions. In this way, the development of colonized people will be carried out without terrorism, violence and anarchy. Negotiation between the colonizers and the colonized, while fixing the stages and methods of emancipation, would also have to include a study of plans for assistance and economic recovery. The peoples must be saved from underdevelopment which is a form of slavery".

8.12 That then is what we believe and that is the programme we are trying to the best of our ability to pursue. Both are inspired by the experience of a country which, in the words of the leader of its liberation movement, has freed itself from the colonial era without hate and without resentment. We believe that this attitude is essential in order to have a clear realization of the problems facing us and to assess the exact situation in which we are placed. We are therefore particularly glad to find ourselves in this respect in agreement with many African and Asian delegations and especially those which have drawn up and signed document 11 C/DR.187 submitted to the Working Party responsible for the drawing up of a resolution on item 29 of the agenda.

8.13 We are also glad that this document, like documents 11 C/DR.183 and 11 C/DR.125, submitted by the delegates of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were approved and that they were all used in framing draft resolution 11 C/45 which is now submitted to the consideration of the General Conference.

8.14 It is particularly important for us that the spirit rather than the letter of the document we have drawn up has been preserved. It is essentially a matter of reaffirming principles and of clearly defining the rôle which Unesco could play in hastening the independence of peoples who are still dependent without useless harping on the past and without reference to the rancours dividing us.

8.15 I am also much gratified by the quasi-unanimity with which the Working Party adopted the various articles of this draft resolution, for out of ten delegates eight voted for all of them, and the abstention of the two others never appeared - if I am not mistaken - as a hostile abstention. I recall these facts, which were mentioned in the report and pointed out by Mr. Messadi, the Chairman of the Working Party, in order to tell you how much I hope that this discussion will continue in the atmosphere of understanding and unanimity which marked the proceedings of the Working Party. I would therefore urgently appeal to all delegates, particularly to those who might be inclined to abstain for political reasons. An isolated case or temporary difficulties, which human patience and, if necessary, international co-operation could solve, must not be allowed to prevent one of us from subscribing to the unanimous affirmation of Unesco's vital rôle in contributing to the attainment of independence which this Conference should proclaim.

8.16 I therefore ask you to vote, without hesitation or reservation, in favour of resolution 11 C/DR.45 as submitted by the Working Party.

8.17 Unanimous agreement about this declaration, reached in the atmosphere which attended the discussions of the Working Party, will confirm the unanimous fidelity of Member States of Unesco to the principles of the Organization. Such unanimity seems to me to be worthy of the high purpose we have assigned ourselves and will show our determination to assume the heavy but exalted responsibilities of men of this century.

8.18 Since the great French poet Saint-John Perse is being universally honoured this year, I shall end with a quotation from a very recent publication of his devoted to literature and poetry in particular, but which seems to me to be very apt to our present situation.

8.19 Here it is: "Le vrai drame du siècle est dans l'écart qu'on laisse croître entre l'homme temporel et l'homme intemporel. L'homme éclairé sur un versant va-t-il s'obscurcir sur l'autre? Et sa maturation forcée dans une communauté sans communion ne sera-t-elle que fausse maturité"? And again: ..."Car l'heure est grande et neuve où se saisir à neuf; et à qui donc céderions-nous l'Honneur de notre temps?". To whom indeed would we surrender that honour?

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. Sedlak of the delegation of Czechoslovakia.

10.1 Mr. SEDLAK (Czechoslovakia) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, we have before us the report of the Working Party and its draft resolution on the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples.

10.2 The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic notes with satisfaction that the Working Party has successfully completed its task and that apart from one or two abstentions it unanimously approved the proposed draft, this too, is evidence of the importance of the question at issue.

10.3 The United Nations and all the Specialized Agencies have been required during the past 15 years to fulfil the noble task, proclaimed in Chapters 11 and 12 of the United Nations Charter, of giving assistance as quickly as possible to the colonial, trust and other non-self-governing territories for the development of their economy and culture, using all the means at their command.

10.4 It has to be stated that the United Nations, and especially the great powers, have been slow in fulfilling this great task. But the peoples of the colonial countries have not remained passive pending such time as someone deigns to grant them freedom and independence. On the contrary, they have clearly shown, in a long and stormy fight for their national freedom, that they will no longer put up with their inequitable position. Their struggle and its outcome confirm the old truth that no power in the world can resist the movement of peoples towards freedom and independence once they have set out to conquer them.

10.5 We hold that the conquest of independence is only the first step on the road to future development. The colonial powers are trying, by all sorts of pretexts and under the guise of helping these countries, to tighten the noose of their economic dependence by unequal agreements and contracts involving various political and military commitments.

10.6 We are against any kind of colonialism, old and new, which fetters peoples in their creative upsurge, in their free and independent development.

We stand firmly on the side of the new States which have thrown off the shackles of colonial slavery. And we are of the opinion that all nations should help them to occupy their due place in world history and call a halt to any interference in their international affairs, as being a danger to peace.

10.7 Colonialism has suffered a shattering defeat in present times. More than 1,500 million people who were formerly slaves have taken the road of national liberation.

10.8 Together with this welcome fact, we see the continued existence in a number of countries of such shameful phenomena as colonial terror, the non-recognition of the most fundamental human rights, racialism, national superiority, the ferocious exploitation of peoples and the suppression of national culture. We must not blink the fact that many millions of people are still suffering from colonialism, which means that colonialism has not yet been liquidated.

10.9 If, following the discussion of this question at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly, 1960 is to become the turning point in the process of the complete and final liquidation of colonialism, "the African year", the year of liberation of all peoples from colonial servitude, then important tasks devolve on our Conference, for all the newly independent States and countries now winning their freedom must be given effective help for the rapid liquidation of the after-effects of colonialism. These people must be afforded the possibility of peaceful construction and the development of their industry, making use of all their natural resources, and must also be helped, finally, in avoiding the lop-sided development of their national economy so that they can create all the necessary conditions for the advancement of education, culture and public health.

10.10 The solution of this vital problem undoubtedly calls for considerable material and financial resources. Where are these to be found? It is impossible to deny that vast resources could be released by general and complete disarmament, about which we have already spoken here on several occasions. It is of course right that we should count on international solidarity, and we hope that all peoples will be able to liquidate these harmful after-effects of colonialism.

10.11 We have already expressed the willingness of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to help the new States, and the President of our Republic, Mr. Novotný, referred to this matter in his speech at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly. But we also feel - and our views were confirmed by the statements of the representatives of several of the African States during the general discussion - that it would be fair to demand the necessary resources in the first place from those colonial countries which for centuries exploited the peoples of these countries and their natural wealth. They would thereby be handing back to these peoples a small part of the profits received by them during that time and would help them to wipe out the harmful after-effects of colonialism.

10.12 Although the draft resolution does not fully reflect the complete interests of the oppressed peoples, and specifically their fundamental demand for the immediate liquidation of the colonial system, the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic considers it an essential contribution by Unesco to the effort to liquidate colonialism, and will therefore vote in favour of its adoption.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): Ladies and gentlemen, you have just heard Mr. Sedlak of the delegation of Czechoslovakia. There is still a long list of speakers, which I shall read before applying Article 72 of the Rules of Procedure and closing this list. The speakers are: Sir David Eccles (United Kingdom), Mr. de Berredo Carneiro (Brazil), Mr. Chekanyuk (Ukraine), Dr. Walker (Australia), Mr. Moussa Sanguiana (Guinea), Mr. Posniak (Byelorussia), Mr. Ganovski (Bulgaria). Does anyone else wish to speak?

11.2 In addition to the names I have given, the delegates of New Zealand, the Federal Republic of Germany, Poland and Cuba have asked to be included in the list of speakers.

11.3 With the addition of New Zealand, the Federal Republic of Germany, Poland and Cuba, I declare the list of speakers closed.

11.4 I call upon Sir David Eccles, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

12.1 Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom): Mr. President, fellow delegates, the United Kingdom is one of the larger colonial powers. We are therefore very interested in this resolution. We do not like abstaining from a vote; it never seems to be the part of someone with courage and a conviction of his own. I would like to explain, nevertheless, why I think we shall have to abstain on this occasion. The truth is that we find this resolution good in part, not bad in some other parts, very bad in one or two. And I am very grateful, as others have been to the dinstinguished delegate of Tunisia, for the gallant attempt that he and his Working Party made to formulate this resolution in a manner acceptable to all, because it would have been a very good thing if that could have been done. I would have liked, also, to express to him our regret that we were not able to help him. But I think the Working Party was faced with an impossible task, for this word "colonialism" does not mean the same thing to all Member States. Indeed, when I think of my own country and remember the noble part in our history, in peace and in war, which our loyal colonies have played, I find it very difficult to understand the interpretation of colonialism given, quite sincerely no doubt, by some of the Member States here. Colonialism is not a static concept. It moves with history and for very many years now British administrators and statesmen have regarded themselves as trustees for the people in our dependent territories - trustees until the time when those people could take over their own governments. And if one asked what colonialism means to us in 1960, I would say that it is a policy of helping dependent territories to prepare themselves to become independent States, if they themselves wish to do so. It is simply not true that all British colonies want to be independent States. Quite a number of them are so small, and so dependent for their economic life upon the United Kingdom's economy, that we know very well that if what is meant by independence is to be entirely a sovereign State, quite a number of them do not wish that. We will act as the people wish.

12.2 Now, Sir, what is the result of the British colonial policy? Sitting here in this Conference are the representatives of our ex-colonial territories, very much alive, free to speak their minds or to vote against the United Kingdom on any occasion when Unesco takes a vote. Nothing sinister would happen to the representative of any one in the Commonwealth here if he chose to speak or vote against the United Kingdom. Not so, in some other groups.

12.3 In our British Commonwealth, any nation is free to leave the family; I say leave the family, for we are a family, we are not a bloc. We are all equal in the true sense of equality that none of us wishes to impose either doctrine or policy upon any of the others. And we do a very great deal to help each other. For many years now, we in the United Kingdom have trained young men and women from the Commonwealth territories in our universities, deliberately helping them to become administrators in their own countries. We have helped them at great cost to set up universities and schools in their own countries. It really is nonsense when the Communists talk as though we were not spending great sums of the British people's money on advancing the condition of the people in the colonies. One has only to look at the statistics to see that this is true. And of course, if Unesco can bring further resources to that task of preparing colonial peoples for their independence, and if, as a result of Unesco's help, the time-table can be shortened to the point where these people can sooner feel competent to govern themselves, no one will be more pleased than Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. It is precisely for that sort of help that we put forward resolution 182, co-sponsored by the delegation of India - precisely in order to get some more help to shorten the period. But you know it is no use saying that we should be helping some of these people if we withdrew tomorrow morning and left them to govern themselves before we have been able - in this scientific age when it is so much more difficult - to train sufficient manpower to govern their countries. It would be no good leaving tomorrow morning.

12.4 Ours is a steady policy of help, and that is what colonialism means, as interpreted by the British. I reject, absolutely, the concept that this is a shameful policy, something which was described by the Soviet delegate, I think, as "an ulcer". In fact, it is neither injurious to the health nor the wealth nor the happiness of the people for whom we are temporarily the trustees. And I felt, when the distinguished delegate of Tunisia was making his remarkable speech, that he was really on my side. He was really only asking the colonial powers to prepare every colony and every dependent territory they still have to take their freedom as quickly as possible. I felt our interpretation was really the same. Now if that were the only interpretation of colonialism, then we could all vote together. But there are other interpretations, we heard one given by the distinguished delegate from the Soviet Union. There are other kinds of colonies and there are other kinds of colonialism, and I accept what the Soviet delegate asked us to do - not to go back and produce historical examples of the past, but to look to the present and the future.

12.5 Very well, gentlemen, if I ask this Conference which is the newest, the youngest colony in the world, what would the Conference answer? You would have to answer Tibet, you would have to answer that it is that poor little country which never did any harm to anybody. And if I asked you what other kind of colonialism exists in the modern world, the worst form of all of colonialism, surely, in Unesco, we should have to reply that it is the exploitation of men's minds, the exploitation of the human mind and the human soul for the purpose of political or doctrinaire power politics. Now if one asks what is the characteristic of this new form of colonialism in our present age, what is the answer? Where there is censorship of books, newspapers and radio, there is colonialism; where there is not freedom for the individual to travel unless his government will allow him to, there is colonialism. And where men are arrested, put in prison, confessions extorted - all without a proper trial - there is colonialism. Where you have a country inside a bloc which is refused free elections, there you have colonialism. Mr. President, this is the kind of colonialism against which an organization like ours which stands for education, science and culture should vote. This is our real enemy. I feel that in this resolution it is impossible to distinguish the two kinds of colonialism - that which comes out of the past and in which my country has a clear policy which is not shameful - on the contrary we think it is a civilized policy - to train people who were very few when we came. Compare the statistics of illiteracy today with the total illiteracy we found. There were only about a quarter of the number of people living in these countries that there were when we left; we have done a great deal. If that were what colonialism meant, very well; but it means something else: it means the exploitation of men's minds, which is the Twentieth century form of colonialism, against which we should all fight with all our strength.

12.6 One cannot, in this resolution, distinguish the one from the other, and therefore with much regret, Mr. President, we shall be obliged to abstain when the vote is taken.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, Head of the delegation of Brazil.

14.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and delegates, every century has, so far as possible, to repair the faults committed by preceding centuries. Every generation thus makes to human progress a constructive contribution which is both a corrective and an improvement.

14.2 The Twentieth century, at the present point in its history, is conscientiously trying to atone for the mistakes committed by the Nineteenth century, the unhappy consequences of which we are still experiencing everywhere. But remedying an error need not imply execration, nor making it worse by committing fresh faults. Which country's history is completely free of sin? Our business here is not to sit in judgement on the past nor to draw up a balance sheet of he banes and benefits of colonialism. Our task is to bring together former colonizers and former colonies under a new watchword.

14.3 The cause of independence and freedom is undoubtedly the most sacred of all causes. All

national pantheons bear witness to the homage rendered by all nations, East and West, to those who fought and suffered for their country in the name of independence and liberty.

14.4 I believe, however, that the new countries which are attaining independence, now that they are free will only tighten the bonds to which they were unable to attach their true value so long as they were not free to accept them voluntarily.

14.5 Shall I ever forget a wonderful evening passed in New Delhi when we were the guests of the President of the Republic and found ourselves all together in a magnificent hall beside the Prime Minister who had fought for the independence of his country, and where we were surrounded by life-size portraits of the former British Governors of India?

14.6 Newly independent peoples should and do feel that independence is not a break but a more intimate and cordial union. I believe that this is the spirit in which Unesco should try to open up the way to those who are not yet independent and enable them in their turn to become so, without violence, without shocks, and without the scaffolds and guillotines on which men's blood was spilt in the bygone history of our countries. This is the spirit in which Unesco should empty the past of all resentment and inculcate in the newly liberated peoples a feeling of attachment to the benefits received and of forgetfulness - I might even say forgiveness - towards the faults of which they were often the victims.

14.7 Thinking along these lines, I recall the history of my own country. At the time of our independence, in 1822, there were occasions when harsh and often unjust waves of hatred turned us against the beloved old country to which we had formerly been linked by force. Since then, Portugal and Brazil have felt themselves to be everyday more solidly and more affectionately united - much more so than in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, when they were subject to the same Crown or the same Government.

14.8 Although the abolition of colonialism brings great blessings to formerly colonized countries, it brings just as many to the former colonizers. Again I will recall a page of my own country's history: when we were struggling for the abolition of slavery, the patriarch of our independence, that great statesman, Joseph Boniface d'Andrade e Sylva, gave us this warning: "The abolition of slavery brings even more advantages to the whites than it does to the blacks".

14.9 We should therefore all of us rejoice that the day has come for Unesco to take part, not in a series of struggles, but in the opening of an era of cordial solidarity.

14.10 The peoples who gain their independence must understand that they do not thereby become isolated and that in this newly acquired liberty, their duty - and I believe their pride - will be to contribute increasingly to making us all feel, as St. Paul preached, members one of another, in a great federation of peoples under the common symbol of freedom and prosperity. That is the spirit in which I think we all ought, without resentment and without showing ourselves to be isolationists, unanimously to welcome this fraternal resolution.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call on Mr. Chekanyuk, delegate of the Ukraine.

16.1 Mr. CHEKANYUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, expressing the steadfast opinion of the delegation of Soviet Ukraine, I hold that our Organization cannot remain indifferent to the fate of millions of people who are still living in the grip of colonialism.

16.2 The colonial powers are still stubbornly trying to halt, or at least to delay, this ineluctable and regular process of the final liberation of the peoples who are still languishing under the colonial yoke. With that object in view, the colonial powers are still having frequent recourse to economic and political pressure and to direct armed intervention against the new countries which have acceded to independence or against those which are fighting to achieve it.

16.3 The colonialists, as we now see, in the Congo and in other countries, are unable to acquiesce in the fact that Africa, that fantastically rich continent, can and should belong to its own peoples. Realizing, however, that their undivided sway over that continent is coming to an end and that the colonial system is bankrupt, they are exerting every effort to prolong their dominion, even if only for a short while.

16.4 Colonial propaganda in the African colonies has now adopted as its main burden, the thesis that the former colonialists are not opposed to demands for independence. But why rush matters, they ask, seeing that most favourable conditions do not yet exist? Certain things, they add, need to be completed, certain problems need to be solved, this point has to be made more precise, that has to be adjusted, something else has to be co-ordinated, and so on and so forth. Meanwhile, the colonizers carefully evade the question - how long will it take for things to be co-ordinated or cleared up?

16.5 To this so-called "new policy" of the colonialists, the following reply can be made: "There is no point, gentlemen, in putting on the kind-hearted nurse act. Peoples who have liberated themselves have become fully ripe for self-government. Experience shows that liberated peoples are fully capable of dealing with their own affairs". Evidence of this was provided by the sagacious and eloquent speeches at our Conference by several representatives of formerly oppressed peoples, such as those by the representatives of Ghana, the Central African Republic and many other African States.

16.6 It was clearly and convincingly demonstrated by facts, in the speeches of these and other delegates, what colonialism had brought to the enslaved peoples: the very lowest national income and the very lowest wage-levels, but the highest mortality rate and the extinction of whole tribes.

16.7 Thus, we see, gentlemen, from the evidence of speeches by the delegates from the former colonies, that the colonialists' assertions about their so-called civilizing mission in the colonies are not worth a brass farthing. This matter was also referred to by delegates at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly, where they denounced colonialism and unmasked the lie about its so-called civilizing mission.

16.8 I should like to cite, for example, the pointed statement made at the General Assembly by Rafik Asha,

the delegate of the United Arab Republic. He said that the colonialists talked about freedom and at the same time filled the gaols with patriots fighting for the independence of their countries, that they spoke about fraternity and built new concentration camps for the supporters of the national liberation movement, that they uttered fine words about equality and gave orders for mass executions. Such is the truth about the colonialists' civilizing mission.

16.9 And is not the present behaviour of the colonialists in the Congo, where they flout the will, aspirations and laws of the Congolese people, a most striking proof of how they are trying to maintain their domination, bestriding mountains of corpses and rivers of the blood of the population of that country? Where is the civilization here? Honest people all over the world brand such civilization as infamy.

16.10 By means of their "civilizing mission" and their inhuman exploitation of the enslaved peoples, they are trying to extract vast profits from these countries. I shall not speak without the book: I shall quote two facts mentioned by the Head of the Ukrainian delegation, N.V. Podgorny, in his speech at the XVth session of the United Nations General Assembly. During the period 1950-1958, the United States increased private direct investments in economically underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America by 4,100 million dollars but they imported from these countries, in the form of profits on its capital, the sum of 11,300 million dollars. Thus in the course of some nine years the United States has received a clear profit of 7,200 million dollars - a huge sum which is a net deduction from the national wealth of underdeveloped countries.

16.11 Here is the second fact. The United Kingdom representative has said here that he does not understand the word "colonialism". I shall try to answer his question. According to figures supplied by a British bank, Britain's capital investment in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland amounted at the end of 1956 to £130 million. The profits and dividends for one year alone amounted to £17,700,000. A nominal share capital of no more than £44,800,000 brought dividends of £14,800,000, representing a rate of profit of 33%, and for some companies the rate was 50%. If this is not daylight robbery of the enslaved peoples, if this is not a sheer disgrace, then what is it, gentlemen? These facts relate to the economic aspect of the meaning of the word "colonialism". So far as the political aspect is concerned, I would ask the distinguished delegate of the United Kingdom to analyse the events and the colonialists' activities in Kenya, and there you will have an exact reply about the sense of the word "colonialism".

16.12 The responsibility for all that was done in the former colonies rests with those countries that lorded it there. Both justice and humanity demand that these countries restore part of the plunder to the colonies in order to liquidate the harmful after-effects of colonialism, as was proposed in the Soviet Union resolution.

16.13 And now as to the question of Tibet, which was raised here by the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom. The question of Tibet was decided long ago, and by none other than the Tibetan people themselves, who linked their fate with the great Chinese people for all time.

16.14 To the second question, also raised by the same delegate, as regards censorship, the reply is very simple: any good housewife who is anxious to keep the atmosphere in her home clean, shuts the window when a stench is coming from the house next door.

16.15 And now as regards communist ideas. Yes, we welcome communist ideas, and we are proud that we have taken them up and are carrying them into effect, for they are the ideas of the vanguard of mankind. They emerged even before the Soviet Union was created, and it was with these ideas that Russia, the Ukraine and other socialist countries were victorious. The peoples set up their own people's power and are flourishing by developing these ideas.

16.16 We consider that our Conference, as an important international forum, should forthrightly condemn the colonial system and solemnly declare its full support for the demands of the peoples for the rapid liquidation of the colonial system and for the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples.

16.17 It is this action which the draft resolution presented by the Soviet Union delegation calls for. It is to this that reference is made, albeit in weaker terms, in draft resolution 11 C/45 presented by the Working Party.

16.18 Our Conference cannot stand aside from these burning issues. It should use its influence with all the means at our disposal, in favour of a positive solution. The peoples of the world are awaiting this solution from our Organization. That is why the delegation of Soviet Ukraine will vote in favour of the draft resolution presented by the Working Party even though we should have preferred the Soviet Union draft resolution.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I call on Dr. Ronald Walker, Head of the delegation of Australia.

18.1 Mr. WALKER (Australia):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, Unesco has a special responsibility at this time to assist the newly independent States, and those that will soon become independent, in their efforts to overcome illiteracy, the shortage of trained personnel and other aspects of underdevelopment in the field of education, science and culture. Unesco has a special responsibility to these nations.

18.2 Of course, Unesco has a general responsibility to help the peoples of all Member States that require such assistance, and there are many States that have been independent for long years and have been members of Unesco since the beginning that need Unesco's help in their struggle with terrible problems of illiteracy, lack of schools and widespread poverty. But Unesco has a special responsibility to the newly independent nations and those approaching independence, because in many cases they have special needs and their governments have new and often unfamiliar responsibilities.

18.3 In the Programme Commission, we have approved quite a number of projects specifically or mainly designed to assist such countries, and the Australian delegation firmly supports this emphasis in Unesco's future programme. Australia strongly

supports Unesco assistance in countries seeking it, both through our contribution to Unesco and United Nations programmes and through the supplementary assistance which we give to education in Asia and elsewhere under the Colombo Plan and other programmes. We would welcome the adoption by the Conference of a resolution which would stress the new emphasis in Unesco's programme on assistance to the newly independent countries and those that are soon to be independent - a resolution couched in terms that would be likely to strengthen the general spirit of co-operation between all members of Unesco.

18.4 But we do not consider it appropriate that Unesco should attempt to make broad pronouncements on colonialism and its abolition or on the preconditions for self-government or independence in this way. The subject of progress towards self-government or independence of colonies is one for the United Nations General Assembly. It is covered specifically by certain provisions of the Charter and it is currently being debated by the Assembly. To debate here a draft resolution with highly political overtones and some tendentious and objectionable features, in our opinion, tends to draw this Specialized Agency into a highly charged controversial political arena, to the detriment of its practical job of assisting the development of educational standards and promoting co-operation in its own fields among Member States.

18.5 We fear that in preparing this resolution the understandable enthusiasm of those concerned in drafting it has led them to make some statements to which exception can be taken. There are many things in this resolution with which we agree, but there are a number of controversial features which, I fear, will make it unacceptable to some delegations. We regret this because it would surely have been possible to obtain general agreement on a more constructive statement of what Unesco is doing and what this Organization is called upon to do in its own sphere, without encumbering it with a number of emotionally charged generalizations of a political nature that are bound to sow misunderstandings and dissension where understanding and agreement are needed, and which consequently will tend only to restrict the efficacy of Unesco's action. The speech of the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics this morning and those that have followed it from some countries closely associated with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, make it clear that their main objective has been to sow dissension. As now drafted, this declaration rather confuses the rôle of Unesco with the responsibilities of governments and the responsibilities of the United Nations. The declaration we are now asked to adopt states that colonialism in all its forms and all its manifestations must be speedily abolished, but there are parts of the world where an unduly precipitate withdrawal of the present administering authority would undoubtedly lead to chaos and human suffering, and in some cases to a relapse into savagery. There are also some dependent territories which are too small in population and too poor in resources to wish to stand on their own feet in the modern world.

18.6 We believe that all countries which administer dependent territories must work actively in association with the United Nations and with Unesco to bring about the day when those territories can adopt free political institutions. But we do not think it appropriate for Unesco to make at this time a sweeping generalization of the kind made in this resolution.

18.7 We are also asked to subscribe to the declaration that accession to freedom and independence must not be delayed on the false pretext that a particular territory has not reached a sufficiently high standard in economic, social, educational and cultural matters. What exactly does this sentence mean? Does it mean that once a particular territory has reached a sufficiently high standard in economic, social, educational and cultural matters, its accession to independence must not be delayed on the false pretext that it has not reached such a standard? Everyone would accept this if it were stated unambiguously.

18.8 The Australian delegation has serious objections to the part of the resolution that refers to harmful after-effects of colonialism, such as economic, social and cultural underdevelopment, illiteracy, and the serious shortage of trained personnel. No one denies that colonialism has always some bad features, and often leaves some evil after-effects. But, Mr. President, in terms of truth, there are many dependent territories and a number of newly independent States where it is simply not true that illiteracy, for instance, is a consequence or an after-effect of colonialism. There are a number of territories, where the people had no written language of their own, no common language of their own in many cases, where in fact it is the administering authority that has initiated, organized and largely financed the struggle to educate the people and the development of a written language, and where the illiteracy would be much worse today had it not been for the constructive efforts of the administering government. And this is not denied by the people of those countries, or the people who have studied this matter. The terms of the resolution seem to us to ignore these facts.

18.9 Fortunately, when we reach the final paragraph of the resolution, we come to an appeal which all men of goodwill must surely support. The Australian delegation stands strongly behind this objective of freedom for all peoples. Freedom is an ideal that we would like to see applied to all peoples, and not only those who inhabit colonies at present, or former colonies in Asia and Africa; we would like to see it applied to the peoples of the world. However, Mr. President, despite our appreciation and understanding of the motives behind this general resolution, there are some things in it which we find unacceptable and we therefore feel obliged to abstain when the vote is taken.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. Camera Moussa Sanguiana, Head of the delegation of Guinea.

20.1 Mr. MOUSSA SANGUIANA (Guinea) (Translation from the French): Mr. President and delegates, I would like first of all to express my thanks on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea to the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia and many other Member States for the exceptional contribution they have just made to Unesco's work for increased assistance to

underdeveloped countries, particularly the young African States. This generous gesture symbolizes once again the willingness of great countries to contribute to the recovery of peoples whose destiny is now the destiny of the world and whose participation, no matter how small on account of the limited means available, is not for that reason less necessary to the progress of mankind. When we consider, that in this age of the atom and automation which opens bright prospects in all fields of human activity, millions of men, admitted into this great family of nations, still live physically and intellectually naked, we may well ask ourselves whether this advancement may not be another factor of discord, dispute and disorder instead of raising human thought towards the constructive solidarity and brotherhood of peoples. Be that as it may, our Organization, which inspires such high hopes because it is at the service of reason and universal progress, has the honour of playing, in this changing world, the part of a regulator and an eliminator of conflicts which might arise from differences in standards of living and in culture.

20.2 There are differences which imply neither inferiority nor antagonism. Our activities merge in the service of the ideals which ennoble Unesco's work, in the service of human advancement and universal peace. But we shall only have skimmed the surface of the problem if we deal merely with effects in our anxiety not to exceed our terms of reference. The evils from which the civilized world suffers have their causes, and colonialism is not the least of these. No country which has been subjected to it in the past or is still subjected to it today nor, more generally, any country which loves justice and liberty, can subscribe to an attitude which may slow down the march of events towards universal progress and world peace. Our suspicions are therefore justified when we hear voices raised in this hall which point to the non-political nature of our Organization and try to prevent the formation of a common front against the forces of evil, particularly against colonialism in all its forms and all its aspects, when such a front is necessary if our action is to be effective. The universality at which we aim will remain theoretical and unattainable if, as men of conscience and good faith, we desist from telling one another the truth, and the whole truth. Guinea considers that to deceive eminent colleagues from all parts of the world, when it comes to shedding light upon the darkness of humanity and spreading the progress of culture and science, is a grave betrayal of the conscience and peace of the world.

20.3 It may be that we of Guinea have understood that conscience is not to be paltered with. Undoubtedly we speak in terms which may not be calculated to please everyone at international meetings, but they are the terms of truth, and truth is often hard to swallow. Our great President Sékou Touré whose strong personality wins much sympathy among the revolutions and changes going on today in the dark continent, said in reply to the flood of lies disseminated about his country: "Guinea does not belong to any international bloc. It pursues a policy in accordance with its interests and those of Africa, of which it forms an integral part, and in the cause of world peace. Naturally, it welcomes the tokens of sympathy and assistance offered it by friendly nations. That does not mean that Guinea has any intention of attaching itself to any ideological system".

20.4 To come back to the subject, I must admit that in spite of repeated warnings against introducing politics into our Organization, we have listened to attacks which are not cultural but political ones. A refusal to recognize them is to shut our eyes to a fact which is poisoning the international atmosphere and thus endangering the success of our activities.

20.5 You have welcomed new countries into Unesco. Their representatives are sitting among you because they are independent and sovereign. Africa, therefore, can only contribute to the development of education, science and culture when it has become independent. It would seem therefore difficult, if not impossible, to forbid all discussion on the liquidation of the political and social phenomena which prevent our Organization from extending its activities and making them more effective. It is obvious that this is a primary, even fundamental, condition to which we must give attention, if we fully grasp the evils of colonialism and the danger it represents for peace.

20.6 The distinguished delegate of the United States of America finished his speech on 21 November last by saying: "Let us go forward leaving none behind". No matter what our wishes or our faith in the task which Unesco has assumed, it would appear difficult to attain our objectives if political factors continue to disturb relations between the peoples and to create shocks by provoking misunderstanding, distrust and hate. The constant tension in which the world is living and the cold war which all of us here condemn compel nations which could do more in aid of underdeveloped countries, to mobilize colossal resources for purposes contrary to the happiness of mankind and to the civilization which we want to raise to the highest possible level.

20.7 We, the members of the Guinea delegation, consider that Unesco, this institution for peace and progress, will only be in a position to fulfil the rôle we have the right to expect of it in a world swept free of old prejudices and sheltered from attitudes which vitiate the moral climate of fraternity and solidarity. Like the rest of the world, we want to savour the joys of being different but together, and we cannot accept that, out of respect for the supposedly non-political character of Unesco, the language of truth which could largely contribute to the success of our work is discarded on some pretext of expediency. If you want the whole world to profit by the social and cultural influence exerted by our Organization, first of all give it the conditions which will enable it to express itself without constraint and to respond to your appeal by a proper appreciation of the contribution you are making to it.

20.8 It is with this end in view that the Guinea delegation warmly supports the resolution in favour of contributing to the attainment of independence by oppressed countries so as to create that true universal conscience essential to brotherly international co-operation.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mr. Abdesselem of the Tunisian delegation, to speak on a point of order.

22.1 Mr. ABDESSELEM (Tunisia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, please excuse me for speaking again during this debate, but I wish to move a point of order.

22.2 It seems to us that a sufficiently wide range of views has been expressed for the Conference to be informed on the various aspects of the question and on the different problems raised by the resolution now before it.

22.3 We note moreover with satisfaction that all delegates who have spoken were in agreement on at least a certain number of points; and where they disagree it is mainly on details. We think that, in view of the subject of this resolution and the arguments which I have already expounded in my speech, it is not necessary, or even worth while, that the debate should continue indefinitely.

22.4 We think then that, if delegates agree and everyone shows goodwill in the matter, those countries which have asked to speak and have not done so might be satisfied with what has already been said and thus allow us to finish. I shall accordingly ask that we proceed immediately to the vote. I am not making a formal motion but, if necessary, I would do so.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Dr. R. Lazo, Head of the delegation of Cuba, to speak on the point of order which has just been put.

24.1 Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, I wish to speak only on the point of order raised by the distinguished delegate of Tunisia, from whom we have heard an address of some length on the question under discussion.

24.2 There is no doubt that the General Conference is pressed for time. However, in this discussion, there have been a number of fundamental points on which there has been agreement and there have also been wide differences of opinion. It is for this last reason and for reasons affecting many Member States which have not had the opportunity of speaking that I, on behalf of the delegation of Cuba, wish to oppose the adjournment of this discussion.

24.3 My delegation would otherwise not have intervened in the debate - which has in fact been a series of controversial statements rather than a debate - had the latter not been extended to take up the whole of this morning's meeting and given rise to statements of fundamental importance. I believe that elementary respect for democratic principles - and I assume that this cannot be described as political - requires that the discussion should not be adjourned. Accordingly, Mr. President and fellow delegates, I request that representatives of those Member States who have not had the opportunity of doing so, be allowed to express their point of view on this item, while bearing the time factor in mind, as they will certainly do.

25. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mr. Stefan Wierblowski, Head of the delegation of Poland, to speak on the point of order.

26.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President, I have listened with great surprise to the proposal of the distinguished representative of Tunisia. Here is one of the co-authors of the resolution, and suddenly this co-author wishes to cut short the debate on the resolution, in the drafting of which he took an active part.

26.2 It seems to me that the question is far from exhausted. On the list of speakers are representatives of a number of Member States. I must say that very acute questions have been raised in this discussion, and raised, incidentally, by the representative of the United Kingdom.

26.3 As representative of Poland, I should like to comment on what the Head of the United Kingdom delegation has said here. I consider it incompatible with the fundamental principles of democracy to gag anybody. This method of imposing silence through all sorts of motions for the adjournment or closure of debates should be eliminated from the work of our Organization, which should be guided by democratic principles.

26.4 I therefore express, in the most categorical manner, my opposition to the closure of the debate.

27.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I now submit the proposal to close the debate to the meeting.

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

27.2 The motion is rejected by 28 votes to 13, with 6 abstentions.

27.3 In view of the time, I adjourn the meeting. The next meeting will be held at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

TWENTY-SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

12 December 1960, at 3.50 p.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)
later: Mr. Paulo E. de Berredo Carneiro (Brazil)

CONTENTS

Discussion on the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples (conclusion) 425
Discussion on International Relations and Exchanges in Education, Science and Culture (conclusion) 434
Addresses by the heads of the delegations of the Malagasy Republic and Upper Volta 442

DISCUSSION ON THE ROLE OF UNESCO IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE BY COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (conclusion)

1. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting is open. I would like to remind you that there are still seven speakers to come and that the discussion to which the present session is to be devoted should have been concluded this morning. I urge you therefore to be brief; at this morning's rate, the General Committee fears that, instead of coming to an end, as planned, on 15 December, the session will have to be extended by one or two days.

1.2 I call upon Mr. Pozniak, on behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

2.1 Mr. POZNIAK (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Byelorussian delegation supports the draft resolution prepared by the Working Party set up by the Conference. We support it for the reason that to some extent it reflects the tasks facing Unesco in the struggle against colonialism and its after-effects.

2.2 As has been rightly pointed out by previous speakers, the adoption of the draft resolution on the rôle of Unesco in the struggle against colonialism corresponds to the spirit of the times and to the aspirations of nations. While supporting it, we feel bound to state that we were better satisfied with the draft resolution prepared by the Soviet Union delegation before the Working Party was set up. I am referring to draft resolution 11 C/DR.183.

2.3 Our delegation supports the Soviet Union draft resolution in principle because it most fully reveals the heart of the matter, and more clearly and accurately defines the rôle of Unesco and its tasks in the struggle for the immediate and complete liquidation of the shameful colonial system. In the interests of maintaining the spirit of mutual understanding, however, our delegation will vote in favour of the Working Party's draft resolution.

2.4 The Byelorussian delegation would like to mention one or two shortcomings in the latter. First of all, we consider that the formulation of the question of the time-limits for liquidating colonialism is not altogether definite. Instead of full and immediate liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, the draft resolution speaks of the "speedy" abolition of colonialism; but the concept of the "speedy abolition" of the colonial system can be variously interpreted from the standpoint of time-limits - several years or even several decades. Hence the "speedy abolition" of colonialism is not the same thing as immediate liquidation, as was brought home to us once again when we listened to the speech made here by the United Kingdom representative.

2.5 The United Kingdom representative tried to prove that the peoples of many colonial countries are not yet ready for self-government, and that time was needed for them to mature and prepare themselves for independent life.

2.6 These arguments are the colonialists' old, old story; a story designed to delude the colonial peoples and preserve the existence of colonialism for as long and as fully as possible.

2.7 What the oppressed peoples in the colonies want is not tutelage but immediate liberation from colonialism, and our Organization cannot fail to take this fact into account.

2.8 We must not blink the fact that more than one hundred million people in the world are still living under conditions incompatible with human dignity. The oppressed peoples of the colonies are exposed to ruthless exploitation and plunder, deprived of elementary rights and freedoms, and condemned by the colonialists to hunger and extinction. It is precisely in the colonies that expectation of life is lowest and the death rate highest. According to official United Nations data, one child in four in Africa dies before it is one year old. Average age expectancy in the United Kingdom's African colonies is 34 for women and 32 for men. I could quote a series of figures testifying to the extreme degree

of decline to which the "civilizing" mission of the colonialists has brought the colonial peoples.

2.9 The question of the immediate and complete abolition of colonialism in all places and in all forms acquires special acuity and urgency in present circumstances. Unless prompt measures are taken, colonialism may result in extensive suffering and sacrifice, and in extensive loss of life. It may lead to armed conflicts and wars, and threaten the peace and security of peoples not only in individual regions but throughout the world.

2.10 Such being the case, Unesco should, we consider, take the most energetic steps to support the just demand for the complete and immediate liquidation of colonialism, and for the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples. We also consider that Unesco should actively utilize all the resources at its disposal to condemn the attempts of the imperialist powers to restore colonial systems in countries which have recently embarked on the road of independent development.

2.11 Unfortunately, Unesco has not taken its due position on these questions. Is this not clear to us, for example, from the General Conference's decision to recognize the credentials of persons who do not represent the lawful government of the Republic of the Congo? Instead of supporting the lawful government headed by Patrice Lumumba - a government confirmed in office by the Parliament of the Congolese Republic - our Conference has in fact taken the side of those who wish once again to shackle the Congolese people in the chains of colonial slavery.

2.12 The events in the Congo and the tragedy of the Congolese people show that the imperialist forces, and in particular the United States of America, are bending every effort to stifle the national liberation movement and restore colonialism in countries which have just taken the road of individual development.

2.13 Another great weakness in the draft resolution submitted by the Working Party, in our view, is that such important issues as the condemnation of the shameful colonial system and the attempts by the imperialist States to preserve the colonial exploitation of peoples under new forms are unjustifiably side-stepped.

2.14 Nothing is said in the draft resolution about the necessity of condemning the so-called civilizing mission of colonialism and the reactionary theories of the colonialists to the effect that the peoples of the colonies are not yet ripe for independent development - in other words, the self-same theories so passionately put forward by the United Kingdom representative from this rostrum today.

2.15 The liquidation of the terrible after-effects of colonialism and the development of education, science and culture in the underdeveloped countries will, of course, necessitate a tremendous material outlay. The countries which have liberated themselves from colonialism lack the necessary means, since their economic resources have been pillaged during the many years of colonialist rule. Yet the draft resolution evades the question of the moral duty of the imperialist powers to return to the colonies, by way of compensation, even part of the plunder which could be used for the development of education, science and culture in those countries.

2.16 We feel that these shortcomings in the draft resolution, detract from Unesco's rôle and tasks in the struggle against colonialism and its after-effects.

2.17 The liquidation of the rotten colonial system is dictated by the entire course of world history, and the final downfall of that system is only a question of time.

2.18 Guided by humanistic aims, Unesco should raise its voice against colonialism and take all necessary steps to help strengthen the intellectual solidarity of mankind in the struggle for the complete and immediate liquidation of this shameful manifestation of the past.

2.19 In concluding my speech, I should like to say, esteemed delegates, that our sympathies and support are always on the side of those who are fighting for their liberation from the colonial yoke. Steadfastly following Lenin's precept that every people should have the right to self-determination and be entitled to build its State in the manner it desires, the Byelorussian people, like all the peoples of the Soviet Union, has always stood, and stands decisively, on the side of the oppressed peoples fighting against colonial slavery

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Professor Ganovski, Head of the delegation of Bulgaria.

4.1 Mr. GANOVSKI (Bulgaria) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the fact that Unesco is considering the question of the liquidation of colonialism is gratifying in itself, and has special significance for Unesco. But unfortunately there is still insufficient clarity on this question, as if the sciences, political economy, sociology and so on had never given it consideration.

4.2 Colonialism is not a figment of the imagination. It is a scientific category, and cannot be interpreted as anyone sees fit. It is essential to reveal effectively its content, sense, significance and consequences.

4.3 From the standpoint of science and history, the question of colonialism arose with the development of capitalism. Before capitalism, of course, no social and economic structure succeeded in transforming itself into a world system, mainly because the productive forces had not developed to a sufficient extent. Capitalism was the first to become a world system. Socialism, too, is transforming itself into a world system, although these transformations are radically different from each other.

4.4 In the past, many capitalists regarded the colonial system - and they still do - as practically eternal. In point of fact, it is not eternal at all, and, like all social phenomena, has its beginning, its growth and its end. There can be no doubt that the conditions for the crisis of colonialism have become manifest in the epoch of imperialism, that is to say, in the epoch of the decline of capitalism, commencing at the beginning of our century.

4.5 The Great October Socialist Revolution in fact marked the beginning of the crisis of the colonial system, since it gave a number of the nationalities in Tsarist Russia the opportunity to cast off the yoke. These nationalities took an active part in the struggle against Tsarism and imperialism, and together with the rest of the workers of Russia achieved their national liberation.

4.6 The Second World War struck another blow against the colonial system, for it gave more than one thousand million colonial and semi-colonial

people the chance to achieve their independence. At the same time, a number of countries in eastern and south eastern Europe and Asia liberated themselves from capitalism and began to build socialism in their own countries. Their achievements are an example to the colonial peoples. It was after the Second World War, in particular, that the struggle of the workers in capitalist countries against colonialism and capitalism became acute.

4.7 All of this weakened and continues to undermine the forces of imperialism, and limited their international influence and their importance and rôle in international politics.

4.8 On the other hand, the forces of socialism, which had become a world system, are growing. The socialist system is a main bulwark in the struggle for the final liberation of the colonized peoples.

4.9 In our time, therefore - a time of transition from capitalism to socialism - imperialism is already unable to maintain and defend colonialism, on the one hand, while colonialism, on the other, is incompatible with the new social-economic structure - with socialism. Precisely in our time, therefore, broad possibilities are being created for the complete liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, for the complete liquidation of colonialism.

4.10 Social progress, humanitarian values, justice, the freedom and independence of people - all of them demand this, as does the preservation of peace.

4.11 Colonialism is bound up with war. The First World War was basically one for the redistribution of colonial territories. The Second World War followed the same line. Both history and reason demand the liquidation of colonialism, and hence Unesco should help the colonial peoples to gain their freedom. Colonialism has become a lamentable and shameful phenomenon in our time.

4.12 The proposal for the complete liquidation of colonialism put forward at the United Nations by the Soviet Union delegation is of great historical significance. It is timely, realistic and practicable, and if not adopted today, it will surely be adopted tomorrow.

4.13 We realize that our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the epoch of the complete annihilation of colonialism, is unpleasing to certain people, and especially to the colonialists and capitalists. But, gentlemen, we know from history that the development of society has its own laws, and they are stronger than the likes or dislikes of this or that person or class.

4.14 We know from the past that when feudalism was dying out, and when a new, more perfect, capitalist system was being born, the feudalists opposed the new system: they were enemies of social progress and of historical development. Many wars were fought in the old days to preserve feudalism, but the feudalists were unable to stop the march of history, and history triumphed. Capitalism established itself.

4.15 And now history is also triumphing with the creation of a new, more perfect, socialist system. History demands the liquidation of colonialism. There is nothing capricious about this: it is an historical law which any intelligent, progressive and peace-loving individual can readily grasp and perceive.

4.16 Our Organization, as a body concerned with questions of education, science and culture, should correctly understand our epoch and the process of historical growth. Unesco should direct its activities in accordance with historical growth and the demands of our time. It should be equal to the tasks before us, which should include that of the complete liquidation of colonialism, and it should contribute, by all the means and employing all the possibilities at its disposal, towards the discharge of this glorious historical mission, but without, of course, duplicating the work of the United Nations.

4.17 The development of education, science and culture among the peoples who have freed themselves from colonialism, as well as among those still living under the colonial yoke, demands that colonialism be speedily liquidated.

4.18 The complete liquidation of colonialism is not only a political task: it is also one for science and culture, and hence it is a task for us, for Unesco. We have the good fortune to consider this question and define the correct approach to it. In the main, the draft resolution presented by the Working Party provides a correct approach, and the Bulgarian delegation will support it. It will enhance Unesco's prestige and stimulate our work in the future.

4.19 In resolving these tasks, we naturally find ourselves, and will continue to find ourselves, running into difficulties and obstacles, especially on the part of the colonialists themselves. And the question is not only one of fierce physical resistance on their part but also of the methods and forms of their intellectual activity - of duplicity, deceit and the rest.

4.20 The colonialists are trying in every way to conceal the horrors of colonialism and the suffering which they have inflicted on mankind. Mr. President and fellow delegates, the question of colonialism is not a matter affecting the colonial countries only. Colonialism is a matter of concern for all mankind, for during the First and Second World Wars people the world over felt, experienced and lived through the horrors of imperialism.

4.21 The colonialists try to present colonialism in a favourable light, as did the United Kingdom representative here, and to give the impression that they benefited the colonial peoples. But even when you take up education in your colonies, Messrs. colonialists, you are acting in your own interests and not in those of the colonial peoples.

4.22 The colonialists strive in every way to provide evidence of the "civilizing rôle" they are playing in the colonial countries, but they are unable to deceive anyone, as we saw from the speeches of the representatives of countries which have recently freed themselves from the colonial yoke: during the discussion on the reports of the Director-General, they gave a first-rate description of the cruelty of the colonialists and their system, which destroyed the national culture of the oppressed peoples and inhibited their economic, political and cultural development. Colonialism is truly a shamful feature of our time.

4.23 The struggle for the eradication of colonialism arouses the displeasure of certain colonialists, who maintain that the colonial peoples are not yet equipped to create their own State and to govern it, that they are not equipped to develop their own science and culture, that they are still primitive and need to wait many years before they are ready for a free

and independent life. In essence, these assertions contain the reactionary ideas of racialism and discrimination.

4.24 The Bulgarian delegation considers, gentlemen, that all of us assembled here are convinced that this approach to the colonized peoples is not only unjust but offensive, humiliating and unworthy of our century of science and progress. It cannot stand up to the slightest criticism, and should be rejected. It amounts, above all, to an exposure of the colonialists themselves, who have kept these peoples for centuries in a distressful and unbearable state of abasement, oppression and deprivation of rights, in ignorance and poverty.

4.25 They are to blame if these peoples have not achieved that cultural level which they could have reached under conditions of free life and development. The example of peoples who have liberated themselves not only from colonialism but also from capitalism clearly demonstrates that when people are free and independent they can overcome all difficulties. In a short period of time their existence has changed, and their conditions of life have become far better than when they were under the yoke of colonialism.

4.26 In no case are the colonialists capable of coming to the help of the colonial peoples whether in State construction or in developing agriculture and raising their cultural level. On the contrary, it has been demonstrated that peoples who have won freedom quickly overcome all difficulties, develop their economy and reach a level of culture never before attained by them. It follows, therefore, that the historically wise course would be for those peoples who still lack independence and national freedom to receive them and set about the construction of their own State and the development of their culture.

4.27 The difficulties they may meet with on the way will be of far less account than those that are met with under colonialism. Furthermore, the broad front constituted by the free nations will give them friendly assistance in overcoming those difficulties. That is why it is not only wrong but even criminal to defend colonial oppression in any form, and to hinder the accession to freedom and independence of the colonial peoples. It is essential, as proposed in our draft resolution, to make every effort to ensure the complete liquidation of colonialism.

4.28 Proceeding from those objectives which are the basis of its Constitution, as an international organization, Unesco has accomplished a certain amount in this sphere, but it needs to adopt even more decisive measures to assist the peoples struggling for their national liberation. It also needs to come to the help of the newly independent peoples in developing their education, science and culture with all possible speed.

4.29 At the same time, we should turn our attention to the great danger overhanging the countries which have recently freed themselves from colonialism, arising from the fact that the colonialists are trying their utmost to disunite the peoples of those countries so as to preserve their own influence in them and destroy their freedom and independence once again. The events in the Congo give a sufficiently clear illustration of this danger, and reveal the intentions and aims of the colonialists.

4.30 The colonialists think one thing, say another and do a third. Unesco should not assist these infamous attempts by the colonialists in any form, or be a cover for them: on the contrary, it should be on the side of the colonial peoples. Our draft resolution is an important step forward in this connexion. Only thus can our Organization worthily fulfil its tasks, its social and historical duty.

4.31 The great philosopher Emmanuel Kant once said: "Do your social duty and we shall see what kind of person you are". Unesco should demonstrate that it is fulfilling its tasks and its social duty in a worthy manner.

4.32 Our General Conference, gentlemen, is taking place in Paris. This is not only Paris the beautiful, Paris the historical, but also Paris with its democratic and revolutionary traditions, the city where the great French revolutionary leaders raised the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity for the first time in the history of mankind. They struggled for the reconstruction of feudal France, and were stout opponents of racialism and discrimination at a time when even the very idea of colonialism was still inexistent.

4.33 Is there any need for us to refer to the representatives of education, science and culture in other countries who have also fought for liberty, equality and fraternity between peoples and who have also been stout opponents of racialism, discrimination, and colonial barbarism? I hardly think so.

4.34 These tasks are today being implemented: the achievement of fraternity, equality and liberty, and Unesco plays a part in their implementation. It wishes to go forward, it should contribute towards their solution, failing which we shall mark time, make no headway, but on the contrary turn back, as some of the delegates here might wish.

4.35 The Director-General, in his concluding speech, said that Unesco would go forward. That was spoken well and to the point.

4.36 Let our first step, or one of our first steps, on the way forward be the adoption by Unesco of a decision to promote the complete liquidation of colonialism. This draft resolution, despite its various shortcomings, has the support of the Bulgarian delegation.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Dr. Beeby, Head of the delegation of New Zealand.

6.1 Mr. BEEBY (New Zealand):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, this session of the General Conference has seen the membership of Unesco dramatically increased by the entry into the Organization of many new independent and equal members of the international community. So it is perhaps natural that we should wish, in our own particular field of competence, just as the General Assembly of the United Nations is now doing in the more general political field, to consider what further progress remains to be made in the building of a free and interdependent world society.

6.2 Since the political aspects of the question that we are now discussing are being treated in New York, I shall not attempt to set out again the views of my Government, but I should simply like to quote a few

words from the statement made ten days ago in the General Assembly by the leader of the New Zealand delegation to the United Nations. He said: "The very essence of this project is a belief in the individual worth and dignity of all human beings, a belief which allows of no distinction on grounds of race or colour or nationality, and which cannot be fully vindicated as long as one people exercises any form of control over another. My delegation can subscribe wholeheartedly and without any reservation or qualification to a reaffirmation of this belief. The people of New Zealand are as eager as those of any other country to see a world of independent nations working together for the common good of mankind, freed from the evils of racial discrimination and from all forms of domination and oppression".

6.3 It is, however, misleading, Mr. President, to equate these evils with the term "colonialism", and it seems to my delegation that there is a tendency to do this in paragraphs 1(a) and 1(c) of the draft resolution. As the distinguished leader of the United Kingdom delegation said this morning, the word "colonialism" can be used to cover a wide range of very different things. There are situations that can properly be termed colonial where the administering powers, to their credit, are doing all they can to help dependent peoples to achieve independence at the earliest possible moment; and there are other situations, not commonly referred to as colonial, where whole peoples lack the opportunity to determine their future. Our solicitude must surely extend to all people, whether or not they are colonial in the constitutional sense, whose actual state is one of dependence and subordination. My delegation therefore asks the General Conference to take note of the expression in the operative paragraph 1(a) "colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

6.4 If there is one aspect in particular of this draft resolution which might trouble my delegation, it is the statement in the operative paragraph 1(a) that, and I quote "Accession to freedom and independence must not be delayed on the false pretext that a particular territory has not reached a sufficiently high level in the fields of education, science and culture". We well know - and recent events in one area in Africa which are in all our minds have demonstrated it amply - that there are difficulties and complexities in bringing a territory to full independence. I may say that New Zealand has had recent practical experience of what is involved in this process. At this very moment in New York, we are seeking the termination of our Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of Western Samoa. I happen personally to have been involved over several years in helping Western Samoa to develop the education system it will need when it achieves full independence at the end of 1961, and I know as an educationist that this state of educational preparedness could not have been reached overnight. Paragraph 1(a) then, must be read in the light of these realities; in particular, we would not wish anything to be said that might be taken to weaken the obligation of any administering power to do its utmost to prepare dependent people adequately for independence at the earliest possible moment.

6.5 A second cause for concern in the draft resolution could arise from the way in which paragraph 1(c) is framed. Unesco's task is to help overcome economic, social and cultural underdevelopment and illiteracy, whatever the cause, and whether or not they be the after-effects of colonialism. We hope that paragraph 1(c) will not be interpreted as meaning that colonialism, in its nature, is always the source or the only source of these various ills. Because if we diagnose the cause of these ills too narrowly, we might also apply our remedies too narrowly.

6.6 These, Mr. President, are matters of interpretation. We could have hoped, had an opportunity for more leisurely discussion existed, that a more satisfactory form of drafting could have been found in order to make explicit what is, in our reading, already implicit. In spite of the skill and devoted efforts of the Working Party, that has not been possible. But it will not prevent my delegation from supporting the draft resolution as the nearest expression this Conference has been able to reach of an ideal that should be inherent in all that Unesco does. My only other regret is that I, and indeed most of the speakers in this debate, have had to devote so much time to these controversial aspects of the draft resolution which are not really Unesco's affair, that we have had no opportunity to speak on paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 which are concerned with the ways in which Unesco can actually contribute to the welfare of dependent peoples.

6.7 I hope that for the rest of this session, and for all future sessions, we can devote our full energies to a consideration of the practical measures that Unesco, and Unesco alone, can take.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Dr. Sattler, Head of the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

8.1 Mr. SATTLER (Federal Republic of Germany): Mr. President, fellow delegates, I want to be very very brief because this is the last time I shall speak at this session of the Conference, for unfortunately I have to leave tomorrow evening. But before speaking on the draft resolution which is before us I would like to suggest that in this beautiful hall a big map in wood showing all the countries of the world which we have represented here might improve the acoustics. That, however, is just my opinion as an architect.

8.2 With regard to the resolution, I am in a very strange position. Germany is in the position of having had nothing to do with colonies for more than 40 years, so that it is very easy for us to vote in favour. However the resolution contains some words which we cannot completely approve, especially the section referred to by Dr. Beeby, paragraph 1(a) which reads: "Colonialism in all its forms". We, in Germany have something special to say on this question. We know that there are other forms of slavery and of colonialism, even in Europe, and that there is a possibility, as happened in our own history, of a dictatorship arising which can enslave one's own country and then, as Hitler did, occupy other countries and enslave them too. These things happen, they have happened and they do happen, so that I can understand the words "colonialism in all its forms" only in the sense that they include all other kinds of oppression too. And I believe that Unesco's task is just that - to fight against all these kinds of oppression. It is in this sense, Mr. President, that we are prepared to vote in favour of this resolution.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Wierblowski, Head of the delegation of Poland.

10.1 Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, I imagine we have all read today's newspapers which are published in Paris in French and English. I personally saw something symbolic in the fact that the very day on which all the newspapers had so much to say about the bloody events in the colonies coincided with the day of our discussion on the liquidation of colonialism. The United Kingdom representative, the Head of the United Kingdom delegation at our Conference, failed to understand this striking piece of symbolism.

10.2 I fully appreciate that the United Kingdom, one of the oldest colonial powers, is unwilling to vote for the Working Party's resolution. This is understandable and natural: representatives of the United Kingdom Government could hardly be expected to vote in favour of it, for they would then be voting against themselves. But what surprised me was the tone in which the Head of the United Kingdom delegation spoke. He spoke very sharply. Why did the United Kingdom representative, who usually speaks so moderately and correctly, think it necessary to make such a sharply worded and provocative speech? What made him, speaking on the colonial issue, consider it possible to address our General Conference with such a disdainful air?

10.3 I have no comment to make about the way in which he raised the question of actual terminology in relation to colonies. This is an academic point. In any case, both he and several other speakers tried to create as much confusion as possible on this score. Nothing is easier than to confuse the colonial question - that of the economic exploitation of entire countries, exploitation which has lasted for centuries - with questions of censorship, individual freedom and human rights.

10.4 I am in favour of human rights and freedom - freedom in the colonies and freedom in all countries. But I think that all that has to be done, in order to create confusion, is to raise all these questions at the one time. It is not difficult to do so.

10.5 The points raised here by the United Kingdom representative about Tibet led to confusion of this kind. For about one thousand years Tibet has been a fundamentally Chinese territory within the framework of the Chinese State. If you are going to talk about the colonization of Tibet by China, I could, following the same line, say that England colonized Scotland and that Scotland is a colony of England. Or I might equally well say that Northern Ireland is a colony of Great Britain.

10.6 It would, of course, be stupid of me if I said it in all seriousness, but the assertion that Tibet is a colony of China is just as nonsensical, especially as the United Kingdom representative should know full well that China itself was for many years a semi-colony in which the English, precisely, played a particular rôle. To say, therefore, that a semi-colony possessed its own colony is even more absurd than to say that Scotland is a colony of England or that Northern Ireland is a colony of Great Britain.

10.7 Putting the question in this way only aggravates relation and kindles the cold war, which we are all trying to bring to an end. And I consider that a speech about Tibet designed to cause confusion on a question which is quite specific and clear and relates to colonies is out of place at a serious gathering like ours.

10.8 I must say that I was surprised not only by the sharp tone of voice of the United Kingdom representative, but also by the poverty of his arguments. What arguments were there, in fact? None at all, apart from Tibet, censorship and human rights. But we are all agreed that human rights should be safeguarded, whether in the colonies, in the metropolitan countries, or anywhere else.

10.9 If the Head of the United Kingdom delegation shares these views about the safeguarding of human rights, I should advise him to release those in the colonies who are being held in prisons or are languishing in concentration camps. I should propose to him also to come out in favour of releasing all fighters against colonialism in British, Portuguese and other colonies. This would indeed provide an opportunity for speaking here about censorship, human rights and other very apt subjects which relate as much to the colonies as to the metropolitan countries, but which have no relation to the matter under discussion.

10.10 Colonialism - as is clear to everyone - has in all the countries concerned acted as a brake on the development of science, education and culture over many decades. And now they must catch up to the European countries. To say nothing in Unesco about colonialism, as some delegates here have suggested, is to say nothing about the reasons for the backwardness of vast areas of the globe in the field of education, science and culture.

10.11 It was urged during our discussion that we should refrain from touching on political issues. But our opponents do so: they do so when the question arises of the Congo, or of colonialism. I feel it is worth recalling how three years ago, at the United Nations Economic and Social Council, these same opponents of ours were against the creation of the Economic Commission for Africa on the ground that it was first necessary to resolve the political issues. Here we see that when it suits them, they say that the political questions must be settled before turning to other fields, such as economics, whereas at other times they say the opposite: we must keep off politics, this is not a political organization - it is Unesco, and hence we must not mention colonialism.

10.12 I think that just as in the Nineteenth century people of culture, science and education opposed the slave trade and slavery in general - and Sir David Eccles' country, Great Britain, headed the opposition - so in the Twentieth century all honest men and women of science, culture and education must be against colonialism.

10.13 I am quite sure that Englishmen will not be lacking in the ranks of the opponents of colonialism, just as they were present at the time of the fight against the slave trade. The Englishmen, too, will be there.

10.14 I should like to add a few words about the statement made here by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany. It irked me to hear the Head of the West German delegation say that they had been a colonized country. I understand his

meaning: he meant that Hitler had colonized them. But to me, as the representative of a country which was really colonized by Hitler, it was unpleasant to hear those who colonized us - or rather the State which colonized us - now say that at that time they were a colony. That makes me say that we were at that time the colony of a colony. To my mind, it was improper of the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to speak here in such a fashion. There is a Russian proverb which says "No matter whose cow may moo, yours should be silent",

10.15 How can those who colonized a whole series of countries and exterminated millions of people say that they were then a colonized country? I have great respect for Mr. Sattler and all those Germans who fought against Hitlerism. I am always ready to shake them by the hand, and I regard them as honest people. But I fail to understand how these same people can describe Germany, which wiped out millions of people, as a colonial country. There is something wrong here, and it would have been better not to broach that painful question.

10.16 And now a few words about the term "colonialism". While people here have been indulging in a sort of semantics, the captives of colonialism are languishing in prison and countries are still living under the yoke of colonialism. We cannot remain silent in this situation.

10.17 Unesco should help in overcoming colonial prejudices - racial prejudices - among the former colonialists. Little has been said here about racial prejudices, but they do exist. And when people talk about the immaturity of the colonial peoples, it is essentially a racial theory.

10.18 We heard this theory during the Second World War, during the time of Hitlerism. We were told that the Slav peoples were unfit for statehood, that we were an inferior race and hence incapable of creating and having our own State, that we were not ripe for it, and that the German people must help us to reach maturity. Where there is talk about the immaturity of the colonial peoples, there we have racial prejudice, and it exists in the subconscious mind of certain colonialists.

10.19 It is improper to go on talking about the immaturity of the colonial peoples or the necessity of educating them. You, during the course of a century or a century-and-a-half, showed yourselves very poor educators, to be sure. You educated nobody, and there are many examples to prove it. The fact that we are now faced with extremely difficult problems, as in the Congo, proves your inability to educate.

10.20 A new danger now confronts us. Apart from the attempts to preserve certain colonies, another venture is being attempted - that of neo-colonialism, which aims at continuing to exploit the colonies in another form. Read the newspapers about what is happening in Laos, where there has been interference in internal affairs with a view to restoring colonial exploitation. I could cite a number of examples of how the colonialists try to restore the old colonialism in new guises, of how they grant independence and simultaneously continue their economic domination, of how the political influence of the former colonialists is preserved in independent countries.

10.21 In conclusion, I should like to say that I am very pleased that the Working Party's resolution has been presented here, and we shall vote in favour of it. We are gratified that it was found possible to formulate the resolution as a result of compromise, mutual agreement and mutual negotiation. We shall vote in favour of it although we are not entirely satisfied with it. I regard this compromise, however, as a definitive achievement on the part of our Conference.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call on H.E. Mr. Lazo, Head of the Cuban delegation.

12.1 Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish): Mr. President, fellow delegates, very little time is granted us to express our point of view. In this debate, judging by what has been said so far, there has not been any real discussion on the substance. However, when differing opinions on the concept of colonialism are aired, Cuba, for many and very obvious reasons, cannot remain silent. Cuba was the last Latin American country to cease, after a war lasting thirty years, to be the political colony of a European power, although it did not at the same time cease being a colony under foreign domination from the economic point of view.

12.2 In 1898, the Congress of the United States of America stated that the people of Cuba were - and rightly - free and independent. And what Cuba has wanted since then is to see that declarations of that kind should not be mere pieces of paper which disintegrate on coming into contact with reality.

12.3 When speaking about colonialism - as today we ought to speak about it, i.e. against it - it is natural to speak in favour of freedom.

12.4 And to speak of freedom is to speak, inter alia, of education - a specific activity of Unesco, Mr. President and fellow delegates. Freedom is not merely a political question, as has sometimes been said here; it is far more than that, for it is a human problem, the great universal concern of contemporary man.

12.5 But what also happens is that this concept of freedom is turned into an idea without content, an abstraction used as a pretext to justify ignorance, and even some of the major attacks on freedom, and the conditions without which freedom is merely a propaganda slogan are forgotten.

12.6 In Latin America - whose voice has certainly been heard very little in this discussion - and in other parts of the world, we know, and we must stress this here, that political freedom, the possession of a national flag, coat of arms and anthem, the maintenance of embassies and the sending of delegates to international conferences such as this one, does not in itself constitute true freedom for any nation whatsoever. This means that freedom is a complex concept, and that one of its prior requisites is economic independence and sufficient education. Many nations are told that they are free, yet, overwhelmed by illiteracy and poverty and dominated by wealthy minorities, the only true freedom they have is the freedom to die of hunger, unless they are guaranteed their economic freedom and social justice, and unless their cultural level is raised and their technical development promoted.

12.7 To say these things frankly, fearlessly and sincerely is to educate and Cuba is saying them in the appropriate place, namely Unesco. I have come here

to say this and to defend these ideas, and I therefore support the draft resolution of the Working Party, document 11 C/45 Annex, as the starting point for a campaign against colonialism, an error and a crime of the past, the condemnation of which, far from separating, unites and will continue to unite all the people of all nations of the world.

13.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I should like to remind you that the list of speakers is closed. I am, however, making an exception in respect of the Indian delegation which has asked for the floor on the grounds that it was referred to by a number of speakers this morning.
13.2 I call upon Mrs. Gandhi, on behalf of the Indian delegation.

14.1 Mrs. GANDHI (India):
Mr. President, distinguished delegates, I did not wish to take up the time of this Assembly, but since several references have been made to my country, I should like to say a few words. It is most kind of you, Mr. President, to give me the opportunity of doing so.
14.2 My delegation is a signatory to this draft resolution and, naturally, we strongly commend it for your support. We are here as representatives of a free country, but that freedom was the result of a long and hard struggle. We are sitting alive because hundreds and thousands of other Indians were willing to give up their lives. I myself have spent part of my life in prison and am alive today only because a bullet which was aimed at me missed me by a couple of inches and hit the girl who was standing immediately behind me. None of us were armed, nor had we any intention of committing any kind of violence. Our freedom is still too new for us to forget all that our people have gone through.
14.3 I do not forget the things that were done for us - the roads and the railways, the fine army, a civil service loyal to our rulers. These expenses, as well as expenses of the entire government of the period, were borne by the Indian people. It is also undeniable, as our Commissioner for Economic Affairs said recently in New York, that the possession of colonies has been of immense material benefit to the colonial powers. Many historians have held that the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom, and subsequently in the continent of Europe, could not have been financed had it not been for the pillage of Bengal. The part played by the inflow of gold from South America is even better known. of gold from
14.4 But, Mr. President, I say all this without the slightest feeling of bitterness or of recrimination. I agree with the distinguished leader of the United States delegation that we must look forward and not backward. We find today that the colonial peoples are unanimous in their desire for freedom and that only in conditions of freedom can educational and other programmes be successful. There are certainly difficulties in the handing over of power, especially since so little has been done over the last centuries to prepare the ground. But there is no other solution. Indians were also supposed to be incapable of ruling themselves, but in thirteen years of independence we have done more in education, communication and all other fields than was done in nearly 200 years of colonial rule. Colonialism is doomed and will die. If you resist this process, you will invite violence, bitterness and hatred. If on the other hand, you meet it with a helpful attitude, you will achieve understanding and friendship. That is why our delegation put its name to this draft resolution.

15.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): If there are no objections, I consider that, in conformity with the Working Party's recommendation, the draft resolution contained in document 11 C/45 is adopted.
15.2 If you will allow me, I should like to join with certain speakers in thanking the Chairman and members of the Working Party for the work they have done and for the mutual understanding which they have shown in order to facilitate the work of the Conference.
15.3 I call upon H.E. Mr. Lund, Head of the Swedish delegation.

16.1 Mr. LUND (Sweden):
Mr. President, I have asked for the floor to declare our position in case a vote is taken on this resolution. We would vote in favour of the proposed resolution since the general tenor of this resolution is fully in accord with our general policy. True, this problem is now being discussed in the United Nations and Sweden will state its opinion in the discussion there. But since the item we have before us today concerns Unesco's rôle in this field, and since a draft resolution has been put before us, we have had to take a stand here and now.
16.2 Some of the wording of the draft resolution does not, of course, cover all the shades of meaning which correspond to the Swedish position in this matter, and some important points have been left out, as Sir David Eccles of the United Kingdom has pointed out to us. But, as you will find in the report attached to the draft resolution, the United Kingdom and France were represented in the working party which prepared this draft resolution; France felt bound to abstain and the United Kingdom's delegate stated that he had no instruction empowering him either to approve or not to approve any draft resolution which the working party might prepare.
16.3 We are not informed in the report what constructive proposals both these delegates presented in the Working Party for the improvement of the draft resolution. But I can very well imagine, Mr. President, that if some of the thoughts expressed here by Sir David Eccles had been included in the draft resolution, it would have been still easier for the Swedish delegation to support this resolution, which we now do with some reservations.

17.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): There are still some delegates wanting to speak. I should like to point out that the list of speakers was closed this morning precisely in order to gain time. Once the vote has been taken, why insist on speaking? Here is the list of delegations which have asked for the floor: Pakistan, Morocco, Ruanda-Urundi, Canada, Japan and Denmark. I would draw your attention to the fact that we are liable to spend the night here.
17.2 I call upon Mr. Elmanjra, delegate of Morocco.

18.1 Mr. ELMANJRA (Morocco):

Mr. President, I would like to thank you first of all for allowing us to speak on this question. We regret not having been able this morning to inscribe ourselves on the list, but unfortunately our delegation is quite reduced and we were not able to do so. Our intervention will be very brief.

18.2 The Moroccan delegation, as one of the co-sponsors of the resolution which has been adopted here, would like to make a very brief statement on this important item of our agenda. Our statement will be brief because we feel that the process of decolonization which has been the outstanding feature of this century, is not a matter which can be solved by words. It is a well-known historical fact that independence and liberty, unlike technical assistance, is never granted but always taken. We also find it very difficult to speak on the subject of colonialism, particularly on a day like this, one when all of the newspapers inform us of concrete consequences of this cancer. I say "concrete", because I do not know if there is something more concrete than human lives. We shall not dwell further on this point because any discussion of such questions can never be more impressive than the facts, the facts which you all know. Everyone here is aware of the evils of colonialism and the very idea that it might be necessary to convince certain persons about these evils at this turning point of history seems to us to be an insult to the intelligence of those we might want to convince. All we would like to see is a closer co-ordination between the words we have heard here and the deeds of those who have pronounced them.

18.3 But here again, Mr. President, we are not among those who believe that colonialism will or can be abolished unilaterally, because colonialism, with all its harmful effects, has had a positive aspect in the evolution of peoples in that it has encouraged the counter-movement and a reaction. It is in this very reaction that resides the secret of the liberation process. It would therefore be futile to think that we shall be putting an end to colonialism by adopting unanimously a resolution. We know that in this field we are faced with interests, and interests are never fought with sentiments and resolutions. The importance of the resolution just adopted can be however found in the international recognition by Unesco, that without freedom there can be no education, no science, no culture and no international co-operation.

18.4 In conclusion, Mr. President, we are so conscious and so aware of the ills of colonialism that we find it very hard to express ourselves in words on such a question. We also have such a great respect for humanity at large and such a faith in the inevitable trends of history that it would hurt us and demoralize us to think that, in this century of scientific progress, in this atomic and interplanetary age, we still have to come before countries who have contributed so much to this progress and make the plea that they recognize the drastic and inhuman consequences of this nefarious historical anomaly of the Twentieth century.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I now call upon Mr. MacEwan, delegate of Canada.

20.1 Mr. MacEWAN (Canada):

Mr. President, I wish to explain that the Canadian delegation would have abstained if a recorded vote had been taken on this issue. Under the circumstances, we cannot associate ourselves in the support of resolution 11 C/45. It is not that we believe Unesco has no rôle to play in assisting peoples who aspire to freedom, but the issue involved in this resolution, which concerns primarily a political matter, is now quite appropriately under discussion in the United Nations General Assembly.

20.2 Pending the outcome of the discussions there, my delegation has not been able to take a decision on the matter here, nor to intervene in the debate. There are indeed many points in the resolution with which we would agree. We would not wish here to endorse nor would we wish to oppose broad statements of political principle which at this very moment are being formulated in New York. We further consider that Unesco should not be concerned with matters which are primarily political, and that a Unesco resolution on this issue might well be an anticipation of the General Assembly resolution yet to be adopted and which would carry more authority. In essence therefore, Mr. President, our reservations are related to procedural considerations rather than to the merits or otherwise of this resolution.

21. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Matsui, delegate of Japan.

22.1 Mr. MATSUI (Japan) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the Japanese delegation would have voted for the resolution in document 11 C/45 had you put it to the vote. We fully understand the peoples' yearning for independence and, for this reason, even though we were not members of the Working Party, we have supported this resolution whole-heartedly.

22.2 Certain members of the Working Party have said that it implies the necessity of looking forward rather than backwards. Mrs. Gandhi has just spoken in such quiet and moving terms that I could add nothing to what she has said. I would, however, like to clarify Japan's position: although we are in favour of this resolution, we in no way subscribe to the denunciations voiced in a harsh and painful fashion by certain delegates in this assembly.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mrs. Saunte, Head of the Danish delegation.

24. Mrs. SAUNTE (Denmark):

Mr. President, the Danish delegation is fully in agreement with this resolution in so far as its declared purpose is that colonialism, in all its forms and all its manifestations, must be speedily abolished. But as we find that it should have been possible to formulate a resolution that could be accepted by all delegations on this important matter, and as we understand why some delegations could not accept the wording presented to us in the draft resolution, and finally, as we find that this is because the resolution concerns problems for the discussion of which the Organization of the United Nations itself is a better forum, we should have preferred to abstain in this matter.

DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EXCHANGES IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE (conclusion)

25.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): We will now proceed to the next item on the agenda, item 17.7, that is to say the continuation of the discussion on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture.

25.2 I call upon the Belgian delegate, Mr. Florkin.

26.1 Mr. FLORKIN (Belgium) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in the course of the two days so far devoted to the general discussion with which we are concerned this afternoon, there has been little reference to one of the panels forming the Unesco triptych, namely science. It is in order to ensure that this vital aspect of our Organization's activity is not left to one side that I am anxious to address you today as a delegate of Belgium.

26.2 Given the climate of this General Conference, it seems almost incongruous to allude to the scientific field. After listening to the statement by the distinguished Rumanian delegate, H.E. Mr. Vasile Dumitrescu, moreover, I am afraid that my position as a scientist is inimical to my position as delegate to this session of the General Conference. My distinguished colleague gave the impression that, in drawing up Unesco's programme of work, it would be as well to distrust the views of the experts, who are afflicted with political shortsightedness. In the same connexion, I should like to inform you that there is, within the international community of scientists, a certain distrust of Unesco's activities in the scientific field. This results from a specific grievance to the effect that Unesco's scientific activities are determined by politicians, whom scientists suspect, not of shortsightedness, but of scientific blindness ! The very concept of Unesco's scientific vocation has (and this merits our attention) been questioned on many occasions for some time past and the opinion is often advanced that it would be desirable to set up a new Specialized Agency - the United Nations Scientific Organization or UNSO - which would take in a number of already-existing United Nations agencies and leave UNECO to devote all its efforts to education and culture in the world.

26.3 I mention these opinions not in order to recommend their promotion but simply because they are symptomatic. We should also bear in mind what the Secretariat proposed to the Programme Commission on Saturday: the application of a so-called mathematical method whereby increases in Unesco's overall budget would, despite certain appearances, automatically result in a reduction of the budget for the Department of Natural Sciences.

26.4 Again, there is not one scientist among the distinguished members of the Directorate-General of the Secretariat. This is not surprising but, what is more significant, is that a majority of the members of the Programme Commission, by accepting the method to which I have just referred, have indicated their desire to see that part of the programme which relates to the Department of Natural Sciences reduced. When we see to what extent this Department's budget is to be cut, we shall be able to calculate - mathematically, on this occasion, by a simple linear equation - in what year the "S" of Unesco, which should already be written as a small letter among the other capitals, will finally disappear altogether.

26.5 Mr. President, in order to conform to the wish of the Conference at the risk of making myself conspicuous in the general atmosphere of this discussion, I should like to restrict my speech to certain clearly-defined aspects of international scientific co-operation and, specifically, to those connected with the standardization of documentation and a better organization of the distribution of scientific information.

26.6 A little historical background to the very concept of international scientific co-operation would not be out of place here. As you know, the idea of a United Nations Organization for education and culture developed among the allies at the end of 1942. The Preparatory Conference, held in London in November 1945, decided to include science in a world-wide plan for intellectual co-operation - a decision which added to "Uneco" the "s" which made it Unesco. It is in the writings of Father Mersenne, Descartes' correspondent, that we find the first historical definition of the concept of scientific co-operation between nations, along with a definition of the essential unity of the sciences and the collective nature of scientific works. "The sciences", wrote Father Mersenne, "have sworn an inviolable society amongst themselves". And in his "Vérité des sciences" he asks "how can we know about the variation of the magnetic needle at different points of the globe unless we assemble the results of observations made at these different points ?"

26.7 In his clear introduction to this discussion, Mr. Jean Thomas referred to the changes which the very concept of international scientific co-operation has undergone in the course of Unesco's history. During the first session of the General Conference, this concept was defined in the form of six proposals: to cover the world with a network of science co-operation offices, to support and increase the scientific unions and help them in their work, to organize and operate an international system of scientific services, to support the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in their work, to keep citizens of all countries informed of the international implications of scientific discoveries and to create new forms of international scientific co-operation (observations, institutes, etc.).

26.8 It was on the basis of these directives that, from 1946 to 1948, Unesco clearly emphasized co-operation between scientists at the international level. During the fifth session of the General Conference at Florence in 1950, a concern with human fraternity was superimposed on the idea of co-operation between scientists and one of Unesco's main tasks was defined as being "to promote the progress and utilization of science for mankind". The seventh session of the General Conference in Paris in 1952 saw a more precise formulation, by a group of requesting States, of the policy already outlined at Florence. There was a pressing demand that the concept of international co-operation among scientists should be replaced by a new social contract whereby nations belonging to the sphere of Western civilization would share the benefits of modern science with those

nations which did not so far enjoy them. In his report to the General Conference at its session in Paris in 1952, the then Director-General, Mr. Jaime Torres Bodet, showed how international co-operation among scientists was to form the basis on which Unesco would establish its own work towards making the modern world a better and happier place. It will be remembered that his views, which were inspired by the loftiest spirit of understanding and human generosity, were somewhat harshly rejected by a majority of the members of the General Conference. But there are irresistible currents and two years later, in 1954 at Montevideo, the General Conference decided to give priority to direct services to Member States.

26.9 The history of the Arid Lands Project enables us to follow the development of the concept of scientific co-operation in its purely political aspects and, in this respect, the Project has not only been important in itself but, by virtue of its very structure, represents a significant experiment in the sphere of the intergovernmental aspects of international co-operation - since the co-operation of Member States can lead to the success of an undertaking of vital importance to the human race.

26.10 We have before us the spectacle of the methods thus defined being applied in a series of other fields, as, for example, oceanography, particularly as regards knowledge of the Indian Ocean, of which it has been said that it was less well-known than the surface of the moon - a remark to which the recent outstanding achievements of Soviet science have lent added weight.

26.11 The doctrine of international scientific co-operation has thus gradually implanted itself in Unesco, taking the form of co-operation between scientists, co-operation of Member States in scientific surveys conducted on their territories and participation in the scientific development of Member States. All the main lines of this doctrine intersect at the level of scientific exchanges and relations in the world today - a field in which the problem of how to communicate the results of scientific research remains unsolved.

26.12 Paragraphs 967 to 992 of the report of the Director-General of Unesco to the United Nations Economic and Social Council on international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture provide an excellent picture of the difficulties of communicating the results of scientific research. As rightly stated in paragraph 36 of document 11 C/17 "the time has come to initiate a much larger international effort". Even if Unesco were obliged to devote ten years' work to this question and raise it to the level of a major project, the success of such an admittedly difficult undertaking would fertilize all the data resulting from activities which our Organization has recognized as being in line with its own programme.

26.13 At the present time, the results of research are still not communicated on an adequate scale, in keeping with the acceleration of scientific progress. The number of scientific periodicals grows daily and over half of the works published remain unknown to a large number of specialists in the subjects concerned. The beginner who ventures into the thick forest of scientific publications is lost there and loses all sense of direction; the scientific literature of whole countries is still absolutely unknown to scientists in certain other countries. Scientific periodicals specializing in the same branch of science use different terminology and different methods of abbreviation to refer to the same facts, with the result that the reader is sometimes obliged to undertake extensive bibliographical research in order to learn, for example, what chemical compound is being alluded to in a scientific paper.

26.14 It is absolutely essential that progress should be made in establishing generally accepted scientific terminology. It seems impossible to persuade the authors of scientific works to abandon the use of current designations which they have adopted and to which they cling for reasons of convenience or personal preference; but, on the other hand, it does seem possible, through the authority of the scientific unions or other similar organizations, to arrange that the authors of scientific publications should, at the beginning of their work, mention the term adopted in international scientific terminology, even if they cling to their own habitual forms of expression in the rest of the work. It would be an illusion, however, to imagine that a code of scientific terminology could be generally adopted, even if officially accepted by the council of an international specialists' union, unless there were active co-operation on the part of the editors of scientific periodicals dealing with the same branch of activity.

26.15 My personal experience in this field leads me to recommend a method comprising several stages. The first step is to draw up, within a specified time and for a particular field, certain rules of terminology worked out by a small group of experts, not merely qualified but enjoying a standing based on important contributions to scientific progress. The second stage would consist in bringing that group of experts together with another group, also small, and composed of editors of the main periodicals published in the same scientific field.

26.16 My own experience relates to the field of biochemistry, which has aroused so much interest during the present session of the Conference, and leads to me to think that a joint discussion of the problem by these two groups would result in feasible, realistic and effective solutions. The proposals finally adopted would then be edited, printed and distributed by the appropriate scientific unions to their national committees for consideration. The observations made would, after the lapse of a few years, serve as material for the work of another committee of experts.

26.17 It is important that the groups to which I have referred, i.e. the group of specialists and the group of editors, should be very small, but each group would maintain contact by correspondence with a wider selection of specialists and editors of periodicals respectively.

26.18 Yet even if scientific literature were unified and rationalized and thereby made directly and easily accessible to each specialist, there would still remain a critical problem, that of ensuring the communication of the content of such literature to members of the scientific community. Since it is an established fact that no library has the financial

means to acquire the 50,000 scientific periodicals published throughout the world and that no scientist has the time to read the scientific literature devoted to his own particular subject, two methods are currently used to solve the problem, at least in part. On the one hand, specialists in each science have periodicals which, with varying degrees of accuracy and speed, publish abstracts of some of the original works dealing with their specialization; the works listed are selected by editorial committees of these journals. But a survey conducted by the ICSU Abstracting Board of abstracting journals dealing with the biological sciences revealed that these periodicals cover only a limited number of scientific publications - which in no way makes up for the incompleteness of the information communicated. The second method is verbal communication and personal correspondence. This explains the continuing success of the great international congresses - a success contrary to all expectations: it is at such congresses that scientists contributing to progress in the same specialized field can meet and, with a minimum loss of time, communicate the main results of their research to one another. After the congress, they continue to correspond and to exchange offprints of their publications. Charles Darwin's biographers tell us that he devoted roughly half his time to scientific correspondence. I think my colleagues will agree with me that the difficulties involved in tackling such a mass of scientific literature oblige all of us nowadays to go in for correspondence similar to that of the famous author of "The Origin of Species".

26.19 The situation at present therefore is as follows: scientific journals which, from 1920 to 1940, ensured the communication of the results of scientific research to their readers, have not been able, since the last world war, to cope with the enormous advances made in science. The method applied by these journals has collapsed. Scientists are therefore obliged to resort to the historically older method of personal correspondence in order to compensate for the gaps in the now inadequate system of scientific abstracting journals.

26.20 In my opinion, it would be very difficult to ensure that such journals satisfy everyone. There is a reading public - professors, students, young research workers - who want a picture of the most important developments (or those considered as the most important) in a given field of scientific activity. But the advanced research workers are seeking for information that cannot be found in the great periodicals which everyone reads and which are in every laboratory; and since it is the latter which are covered by abstracting journals, a considerable number of works - especially those written in languages other than English, Russian, French or German or published in periodicals with a limited distribution - do not reach the readers to whom they are, by their very nature, addressed.

26.21 I put the following question to Professor Bentley Glass, one of the editors of "Biological Abstracts": If Gregor Mendel, the pride and glory of Czechoslovak science, were to publish his fundamental work today in the journal of the Naturforschenden Verein in Brünn, would the content of that work be brought to the attention of readers of "Biological Abstracts"? The reply was both honest and in the negative.

26.22 There are only two fields of science in which the problem I am concerned with has been solved: medical science, through the "Index Medicus" and zoology, thanks to the existence of the "Zoological Record". Together with the abstracting journals, these complete and most effectively compiled bibliographical indexes enable the specialist to get to know, if not the content, at least of the existence of works which interest him.

26.23 Mr. President, I have dwelt too lengthily perhaps on some of the difficulties inherent in the solution of the fundamental problem of standardizing scientific documentation and in the distribution of scientific data. But the problem is a vital one and its solution essential if Unesco's work is to be carried out in the scientific field. On behalf of the delegation to which I have the honour to belong, I should like to express the hope that our Organization will, in conjunction with all the competent scientific organizations, address itself to the solution of this difficult problem and devote to it the time and effort which such a task, as urgent as it is essential, deserves, because, as several speakers at this meeting have emphasized, exchanges and relations between peoples are, in the scientific field as much as in those of education and culture, the very reason for Unesco's existence.

27. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): Ladies and gentlemen, the task of presiding over the debate under item 17.7 of the agenda was entrusted to H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro. I therefore ask him to replace me now until the end of this exchange of views, which he will sum up for us at the end of the discussion.

(Mr. Akale Work Abte-Wold handed over the presidency to Mr. de Berredo Carneiro.)

28.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The discussion will continue. I thank the President of the General Conference for having entrusted me with the task of presiding over the remainder of this discussion. The delegates remaining on the list of speakers are those of Guinea, Cuba and Lebanon.

28.2 I call upon H.E. Mr. Moussa Sanguiana, Head of the delegation of Guinea.

29.1 Mr. MOUSSA SANGUIANA (Guinea) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the part played by Africa in the give and take process which Unesco's action symbolizes has hitherto been insignificant. This was not because our continent took pleasure in its isolation. We must rid ourselves of the pseudo-scientific myths which show Africa in the past as a geographic entity withdrawn into itself and thereby condemned to stagnation and decadence.

29.2 No, Africa was never that Africa Portentosa, that Africa, mother of monsters. At no point in its history was our continent unaware of the world and the rest of the universe. Anthropology and palaeontology bear witness to the relations, elements and facts which entitle Africa to a place of honour in the history of mankind. These proofs supplement others,

which are known to historians and geographers, and perhaps still others again so far unknown either to you or to us, inasmuch as they remain to be discovered. Africa was a crossroads of social, commercial and cultural exchanges, instituted far back in the remote past, partly on account of the long routes across the Sahara which were used from the earliest days of antiquity, and partly on account of the maritime explorations of the first European navigators in the Fifteenth century - without going back as far as the famous voyages of Hanno and Sataspes.

29.3 Unfortunately, the bold discoverers of new worlds cared little about adding to the knowledge of universal humanism and became colonizers with no other thought than to serve the selfish and greedy interests of European countries.

29.4 If Africa, powerful and vigilant, has sought to prevent an easy penetration of its territory, it is because it was conscious of sheltering the most friendly people in the world, who regarded hospitality as a sacred duty. The Ifrikya which welcomed the Phoenician merchants seemed stubborn only to those who wished to do violence to it, to flout it spiritually or reduce it to economic slavery. In the Twentieth century and in the years ahead, Africa will defend its social and cultural integrity whenever it is threatened. At the same time, however, we shall, act as the world acts and at the same rate, since we are also "flesh of the world's flesh".

29.5 In its past development, Africa certainly encountered internal difficulties; but these, in their dialectic context, were promises of a forward-looking development and of progress rather than signs of the structural decadence from which the continent suffered and still suffers. Today the African phoenix must rise again and is already rising. Unesco can and should help to bring about the conditions needed for this resurrection and rebirth.

29.6 As regards the possibilities of improving international relations and exchanges in education, science and culture, we emphasize, on behalf of the delegation of Guinea, an aspect which in our view is fundamental if we are to achieve the noble aims which inspired the Director-General's proposals: we refer to a passage in the Economic and Social Council's resolution which reads as follows: "Considering that contacts between peoples and knowledge of each other's ways of life and thinking are a prerequisite for peace and the improvement of international co-operation... (the Economic and Social Council) invites Unesco, in consultation with the United Nations and appropriate related Agencies, to consider what measures of a practical and technical nature would in particular serve the ends indicated in the survey, such as:...(b) adapting education to the needs of international understanding".

29.7 We express our warmest approval both of the intention expressed and of the determination which will certainly inspire our Organization in carrying out this programme.

29.8 As the representative of a formerly colonized country, like all my fellow-Africans from other regions, I attach great importance to the essential problem of cultural decolonization. The reconversion of mind and spirit which we desire concerns not so much the colonial peoples as the former colonizers. Colonization was greatly encouraged, if not justified, by the elaboration of para-scientific theories relating to an allegedly primitive mentality among certain non-European human groups. The extent and effects of this systematic lowering of certain races in relation to others were so considerable that they still detract from the sincerity of our relations.

29.9 The Guinean delegation believes that a world campaign should be undertaken by Unesco on a specific theme relevant to this burning question. Such action, moreover, would seem to form the necessary climax to the survey on racialism and science, the outstanding quality of which we hereby acknowledge.

29.10 We are convinced of the underlying unity of the human spirit and we are likewise persuaded that every people, at all levels of society, possesses an innate awareness and knowledge of the great values and ideas of mankind. The wisdom of the Dogon people, which was conveyed to Marcel Griaule by the old Ogumtemmeli, led to the discovery of one of the richest cosmogonies in existence. Africa knows of others, but will reveal them only on condition that the neophytes approach it with a generous and unbiased mind. Even the greatest ethnologists have been unable to avoid the traps and hindrances of their informants, because there are still prejudices against them. For the benefit of science and culture therefore a new attitude must be adopted in approaching Africa: only then will our continent reveal the wealth of its little known civilizations and gradually disclose its spiritual treasures.

29.11 To Unesco's efforts to develop the training of responsible African leaders, we shall add our determination to undertake certain complicated and difficult tasks ourselves.

29.12 This, for the African countries, is one of the best ways of making an effective contribution to the improvement of international relations in education, science and culture.

30. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Lazo, Head of the Cuban delegation.

31.1 Mr. LAZO (Cuba) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the short time at our disposal calls for restriction to the minimum of the questions brought up for discussion during this exceedingly useful exchange of views and experiences in the sphere of cultural relations - a happy choice of subject for consideration by this General Conference in plenary meeting.

31.2 In view of this unavoidable time factor, the delegation of Cuba intends to refer very briefly to only three fundamental questions, singled out from among the extensive and complicated series of problems dealt with in the Report of the Director-General.

31.3 In the first place, we should like to draw the attention of the General Conference to the need for Unesco to spare no effort to break down every kind of barrier to the free circulation of all media promoting education, science and culture throughout the world. And here we would repeat our hope that words will be matched by deeds.

31.4 Cuba strongly supports every endeavour to unite all nations in this joint undertaking which is, in fact, the main reason for Unesco's existence. To avoid any regrettable confusion, I should like

to emphasize here that I am speaking of peoples and not of governments. For the imagination boggles at the thought of a ridiculous division of the world into good and bad nations - such an idea hardly deserves consideration. We are thinking only of peoples, all fundamentally equal on the human plane and from the point of view of their right to assistance in meeting their respective needs.

31.5 Consequently, Cuba urges that our Organization do its utmost, in the most effective way possible, to ensure that such antagonisms and prejudices as may divide governments - but not, of course, their peoples - are done away with for the sake of the latter and that all our projects are in fact implemented with a view to establishing a real world community in the spheres of education, science and culture.

31.6 With regard to international cultural relations, the exchange of persons serving the cause of education, science and culture is of primary importance and, in this connexion, Cuba recommends the immediate implementation of a wider and more highly developed programme of exchanges between all parts of the world. But in formulating this proposal - which amplifies and extends what Unesco is already carrying out - I would point out most particularly that such a programme should not in any way be regarded as being restricted to the traditional exchange of experts and officials; it should take the form of a permanent world plan for the exchange of persons capable of making a real contribution to the achievement of Unesco's fundamental aims. Member States should be called upon to co-operate actively in this plan, not confining themselves merely to removing every kind of obstacle to such exchanges but also stimulating and supporting them by every means in their power.

31.7 And now my delegation, in choosing only a few subjects because of shortage of time, is taking this opportunity to bring before the General Conference the urgent and complicated problem of the international circulation of books.

31.8 The statistics quoted by the Director-General show that the problem could not be more urgent and, if we face up to it, we shall see that it can be divided into two parts: firstly, there is the need to step up the campaign against illiteracy in a world in which 45% of the population can neither read nor write and, secondly, there is the need at the same time to raise the cultural and technical level of those who have already been taught to do so. Among other basic means of doing this, the circulation of books must be encouraged and we must plan and develop a world policy in this respect, freeing books from the two dreadful and sometimes hidden barriers to their circulation, namely that of the prejudices, antagonisms and fears which divide States - although not their peoples - and that of economic interests.

31.9 Unesco should fight with all its legitimate weapons of persuasion and good propaganda to ensure that the exchange and circulation of books is not held up by more or less impregnable barriers, represented by the typical prejudices of customs and police officials.

31.10 In this connexion, and of course applying a universal criterion of discretion and understanding for the benefit of all men and all nations, the only authorities should be men of goodwill working for education, science and culture throughout the world. As an example to illustrate this, I quote the case of the Spanish writer who, many years ago in Spain, reminded a police officer claming to exert his authority during a public discussion of the play which was being performed, that, in the theatre, the only legitimate authority is the author.

31.11 With regard to economic barriers, all efforts should be concentrated in a campaign against the conversion of books into luxury articles - which means that there is a growing shortage of them - whereas they ought to be, economically speaking, considered as vital necessities.

31.12 With regard to the foregoing general remarks which, if they are not to remain mere words, must be transformed into action as soon as possible, my delegation offers an outline of a positive project for the circulation of books in Latin America. It goes without saying that every region of the world should draw up and submit proposals of this kind and Cuba has naturally concentrated on a project dealing with Latin America, which is the region to which it belongs.

31.13 We recommend that Unesco, in its publications programme, should initiate studies with a view to laying the foundations of a representative library dealing with the life, character and thought of Latin America; this library should include works on the economic, social, historical, philosophical, literary and other aspects of Latin American life, which show how its problems are identified and solved and point to its own particular style. By this we do not mean a mere repetition or extension of what has already been done by Unesco or other international agencies along these lines, but the study and development of a project based on new criteria which I shall now try to review briefly.

31.14 In the first place, it should be a Latin American library for all the peoples of the region, and should at the same time be useful and necessary to the groups of specialists in the fields it covers.

31.15 Starting from this point of view, the project should be developed in successive stages, or concentric circles as it were, beginning, of course, with the authors who are most representative and whose message has the greatest human appeal. It should include what is most essentially Latin American in all the nations of the region, in each of its specific areas, in every sphere and in every period, so that it will thus become a library that can rightly be described as representative and well-balanced, and not merely a repetition of some of the inadequate and incomplete undertakings already attempted.

31.16 In this way, the peoples of Latin America will get to know one another through all this representative and policy-making material. However, the nature of the project demands the close co-operation of Unesco and of all the Latin American Member States; it require a series of careful selections and eliminations by a central body and its planning must be studied by economists, sociologists, philosophers, thinkers, historians and men of letters who are properly representative of all the peoples of Latin America in this task of intellectual co-operation; beginning with the general foundations and going on to critical studies, this project should end with the editorial work and the dissemination of the library's programme.

31.17 The fundamental aim of this project will be that the peoples of Latin America - and not, as

hitherto, their minorities - will be able to learn about the thought, life, nature and vital problems of Latin America by reading full and reliable texts - and not artificial anthologies - of its representative works; these texts will have no unnecessary interpolations or other additional matter, but only the essential information, set out objectively and accurately, on the life and works of the selected authors, and the main books about them.

31.18 Mr. President, fellow delegates, my delegation is confident that the proposed project which I have outlined above will not fail to arouse the interest of this General Conference and appeal to its sense of responsibility. The project, geared to the needs of the world in which we live, will represent a new achievement in the already much discussed field of book distribution.

31.19 We leave it to you, Mr. President and fellow delegates, to give this project your consideration and study and to ensure that all the proposed activities are carried out; this is what Cuba proffers, in order that the work of Unesco may be inspired by the dynamism of contemporary life and sincerely aimed at meeting its unsatisfied demands.

32. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the last speaker on the list, Mr. Sarrouf, delegate of Lebanon.

33.1 Mr. SARROUF (Lebanon):

Mr. President, honourable delegates, in the first place I wish to express my personal thanks to the President for graciously arranging this extra meeting, so that some of us who were unable to participate in this important discussion on Wednesday and Thursday of last week have been able to do so this evening.

33.2 My desire to participate in this discussion is twofold. First, a personal one. I have spent the better half of my life as an editor and publisher of magazines, in Cairo, which were designed to build a bridge between modern thought and Arab leadership; later, as an officer of the American University in Beirut, where I am in full charge of university relations. Therefore, the subject of international relations and exchanges in the field of education, science and culture are of the greatest importance to me, personally. However, I am a newcomer to Unesco and this is the first General Conference which I have had the privilege to attend. Only ten months ago I was appointed a member of the Lebanese National Commission for Unesco, but in the meantime I have "boned up", as it were, on various documents which have to do with Unesco's work - I refer particularly to the document on the appraisal of Unesco programmes in the first ten years of its operation. I have been impressed by it as I have never been impressed before with the work of any international organization working in the important fields of education, science and culture.

33.3 The second reason I have taken the rostrum this afternoon is to speak as a Lebanese. Lebanon is a very small country but it yields its place to none, proportionately speaking, in the field of activities with which Unesco is concerned and in which it is interested. Early in this Conference a member of a leading delegation from the Middle East told me, "Lebanon is for us a Unesco". I considered that to be compared with Unesco is the greatest compliment that I have received for my country. For Unesco to be compared with Lebanon may, or may not be, a compliment, but I am sure that the reference to Unesco in this connexion indicates that Unesco has become a part of the thinking of people who are concerned with international relations and exchange in the fields of education, science and culture. The reason for my country's deep interest in those activities and its abiding faith in their usefulness is not a matter of passing concern. It really derives from its geographical position, from its history, from the ambition of its people, from the hundreds of thousands of Lebanese immigrants who, in all the continents of the world, established points of contact between the mother country and the various peoples and cultures of the world.

33.4 Beirut, the capital of my country, is a great cultural centre. We have now three established universities and a budding one which only started work two months ago. Obviously I cannot take your precious time to tell you all about these universities, but I would like to select just a few incidents which will illustrate the work of those universities in the fields of international relations and exchanges, in education, science and culture. I happen to belong to a university where we have 4,000 students who come from 63 different nations, who belong to 25 different religious groups. We have no bar of nationality, creed, colour or sex. Several years ago the famous American Nobel Prize physicist, Arthur Compton, was going around the world lecturing on the international responsibilities of science. When he passed through Beirut we asked him to address our student body; as we left the meeting place with his companion, a Swiss scholar, I was telling them these basic facts concerning the international composition of our student body and of our faculty. The Swiss asked me, "What do you do about tolerance"? When I replied that I did not understand his question he asked how we taught tolerance. Sir, I said we do not teach tolerance, we just live tolerantly.

33.5 The universities, private groups and public authorities all bring to Lebanon every year a number of congresses, either regional or international, where scholars meet together with their counterparts from various parts of the world to discuss history or medicine, or pharmacy, or the development of the Arab mind. A group of citizens has been bringing to Lebanon in the last four years, to the citadel of Baalbek, theatre companies from England who play Shakespeare, theatre companies from France who play Racine or Molière or others of the classics, symphony orchestras and other musical companies from Germany, Italy, France, the United States and elsewhere. These few examples I have selected will, I hope, readily demonstrate why Lebanon is deeply interested and has an abiding faith in international relations and exchanges in the fields of education, science and culture.

33.6 The basic subject of this general discussion is document E/3352, the Report of the Director-General of Unesco to the Economic and Social Council on international exchange in fields of education, science and culture. It is a study of broad sweep, panoramic but not superficial. Those who have

worked on it have given it of their best, and yet, if I may be permitted, I would like to make the observation that after going through this massive and masterly tome, one would have liked to see a few directing principles or ideas given which could be recommended to the world, in the same way as was done in a previous report prepared by Unesco on science, the Rapport Auger.

33.7 In the few moments left at my disposal I would like to submit to you three brief suggestions of which the Director-General may see fit to take cognizance.

33.8 In the first place, since Unesco is an organized, fully forged and tempered instrument for the promotion of education, science and culture on a universal scale, it would seem to us in Lebanon, and also to me personally, that one of the guiding principles which may be recommended to the world is the promotion and encouragement of the learning of living languages. Living languages are the means of communication between peoples. We in Lebanon have something of a reputation for our ability to communicate, because in addition to our mothen tongue, Arabic, many of us know English or French and perhaps other languages. This is because we have always encouraged and we will continue to encourage the learning of those languages in both the official and private school systems, on the levels of elementary, secondary and university education. According to an Arabic proverb, every additional language a man learns is a new man added to his personality. True, it may be used as an instrument for international business, but to me a language is primarily a golden key which opens the storehouse of the mind and the spirit of a people as they are written into its literature. Translations, of course, are important and Unesco is doing a great deal to promote translations of the classics; in fact, in Beirut the first Unesco committee was set up for the translation of classics from Arabic to English and French, and from French and English to Arabic. But it seems to me that, beyond translation, there is a great need for learning the living languages of the world, and I submit, Mr. President, that this should receive first priority in Unesco's recommendations to its Member States.

33.9 The second suggestion I would like to make concerns a certain imbalance which appears to exist - both in material goods and in intellectual goods - between donors and recipients. In using the word "recipients" I do not wish to imply inferiority, because I feel deeply that in the field of free exchange there is no superiority: every donor receives and every recipient gives. Therefore, in order to facilitate and to expedite exchange between people, between donors who give a great deal and recipients who give less, we should encourage, set up, help those centres which can expedite the process of international exchange.

33.10 And finally, Mr. President, in other bodies of this Organization we have been discussing a number of subjects concerning education, science and culture. We have dwelt for more than one day on the Major Project of Orient and Occident whose purpose is to develop and promote the mutual appreciation of cultural values of Orient and Occident alike. I think this is very important, but it seems to me that it does not come to grips with the realities of the world in which we live. The world in which we live is deeply influenced by science, the development of science and the technology which is based on science. If we are to build up a body of citizens of the world, I think we should make a bold attempt not merely to promote the mutual appreciation of cultural values, but also to integrate in the person, in the mind, in the spirit of the university student and the university teacher the values and the spirit of modern science together with the great moral values of the old cultures which have come down to us across the ages.

33.11 I would like to suggest that the International Association of Universities might undertake a study of this integration of the values of science with cultural values. Perhaps the Director-General may see fit to call together at some future date, perhaps after the next General Conference, a colloquium or a seminar to study the methods of pursuing this important objective, so that we could build in the minds of people, in their spirits, the ability to do - which is drawn from science - with the ability to do right, which is drawn from the moral values of all cultures. Throughout this Conference, Sir, there has been one sentence which has been more quoted than any other from the Constitution of this Organization: "It is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". It seems to me that in this way we can build peace in the minds of men.

34.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): May I remind you that 36 delegates have taken part in this discussion, to which a valuable contribution was also made by the representative of the non-governmental organizations - 36 delegates representing every region, and every viewpoint, political as well as geographical and ideological, of our Organization - 17 European delegates, including 9 from Eastern Europe and the Balkans and 8 from Western and Southern Europe, 2 North American delegates, 5 from Latin America, 5 from Asia, 2 from the Arab States, 4 from Tropical Africa and one from Australia. A great diversity of opinion has emerged in connexion with political, social and administrative questions. And I believe that this is just the realistic picture that we wanted. Everything can be said in Unesco - that is the first lesson to be drawn from this discussion - on condition that it is said in the spirit of Unesco. Each delegate has spoken here with complete freedom and yet at no time has the high level of the debate been lowered. The fields in which an identity of views was apparent were no less extensive and no less important than those which revealed a divergency of opinion. But what is especially encouraging is that this identity of views was evident whenever it was a question of activities relating to Unesco's own field.

34.2 Several points which were brought out particularly by a number of delegations can be stressed, but it would be impossible at this time to attempt, however briefly, to give a true summing up, a general idea of so wide-ranging a discussion on so vast a theme.

34.3 First of all, the delegations were unanimous in expressing their satisfaction that the Director-General had provided us with so fascinating and so fine a subject and warmly congratulated him on

taking this initiative which has, for a few hours, enabled us to breathe an atmosphere of pure culture, declaring a truce to all disputes and without regard to any secondary question of procedure. It was a moment of relaxation amidst the many difficulties which sometimes beset us. All the speakers were also unanimous in pointing out the importance of the subject and the increasingly large place which it will occupy in Unesco's future programmes.

34.4 The necessity of promoting a scientific study of cultural relations was everywhere felt and stressed. The question of true reciprocity in educational, scientific and cultural exchanges, in mutual respect between nations, occupied delegates' attention from beginning to end of the discussion.

34.5 Co-ordination between programmes involving bilateral co-operation and those envolving multilateral co-operation, in both the national and international context, likewise occupied a prime place in the speakers' considerations.

34.6 Particular importance was constantly attached to problems of language, their diversity, the need to develop their teaching and to perfect and increase translation techniques as much as possible in order to overcome those barriers which date from the beginning of history, with the thousands of languages and dialects which the human community still uses.

34.7 Considerable attention was paid to the problem of developing national cultures, of preserving the cultural heritage of each people, linked to the necessity of establishing, at the same time, the closest possible relations between these cultures. A somewhat darker element was occasionally introduced into the picture in connexion with the problem of economic development - the essential pre-condition for the full participation of different countries in international exchanges on an equal footing - the need for this development, not only for the benefit of those concerned but also to help establish international understanding in a climate of confidence and true brotherhood.

34.8 Technical assistance and expert missions were discussed at length and particular emphasis was laid on the need for co-operation between social scientists and the Unesco services concerned with these missions and the dispatch of experts so that, when carrying out their tasks in a cultural region which is often unfamiliar to them, the experts will not only feel at home but will bring to their work that human warmth, that sort of evangelical spirit which missions, even of technical experts, should never lose.

34.9 Exchanges of persons and the importance of the human element in all international relations were likewise particularly stressed on several occasions.

34.10 In all this, the importance of information was not overlooked. But while all the speakers expressed the hope that it would develop and spread without let or hindrance, certain fears were expressed, too, concerning possible unduly violent clashes if a culture were presented without some sort of preliminary preparation to make it accessible.

34.11 It was argued that Unesco could play an admirable, a unique part in this realm of international relations and exchanges by serving as a bridge between cultures unacquainted with each other and between political regions which are all too often separated by prejudices and hostilities, for it is through co-operation in the educational, scientific and cultural fields that we can hope to remove the obstacles and misunderstandings.

34.12 A few moments ago, you heard the importance of exchanges in the scientific field being stressed by an outstandingly qualified speaker, who noted the difficulties and the solutions to be adopted. We were likewise called upon to consider the special problem of books as a major instrument of international exchanges, a fundamental element in mutual understanding, and the problem of the free circulation of books which is still hindered by too many obstacles, too many taxes and too much red tape.

34.13 Gentlemen, I have not attempted to sum up the debate, but rather to remind you of certain particularly significant facts. What struck me, what moved me in this admirable discussion was that all Unesco's languages were used, that words conveying every line of thought were uttered without provoking clashes; this miracle was due to the fact that, underneath these languages and these words, you have all spoken the language of Unesco.

34.14 I call upon the Director-General.

35.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, instead of speaking, I might simply have added my applause, to that of the rest of the assembly, to thank you for your remarkable synthesis - I think this is the word which describes your statement. But I wish to thank you personally, because it enables us all - and especially the Director-General and the members of the Secretariat - to realize, as you yourself observed, that this initiative has been fruitful. I believe that the Director-General and the Secretariat will find in all the ideas which have been expressed, in all the richness and variety of the aspects of the problem which have been studied during this discussion, an invaluable light to guide their line of action and enable them to define the principles which have been requested of them, for the benefit of the whole United Nations family and, in particular, of the Economic and Social Council which made the request.

35.2 As to our Organization, it will benefit greatly by this exchange of views, even though the conclusions have not been drawn up in document form. Although I was not always able to be present myself, and although we have no text embodying final decisions, nothing will be lost of what has been said and the records of these meetings which you have so admirably conducted and summed up will not only be a working instrument for us but the basis, the starting point of future action.

35.3 Such are the remarks I wished to make and to this, together with my gratitude to all those who have worked from the outset on the preparation of this report and who were thanked at the beginning of this discussion, I would add my thanks to all of you, ladies and gentlemen, who accepted my invitation and that of the Executive Board and made such fruitful contributions to this discussion.

ADDRESSES BY THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE MALAGASY REPUBLIC AND UPPER VOLTA

36.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I would remind you that the agenda of this session includes two addresses by the Heads of the delegations of the Malagasy Republic and the Republic of Upper Volta respectively.

36.2 I call upon H.E. Mr. Ratsimamanga, Head of the delegation of the Malagasy Republic.

37.1 Mr. RATSIMAMANGA (Malagasy Republic) (Translation from the French):

The eleventh session is drawing to a close and yet it seems to me that only a few days have passed since I conveyed to the Conference the thanks of Madagascar which had just acquired the standing - so significant for those who believe in spiritual values - of a Unesco member. Today, I must thank you for the confidence which you have shown throughout this session in the newly-admitted Africans and, particularly, in myself as Head of the Malagasy delegation.

37.2 In doing so, I cannot forbear to remark with emotion and gratitude that for the first time an African, the Head of the Ethiopian delegation, has been elected President of the General Conference and that, likewise for the first time, an African from Tropical Africa has been welcomed as a member of the Executive Board.

37.3 However proud I may be of this, it is not as an African that I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, but simply as a man. For its seems to me that in order to represent our countries, it is our capacity as human beings which dominates all other capacities, on condition that such capacity is based on the fervent fraternity of those who believe in the pre-eminence of knowledge, in the serenity which it bestows on our relationships and in the patience with which we should protect both. And why should we enter your company if we do not believe in this fraternity?

37.4 It is therefore on behalf of that fraternity that I would like to discuss my own distant island and that continent off whose coast it lies and which the geographers present as vast and hostile to every human approach. But what a monumental error it would be not to realize that, despite appearances, both island and continent are finished examples of the meeting of human minds. It might be said of Madagascar that it has never been able to forget its ancient situation and that, as a fragment torn from the continent of Gondwana and borne towards Africa after the convulsions of the primal age, it must remember throughout its whole existence those lands from which it was wrested so long ago - the distant lands bordering on Polynesia, Melanesia or Malaya and the nearer land of India. It may be, moreover, that these were the first countries to be inhabited by black races.

37.5 But of unchanging Africa it can be said that its thought has been moulded by the very diversity of its successive inhabitants. Over a negro basis which is now accepted as much wider than had hitherto been thought, flowed important waves, two waves of Arabs, one of Bantus, a constant coming and going of Hamitic peoples with the Peul pastoralists; Africa was invaded in the North by Latin or Nordic peoples and there are even those who refer to the Caucasian race in Hoggar, not to mention the European contribution, recent in history but of considerable importance as an influence. This mixture of peoples has left a synthesis which enables Africa to assert its personality as a continental psychological entity, just as peoples of a heterogeneous composition evolved as nations - I am thinking of Brazil, Viet-Nam, India itself and, nearer to us of several European peoples which have rightly been described as racial mosaics. Even the Pygmies - who are still strangers to our assemblies but who will doubtless join us one day within the nations to which they belong - can boast of having contributed to the race and to art in several regions of Equatorial Africa. Thus, as with our own Malagasy life which is both a combination of Asian, Malayo-Polynesian, Hindu, Arab and Bantu traditions, as shown by our language and certain of our institutions, and a modern synthesis of cultures and opinions, so Africa as a whole has already given us an example of what can be achieved by peoples with basic spiritual values in common.

37.6 But tolerance - I emphasize this word - must be the keynote of their association. Even if this has not always been the case, my purpose today is not to recall difficult times. It seems to me of greater interest to stress the need to define the personality of those countries which are newcomers to your assembly, after first attempting to show how they form a whole. From Unesco's point of view, the task of uniting - or rather reuniting - which is inscribed on its pediment is not the only one and to it must be added that of preservation - a tacit sort of preservation but equally important. For in this temple more than elsewhere, each national or human personality becomes a precious and intangible contribution both in its expression and its inspiration.

37.7 Unesco, moreover, reminds us of this all the time. I confess that I could not enter the hall without being moved by the splendid picture of the Temple of Philae whereby you no doubt sought to assert both the everlasting quality of Africa and the need for it to be everlasting. Philae is Africa, the unknown land, the "terra ignota" of the ancient maps, the land which the inexorable rising tide of techniques, industry, economy, commerce and even the exclusive use of a few modern languages surrounded and threatened with submersion. But the Nubian boats always succeeded in reaching the summit of the mastabas ... each devout traveller touched what was once a granite sky and every summer, with the fall of the Nile, the temple re-emerged in all its majesty. Thus hope remained - that hope which is the key word of Africa, of that continent which, throughout the centuries, has lived more on hope than on wealth, to the point where every thought which was expressed seemed to be transformed into an appeal.

37.8 Let us make no mistake - it is no mere chance that orthodox Islam was transformed on its soil into that doctrine of intense love which is Sufism, that this restored on the banks of the Niger the myth of a sacrificed Osiris offering salvation, that in the harshest conditions of exile it has sung the expectations of the Negro Spirituals, that, still more recently, it expressed Christianity with the fervour of the Kimbangists or the Matsuanists - no, none of this is

mere chance, but rather a proof of the birth of a collective spiritual entity which constitutes a precious contribution for Unesco.

37.9 Africa represents undying hope, but some of the values which undoubtedly sustain it are threatened by the very abruptness with which it has had to confront the modern world. I am referring not only to what is known as the national heritage and which, consisting above all of cultural values, is certainly entitled to respect and protection, I also have in mind everything of an original kind which Africa still possesses. It is not without significance that certain peoples can still describe their forests as primeval or that in some regions they come upon prehistoric animals. Apart from the capital of knowledge preserved in this way, these reserves are surely a proof - and the most tangible proof - of the continuity of life and of man's many reasons for hoping. And as such, are they not a concern of Unesco? Let us hope that, through our assembly, thanks to its wisdom and plans and also to the progressive spirit and tactfulness of the education which it will help to provide, Africa will retain everything which constitutes the living sources of its ardour and spontaneity !

37.10 Out of that ardour and spontaneity which Madagascar has tempered with gentleness, there seems to have arisen for Africa the promise of that salvation which it expects from you in the form of such free and equal communication with the modern world as some of us have already received, in several cases thanks to England or France. Africa is a land undergoing too intense a development, in respect of which the term "Pan", which is sometimes coupled with a different shade of meaning, as in the word "Panafricanism", seems to provoke cessation of growth, since the sum of its aims and substance is unobtainable and the people for whom it is intended are non-existent. That is why the General Conference of Unesco and those entrusted with Africa's intellectual future should not consider it in terms of one or more political parties, or one or more countries, but as a whole, from every angle and independently of any political factors.

37.11 For it is here that we have the third panel of the Unesco triptych: "unite, preserve, help". And in this field, help does not mean creating or even reviving, since no man or nation can lose his or its soul and, however remote this soul may be from the outside world, it invariably finds its own means of expression.

37.12 A harsh dilemma confronts every young nation: whether to respect every archaism, perpetuate every expression, even though it sometimes owes its value only to its isolation - and thereby preserve the disillusioned pride and the haughty elegance of those great but tattered lords immortalized by Cervantes, possibly because he was afflicted by their vulnerability; or to go to the other extreme and make a clean sweep of the past, determine to be "in the swim" and thereby suffer the misery of not being first and of becoming narrow-minded "petit bourgeois", envious only of material wealth, bitter about their own position, fretting over an expected legacy, such people as were so accurately and disturbingly portrayed here during the African evening in Mrs. Hasburry's play. Let us hope that our efforts - Unesco's efforts - will spare young peoples so cruel an alternative.

37.13 I believe that the first thing is to take care not to give those who still lack it that medium which is known as literacy and of which "reading, writing and arithmetic" are the popular expression, without simultaneously explaining the limitations of that medium and providing some foreknowledge of the end to which it is directed. It is therefore education which must be aimed at - a concept which greatly exceeds that of literacy. In attempting to provide that education, we must avoid humiliating the tattered lord referred to a moment ago and who hides under the national pride of us all. This means that simultaneous education of children and adults is necessary. To this end, it would be extremely useful to prepare, as soon as possible, cultural textbooks for each country, which would not only enable the nationals of a given country to appreciate their own culture, but would also reveal it to foreigners. Such textbooks would be particularly valuable in African countries with an oral tradition since, despite the danger that they might sometimes fossilize a living thing, they would preserve the essential elements of something which is now purely oral from irremediable oblivion. Subsequently, separate textbooks would be produced for different subjects, covering as many fields as possible: religion, law, science, handicrafts, etc. But it would be wise to start with an elementary textbook, a sort of attractive reader in which each individual could discover the hitherto implicit reasons for his pride expressed without flattery and an outline of the main features of his personality.

37.14 Another method of making known such threatened cultures as those of Africa, while simultaneously helping the countries which produced those cultures, is to arrange exchanges of teachers and students. We hope that these exchanges will be frequent and easy since they provide the nations with their surest means of communicating with one another.

37.15 Thus, there gradually takes shape that conception of Unesco which, for economically developed countries, is their glory and we might even say their spiritual ornament, but which, for peoples undergoing swift economic development, like those of Africa, is their only hope of intellectual survival.

37.16 Another choice confronts us - that of language. As Malagasy citizens, we expressed our opinion in this respect in the Administrative Commission and, like many Africans, we consider that the preservation of a language conditions the preservation of a civilization. We of Madagascar have had a single written and spoken language for a century and a half. But as members of Unesco, we should like to ensure that a multiplicity of languages does not result in a Tower of Babel; we therefore emphasize the need for bilingual education in almost all countries, and also the need for bilingual national cultural textbooks. One of the languages being the language of communication, we also ask that the specific question of the choice of that language should, in the next ten to twenty years, be the subject of careful consideration based on geographical criteria.

37.17 However urgent it may be to provide a whole people with means of communicating with the world, I should like to express the hope that Madagascar will adopt the method of "hastening slowly" which the Romans favoured. Only thus shall we be able to avoid sacrificing the peace of a still primarily rural

population to the publicity associated with results secured too quickly. Without prejudice to emergency regional aid, priority must be given, as far as help in general is concerned, to drawing up an inventory of needs, then to working out a specific programme, both being based on consultations between nationals of a given country and Unesco specialists. Aid, in the form of technicians or funds, can be distributed later without causing resentment or lack of balance. Since the spread of education should never become a dividing factor, we hope, too, that this aid, as far as Madagascar is concerned, will, wherever it may come from, remain Unesco aid and that the Organization will in any event assume responsibility for it officially and handle its distribution. In this field, we reject the notion of gratitude, since the benefits of education should involve no political counterpart.

37.18 Through such aid, moreover, we can hope to see established the international solidarity required for the distribution of knowledge. Although we joined Unesco later than other nations, we know that our case is not unique and that there are other countries in Asia and America which suffer, like our own, from a serious lag in the education of their peoples. That is why the solutions adopted in regard to the general distribution of the budget surplus seem to us equitable. We are grateful that particular attention has been given to African needs and we warmly welcome the suggestions made, whether by France, the United States of America, Yugoslavia, Poland or the USSR, or by the Afro-Brazilian Conference, designed to enable us to exchange our views.

37.19 We should like to thank each of the Member States, whether mentioned by name or not, for its solidarity and its understanding of the only moral principles that can save the world. We cannot but believe that every school which is opened is not only grounds for hoping that disease and misery will decline but also means the burgeoning of happiness, the promise of a great poet, a great scientist and a step in the direction of a serene and peaceful world. That thought makes me happy to have joined Unesco, happy that Africa is represented on the Executive Board and, finally, in a wider sense, happy to work side by side with you, not only for our own people but for all those who are starved of that which is more than bread alone.

37.20 Whatever pleasure we have derived from the cultures of modern countries - those of France, England, America and others - and however liberal and near to being universal these cultures may be in essence, let us make no mistake: a new society is arising in which we, the Negroes, will play no little part and, together with this new society, a new humanism is arising which will change the straight line hitherto drawn between the true, the beautiful and the good, which will accept only such truth as is perceptible to all and will give preference to the good, its distributor, over the beautiful.

37.21 We cannot reject this world of generosity created for us by heightened awareness of its shrinking dimensions and Frenchmen will recall that Paul Valéry who aspired to contemplation, that recompense after thought, refused, at the end of his poem, to cast a failing glance at the "cimetière marin". Already, prophetically, he seemed to provide the reply of youthful peoples, the reply which we bring to you:

"Le vent se lève, il faut tenter de vivre . . .
L'air immense ouvre et referme mon livre."

38. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon H.E. Mr. Diallo, Head of the delegation of Upper Volta.

39.1 Mr. DIALLO (Upper Volta) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my other duties have prevented me from being present the whole time at the discussions of this session but today I have the honour of conveying to your distinguished assembly the gratitude felt by the Government and people of the Upper Volta at their country's admission to Unesco.

39.2 I take this opportunity, Mr. President, of asking you to convey to the President of the General Conference my warmest congratulations on his election, to which the delegates to this eleventh session attach particular significance. This demonstration of confidence in an African is interpreted by my country as an act of faith in the destiny of contemporary Africa, as a new conception of the value of co-operation between free peoples without discrimination of any kind.

39.3 And that is why I take pleasure in repeating here, after so many other speakers, that it is no accident that 1960 has been described as the African year and, more especially, that of Tropical Africa. I am happy to observe that we are far from the spirit which governed the European nations who met at the Berlin Conference in 1885 a year which was also an African year. Three-quarters of a century separate the two dates, between which the major portion of the Dark Continent lived under foreign domination, under the colonial régime, and took part in two world wars.

39.4 Yes, at that time, in Berlin, sometimes in defiance of common sense, artificial frontiers were created in a land conquered solely on the basis of right is might, in which each new occupant set about "cultivating man" in accordance with the concepts and methods of his own country.

39.5 Now, after deciding that their work was more or less completed, the colonizing nations have freed, or are preparing to free, their colonial realms, leaving behind a greater or lesser quantity of tares, a harvest more or less ripe. Once again, old Europe devotes its attention to the Dark Continent. Let us hope that this new spirit will hasten the process of liberation thus begun. A breath of liberty and liberality is passing over Africa, which has suddenly become the beneficiary of unhoped-for solicitude as it was once the victim of inordinate greed.

39.6 At the dawn of this new era of fraternal co-operation between free peoples, between former colonizers and former colonized peoples, I should like to affirm with energy and conviction that, during the three-quarters of a century of foreign domination which came to an end on 22 September 1960, the work of France in the Upper Volta provided positive contributions in the economic and social sphere. We must recognize honestly that, along with mistakes, inadequacies and restrictions in education, there were achievements which are to the honour of France and partly justify the civilizing mission which she undertook in my country.

39.7 The "ever-independent Upper Volta", to quote President Maurice Yameogo, occupies a privileged position in West Africa, from which it derives its particular quality. It is a unique fact in the history of the Dark Continent that the Mossi empire of the Upper Volta, contemporaneous with Ghana, Mali and Songhoi, is the only one to have resisted everything and everybody from the Eleventh century up to the present time. Even the Islamic wave which broke over Africa from the Twelfth century onwards was held back by the ramparts of its age-old traditions. Thanks to its solid political and administrative structure and the homogeneity of its population (1,700,000 Mossis out of a total population of 3,500,000), the Upper Volta has been able to remain an inviolate land of strong men, where discipline and respect for established things has the force of law.

39.8 I am happy to pay a well-earned tribute to the French teachers, professors, doctors and missionaries who, with limited means, have given of their best, some of them to bring light, others health, and all of them well-being to the Volta peoples.

39.9 However, much - not to say, all - remains to be done in respect of education and culture in this comparatively well populated country where the average annual increase of the population is estimated at 2% - which will give a total of over one million school-age children in 1970. When it is noted that the 50,000 pupils attending the various public and private educational establishments in 1960 represented only 8.2% of the school-age population, the urgent need to remedy the situation will be appreciated.

39.10 In 1960, the Government of the Republic of Upper Volta devoted more than a thousand million CFA francs - 2 thousand million old French francs - to education, i.e. 23% of the national budget. In an original fashion, it has undertaken a resolute campaign against illiteracy, with the bilateral assistance of FAC and the FED, by carrying out the Christol and Médard educational plan, a new educational system especially adapted to the economic and social conditions of the Upper Volta and linked with the classical educational system. This plan is spread over ten years and aims at providing education during that period for 80% of boys and 20% of girls between 12 and 14 years of age in rural education centres set up in the villages and covering on an average, an area within a radius of 3 miles. This education is designed for children old enough to take an interest in agricultural and pastoral activities and has a twofold advantage: it not only enables pupils to acquire the rudiments of language, reading, writing and arithmetic, but it also makes it possible to carry out direct mass action determined by the specific needs of the peoples concerned. An office of rural education protects the basic principles, draws up curricula, distributes them to the appropriate staff and supervises their application in close liaison with the educational inspectors.

39.11 It goes without saying that this system, which derives its originality from its adjustment to the possibilities of the country and the particular section of the population for which it is intended, does little towards solving the burning problem of adult education, one of the aspects of which I had occasion to mention during the working meetings of the present session. I shall not dwell on secondary and technical education, which is available to barely 2,000 students attending secondary schools, teacher-training courses and public and private apprenticeship centres, nor on higher education which is provided to 150 Volta students outside the territory of the Republic, either at Dakar, or in France, or elsewhere.

39.12 In the course of their statements, all those delegates who preceded me here stressed the immense needs of the newly-independent African States and the urgency of satisfying this Himalaya of requirements in the interests of the modern world's harmony and balance. I am happy to observe that all the nations represented here have realized that it is not enough to tell a man whose chains have just been removed "You are free, go your own way" but that, if that man is to enjoy his freedom within a short time, justice and charity require that his wounds be bandaged - all his wounds, including those in his heart. And if, in addition, this man is to become an ally and a brother, he must be helped to build his own house and to bring light into it.

39.13 That is why, in conclusion, I should like to voice a wish, namely, that all the modern nations which are technically highly developed, whose power, unfortunately, is measured by their power of destruction, could forget their ideological hostility and admit henceforth that true greatness lies not in the extent of means of destruction but, on the contrary, in man's determination to attain perfection, in his desire to help the full development of each of the individuals who make up the human race.

39.14 For its part, the Upper Volta will unreservedly proffer its humble contribution to Unesco, drawn from the heritage of the ancient wisdom which it possesses. It hopes thereby to take part in the magnificent and urgent work of bringing about human brotherhood, enlightened peace and general prosperity, which remains the essential task of Unesco.

40. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

TWENTY-EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

13 December 1960, at 11.05 a.m.

President: Mr. S.G. LAPIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

CONTENTS

Adoption of the Report of the General Committee on the requests for the inclusion of two new items in the Agenda 446
Presentation of the Final Report of the Reports Committee by the Chairman of that Committee 446
Adoption of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission 449

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): Gentlemen, I declare the twenty-eighth plenary meeting open.

1.2 On the agenda is the report of the General Committee on one or two matters raised by the delegation of the Soviet Union followed by the Report of the Reports Committee and the Third Report of the Administrative Commission.

1.3 I imagine that we shall make vigorous headway in discussing these three questions.

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE ON THE REQUESTS FOR THE INCLUSION OF TWO NEW ITEMS IN THE AGENDA.

1.4 Let us take the first one, the report of the General Committee to the General Conference on the requests for the addition to the agenda of two new items submitted by the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The document is 11 C/49.

1.5 Item 1 relates to draft resolution 11 C/DR/129 concerning the admission to Unesco of States not members of the United Nations. The General Committee recommends that the General Conference add this item to the agenda of the present session. The General Committee feels, however, that the Conference will not have time at the present session to give thorough consideration to the matter. It therefore recommends that the General Conference refer this question to the Executive Board for consideration, with authority to convey to the Director-General any instructions it may deem necessary as a result of such consideration, on the understanding that in that event the Director-General and the Executive Board will report to the General Conference at its twelfth session.

1.6 Item 2 of this report relates to draft resolution 11 C/DR/130 concerning a proposed change in the status of Associate Members of Unesco. The General Committee, endorsing the view expressed by the Legal Committee, considers that this proposal entails the adoption by the General Conference of amendments to certain provisions of the Constitution and cannot, in present circumstances, be added to the agenda of this session of the General Conference. The General Committee recalls that any Member State is entitled to make proposals to the General Conference for the amendment of the Constitution. Such proposals must take the form of a draft amendment and must be submitted within the time-limit prescribed by Article XIII of the Constitution. It is also pointed out that any Member State may, within the time-limits laid down by the Constitution and in the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, present draft amendments proposing changes in the status of Associate Members of Unesco. Only at its next session will the General Conference be able to consider all these questions.

1.7 The Soviet Union delegation was in agreement with this report, and it now comes up for discussion here. Does anyone wish to speak on it? If not, I present it for approval. Are there any objections? May we take it that the report is unanimously approved? We shall consider it unanimously approved.

PRESENTATION OF THE FINAL REPORT OF THE REPORTS COMMITTEE BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THAT COMMITTEE

1.8 The second question is the Report of the Reports Committee, which will be presented to you by the Chairman of that Committee, Mrs. Kaminska, whom I now call upon.

2.1 Mrs. KAMINSKA (Poland), Chairman of the Reports Committee, (Translation from the French): Mr. President, in accordance with resolutions 54 and 55 adopted by the General Conference at its tenth session and relating to the terms of reference and membership of the Reports Committee, the Committee met six days before the opening of the General Conference. It was thus able to submit a preliminary report to the Programme Commission and to the General Conference on 21 November, bearing on sections 2, 3 and 4 of the document before you (document 11 C/11) and presenting an assessment of the past.

2.2 The Committee then met to consider proposals for the future, in the light of the work done by the Conference. It is now presenting its final report, together with five draft resolutions and a draft general report which it submits for the approval of the General Conference.

2.3 Thus, in accordance with the resolutions to which I have referred, the General Conference had elected 23 Member States to take part in the Committee's work. Unfortunately, at most of the Committee's meetings, the quorum was barely attained and, in view of this situation, the Committee came to certain conclusions which are included among its recommendations for the future.

2.4 Having said that, however, I hasten to put your minds at rest with regard to the work done by the Committee for, although the number of those participating may have been unsatisfactory, this was offset by the qualities, conscientiousness and keenness shown by those who attended.

2.5 Their task was also facilitated by their officers: Mr. Weeden (Australia) and Mr. Nguyen Khac Kham (Viet-Nam) served as Vice-Chairmen, while Mr. Siikala (Finland), who had to leave, handed over his office as Rapporteur to Mrs. Paronetto-Valier (Italy), who performed her duties with the same competence.

2.6 Further, the Committee benefited by the assistance of the Secretariat, in the person of Mr. Adiseshiah, who represented the Director-General and was helped by Messrs. Berkeley and Lebar.

2.7 As I do not wish to repeat my observations on those parts of the report which were submitted to the plenary meeting on 21 November, I shall confine myself to recalling that they dealt with the implementation of the programme, the form and presentation of the Reports of the Director-General and of Member States and the substance of these reports on selected topics to be given special attention, namely the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America, the Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands, the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, international scientific and technical co-operation by the convening of conferences, congresses and other international meetings, scientific co-operation in the social sciences and the development of National Commissions.

2.8 After an examination of the Reports of Member States, the Committee noted that it was unable to give a complete answer to the question as to whether the needs and interests of Member States had been taken into consideration - and if so to what extent - in the implementation of the programme. It was able only to submit an approximate opinion on the six items to which I referred a few moments ago. With some reserves, and as far as it was able to judge, it considered that, on the whole, the interests of Member States had been taken into account in the execution of the programme.

2.9 The Committee's proposals in this regard are contained in draft resolution no. 1, which is now before you and with regard to which, Mr. President, I should like to draw your attention to an error in the French text in Annex I, page 2, paragraph (b). The end of the sentence in this paragraph should be deleted and should end with the words: "forte tendance à la régionalisation".

2.10 The Committee also had to decide on the question of the special reports submitted by Member States on action taken by them upon the conventions and recommendations adopted by the General Conference.

2.11 This question, which forms the subject of a special item on the agenda of the General Conference, received close attention from the Committee, which set up a sub-committee to study it. The membership of this sub-committee consisted of representatives of the United States of America, Japan, Mexico, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia.

2.12 Annex II of document 11 C/11 contains a general report on this subject, which is submitted to the Conference in pursuance of Article 18 of the "Rules of Procedure concerning Recommendations to Member States and International Conventions covered by the terms of Article IV, paragraph 4, of the Constitution", and also two draft resolutions, numbers 2 and 4.

2.13 The Constitution stipulates that each of the Member States shall submit the recommendations or conventions adopted by the General Conference to its competent authorities within a period of one year from the close of the session of the General Conference at which they were adopted.

2.14 The international instruments of interest to us at the moment are the following: the Recommendation on International Principles applicable to Archaeological Excavations, the Recommendation concerning International Competitions in Architecture and Town Planning, the Convention concerning the International Exchange of Publications, that dealing with the Exchange of Official Publications and Government Documents between States and, finally, the Recommendation concerning the International Standarization of Educational Statistics. The number of these instruments will probably have increased before this session of the General Conference comes to an end.

2.15 Owing to the decision taken by the General Conference, at its tenth session, to defer the preparation of its general report, this session is the first occasion on which the General Conference has been required to consider and comment on the action taken by Member States upon conventions and recommendations adopted by the Conference.

2.16 The Committee deemed it advisable to lay particular emphasis on the general report contained in Annex II of the document we are now discussing, since the Organization's programme of regulatory action is expanding and the interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution which concern such action requires clarification, in order that the General Conference may be able to see how its decisions are being implemented.

2.17 With regard to the progress made in respect of Human Rights coming within Unesco's purview, the Committee noted that, in accordance with resolution 10 C/49, 41 Member States had supplied information on the progress made and that an analytical summary of this information had been transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2.18 On the basis of information received by Unesco, the Committee concluded that progress had been made in those aspects of Human Rights coming within Unesco's purview and that it would be interesting to request Member States to continue

supplying information on that subject to the next session of the General Conference.

2.19 Paragraph 2 (b) of resolution 10 C/54 requests the Committee to submit a report to the General Conference on the future development of Member States' contribution to the preparation and execution of Unesco's programme, with recommendations calculated to improve that contribution.

2.20 The Committee noted that the question of Member States' contributions to the preparation of the programme was already the subject of a proposal which was being studied by a working party at the current session. It therefore concluded that it would be inappropriate for it to consider the matter.

2.21 With regard to Member States' contributions to the execution of the programme, the Committee draws the attention of the General Conference to the preceding sections of its report, from which certain conclusions emerge with regard to the future development of this contribution. The Committee has summed up the problem in the following way: while the Director-General reports on the execution of explicit resolutions accompanied by detailed work plans, Member States, under the programme, are invited only to answer far less precise invitations to action. This makes any general appreciation of their contribution to the execution of the programme from an international point of view much more difficult.

2.22 It should also be noted that some Member States have not until now found it possible to submit reports, that the reports submitted are somewhat lacking in uniformity, in form and content alike, and that certain projects, in particular those of a regional character, are not of interest to all the Member States.

2.23 Moreover, it is impossible to ask nearly 100 Member States to submit reports as elaborate and detailed as those of the Director-General, and it is for this reason that the 1958 Reports Committee invited Member States to submit reports on a small number of topics selected by the General Conference. Although the first experiment in selection was not wholly successful, for reasons already stated in our preceding report, it did enable the Committee to express some opinions regarding the execution of the programme by Member States and by the Secretariat. It therefore seems desirable to repeat the experiment.

2.24 The Committee next turned to the task of considering "the subjects on which the attention of the General Conference should be concentrated at the following session". After taking cognizance of the work of the Programme Commission up to the date of adoption of this Report by the Committee, the latter decided to propose a certain number of topics to be given detailed treatment in the reports of Member States and of the Director-General for the 1960-1961 period, and to form the subject of the Director-General's analysis to be submitted to the Conference at its twelfth session.

2.25 The subjects proposed by the Committee are the following: (1) significant examples of activities undertaken as a result of international co-operation which have contributed to the development of education, science and culture in pursuance of resolutions adopted by the General Conference at its eleventh session; (2) developments in adult education, following upon the International Conference held in Montreal in August 1960; in particular, experiments in the use of the mass media for educational purposes, and production of reading materials and of audio-visual aids for educational purposes; (3) progress of primary education, notably in countries in process of rapid economic and social development; (4) progress in scientific research on arid lands; (5) examples of effective means of fostering mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values. These five items are recommended by the Committee as a whole. It should be mentioned that one member of the Committee proposed that the Director-General also be asked to report on the rôle of Unesco in contributing to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples; but this proposal was not accepted.

2.26 Having chosen these five subjects, the Committee nevertheless realized that such a selection, at the present early stage, is bound to be tentative and it believes that the Executive Board, at its session towards the end of 1961, might add to the list, having due regard to any proposals the Director-General may submit in the light of developments which may have occurred in the execution of the programme in the first months of the new period and also in the light of any new events of concern to Unesco that may take place.

2.27 As far as the form and presentation of the reports is concerned, the Committee decided, with reference to its findings listed under section 2, to recommend that the Director-General be invited to prepare, for the twelfth session of the General Conference, an assessment of the work accomplished in 1960-1961, giving a synthetic and balanced description of that work from the point of view both of Member States and of himself as Head of the Secretariat, and very detailed information on certain points.

2.28 With regard to the Director-General's annual reports to Member States, prepared in accordance with Article VI.3 (b) of the Constitution, the Committee came to the conclusion that detailed accounts of the execution of the programme point by point, were necessary in order that Member States might be able to follow the progress achieved by the Organization in particular projects. However, more detailed introductions might enable the Director-General to provide Member States with an annual broad survey of the major lines of development that had emerged in the execution of the programme during the previous year.

2.29 The Committee considered that while the editing of Member States' reports for 1958-1959 had been carried out satisfactorily, the guidance given at the tenth session had resulted in the exclusion of some valuable material and in the printing of some unnecessary detail. It accordingly recommends that the Secretariat be allowed greater latitude in editing the reports for 1960-1961, on the understanding that, whenever possible, consultations will take place with the governments or National Commissions concerned regarding the material to be published and analysed for the twelfth session.

2.30 Finally, the Committee considered the question of the terms of reference and the membership of the Reports Committee for the twelfth session of the General Conference. It concluded that it might well recommend terms of reference very similar to those

adopted at the tenth session, with the necessary adjustments in respect of topics requiring special attention, but decided to recommend that the membership be increased to 30. At the same time, the Committee observed that it would be desirable to request Member States invited to serve on the Reports Committee in 1962 to appoint as their representatives on that Committee, in so far as this is possible, individuals who have already been associated with the drawing up of reports in their own countries and who therefore have the experience required to work on the Reports Committee. In addition, the Executive Board should be authorized to replace delegations unable to serve on this Committee and having failed to send a representative to its first four meetings. All these recommendations have been included in the draft resolutions before you, which the Reports Committee is proposing that you adopt.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):
Ladies and gentlemen, not many of the Presidents of our Conference have had the pleasure of giving the floor to such a charming Rapporteur. In the present case, even our most experienced President, Mr. Carneiro, might envy me.
3.2 I thank Mrs. Kaminska and congratulate her both on her great success and on her brilliant report.
3.3 It is obvious from this report that the Committee headed by Mrs. Kaminska has done a very considerable amount of useful work. Her success also goes to show that our Organization should be bolder in promoting women to important jobs in Unesco.
3.4 Let us proceed to consider and approve the report, gentlemen. We have five resolutions, and I shall put them up for discussion in turn.
3.5 Draft resolution no. 1 (document 11 C/11) concerns the assessment of Unesco's work in 1958-1959. Does anyone wish to speak on this, or are there objections to this resolution? If not, we shall regard this resolution - assessment of Unesco's work in 1958-1959 - as having been unanimously adopted.
3.6 We now have before us draft resolution no.2 (document 11 C/11) concerning "Special reports submitted by Member States on the action taken by them upon the conventions and recommendations adopted by the General Conference at its ninth and tenth sessions". Does anyone wish to speak? No one, apparently. Are there any objections to this resolution, or shall we also adopt it unanimously? There are no objections. The resolution is unanimously adopted.
3.7 We come to draft resolution no.3 (document 11 C/11) which deals with reports on the activities of the Organization. Does anyone wish to speak? No. Are there any objections to this resolution? None. We shall therefore consider resolution no.3 as also having been unanimously adopted.
3.8 We turn to resolution no.4 (document 11 C/11), special reports to be submitted to the General Conference at its twelfth session on action taken by Member States upon the conventions and the recommendations adopted at the eleventh session. Is there anyone wishing to speak on this resolution? No. Is there any objection to this resolution? None. We can consider resolution no.4 as having been unanimously adopted.
3.9 We now have draft resolution no.5 (document 11 C/11) concerning terms of reference and membership of the Reports Committee. Does anyone wish to speak on this resolution? No. Are there any objections? None. We shall consider the resolution as having been unanimously adopted.
3.10 Now we have document 11 C/11 Annex II, "General report on the initial special reports of Member States on action taken by them upon the conventions and recommendations adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its ninth and tenth sessions". Mrs. Kaminska dealt with this report in detail. Are there any observations on it? Does anyone wish to speak on Annex II? No. Are there any objections to its approval? None. Annex II is thus unanimously approved.
3.11 We now have to approve the report of the Reports Committee as a whole. Does anybody wish to speak on it? No one. Is there any objection to the adoption of this report as a whole? There are no objections. We can therefore consider this report as having been unanimously adopted by our Conference.
3.12 The Director-General, Dr. Veronese, has the floor.

4.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):
Gentlemen, I am most gratified that you have approved this Report. I am happy to be able to express my congratulations and my sincere thanks to the Reports Committee which drew it up, and particularly to its distinguished Chairman and all its officers.
4.2 This Report is extremely full and detailed - and this applies not only to the draft resolutions contained in it, which you have adopted, but also to the body of the report itself, which not only gives the Director-General guidance for the future, but also contains observations and sometimes even criticisms.
4.3 I should like to say here - not only because it is my duty to do so, but also because it is my sincere conviction - that I shall conform to the decisions of the General Conference with regard to the drawing up of the reports, the analyses of the reports of Member States, the request I am to make to Member States concerning the drawing up of their reports and, more particularly, the request of the Reports Committee for fuller, coherent introductions.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):
Gentlemen, after such a business-like and competent discussion of the Report of the Reports Committee, let us turn to a discussion of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission. I call upon Mr. Dovey, Rapporteur of the Commission.

ADOPTION OF THE THIRD REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION.

6.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to present for your consideration the Third Report of the Administrative Commission (document 11 C/48 and Addenda). For ease of presentation and understanding the report has been divided into seven parts which are labelled A to G. I propose to present the report part by part.

6.2 Before I begin, I must draw attention to two errors which have occurred in the Russian text only. The first one relates to paragraph 332, the last words of which should read: "technical management questions"; in the Russian text the word "technical" has been omitted and should be added. The second error is a less substantial one and relates to paragraph 407, again in the Russian text only, where some unnecessary quotation marks have appeared in the second half of the first sentence, and should be deleted.
6.3 Turning now to the various parts of the report, Part A is purely introductory and calls for no particular action by the Conference, but I would draw your attention to paragraph 102. Since the proceedings of the Commission have been recorded in its Summary Record, this report confines itself to describing as concisely as possible, the main lines of the discussion on each item.
6.4 I shall now turn to Part B which deals with the three parts of the budget and the two annexes which were considered by the Administrative Commission. Originally the Commission approved the proposals of the Director-General for Parts I, III and IV of the budget, noting that a reduction of some $121,000 was proposed in Part I, by comparison with 1959-1960. At a later meeting (and this fact is not recorded in the report) the Commission decided, however, to recommend a cut of some $75,000 in these three parts of the budget, Parts I, III and IV. This later decision by the Commission was taken in relation to the appropriation resolution, as recently as yesterday, and for that reason, is not described in the report, but will be dealt with in an addendum relating to Part E of the report, which will be presented to the Conference at a future plenary session.
6.5 The Commission also noted the estimates for the Documents and Publications Service, contained in Annex I of document 11 C/5, and recommends for the approval of the Conference the resolution on the publications and visual material fund which is contained in paragraph 229 of the report. This concludes my presentation of Part B of the third report of the Administrative Commission.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian): Gentlemen, we have heard the statement on Parts A and B of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission. There is no need to labour the fact that the Administrative Commission has got through a tremendous amount of work, and at its meeting yesterday the Commission expressed its gratitude to its Chairman, Mr. Barón Castro, for his skilful conduct of its work and discussions. Let us consider the parts of the report which have been presented. Are there any comments on Part A, Introduction? There are none. Can we take Part A as being unanimously approved? There are no objections, and we can take the approval as being unanimous. We now turn to Part B. Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, which is item 18 on the agenda. Does anyone wish to speak on Part B? No one. Are there any objections? None. Then we can take it that Part B, Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, is unanimously approved. We shall now hear what Mr. Dovey has to say on the subsequent parts of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission

8.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, Part C of the Report deals with a series of staff questions, some of them of major and some of lesser importance. The Conference will observe that item 24.7, which is dealt with in paragraphs 331 to 333, has close affinities with the subject matter of Part B of the Report.
8.2 The first two items in Part C - items 24.1 and 24.9, paragraphs 300 to 307 - which were taken together in the Commission, were the subject of a good deal of attention and discussion, and the result of the discussion is the draft resolution contained in paragraph 306 and which the Commission now puts forward for adoption by the Conference. The document put forward by the Director-General in connexion with item 24.2 - the report on the problems of the pre-entry preparation of candidates for the international civil service and the post-entry training of probationers - was merely noted by the Commission as recorded in paragraph 308. But the documents in connexion with item 24.3, amendments made by the Director-General to the Staff Rules, raised an interesting technical question which the Director-General has undertaken to examine further as described in paragraphs 309 to 313. Item 24.4 - salaries and allowances of the staff - is dealt with in paragraphs 314-322 of the Report. The various subjects covered by this item had been closely examined by the Executive Board just before the Conference and the Commission endorsed the draft resolution in paragraph 316, which includes some modifications made in accordance with the Executive Board's views. The Commission also endorsed without changes the resolutions in paragraphs 317 and 318 which the Board had also accepted without change.
8.3 When it came to the subject discussed in paragraphs 319-322 - salaries of certain staff members recruited for projects financed from the Special Fund - the Commission made some further amendments to a draft resolution, the original text of which had been modified to meet the views expressed by the Executive Board. All four resolutions under item 24.4 - that is to say those in paragraphs 316, 317, 318 and 322, are recommended for adoption by the General Conference. As indicated in paragraph 323 of the Report, item 24.5 - recruitment and promotion of staff - will be the subject of an addendum to this present Report which will be presented later. Under item 24.6 - Administrative Tribunal - the resolution in paragraph 330 renews the present arrangements and the Commission recommends its adoption by the General Conference.
8.4 As I have already mentioned, item 24.7 - report on administrative costs and staff utilization - has affinities with the matters discussed in Part B of the Report. The subject is also relevant to the discussions which led to the changes made by the Commission in the figures in the Appropriation Resolution and to which I have already referred. The resolution containing these changes will be the subject of an addendum to the present Report, and will be presented at a later stage.
8.5 The Commission showed great interest in the Director-General's proposal under item 24.8 to provide Member States with executive officials on request, and discussed this at some length, as

described in paragraphs 334-338. The Commission recommends for adoption by the General Conference the resolution in paragraph 338.

8.6 Item 25.1 - Report on the Medical Benefits Fund - is dealt with in paragraph 340 which contains two resolutions providing for minor modifications to the Rules of the Fund and which the Commission recommends for adoption by the Conference.

8.7 Finally, in Part C, items 25.2 and 25.3 relate to the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund. These items are dealt with in paragraph 341 which contains three resolutions which the Commission recommends for adoption by the Conference. This concludes my presentation of Part C of the Report.

9.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Gentlemen, I should like to thank Mr. Dovey for his very clear exposition of this part of the Report of the Administrative Commission and pass on to consideration and approval of the resolutions and of Part C as a whole.

9.2 We first have to consider the resolution presented by the delegation of India and appearing in paragraph 306, Part C, concerning the geographical distribution of posts in the Unesco Secretariat. Are there any comments on this resolution? Does anyone wish to speak? No one. Are there any objections? None. We can consider this resolution as adopted.

9.3 The next resolution concerns salaries of staff in the General Service category, item 24.4 - salaries and allowances. Are there any objections to this resolution? None. This resolution, then, is also adopted by the Conference.

9.4 Would you please now turn your attention to the resolution on salaries in the Professional category, paragraph 317, and to that on allowances, (document 11 C/ADM/16, Part III)? Are there any objections to these two short resolutions? No objections. We can therefore take them as being unanimously adopted.

9.5 We also have to express an opinion regarding two resolutions on the salaries of certain staff members recruited for projects financed from the Special Fund, paragraph 322. Are there any objections to this resolution? None. We can consider this resolution as adopted.

9.6 We come to item 24.6, concerning the Administrative Tribunal. Are there any objections to this resolution? None. We can consider it adopted.

9.7 Paragraph 333 contains a resolution concerning the report on administrative costs and staff utilization. Are there any objections to this resolution? None. We can consider it adopted.

9.8 Now comes item 24.8, Proposal of the Director-General to provide Member States with executive officials on request (OPEX). Are there any objections to this resolution? None. We can take it as adopted.

9.9 Item 25.1, Report on the Medical Benefits Fund and the administrative expenses connected with it. Are there any remarks or objections? None. We can consider this item approved.

9.10 Items 25.2 and 25.3, Report on the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund and election of representatives of Member States to serve on the Unesco Staff Pension Committee for 1961-1962. Are there any comments on these three short draft resolutions? None. We can consider these resolutions adopted.

9.11 Now, gentlemen, I present for your discussion and consideration Part C (Staff and related questions) as a whole, with the exception of item 24.5, on which a resolution will be presented somewhat later, as has already been announced. In other words, we are deciding on Part C of the Report of the Administrative Commission, staff and related questions as a whole. Are there any objections to Part C as a whole? None. Does anyone wish to speak? No one. Gentlemen, let us take it that Part C, staff and related questions, is unanimously approved.

9.12 The Director-General, Dr. Veronese, wishes to make a statement.

10.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have no intention of emphasizing the special importance of any of the resolutions you have adopted here, but I should like to repeat what I myself and my representatives have told the Administrative Commission. One of the resolutions you have just adopted is of considerable significance, namely that dealing with administrative costs and staff utilization.

10.2 The Rapporteur has told you that the Administrative Commission yesterday decided to adopt certain proposals for cuts to which I did not feel able to agree. Nevertheless, I bow to its decision.

10.3 For the moment, therefore, I shall confine myself to saying that I attach the greatest importance to the resolution in document 11 C/DR/192 Rev.1. I intend to give this resolution special priority in my personal work and in that of my close collaborators, in order that our action may conform to the recommendations of the Administrative Commission, as approved by the General Conference.

10.4 This is the general statement which I wanted to repeat in plenary session, having already made it to the Administrative Commission. It is my firm intention to implement this resolution as quickly as possible, in the spirit in which it was drawn up and following it to the letter.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Gentlemen, we have heard the statement of the Director-General to the effect that he fully intends to spend the means at his disposal in an economic and efficient way. This, of course, is a matter of satisfaction to us all.

11.2 Mr. Dovey now has the floor and will proceed to speak on Part D of the Report of the Administrative Commission.

12.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:

Mr. President, Part D of the Report deals with financial questions. Items 23.1 and 23.3 in this part of the Report concern statements of accounts and reports by the External Auditor. The first deals with the accounts of the Organization, and the second, the Technical Assistance funds allotted to Unesco. There are four resolutions, one in paragraph 403 and three in paragraph 405, which the Commission recommends for adoption by the Conference.

12.2 Item 23.4 which is dealt with in paragraphs 406-410 of the Report deals with the Administration of the Working Capital Fund. The Commission

accepted a change made by the Executive Board in the resolution on this subject, and made some further changes of its own. One of these was the addition of paragraph (e) of the resolution, which is the result of the Commission's discussions on the Report of the Headquarters Committee. The Conference may wish to approve this paragraph (e) upon condition of the conclusions which it may reach on the subject of Headquarters accommodation, on which a further report by the Administrative Commission, document 11 C/51, will be submitted later. This concludes my presentation of Part D.

13.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Let us proceed to consider these resolutions and Part D, Financial questions, as a whole. The first resolution is in paragraph 403, Financial Reports and Statements of the Director-General. Are there any objections to this resolution? None. Let us consider it as adopted. Then there are three further resolutions in paragraph 405. Are there any objections to these resolutions? None. Let us take them as adopted. Lastly there is the resolution under item 23.4, Administration of the Working Capital Fund, contained in paragraph 410, with the observation regarding paragraph (e) about which our Rapporteur spoke. Do the delegates have any points to make? Are there any objections? None. We can take this resolution as adopted. We have thus had an opportunity of expressing our opinion on Part D, Financial questions, as a whole. Are there any objections regarding Part D as a whole? Or any comments? None. We can consider Part D as unanimously approved. We have Part E to deal with, but the draft resolution will be presented tomorrow, and we shall therefore pass straight on to Part F, International non-governmental organizations.

13.2 I call upon the Rapporteur.

14. Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:

Mr. President, Part F of the report sets out the results of a complete re-examination of the Directives concerning Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations. The revised directives were the subject of lengthy discussion by the Commission, as a result of which the Commission presents the resolution contained in paragraph 618, which in turn presents the full text of the revised directives. A further resolution is contained in paragraph 619 regarding the transitional measures to be adopted pending the entry into force of the new directives. Another resolution in paragraph 620 deals with the renewal of formal agreements with international non-governmental organizations. And finally, a resolution in paragraph 623 deals with the Executive Board's proposals concerning the admission of international non-governmental organizations to consultative status. All these resolutions are recommended by the Commission for adoption by the Conference. The Conference will also wish to note the conclusions reached by the Commission, contained in paragraph 622, in relation to item 21.4 of the agenda - Report on the Geographical Extension of International Non-Governmental Organizations. This concludes my presentation of Part F of the Report.

15.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Gentlemen, we have heard the statement by the Rapporteur on the last part of the report presented to us, and can proceed to consider the resolutions in the report, this part of which gave rise to much dissension and discussion in the Administrative Commission. Not all the delegates were of the same opinion, but our document reflects to some extent not only these divergences but also the mutual understanding that was reached in the Commission in the course of its deliberations.

15.2 Let us now consider the individual resolutions in Part F and especially resolution 618 on the Directives concerning Unesco's relations with international non-governmental organizations. Are there any comments? None. Objections? None. Let us consider these Directives as approved by our Conference.

15.3 We now have to turn our attention to paragraph 619, item 21.2, Transitional measures pending the entry into force of the new Directives. Are there any comments on this item? None. If there are no objections, we shall take the transitional measures as being approved by our Conference.

15.4 Item 21.3, Renewal of formal agreements concluded with international non-governmental organizations. Does anyone wish to speak? No one. If there are no objections, we shall consider this item as approved.

15.5 Item 21.4, Report on the geographical extension of international non-governmental organizations. Are there any objections to this item? None. Let us take this section of the Report as approved.

15.6 We now come to item 21.5, Consideration of the Executive Board's proposals concerning the admission of international non-governmental organizations to consultative arrangements. This is paragraph 623. Are there any objections? None. If there are no objections, we shall take the item as approved.

15.7 I now ask your opinion on Part F, International non-governmental organizations, as a whole. Does anyone wish to speak on Part F as a whole? If not, and if there are no objections, let us consider Part F of the Report of the Administrative Commission as unanimously approved and call on Mr. Dovey to speak upon the last part of his report, Legal questions.

16.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom) Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:

Mr. President, Part G of the Report records the Commission's discussions on items 22.1, 22.2, 22.3 and 22.4 of the agenda, in the light of the Report of the Legal Committee on these subjects.

16.2 Item 22.1, which is dealt with in paragraph 701, requires no further action, but the Commission recommends to the Conference that it adopt the resolutions in paragraphs 702, 703 and 704, in relation to the other three items. Paragraphs 705-707 record the main lines of the discussion which took place in the Commission in connexion with item 22.4, and which it decided to include in its Report.

16.3 This, Mr. President, concludes my presentation of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission.

17.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Gentlemen, we have heard a clear exposition of the last part of the Report of the Administrative

Commission on Legal Questions. Are there any objections, particularly as regards item 22.2, draft amendment to the Rules of Procedure, under paragraph 702. If there are no amendments, let us consider the item as approved. We come to item 22.3, proposed amendments to Rules 55, 58 and 59 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference. Are there any objections? None. Let us take this section as approved. Lastly, a final observation concerning item 23.4, paragraph 704. Are there any questions, comments or objections? If not, we can consider this resolution as adopted, and ask for your opinion on Part G, Legal questions, as a whole. Are there any comments on Part G as a whole? None. Then let us take Part G on Legal questions as unanimously approved.

17.2 We now have to express an opinion on the Third Report of the Administrative Commission as a whole, with the exception of those sections which will be presented a little later. Does any one wish to speak on the Report of the Administrative Commission as a whole? There does not appear to be anybody. I therefore put the report as a whole to the vote. Does anyone wish to speak against this Report? No one. In that case, let us consider the Third Report of the Administrative Commission as being unanimously approved.

17.3 I should like to say that the Administrative Commission has effectively got through a great deal of work. It held 32 meetings. Naturally, there were heated differences of opinion and stormy discussions in the course of its meetings, and the records of the meetings reflected this clash of opinion. Not all the proposals won approval, not all wishes were met, but the spirit of solidarity which prevailed in the Commission and which we are now witnessing in the discussion of the Report has enabled the business to be brought to a happy conclusion.

17.4 I should like to congratulate Mr. Barón Castro, all the members of the Commission, and the Rapporteur, Mr. Dovey, on the successful way in which this work has been completed and the opportunity we have had here of approving as a whole this very intricate and difficult section of the Report of the Administrative Commission.

17.5 Gentlemen, our work is coming to a close. Before the end I shall call upon Mr. Montagnier to make his regular communication about our future work.

18.1 Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, now that the General Conference has finished its consideration of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission, there is no need for it to hold a plenary meeting this afternoon, since it has concluded its agenda for today.

18.2 This morning, the General Committee of the Conference, after listening to the Report of the Chairman of the Programme Commission and the observations of the Director-General, noted that it was possible for the Conference to finish its work by midday on 15 December. It accordingly authorized the President of the Conference to convene a plenary meeting at 9 p.m. on 14 December, if necessary. However, if the Programme Commission's Report is adopted as quickly as that of the Administrative Commission, it can be expected that the General Conference will conclude its work tomorrow afternoon or after an evening meeting.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Russian):

Gentlemen, we have heard the statement and we shall, I imagine take it as a guiding line. I declare the twenty-eighth plenary meeting concluded and thank you for your attention and your kind co-operation. The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

TWENTY-NINTH PLENARY MEETING

14 December 1960, at 11.25 a.m.

President: Mr. Wilhelm MARINELLI (Austria)

CONTENTS

Adoption of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission 454
Adoption of the Fourth Report of the Administrative Commission 455
Adoption of the Report of the Programme Commission on Part II of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 455

ADOPTION OF THE THIRD REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION

1.1 The PRESIDENT:

I call the meeting to order. Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, there is a good deal of work to be done in these last sessions of the Conference and therefore we should waste no time. I would like nevertheless to ask your permission to make a few personal remarks. Firstly, I should like to express my gratitude to the delegations for the honour they did my country in electing the former Head of our delegation, Dr. Frieberger, as one of the Vice-Presidents of this Conference.

1.2 Secondly, in accepting the honour of taking the Chair at this plenary meeting, I want to ask your help, not only because I shall not be using my mother tongue but a foreign language - and I beg my friends from England and the United States to excuse the crimes I may commit against their language - but for another reason also. What we have to do is common work - team work; it is something that one of the previous Presidents, I think it was our distinguished colleague from Brazil, H.E. Mr. Carneiro, has compared with the work of an orchestra, where everyone has to play his part correctly if the harmony of the symphony is to be brought out. But there is a difficulty in that nobody has a score or even a part score before him, but is completely free to say whatever he wishes. This freedom of expression is guaranteed in the Rules of Procedure of the Conference. Therefore, I would like to ask you to bear constantly in mind that in such common work everyone has only to contribute to the whole, and, to pursue the analogy with the player in the orchestra, must sacrifice a bit of his pride of virtuosity. He has only to contribute, to give a part to the whole, for only then will the harmony of the symphony be expressed.

1.3 Lastly, I should like to remind you that outside this hall, and outside of Unesco, there are millions of people who expect that Unesco will give some help. Some of them are in urgent need of help - millions of children and aged men and women. What we are doing and should do is, in a sense, to build up a momentum, so that later the staff of Unesco can fulfil and execute the programme. This is our duty, and what the world expects from us is not an endless quarrel about theoretical definitions but deeds, deeds in helping them to the better life that we are sure and convinced comes from education, from science and culture. I should like to ask everyone who comes to the floor to concentrate on this aim of our common work.

1.4 The first item on the agenda is the third report of the Administrative Commission (document 11 C/48 Addendum 2) concerning recruitment and promotion of staff. The Rapporteur, Mr. Dovey, will now present his report to the Conference.

2.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Conference will recall that when I presented the third report of the Administrative Commission yesterday, I indicated that it did not deal with item 24.5 of the agenda - recruitment and promotion of staff - and that this subject would be dealt with in an addendum to the report. This addendum is the document now before you, 11 C/48 Add. 2.

2.2 I think that I need add very little to what is said in the document, but I would draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that after long and animated initial discussion the proposals put forward by the Director-General on the recruitment and promotion of staff were referred to a working party of the Commission. This working party drew up the resolution which now appears in paragraph 327 of document 11 C/48 Add. 2, and which was subsequently unanimously approved by the Commission. I have the honour, on behalf of the Commission, to recommend it for adoption by the Conference.

2.3 While I am on the rostrum I think that I can conveniently deal with a small point which has arisen

in connexion with the report which the Conference adopted yesterday. The Chairman of the Administrative Commission has asked me to say, in connexion with the Conference's decision on the Member States to serve on the Unesco Staff Pension Committee during the years 1961-1962, that a change is now necessary. The Conference may wish to refer to the text which it adopted yesterday and which is contained in Part C of document 11 C/48, paragraph 341, the last of the three resolutions in that paragraph.

2.4 The Government of Chile has informed the Organization that it will be unable to serve on the Unesco Staff Pension Committee. The Chairman of the Administrative Commission accordingly proposes that the General Conference should amend the resolution adopted yesterday by electing Costa Rica in the place of Chile as a member of the Unesco Staff Pension Committee.

3.1 The PRESIDENT:

You have heard the report of the Rapporteur. If there are no objections we shall consider it adopted.

3.2 The resolution concerning the recruitment and promotion of staff (document 11 C/48 Add. 2) and the resolution concerning the election of members to the Unesco Staff Pension Committee are adopted.

ADOPTION OF THE FOURTH REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION

3.3 The Rapporteur will continue his presentation of the report.

4.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I now present the fourth report of the Administrative Commission contained in document 11 C/51. As indicated in the first paragraph, this document deals with four distinct but related subjects on which the Administrative Commission considered reports by the Headquarters Committee. These four subjects are: the financing of expenditure still outstanding in connexion with the present headquarters buildings, the drawing up of the final statement of this expenditure, the additional headquarters premises required by the Organization, and the future of the Headquarters Committee.

4.2 The first two subjects did not long engage the attention of the Commission and they rapidly agreed to put forward for adoption by the General Conference the two resolutions contained in paragraphs 3 and 5, respectively.

4.3 On the other hand, the third question before the Commission of the additional headquarters premises required by the Organization was the subject of a long and animated discussion, the main lines of which are described in paragraphs 6 to 16 of the report. A number of delegations were opposed to the proposal for a fourth building and the delegation of the USSR introduced a formal proposal to the effect that the Conference should decide, in principle, that a fourth building should not be built. The voting on this proposal is given in paragraph 10 of the report.

4.4 The resolution finally approved by the Commission, and which it recommends for adoption by the General Conference, is set out at the end of paragraph 17. The Conference will remember that when I introduced the resolution on the Working Capital Fund put forward by the Commission, I referred to the paragraph in it which was consequential on the conclusions which the Commission had come to with regard to additional headquarters buildings. The Conference may wish to note that the relevant part of the resolution now before it is paragraph 7(c) in Part III.

4.5 The final item in this report is the future of the Headquarters Committee which is the subject of paragraphs 18 and 19 and of the resolution at the end of paragraph 19. Mr. President, this concludes my presentation of the fourth report of the Administrative Commission.

5.1 The PRESIDENT:

I thank the Rapporteur for this report presented by the Commission, and if there are no objections I propose that we take a vote on the report as a whole.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands)

5.2 The results of the vote are as follows: 66 in favour, none against, and 7 abstentions. The fourth report of the Administrative Commission is therefore adopted.

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION ON PART II OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1961-1962

5.3 The next item of the agenda - and I think we should here express our very deep gratitude to the Director-General and his staff for the immense work accomplished in the production of document 11 C/5 - is the adoption of the report of the Programme Commission on Part II of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 (document 11 C/36).

5.4 I shall now call upon the Director-General.

6. The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, before you begin your examination of the report of the Programme Commission, allow me to express my most sincere gratitude, both on my own behalf and on that of the Secretariat, to the Administrative Commission to its distinguished Chairman, to the Bureau of that Commission and, in particular, to its Rapporteur. I hope that Mr. Barón Castro and Mr. Dovey will accept this expression of my gratitude for the work they have done and for the way in which they have respectively conducted and reported the discussions of the Administrative Commission.

7. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon Mr. François, the Chairman of the Programme Commission, to present his report.

8.1 Mr. FRANÇOIS (France), Chairman of the Programme Commission (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Programme Commission, of which I have the

honour to be Chairman, I am bringing you an adopted programme and a balanced budget with only two days' delay. I say "only two days' delay" because the work of the Commission has been so tremendous that we have no sense of guilt. The Programme Commission has never had so many documents to examine nor so many decisions to take. And I should like, first and foremost, ladies and gentlemen, to give you some idea of the magnitude and importance of the task which now devolves upon the Programme Commission, and I am thinking not only of this session but also of those to come.

8.2 First of all, most Member States were represented on our Commission and its debates were very well attended. Whereas the Organization had only 73 members in 1956 and 75 in 1958, in 1960 there were 98 members represented on the Programme Commission, not including Associate Members and observers. And we were not only obliged to plan working sessions, properly speaking, for our Commission, but at the same time a whole series of special committees were holding meetings and thereby facilitating its work. Nine working parties were set up and did excellent work - three of them dealt with the educational field (Tropical Africa, international instrument concerning technical and vocational education, Convention against discrimination in education), three with the field of natural sciences (current development of science, oceanography and arid lands), two with the cultural field (Nubia, and History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind) and, finally, the ninth, which we regard as absolutely essential and whose conclusions we expect to be of the greatest interest for the future, was set up to examine the presentation of the future programme.

8.3 Our Commission likewise adopted a very large number of resolutions. In the course of 51 meetings, we adopted over 300 - roughly six per meeting - and I may say that each of these resolutions was very carefully studied, every word they contained was considered and discussed and they were adopted only after discussions which were very long but also very interesting, perhaps the more interesting the longer they were, since they showed that delegates were keenly interested in these matters.

8.4 They occupied such an important place in the work of our Commission that I looked up the definition of a resolution. Well, it is a very odd fact, but if you consult a large dictionary you will find that there are twelve different meanings of the word "resolution", ranging from one extreme to the other. Those of you who handled these resolutions will be interested to know that the first meaning of the word "resolution" is the complete disappearance of consistence; we say that a resolution of snow into water took place and thus this word "resolution" begins by meaning the absence of any consistence, the absence of any resolution. And it is only gradually that we find the meaning taking on firmness and solidity, since the twelfth meaning is "firmness, courage, decision", "resolution is boldness of mind". Our own resolutions come under meaning no. 6: "project formed, plan decided on". But I wonder, after all, if it is not the whole sequence of meanings which really represents the nature of a resolution: it begins by having only very slight consistence, it is a product of the mind - the mind of the Secretariat or the minds of the delegates who proposed a great many - over 200! It is a somewhat vague and imprecise idea but one which gradually acquires consistence and firmness in the text itself. And it may be wondered whether, when the discussions begin, the resolution which had acquired the solidity of a written document does not revert to its first meaning - "complete disapearance of consistence" - since each in turn tries to transform it, to turn it into something else. It is only gradually, little by little, that the resolution emerges in its new text, wholly clear and decisive.

8.5 "Resolution of snow into water" - such was the case with the resolutions we studied: they were "snow", they became "water" during our discussions, and, at the end of the discussions, emerged not as "snow" but as "ice", solid and pure, acceptable to all.

8.6 But we did not only examine, discuss and adopt over 300 resolutions: we also adopted an extremely important draft convention on the prevention of discrimination in education, whereby we confirmed on 10 December - the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - one of the rights which our Organization holds dearest and which is perhaps the most important to be preserved and fostered throughout the world - the right to education - education, round which most of our discussions centred.

8.7 We also approved a very large budget and, needless to say, this was done in the face of considerable difficulties: barely forty-eight hours ago we found ourselves in an awkward situation since we had exceeded the budget ceiling set us by the General Conference by $1,250,000. We were therefore compelled to reconsider all our work and go back to the figure which had been set.

8.8 This adjustment was an extremely difficult task since, throughout our work, we had continually stressed the contrast between, on the one hand, the immense educational, scientific and cultural needs of the world and, on the other, the extremely modest sums which were allocated to us - much larger sums, it is true, than in previous years but none the less ridiculously small compared to all that people need at the present time.

8.9 Nevertheless we succeeded in balancing the budget, thanks to the spirit of generous understanding shown by all the delegates and thanks also to the efforts made by the Secretariat, which itself proposed many cuts on this occasion.

8.10 As a result, we managed to adopt a budget of 56 million dollars for the programme alone, whereas in 1958, as you know, the Programme Commission voted a budget of 27 million dollars.

8.11 We therefore have a budget which is double that of 1958 and the Organization has never before made so spectacular an advance. In the past, when the Organization's budget increased by 5, 10 or 15%, it was regarded in some quarters as a positive scandal, in others as a reason for great hope and rejoicing. But such increases are as nothing compared to the increase in the budget we are submitting over those of previous years.

8.12 In 1958, the Programme Commission voted

a regular budget of 19 million dollars; this year, the Regular budget has risen to 23,745,000 dollars.

8.13 The most striking, impressive and reassuring progress, however, has been made in respect of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the remarkable and beneficial United Nations Special Fund.

8.14 In 1958, the Programme Commission had, not adopted, but simply taken into account a sum of 8 million dollars from United Nations Technical Assistance. This year, the figure has risen to 12 million dollars, representing a 50% increase in the funds on which Unesco can draw under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for the next two years.

8.15 At the present time, the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance is financed by 80 countries and Unesco's share amounts to 17% of the total funds available under this programme; this increase will enable Unesco, inter alia, to send 400 experts on mission throughout the world instead of 200 and to award 400 fellowships instead of 200.

8.16 To the above sum must be added the 20 million dollars which the Organization is to receive from the United Nations Special Fund.

8.17 It is not enough, however, to mention these three major budgets only - Unesco's Regular budget, the budget of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the budget of the Special Fund. Apart from these, we have approved the setting up of special accounts; and we have given the Secretariat wide powers to co-operate with the International Development Association and the Inter-American Development Bank. In addition to all this multilateral and international aid, there will also be, of course, the bilateral aid offered by various nations to countries in process of development. Thus there are now substantial resources available for the development of education, science and culture all over the world, and these resources are constantly increasing, so that more and more activities can be undertaken.

8.18 There is only one respect in which I should be somewhat uneasy if I were the representative of a country in process of development - and, moreover, as a French delegate, I do, in a sense, represent such a country, since all countries are in process of development; and this is a magnificent fact which we should recognize - that all nations and all societies are developing, whichever they may be. If I represented one of those countries requesting technical assistance, then, I should be somewhat at a loss, I should wonder on which door to knock because there are, in fact, a great many doors - Unesco's Regular budget, the budget of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the United Nations Special Fund, Unesco's Special Accounts, the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, and various countries which can open accounts in dollars or any other currency to encourage development; I should perhaps feel a little like someone from the country arriving in Wall Street and not knowing too clearly, amidst all the gigantic banks, which one to approach in order to obtain the necessary assistance on the best terms.

8.19 International existence is perhaps somewhat complicated these days by all this series of organizations which sometimes and in certain fields overlap and which may tend to alarm those who require their assistance. But the needs are immense let us not baulk at the number of sources of dollars which may serve to meet them.

8.20 Our task has not only been extremely important but also I think very interesting. I should like to say forthwith that we were obliged to handle too many documents; each meeting began with a listing of all the papers we needed and it is certain that for five or ten minutes the speakers could not be heard because of the sound of papers being shuffled, shifted, turned over in an effort to find the right document or the right paragraph in the document quoted. I was appalled to discover that, as Chairman, I was not only, so to speak, in charge of 98 delegations - all of them absolutely attentive, orderly and understanding, and I thank them again for their co-operation which made it possible for us to be here this morning - but that I was also in charge of an ocean of paper. The Programme Commission, in fact, received a million copies of documents in the 11 C/PRG series, such as 26, 28, 35, and in the DR series, such as DR/62 revised once, twice or three times. One million copies were poured in this way into our hall. This, obviously, was a somewhat terrifying flood of paper and we had to navigate on its waves. We succeeded, but it was not always very easy and I hope - I very much hope - that the Working Party concerned with the question will be able to suggest methods of simplifying the documentation.

8.21 Nevertheless, I believe that for the first time we have had a General Conference which allowed adequate time - even though its time was limited - for a true exchange of ideas. For the first time, there was a general debate on the programme. For the first time, the different chapters of the document were the subject of general discussion. And, above all, the working parties were so constituted that specialists, scientists, educators and men of culture from all parts of the world were really able to make a thorough study of a problem, had time in which to exchange their opinions and jointly seek a solution - all of which was quite impossible in the past.

8.22 At earlier sessions, too many delegates - particularly distinguished delegates who were sent by their countries to attend Unesco's General Conference - went away disappointed in Unesco, since they had done nothing but discuss a few thousand dollars here, a few thousand dollars there, thousands of dollars sometimes deducted, but more often added, and such discussions were more or less sordid.

8.23 I observed with the keenest interest that throughout the 51 meetings of our Programme Commission, discussions never centred around a few thousand dollars but that it was always on ideas, the presentation of those ideas and the exchange of ideas that the Commission concentrated all its work and interest. And I believe that, accordingly, for all the members of this Commission and especially for the members of the Secretariat who followed the work so closely, actively and decisively, the Programme Commission has been a superb organ of information, a superb organ of reflection and that the Secretariat's activity in the two years ahead will be enriched as a result.

8.24 I also believe that the Programme Commission provided all of us with an exceptional meeting ground. Firstly, for the meeting of what is always termed "East" and "West". Some delegates urged peaceful coexistence, disarmament and decolonization, whilst others preferred to speak of peaceful co-operation, claiming that such co-operation between countries with different economic and social systems was a means towards gradual disarmament and decolonization. Both sides were able to voice their opinions; there were clashes from time to time, but such clashes rarely went beyond the stage of a somewhat lively discussion and we almost always succeeded in obtaining unanimous support for the decisions of our Commission.

8.25 By way of example, I would like to mention the famous resolution no. DR/114, which I will not read to you, submitted by the Czechoslovak delegation and aimed - very rightly, I may add - against revengeful and militaristic ideas and feelings of racial superiority. True, the terms of this resolution were extremely energetic and upset certain delegations; as a result, the delegation of the United Kingdom submitted a counter-proposal, a counter-resolution, which the Czechoslovak delegation naturally felt unable to accept. To break the deadlock, the Argentine delegation came to our rescue with a draft resolution which was acceptable to Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom and all the other countries represented on the Programme Commission, since it took account of the different viewpoints which had been expressed and which were strongly opposed at the outset. I should like to read you this draft resolution no. DR/171 very quickly, because the unanimous approval with which it met somehow symbolizes, in my view, the whole spirit of the Programme Commission:

"The General Conference,

Recalling that, as stated in its Constitution, Unesco was 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',

Considering that every display of racial intolerance or alleged national superiority militates against these fundamental objectives and constitutes a threat to international peace, security and understanding,

Being of the opinion that a suitable upbringing, imbued with a spirit of tolerance and objectivity, can effectively help to eradicate those factors which oppose the establishment of genuine and lasting international understanding,

Condemns any display of intolerance among the different races or peoples as a violation of the high principles which prompted the creation of the United Nations and of Unesco,

Urges Member States to redouble their efforts to ensure that education shall always be based on the principle of tolerance, the spirit of strict objectivity and the desire to maintain peaceful relations among the different nations and races,

Invites the Director-General to consider the most effective means of contributing in future - in the field of education - towards ensuring and developing international understanding, and to report on this subject to the General Conference at its twelfth session."

8.26 You will observe that this resolution, which was unanimously approved by the Programme Commission, is both positive and precise. And it was in this way that each individual was able to assert his preferences, but at the same time take account of the preferences of others and, in particular, as regards this resolution, make peace on the subject of peace, and for the sake of peace.

8.27 There was also a meeting between what I might call the former colonized countries and the former colonizing countries - even though there have been repeated allusions to colonization within the Conference - I should prefer to say: a meeting between the countries of Africa and the countries of Europe, on a footing of complete equality. On 6 December, for instance, at a meeting which well constitute a landmark in Unesco's history, the Programme Commission unanimously adopted document 11 C/PRG/29 (another document which I have brought along: I could not come wholly empty-handed!) which I might call the "Charter for Unesco's action in regard to the countries of Tropical Africa". I believe that we shall return to this fundamental problem in the course of these discussions, but there is a resolution 1001 - and in those noughts and in the figure 1 there is, so to speak, a birth starting from the nothingness of nought because the figure 1 is the figure of birth and here we have the birth of Unesco's action in respect of Tropical Africa - a resolution which contains a whole series of absolutely fundamental paragraphs. It is my conviction that, if Unesco remains true to the terms of this resolution, an enormous amount of beneficient work will be accomplished in the African territories.

8.28 Meetings, again, between advocates of "basic" and "applied" research. I remember one very lively meeting at which oceanography was discussed. Some States, admittedly, asked that Unesco should concentrate on applied research, on methods of increasing the number of fish in the sea, on ways of locating and breeding fish, since those countries were mainly concerned with urgent economic considerations, and with the need to feed a population already too large and constantly on the increase. But there were also other countries, represented by very great scientists, who urged the need for fundamental research, the study of currents, plankton, and marine life in general. It was not long before there was agreement on both sides that only a general study of ocean living conditions would really enable us to reach, locate and increase fish. And those who wanted fish, first and foremost, ultimately recognized that the loftiest speculations of oceanography were precisely what led them to this creature which they so urgently needed.

8.29 There was, then, a meeting and a reconciliation of fundamental and applied research. There was also a meeting and a reconciliation between what we call general activities and what are known as special activities, or Unesco's programme of direct action. Some countries, it is true, may have been disturbed by the great difference in the percentage growth within Unesco's programme and budget between the general activities - which are the permanent and continuing tasks of the Organization - and the special activities: a 7% increase for regular projects as against a 34%

increase for special projects. And many delegates here will recall the discussion which took place within the Programme Commission or in the plenary between those in favour of work in the field and those who thought priority should be given to developing international scientific co-operation at the highest level, because they considered that to be Unesco's fundamental task.

8.30 This conflict is, I think, now resolved and we are all firmly persuaded - as was clear throughout the discussions in the Programme Commission - that all field activities and Technical Assistance work must, to be really effective, be backed by careful and lengthy planning. And similarly, we are convinced that work in the field abounds in lessons of which both educationists and scientists and scholars at the highest level should be able to take advantage for the furtherance of their studies and speculations.

8.31 There is thus a continuous movement, a sort of "conveyor belt" which comes into existence, from general activities to special activities, from special activities to general activities, and I recall the phrase, at once so simple and so profound, used by one of the delegates in our Programme Commission: we must have a better idea of what we are going to do.

8.32 Our Commission also sought to define the continuing responsibilities of the Organization fairly strictly. In this connexion, we all felt that the development of education is an essential prerequisite for economic and social development and, likewise, for the establishment of equality between the nations. Thus, in the programme submitted to us, along with the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America, we have seen the emergence of a whole series of other major projects which are perhaps still in the air and which certain delegates were perhaps sorry not to see embodied in a more concrete fashion in the programme, but which are none the less in process of formation in the educational field in various parts of the world - in South East Asia, the Arab countries and Tropical Africa.

8.33 We were also of the opinion that one of Unesco's fundamental and continuing activities is international scientific co-operation and that, in this field especially, Unesco should work as often as possible in close co-operation with the non-governmental organizations, since these comprise specialists, people with a full understanding of these questions, who can be of considerable assistance to Unesco.

8.34 We also considered that it is Unesco's rôle to co-ordinate certain types of basic research in various branches of science, such as work on cancer or the arid lands.

8.35 We all agreed that Unesco should continue to concern itself with cultural activities and particularly the great East-West Major Project, which is doing so much towards the improvement of international understanding. But there is one new and very interesting trend which I would mention here: several delegations thought that Unesco's cultural activities were perhaps too much concerned with the past and not sufficiently with the present and, above all, the future. Certain delegates wanted closer links between our Organization and contemporary art, between Unesco and the artists of today; and the need for this link, not with the past, but with the present and, to some extent, the future, was also expressed in the unanimous interest of delegates in Unesco's work relating to youth.

8.36 We of course reaffirmed our conviction that Unesco has a vitally important rôle to play throughout the world in regard to the preservation and promotion of human rights and the fostering of better international understanding.

8.37 But - and this is of cardinal importance - we also felt that Unesco could, in case of urgent necessity, undertake some immediate task of international significance likely to attract great attention throughout the world. In this connexion, the Programme Commission fully endorsed all the measures taken by the Secretariat for saving the monuments of Nubia and even requested it to extend these measures.

8.38 We also approved the steps Unesco has taken for the benefit of the children of the Congo - its efforts to provide them with teachers, supply education and, as far as possible, to protect them from the tragic events occurring in their country.

8.39 It is rather interesting to note that our Programme Commission contributed little towards the consideration of Unesco's future development in 1963-64; and I wondered why that great debate which we had stated from the outset of our work would be the major one (we had called on most delegates for at least one day's work on the problem) failed to take place.

8.40 There were several reasons. Firstly, because we had an admirable document available - the one drawn up by Unesco for the Economic and Social Council - and that document seemed to have the unanimous approval of the delegations.

8.41 But in addition, if we were unable to specify what Unesco's main policy should be in the years ahead, it was because we felt that Unesco had suddenly - in the course of this present session of the Conference - committed itself to completely new activities and opened up new vistas which already went very far. What reason was there to look for another turning-point in two years' time, when we felt that we had already passed a particularly significant one? We believe that all the major decisions and new policies which we have adopted during this session will certainly determine Unesco's action not merely for two years, but for many years to come.

8.42 We intend, of course, that Unesco should continue to engage in certain major activities which have built up its fine tradition and won it the confidence of scientists, educationists and men of culture all over the world: I am thinking, in particular, of international scientific co-operation, the defence of human rights and education for better international understanding. But, as regards the next few years, the main stress was on the importance to be attached in Unesco's programmes to education. Education, as was said yesterday, with a capital E - i.e. the Education chapter as such should have a certain priority over the other chapters of the programme. But also education with a small e - and this means all the resolutions affecting education which occur in the other chapters of the programme, whether in Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Cultural Activities or in Mass Communication.

8.43 This concern with the development of education and the need for education is evident not only in countries in process of development but also in the so-called old countries, those said to be developed - in other words, in countries like my own, where an

immense amount of reorganization in education is vitally necessary. The entire system of general education requires replanning; technical education must be developed far beyond its present stage and an entirely new type of higher education, quite unlike any hitherto existing, must be established. Whatever the economic or social position of individual countries, whatever their geographical situation, far-reaching educational tasks await accomplishment by us all and we accordingly believe that in every country in the world, without exception, our Organization's primary concern must be with the needs of education.

8.44 The work of this session of the Conference and the discussions of the Programme Commission have, I am sure, been both useful and heartening to the majority of delegates, and, at all events, to someone like myself, who follows the Organization's discussions and activities and who is closely associated with Unesco by virtue of his own work as an educationist in his country. Personally, this Conference has given me a feeling of great optimism.

8.45 In the course of my connexion with Unesco, I have formulated a number of criticisms and sometimes harsh criticisms. But I must confess that, for the first time, I have seen the emergence of Unesco as a great organization, the organization for which we have hoped since 1946. Its greatness has finally emerged during this eleventh session, but not merely because it will have twice as many dollars to spend as in 1958-1959: the strength and value of Unesco is not to be measured solely in terms of the millions of dollars it has at its disposal. No, we claim that a great organization has emerged because Unesco seems to have acquired a soul, an inspiration - a soul and inspiration created and provided by scientists, artists and educationists; because we feel, too, that those responsible for the destiny of our Organization at the head of the Secretariat have also sought to produce this great Unesco, which will give far more powerful impetus to the development of international co-operation and will permit the free circulation of ideas, knowledge and men for the benefit of education, science and culture and their adaptation to a world in the throes of swift and complete evolution.

8.46 We have seen the emergence of Unesco as a great organization which will make possible a higher degree of equality and justice among the nations, in that the less favoured countries will receive more and will be able to develop more quickly than they have done hitherto. For, unless really effective international aid is provided for all the young States which have recently attained their independence, the monstrous inequality which exists between rich and poor nations must inevitably be accentuated, and increased inequality and injustice in the world means less progress and, above all, a threat to peace.

8.47 But this growing equality which must be achieved between the several nations does not mean, of course, that some must only give whilst others only receive. And that was perhaps the most moving aspect of our discussions; we all listened with attention, respect and admiration to the representatives of the youngest of Unesco's Member States, those who have only just joined us, and we were at once struck by the fact that they had hit upon the international language, the language of international understanding.

8.48 Needless to say, we are not seeking, on the pretext of equality, to make the world uniform. No, what we want is a world where there will be a variety of nations which, despite their differences, understand that they must unite at a certain level and work together to build a fairer and more peaceful world. I believe that Unesco ought to help to increase understanding in the world, to develop the idea of an international community and to strengthen our sense of human brotherhood.

8.49 Yes, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I, as a Frenchman, am happy to rediscover in Unesco, in the great Unesco which is taking shape, the slogan of democracy, our ancient civic and national ideal - Liberty, Equality, Fraternity - extended to all the nations of the world. True, we are living in a hard and difficult world, in a dangerous world, and that in itself is interesting; but we are also living, thanks to the extraordinary development of science and technology, in a thrilling world, a magnificent world.

8.50 True, we are faced with terrible dangers: the threat of chaos, of war, of total destruction. But we are also aware that the various countries of the world have in their possession absolutely extraordinary means of economic and social development. Science and technology now offer us such possibilities as could never before have been imagined, since we can even leave the earth and men will soon be able to travel through space.

8.51 Never has mankind had so much power of destruction at its disposal, but nor has it ever had such power of development and creation. And it will perhaps fall to Unesco, to all the men and women who are connected with its work, who have taken part in it, who have sought to spread that work together with the Organization's aims and ideals to every part of the globe, to serve, in this world of gigantic contrasts and fearful temptations, as the mentors and living embodiments of the conscience of nations whom we have been awaiting for so many years.

9.1 The PRESIDENT:

I should like first to express my thanks to Mr. François for his excellent exposé.

9.2 I would now like to propose that we should adopt this introductory part of the report by acclamation.

9.3 Since all are in favour, I declare the Introduction to the report adopted.

9.4 We come now to the next part of the report dealing with aid to African States and the resolutions which appear at the end of paragraphs 11 and 16. I propose that we adopt paragraphs 11 and 16 and the resolutions contained therein by acclamation.

9.5 Paragraphs 11 and 16 are adopted.

9.6 I call upon the delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany.

10.1 Mr. von SIMSON (Federal Republic of Germany):

Mr. President, I am sure that the programme that is before us gives all of us reason for satisfaction. At the beginning of this Conference when the Assistant Director-General, Mr. Adiseshiah, first outlined for us this programme of aid to the new States of Africa the Federal Republic of Germany, on that occasion,

declared its interest. Since then, through the help of the delegation of Yugoslavia and other delegations, the child has received a name and the programme has taken on more concrete shape.

10.2 I am therefore happy to be able to say that the Federal Republic of Germany will come to the assistance of this programme that presents such a challenge to us all, and that we will make available at once the sum of $100,000. We hope also, if our Parliament is open to persuasion, to assist the programme further next year. In making this statement I should like to add a word of gratitude and appreciation to the Secretariat which has risen to this challenge so admirably and has placed before us the emergency programme of additional aid to Africa.

10.3 Mr. President, since I am on the rostrum, I wonder if I am in order in making a very brief additional remark in reference to the offers of fellowships. I would merely like to say that the Federal Republic is very seriously interested in this programme also, and we hope that the Director-General will show us his confidence by informing us of the needs for additional fellowships and pointing out where we can be helpful. We shall then, very sincerely, try to help him.

11.1 The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany for his statement concerning the help offered by his country.

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

12.1 Mr. THAYER (United States of America):

Mr. President and distinguished delegates, at the very outset of this Conference the United States delegation put forward a resolution, which was enthusiastically approved, to increase the budget of Unesco by one million dollars to meet the educational needs of the countries of Africa. I will not take the time to repeat the reasons why we believed this was necessary; discussions at this Conference have made these reasons very plain indeed. I will, however, remind you that my country was in no way overlooking continuing needs in all fields of education, culture and science in other areas of the world. When, during the Conference, stress was placed on these dire needs in other areas of the world, the United States delegation supported resolutions soundly conceived to meet those needs, emphasizing meanwhile that at present the countries of Africa should receive first priority from Unesco.

12.2 The generosity with which the Arab States, Latin America and, above all, Asia, where millions of children and adults are still crying for help in education, voluntarily gave up assistance already approved by this Conference so that Africa could be benefited, and also the spontaneous action of the African nations in sacrificing nearly one-half of the amount enthusiastically approved by the Programme Commission to meet their needs in education, were among the most inspiring and historic events in the recent history of international relations. Mr. President, it is my sincere conviction that history will record this common understanding as a day on which Unesco reached its fullest maturity - when Unesco became established as the home of a true family of nations.

12.3 These are times of strife and turmoil. The newspapers every day bring us story upon story of the struggles which humanity is undergoing everywhere to solve the pressing problems of people who seek freedom, independence, and the right to develop economically, socially, and politically with the rapidity which modern times demand. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to achieve prosperity, a high standard of living for the masses of the people, and a forward-looking progressive economic, social and political life - I speak, Mr. President, of the American people - believe that we have an obligation to share the fruits of our good fortune with others.

12.4 And so, Mr. President, my country was particularly attracted to the joint resolution so imaginatively initiated by Yugoslavia - a joint resolution in which Afghanistan, Ethiopia, the Federal Republic of Germany, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, the United Kingdom, Ghana, Poland, Mexico, Sweden and the United States of America joined together in setting forth some very broad and pressing needs of the African nations and in launching an appeal for voluntary contributions to meet those needs.

12.5 There are four abroad proposals set forth in this resolution at the specific request of the African nations themselves. They are proposals made directly to the Secretariat of Unesco which, I am informed, is prepared to implement these proposals if they can be financed. They are not included in the Regular budget because they represent projects of such magnitude and particularization as to require very special treatment. They are calculated to help Unesco offer assistance to the Member States involved.

12.6 The United States is particularly attracted to three of these proposals. First to that which would permit Unesco to grant the request of several African nations for a careful assessment of their needs in the field of education, such assessment to be undertaken with the close co-operation of the nations involved. This is not an easy task and the United States delegation cannot imagine anything more important or more valuable than the help that Unesco could give to those African States who need it for the careful planning of the future of their educational systems.

12.7 Massive programmes of education cannot be undertaken without educational materials. Teachers need textbooks. The African countries must necessarily devise the texts which are most adapted to their particular needs, but once these texts are devised by them, the printing of the books, their translation into appropriate languages and their distribution in the great quantities needed is a tremendously expensive undertaking. The proposal that Unesco should give assistance in this field is one that is particularly appealing.

12.8 Finally, there is the programme for the supply of teachers from abroad to African Member States - a recruiting service which will enable nations to obtain the primary and secondary teachers they need until such time as the supply can be met from their own resources. Here again, is a vital basic need.

12.9 These special projects, Mr. President, have not and cannot be met by the budget of Unesco or by the programmes that have been passed by this General Conference. We urged the raising of the Unesco budget because we felt that joint effort must

be stretched to its maximum, that every country should help to lift the African nations to a position of equality. We recognize that many countries have made a sacrifice to do this; they cannot be required to do more. The United States Government, therefore, feels that it must respond to the appeal of this joint resolution, that it must enable Unesco to help the Member States in these particular projects. It believes that this should be done by the Secretariat and under the direction and authority of the Executive Board, project by project. To this end the United States is prepared to contribute up to $1 million for projects in these three categories that are prepared by the Secretariat and approved by the Executive Board.

12.10 May I emphasize, Mr. President, that this action of my Government is made in the sincere conviction that Unesco has a rôle of the utmost importance to play in the field of education, and in the sincere hope that this special contribution, associated with those made by other States, will serve to prove to the nations of the world how effective can be Unesco's contribution so that its rôle shall be universally recognized.

12.11 Mr. President, this is the last time that I shall appear on this rostrum and, in leaving it, may I salute the Director-General for his devotion and perseverance in a most difficult task and for all the courtesies extended by him during this Conference. In extending to every one of the delegates here present my best personal wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year, may I, Mr. President, say to you all what an honour and a privilege it has been to be associated with you during these last weeks.

13.1 The PRESIDENT:

I thank the delegate of the United States, and especially for his announcement of the help which his country will give, additionally, to this great task.

13.2 I call upon the Head of the delegation of Yugoslavia, Dr. Zanko.

14.1 Mr. ZANKO (Yugoslavia) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation I should like to express our satisfaction at the unanimity shown at this session in adopting the resolution which provides for a supplementary programme of emergency aid for the development of education in Africa.

14.2 We believe that international solidarity and an understanding of the problems and needs of the African countries which are struggling to develop their economy and their educational system and to consolidate their newly but hardly-won independence will also be displayed in the implementation of this supplementary programme of aid, which is so modest in comparison to the immense needs of the African countries and the real potentialities of the international community.

14.3 In addition to the bilateral aid which it already gives and will continue to give in future, my country is prepared, as a beginning, to contribute to the carrying out of this programme by publishing ten school textbooks, by providing the equipment needed for three teacher-training schools and by offering twenty fellowships. We hope that this modest contribution from my country will be increased at a later stage in the execution of this programme. My country will do its best, within the limits of its possibilities, to ensure that this constructive programme of international assistance in the development of education in African countries yields the desired results.

14.4 The Yugoslav delegation also wishes these activities every success because it hopes that this may lead to an extension of the programme to Latin America and the Arab world, with a view to advancing education in those regions and thereby creating a solid basis for their broader cultural and social development.

14.5 In expressing this hope, the Yugoslav delegation is conscious of the fact that, despite its undeniable value, the campaign launched by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies for the development of underdeveloped countries is by no means commensurate with the actual needs. We are faced with the urgent necessity of speeding up, expanding and increasing the efficiency of all forms of international aid for the development of underdeveloped countries, first and foremost by increasing the financial resources of the international organizations. If our action is based, once again, on international solidarity and if it is effective, then it will achieve its aim.

15. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of India, Mrs. Gandhi.

16.1 Mrs. GANDHI (India):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, you will be wondering what India has to do with this programme, since we ourselves belong to the group of "have nots" and are very much in need of help in our own programmes of education and other kinds of development. It is precisely because of our experience and difficulties that we now fully realize the urgency and importance of helping our sister continents.

16.2 Many offers of help have been made and large sums of money have been offered to help carry out the programmes which have been drawn up. India, naturally, cannot compete with these, but as a token of friendship the Government of India has decided, as a beginning, to offer five fellowships for the training of African university staff. We hope to be able to do more later on and also to arrange for further scholarships to be provided by non-governmental organizations. Unfortunately it was not possible to contact them in the short period at our disposal.

17. The PRESIDENT:

I call upon the delegate of Pakistan, Mr. Sharif.

18.1 Mr. SHARIF (Pakistan):

Mr. President, this Conference will forever remain a memorable one in the annals of our history. At this Conference we have welcomed with evident joy the accession of the newly independent States from Tropical Africa. At this Conference we particularly, from Asia, have shared our common hopes and aspirations with our colleagues from Tropical Africa. At this Conference there has grown up a spirit of acommodation, a spirit of cordiality which was witnessed in the Programme Commission when the budget was balanced.

18.2 It is in that spirit of co-operation and of cordiality that I have the pleasure to announce, on behalf of my Government, the offer of four fellowships. This may seem a very small offer compared to those of the affluent countries, but coming as it does from a country which belongs to a group of new and developing States in Asia, a country which itself is heroically battling to improve its economic, social and educational progress, this offer should be regarded as an honest token, as a very sincere effort to help our colleagues from Tropical Africa to improve their economic, social and educational progress. It is in that spirit of co-operation that it is made.

19. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon the distinguished delegate of Italy.

20.1 Mr. G. del BALZO (Italy) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with the principles laid down in document 11 C/PRG/28 which was before the Programme Commission, I am pleased to be able to announce that my Government intends to participate in the fellowship programme for Africa sponsored by Unesco. Italy undertakes to provide twenty long-term fellowships under Unesco's sponsorship.
20.2 This is doubtless a modest effort. It must, however, be added to what my country has already done for Africa in awarding for the current academic year 300 long-term and 120 short-term fellowships. Of the 300 long-term fellowships, 110 are granted to nationals of the Republic of Somalia and 80 to nationals of the other countries of Tropical Africa. The latter also receive some thirty short-term fellowships. I am, moreover, convinced that the experience acquired next year, i.e. during the first academic year of the Sponsored Fellowship programme, will enable us to develop and improve cultural exchanges with Tropical Africa, to which my country attaches particular importance.

21. The PRESIDENT:
I now call upon the delegate of Tunisia.

22.1 Mr. BAKIR (Tunisia) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Tunisian delegation would like first of all to express its great satisfaction at the unanimity of the vote in favour of the programme of aid to newly-independent African countries. At the beginning of this session, we were told that this Conference would be held under the sign of Africa. This was well said and it was no empty phrase: the aid programme has now materialized.
22.2 I should like to thank all those who drew up this programme and all those who voted in favour of it. As you know, Mr. President, my country is young and small and has needs which are as numerous as they are urgent and which we are trying to meet. It, too, needs aid and it does in fact receive some assistance from Unesco; but despite our limited resources, we are anxious to affirm our solidarity and to make a symbolic contribution to the carrying out of this programme.
22.3 We, the young countries, must also learn to help others. We are helped, but we should learn to help those who need us. And, whatever the aid we can afford to offer them, it will signify the solidarity which should exist between all countries, rich and poor, large and small alike.
22.4 I should like to affirm here that my country is prepared to grant a certain number of scholarships to African pupils and students wishing to attend Tunisian secondary schools or the youthful Tunisian university.

23. The PRESIDENT:
I call upon Mr. Hessel, of the French delegation.

24.1 Mr. HESSEL (France) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I do not wish to prolong the discussion and I will therefore very briefly state that the French Government has naturally not been indifferent to the appeal which, thanks to the Yugoslav delegation and the efforts of the other delegations which met under the presidency of Mr. Akale-Work Abte-Wold, has been made to all Member States with a view to their participation in an Emergency Programme for Africa for 1961-1962.
24.2 The cultural bonds between France and a great many African States need hardly be stressed here, any more than the importance of the joint action taken by France and those African States for the development of teaching, education, culture and science; nevertheless, we feel it essential to associate ourselves with a gesture which is symbolic rather than fundamental, the joint fellowship programme now being sponsored by Unesco. I have pleasure, therefore, in announcing that, of the three to four hundred fellowships which will be granted to African States for the period concerned as part of a programme for the training of key personnel, we hope that it will be possible to place twenty at the disposal of the Organization to add to its own programme.

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

26.1 Mr. AJUMOGOBIA (Nigeria):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I very much regret that owing to technical difficulties it has not been possible to get in touch with my Government on the subject of special fellowships to accelerate the training of African specialists and university lecturers. Nevertheless, I believe that Nigeria will always wish to associate herself with any scheme calculated to advance the progress of Africa.
26.2 Nigeria is already fully associated with the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Scheme, and she has in fact offered 15 fellowships to scholars from Commonwealth countries to enable them to study in Nigerian institutions of higher learning. I shall bring this new fellowships scheme to the attention of the Government of Nigeria through my Minister, who was present at this Conference and spoke from this rostrum. In due course, therefore, the decision of my Government on this scheme will be conveyed to the Director-General.
26.3 Now, Mr. President, I wish to associate my delegation with the cordial feelings which have been expressed at this Conference. On behalf of the delegation of Nigeria I wish you all a happy new year.

27. The PRESIDENT : I call upon the delegate of Sweden.

28.1 Mr. EEK (Sweden) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to report to you certain developments in my country which would, subject to negotiation between the country and Unesco and the adoption of methods of co-ordination, make possible a contribution from Sweden to the fellowship programme for Tropical Africa.

28.2 Firstly, a fund set up this year by the Students' Association of my country, not by the Government, will make it possible for us to grant up to 25 fellowships, as the years go by, for students from Africa for professional training for terms of study of from five to six years, leading to a professional degree. In years to come the annual income of this Students' Fund may amount to as much as $100,000 a year, and as the resources of the Fund come from the pockets of the Swedish students themselves, I must say that, as a university professor, I feel very proud of this initiative.

28.3 Within this programme, however, an estimated five or six fellowships could be given in the years 1961 or 1962 for such studies as are envisaged in the Unesco programme for the training of university teachers in, for example, social sciences, basic sciences and the humanities. Secondly, the University of Stockholm and some other universities might, with the approval of the Government, which as far as I know has not yet been given, set up a special international faculty, in 1961 or 1962, to accelerate training in social sciences and other branches of study. Subject to government approval, this faculty would grant, say 20 fellowships, to students from Tropical Africa in each branch of study.

29. The PRESIDENT :

In view of the lateness of the hour, I propose that we take up the discussion again this afternoon at 3.30 p.m. I declare the meeting closed.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

THIRTIETH PLENARY MEETING

14 December 1960, at 3.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Mariano PICON SALAS (Venezuela)

CONTENTS

Adoption of the Report of the Programme Commission on Part II of the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962 (continued) 465
Adoption of the Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education 476
Adoption of the Recommendation concerning the Most Effective Means of Rendering Museums Accessible to Everyone 481
Adoption of the Third Report of the Administrative Commission, Part E - Appropriation Resolution 481

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION ON PART II OF THE PROPOSED PROGRAMME AND BUDGET FOR 1961-1962 (continued)

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): Ladies and gentlemen, the meeting is open. The Conference has already reduced some of us to an almost dangerous state of physical and mental fatigue and it would be advisable if we tried to be as brief as possible at this meeting in order to be able to finish our work, if not this evening, at least tomorrow morning.

1.2 I have here a list of speakers who wish to take part in the debate on the programme of aid for Africa. We are, of course, all very much in sympathy with this idea, and we therefore recommend that speakers, with whose views we are in agreement, make their statements as short as possible, so that we can pass on to consider the report on education.

1.3 The first speaker on my list is the delegate of Ghana, Mr. O'Baka Torto, whom I now call upon.

2.1 Mr. O'BAKA TORTO (Ghana): Mr. President, fellow delegates, Ghana has long felt the need for co-operation among the African States in the sphere of higher education, and has already offered scholarships for higher education to some of these States. My delegation is therefore happy to be associated with the emergency programme of fellowships for the accelerated development of education in Africa, and is seeking authority from the Government of Ghana to announce the number of fellowships it proposes to offer. It has not been possible, however, in the limited time at our disposal to receive a reply. My delegation is nevertheless optimistic about the outcome of the requests we have sent home, and believes that Ghana will be happy to give a further practical demonstration of her ideals of African unity and co-operation.

2.2 My delegation proposes, on our return, to explain personally to the authorities in Ghana the aims and objects of the fellowship programme and to impart to them the spirit in which the aims and objects were formulated at this Conference, in the hope of securing a generous response for the fellowship programme. We expect that Ghana's offer will be communicated to the Director-General in the very near future.

2.3 Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of Ghana wishes you all a happy Christmas and a prosperous and peaceful New Year.

3. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. Koesoemo Joedo, delegate of the Netherlands.

4.1 Mr. KOESOEMO JOEDO (Netherlands): Mr. President, it gives me great satisfaction to state, on behalf of the Netherlands Government, that my country will be glad to associate itself with other nations in the implementation of the Special Fellowship Programme for Tropical Africa, although as a matter of course its contribution cannot be as great as those of the larger nations.

4.2 Some years ago my Government established the Netherlands Fellowship Programme under which we afford study opportunities to students from 31 countries in underdeveloped areas. Their total was 150 during the period 1957-1959. I regret, Sir, not to be in a position yet to specify the additional study facilities my Government will be able to offer under the Special Unesco Fellowship Programme for Tropical Africa. We hope, however, that in consultation and co-operation with the Director-General, we shall soon be able to determine how we can make the most useful contribution in the light of the purposes of this programme.

5. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon the delegate of Liberia, Mr. Mitchell.

6.1 Mr. MITCHELL (Liberia):

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, and honourable delegates, the Liberian Government has noted with great satisfaction the special programme for Tropical Africa which has been initiated at this session of the General Conference. I have taken part in the discussions and consideration of this programme and have attempted in a small way to make some substantial contributions to the deliberations. My Government is grateful to the Director-General and the Secretariat for the hard work put into the drafting of this programme, for anyone who participated in the Working Party on Tropical Africa is well aware of the difficulties involved. The present proposals are those that have been presented by the Africans themselves on the basis of what they have considered to be the first priorities among their educational needs. In the name of Africa, the Liberian delegation would like also to express thanks and appreciation to the delegation of the United States of America for proposing an increase of $1m. in the budget as a means of further implementing the Tropical Africa programme. We thank those who supported this proposal and we pray for those who wish us evil. This additional fund will make possible the accomplishment of more work in the area of education in Tropical Africa during the 1961-1962 period.

6.2 We must thank the United States of America, again, for providing a sum of $1m. for the establishment of additional educational facilities in Tropical Africa, and our thanks go also to the Federal Republic of Germany for the propositions they have agreed to make towards the improvement and development of education in Tropical Africa. We also express our appreciation of the initiative of the Yugoslav delegation in presenting its resolution calling for additional aid for Tropical Africa. We thank the co-sponsors of that resolution, as well as all those who have voted overwhelmingly for the programme for Tropical Africa. We are likewise grateful to those who have proposed 300 fellowships for the training of higher education officials in countries of Tropical Africa. And so that it be not said that Africa is willing to receive and not to give, I hereby offer to countries of Tropical Africa, in the name of the Government of the Republic of Liberia, ten scholarships for training on the secondary and college levels at any institution in the Republic of Liberia. These scholarships may be negotiated on a bilateral basis between the Government of Liberia and countries wishing to take advantage of this offer.

6.3 We wish to thank all who have been responsible for the smooth operation of this Conference. Our associations here at Unesco have been enriching and we consider ourselves fortunate to have been permitted to take part in this Conference. Despite the many shortcomings, despite some heated sessions, despite the criticisms made of the Secretariat, we feel that Unesco is indeed moving forward to a greater day in international co-operation.

7. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. A. Yañez, delegate of Mexico.

8.1 Mr. YANEZ (Mexico) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, during the memorable meetings of this Conference, emphasis has been laid on the need, in our common efforts within Unesco, to avoid comparisons that might annoy certain States, to make no distinction between rich and poor countries, between strong and weak, and to base our work solely on the common denominator of our unanimous support for the noble aims of the Organization. Therefore, neither the aid nor the presence of the Latin American countries will be missing in the endeavours to assist the new States of Africa.

8.2 In this spirit, which is but a manifestation of international solidarity in education, science and culture, I have great pleasure in informing you of my Government's decision, notwithstanding the efforts it is making in an ambitious eleven-year plan to solve the problems of fundamental education once and for all, to place immediately at the Organization's disposal on the understanding that its contribution may later be increased - three fellowships for studies at the National University or at the Mexican Polytechnic Institute.

9. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon the delegate of Ethiopia, Mr. Neqniq.

10.1 Mr. NEQNIQ (Ethiopia):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Ethiopian delegation may I thank the Director-General, his representative, his assistants and the Secretariat of Unesco for preparing and making possible the adoption of the excellent report on the educational needs of Tropical Africa. My heartfelt appreciation goes also to all those delegations who voluntarily offered aid and assistance for the promotion of education in our continent.

10.2 Mr. President, this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco has achieved its aim of richness, universality and variety. It has appointed an African as its President, it has admitted newly independent nations of Africa with full accord and congratulations, and this morning we have approved the report of the Programme Commission, the greater part of which deals with the programme of education for Tropical African countries. Especially with reference to the programme of education for Tropical Africa, the keen interest and the full sympathy shown by many delegations during the course of the Conference and this morning has demonstrated that, given goodwill and understanding among men and among nations, the most complex problems will have no chance of not being solved. The Ethiopian delegation believes in the principle of Unesco that in order to create peace and a true understanding among men we must eradicate illiteracy and ignorance by extending education to all peoples and by promoting international relations and exchanges in matters of education, science and culture, so that all nations and peoples can share with satisfaction the common achievement of peace and progress.

10.3 It was reported in the Programme Commission that all surveys and meetings organized by Unesco showed that the most urgent and vital need of Tropical African countries was for education at all levels. It is in recognition of this problem that Ethiopia, in her modest way, opens the facilities of her schools and colleges to be shared with scholarship and private

students from other countries, States and territories in Africa. It is in this spirit that my Government offered 225 scholarships to African students during the course of the Accra Conference. We recognize that Africa greatly needs outside aid but she needs also to help herself, because those who help themselves help others. It is in this spirit and in this context, Mr. President, that I was instructed by my Government to announce that five additional scholarships at college level will be awarded through Unesco for students from African countries. Other awards may also be negotiated by Unesco directly with my Government.

10.4 In making this modest offer, Ethiopia gladly plays her part in making available the resources and facilities of her institutions for the general advancement of the aims of this great Organization. We believe also that various regional groups within Africa will implement Unesco's programme with full co-operation and understanding and in pursuit of the noblest aims of Unesco, international goodwill and peace.

10.5 Mr. President, it is with much regret that I recall a completely unfounded and false statement - one which does not merit a proper answer - levelled against my Government during the course of the plenary meeting of 26 November by the delegate of the Republic of Somalia. I am sure that all delegates were as surprised as I was to hear that statement made for purposes of pure political propaganda and on a subject which is outside the competence of Unesco and is excluded from the debate by our rules and regulations. As far as Ethiopia is concerned, relations between Ethiopia and Somalia are normal and sound. I beg the Somali delegation to note the declarations made by the Somali parliamentary delegation after its visit to Addis Ababa in April of this year. We thus consider that the statement to which I refer was unfounded and damaging to the neighbourly relations of Ethiopia and Somalia.

10.6 Unesco, as we all know, is an organization for the promotion of education, science and culture - a simple definition which when convenient is intentionally ignored. To keep within the strict limits of education, science and culture by which this Organization is bound, may I be permitted to mention that in Addis Ababa, Hara and other towns of my country, up to 200 students from the Republic of Somalia are pursuing their studies both in secondary schools and in colleges, thanks to scholarships that are granted to them by my Government. Despite the unconsidered statement made by the delegate of Somalia, those students will continue to share with those of Ethiopia the fruits of knowledge and, faithful to the aim and spirit of Unesco, the fraternal aid of which we know they are in need.

10.7 Ethiopian policy is to live in peace and brotherhood with all nations and to advance on the road of progress and, consequently, to share with all peoples in the common endeavour of human achievement. It is in this spirit, which is the spirit of Unesco, that we support international co-operation and understanding which must prevail over and above all discord.

11. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mrs. Lambert, delegate of Israel.

12.1 Mrs. LAMBERT (Israel) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I do not intend to waste the Conference's precious time by describing what my Government has already done or intends to do in the way of providing assistance to the States of Africa which have recently attained independence. Israel, too, is a young State, and one which has had to struggle a great deal, which has certainly made mistakes, but which has also achieved success in a number of fields. That is why we are able to understand their requirements and difficulties and desire from the bottom of our hearts to give them our fraternal assistance.

12.2 I am not in a position to say, here and now, how many and what sort of fellowships my Government will be able to offer in connexion with Unesco's programme for Africa, but I can assure the delegates here present, and particularly those of the new Member States, that we shall do our best to respond to the appeal which has been made.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon the delegate of Brazil, H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro.

14.1 Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, Brazil, too, would like to make a contribution towards solving Africa's problems. The Yugoslav delegation's excellent idea in launching this solidarity campaign has been crowned with success owing, in particular, to the magnificent gift just made by the Government of the United States of America.

14.2 For all those who have been waiting for years for Unesco's assistance, the day which has seen this sudden extra-budgetary gift of one million dollars, placed at the disposal of the Director-General and the Executive Board in order to carry out specific tasks for the benefit of Africa, has been one of great rejoicing. You all know how Brazil has pressed, for years past, for the creation of supplementary funds to meet urgent needs. No matter under what heading this sum is entered, I should like to tell the Government of the United States of America that we think that, although evil is sometimes contagious, generosity is certainly even more so.

14.3 Our own contribution is a modest one, but is offered in a spirit of friendship. Mr. Director-General, we should like to offer you the help of missions of Brazilian educators - men who are used to the problems arising at this level and who are accustomed to working in close communion with black peoples, were born in their midst and form part of them. In addition to these missions of experts and educators whom our country would like to send at the request of any African State - no matter which - we should be happy to place at your disposal a certain number of fellowships for young African students - ten or so for the present, twice that number in the near future, and as many as possible afterwards.

15. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon the delegate of Sudan, Mr. El Mahdi.

16.1 Mr. EL MAHDI (Sudan):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen I shall try to be extremely brief, but of course I have an obligation. I must thank the Director-General and the Secretariat for the splendid programme they have prepared for Africa. I feel it is also my privilege to extend a very warm word of thanks to all the countries that have come to our help at this crucial moment.

16.2 Mr. President, the Sudan, like a number of other African countries, achieved independence only four years ago. Since then we have been very busy in our country trying to reconstruct in all fields - economic, social and educational. Our University of Khartoum achieved university status only a few years ago and the Technical Institute has developed to the point where it now awards British diplomas and certificates. I feel that time does not permit me to try to acquaint you with our educational system, but I would like to state that the policy of the Sudan Government in so far as co-operation with African States is concerned, and as concerns fellowships and bursaries, was clearly outlined by our Minister of Education in his address from this rostrum two weeks ago. The Minister of Education then said: "In trying to promote the development of education in its various fields, the Sudan has always taken into consideration the regional needs of our African and Arab neighbours. The Sudan has long been co-operating with a number of African countries in the fields of teacher training, secondary and higher education. The Institute of Education in Bakhter Ruda, which has become a world institution, has been giving training to teachers from African and Arab countries, and the doors of our secondary schools and of the University of Khartoum and the Khartoum Technical Institute have also been opened to students from these countries. It is now the established policy of the Government to offer places and scholarships in our educational institutions to students from all countries; the only limiting factor is our lack of financial resources".

16.3 Now that Unesco is discussing a special project for fellowships for African countries, I would like to state that the Republic of the Sudan would have the utmost pleasure in extending these facilities within the programme of Unesco and would be prepared to place all our experience in this field at the disposal of our brothers in Africa who have joined Unesco at this session. That is what our Minister of Education declared from this platform, and I am pleased to mention that on the occasion of the independence of our great neighbour Nigeria, the Government of the Sudan offered the Government of Nigeria 22 scholarships in our various institutions. I am sure it is the policy of the Sudan Government to extend similar facilities to all our brothers in Africa. We in the Sudan are in acute need of fellowships, and we are being helped in this matter by a number of friends. Nevertheless, we uphold the wise Arab tradition, beautifully expressed by the ancient Arab poet: "It is not generosity to give when in plenty. Generosity is sharing what you already have".

16.4 I feel the time is inopportune to make definite numerical offers of fellowships from the Government of the Sudan, as the school session has already started and the new session will not begin until July. But I am sure that before July we shall communicate to Unesco the number of fellowships that we are prepared to offer to our brothers in Africa.

17.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

Thank you, Sir,

17.2 There are still seven speakers on this item, and I would ask them to be as brief as possible. I now call upon Sir David Eccles, Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

18.1 Sir David ECCLES (United Kingdom):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the delegation of Yugoslavia has scored a great success. I was not at all surprised, because if you were to ask any Englishman what he knew about the Yugoslavs, I think the one thing he would say was that they were brave men who fought hard for any cause which was dear to their hearts. The Yugoslavs, and I congratulate them, are fighting hard for this great cause of African education. And I must say that I feel today that Unesco really is a family, a family which like all respectable families rejoices at the season when we give and receive presents. My only regret is that Mr. Thayer did not come up to the rostrum wearing a Father Christmas robe, which would have suited him very well! But we could all, and that is the attraction of this debate, we could all borrow each other's clothes and one after the other appear in the disguise, a very friendly European disguise I am bound to say, of Father Christmas. But no matter where one comes from, members of a family like very much to give to each other what they can, out of their own resources. Therefore, I think we ought to be most grateful to all those who come forward with such generous offers at what is really rather short notice.

18.2 Africa's needs have been very well proved and I feel particularly that we should rejoice that certain countries in Africa have themselves offered facilities for students. Education must become two-way, it must not be "sens unique"; we must both give and receive, for otherwise we shall not be truly following the spirit of the United Nations. The United Kingdom is already deeply involved in the granting of fellowships, studentships, places at teacher-training colleges, technical colleges and so on. If I remember rightly we have 3,000 Nigerian students alone in the United Kingdom today, we have 400 Nigerian teachers in the United Kingdom holding fellowships of one kind or another. I should like therefore to consult with my colleagues to see in what way we could manage to put some part of our programme in the way of Unesco - it may not be very easy to do because we have a special machinery, the Commonwealth Education Unit. I cannot make any promises because this involves two other Ministers besides myself, but I do undertake that we will do something to show our intense gratitude to the Conference as a whole for having highlighted the African programme, to Yugoslavia in particular for having sponsored this resolution.

18.3 And as this is the last occasion when I shall speak, may I thank the Director-General and all those who have helped us through this Conference, and not least our President from Africa. I think he deserves our very great thanks, as do all those who have helped him during our Conference.

19. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I call upon Mrs. Gerónima Pecson, delegate of the Philippines.

20.1 Mrs. PECSON (Philippines):
Mr. President, the Philippines congratulates the Director-General and the Secretariat for the good and speedy work they have done to enable the General Conference to formulate its plans for meeting the educational needs of Africa. In spite of the gargantuan needs of the common fight against ignorance in Asia, my Government gave specific instructions to its delegation here to support all proposals on behalf of the peoples of Africa. Therefore, Mr. President, in adding ours to the overflowing goodwill generated by the action of Unesco towards the peoples of Africa, for which we are so very happy, I pledge my Government's determination and my own to do our full share in the implementation of the programme before us this afternoon.
20.2 I cannot say how many fellowships we can give, I believe it would not be difficult for us to give five. Our Congress will meet in January and will decide what best we can contribute by way of fellowships and other forms of contribution. We intend also to consult with the Director-General, and we are determined, Mr. President, to do our level best for all the peoples of the nations of Africa.

21.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
We hope that the Philippine Parliament, inspired by Mrs. Pecson, will also decide to add its valuable contribution towards aiding the African countries.
21.2 I call upon Mr. Nelson Williams, Head of the delegation of Sierra Leone.

22.1 Mr. WILLIAMS (Sierra Leone):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, I shall be very brief. At certain stages of the debate during this Conference I was worried about what would happen to the increased appropriations for Africa. I made this point when I spoke at the plenary meeting in the debate on the Director-General's Report. I said then that increased and repeated requests from African and Asian States should not be construed to mean that we delight in playing the rôle of Oliver Twist who asks for more, but rather than we want to lay solid foundations for the future so as to improve our economy and our structure of government. As Sir David Eccles, the Head of the delegation of the United Kingdom, pointed out, in educational deficiency lies the greatest inequality amongst the nations of the world. May I also refer to the statement of the Head of the New Zealand delegation, that various countries in Africa and elsewhere already know their needs, and what they require is the wherewithal to find out how to make the best possible use of what they have. So that the real emphasis, Mr. President, has so far been in providing the wherewithal with which we can try to improve conditions in our parts of the world.
22.2 I would also like to commend the great resolution proposed by the distinguished delegation of Yugoslavia, and I hope that the Executive Board and the Conference will find no difficulty in approving this resolution. I am delighted to associate myself with the remarks that have already been made congratulating the Yugoslav delegation and all the other delegations who have subscribed their names to the amended version of the resolution which has been proposed by the Programme Commission and which no doubt will be unanimously approved by this plenary meeting of the General Conference.
22.3 But, Sir, I am in a worse position than Mrs. Gandhi was this morning, when she said that her country belonged to the group of the "have nots". I come from a group which is even worse off than the "have nots", and I regret that I am unable to be as magnanimous as the delegations from India, Tunisia and the delegations of other countries which belong to the "have nots". But I am sure that the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, whom I represent here, and my Government, will not for a moment grudge their contribution towards the great international campaign which has been launched by this Conference at the instance of Yugoslavia. I pledge my Government's full support and contribution to this campaign. I am sure you know, Mr. President, that Chancellors of the Exchequer and Ministers of Finance are very difficult people to deal with, so that I cannot commit my Government here, nor can I commit the Minister of Finance. Nevertheless I can commit my Government to the extent that it will make available, from time to time, facilities and fellowships which will be tenable at the University College of Sierra Leone, the oldest university in Africa. I hope, Sir, that within the not too distant future, my Government will communicate to the Director-General full information concerning the contribution we shall be able to make to this campaign.
22.4 During the earlier stages of this Conference, in the Programme Commission, I was much heartened by the first gesture made by the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany and I then pointed out that we looked forward to more delegations being as magnanimous as that delegation in suggesting that they would provide 1,000,000 marks for the development of African nations. I did say, Sir, that we hoped that by the end of the Conference we would have many more offers from various other countries. Little did I know that so many more offers would be made in this Conference before we went home. And I have been delighted, in sending telegrams home today, to mention that we have seen here so much goodwill and so much magnanimity that my Government, although it is not very affluent, has lost little by allowing me to stay here until the end of the Conference.
22.5 I want to express, Sir, on behalf of my people, how very grateful we are to the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany, who took the first initiative by offering to provide 1,000,000 marks, and to the delegation of Yugoslavia who were courageous enough to present this great resolution which has met with such support, and to all the delegations who subscribed their names to that resolution. I also wish to express my thanks to the delegation of the United States. I was delighted today to hear from Mr. Thayer, who I am sorry has left, that they too were not only moving the increase of the budget by $1,000,000, but that they are prepared to provide an additional $1,000,000 for the development of African territories. Mr. President, may I be permitted to ask the African delegates here to cheer

all the delegations which have been so very generous towards us in this Conference? I want to ask all the Africans to cheer these delegations. I hope you will permit me to do so, because I feel so deeply grateful. May I also thank the delegations of Brazil, of Sudan, of the United Kingdom (they have not committed themselves, but I know them very well - we have dealt with them for so long that I know they do not want to commit themselves - but when they make up their minds, they make up their minds for good).

22.6 Those of us from Africa who have come to this Conference will go home with a gayer spirit, a feeling of goodwill towards men at this time of Christmas. May I take the opportunity of wishing you, Mr. President, and you, Mr. Director-General and all of you a Merry Christmas and a wonderful New Year. I hope, Sir, that when we come to the next Conference in Paris in two years' time, Unesco will have continued to grow in stature and in size. And I hope that, although we have heard various strictures here on the part of dissidents who have strongly criticized some aspects of Unesco's development, we shall see more goodwill and more international understanding in the years that lie ahead.

23. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): We all congratulate the delegate of Sierra Leone, a most capable negotiator for our affection and interest in Africa. I now have great pleasure in calling upon the diligent Chairman of the Reports Committee, Mrs. Kaminska of the delegation of Poland.

24.1 Mrs. KAMINSKA (Poland) (Translation from the French):

It was not originally the Polish delegation's intention to take part in the debate on this subject, which has, in fact, proceeded partly from a resolution submitted by Poland. But we could not resist the desire to say how glad we have been to hear all that has been said today in response to the resolutions concerning the joint contribution of all Member States towards increasing the number of fellowships - perforce few - provided under Unesco's programme, so as to speed up the training of national key personnel in countries undergoing swift development, especially in Africa.

24.2 Here is practical proof that international co-operation is not just an empty phrase. Here is proof that, no matter how modest contributions may be, they may well add up to millions of dollars. The Polish delegation is very glad to have contributed to the launching of this project, for the implementation of the proposed resolution is a matter of extreme urgency. In fact, its implementation has already begun, although it has scarcely been voted.

24.3 So far as Poland is concerned, we are offering 20 fellowships for 1961 and 1962, as we have already done in the past; 10 of these will be for scientific and technical studies. But there is no doubt that the total number of fellowships granted by Poland to foreign students will be further increased in the near future.

25. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon the delegate of Lebanon, Mgr Maroun.

26.1 Mgr MAROUN (Lebanon) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, amidst all these expressions of sympathy and solidarity towards countries which have recently achieved independence, Lebanon has a special word to say, for we are indebted to all the countries of Tropical Africa, which for many years have offered their hospitality to thousands of Lebanese who have lived, worked and amassed fortunes on their territories.

26.2 In order to show our gratitude towards the countries of Tropical Africa, we should like to participate in the programme of additional aid for the development of education in Africa. At the beginning of this year, Lebanon had already received some 50 fellowship-holders from the Congo. On the eve of the present session of the General Conference, the Lebanese Prime Minister visited the Director-General of Unesco and promised that a mission of teachers would be organized and sent to the Congo.

26.3 But Lebanon will do more. Upon our return, we shall inform the Lebanese Government about the programme of additional aid, and I am sure that, both as a proof of our gratitude to the countries of Africa and as an expression of thanks to the Director-General and the General Conference, we shall play our part in this programme.

27. The PRESIDENT (Translated from the Spanish): I call upon the delegate of Morocco, Mr. Elmanjra.

28.1 Mr. ELMANJRA (Morocco) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, first of all I should like, as other speakers have done, to congratulate and thank the Director-General and his staff, who have smoothed the way for the preparation of the African programme in general.

28.2 On behalf of my delegation, I should also like to congratulate the Yugoslav delegation on its initiative, thanks to which we have succeeded in adopting document 11 C/PRG/32 revised, unanimously. We are aware that the Yugoslav effort is not confined to Unesco and that the same country's delegation has launched a similar movement in the United Nations in connexion with a resolution which is even more important for the future of the African continent.

28.3 We have every reason to be satisfied with the great generosity that has been shown today and, although Mr. François, the distinguished Chairman of the Programme Commission, spoke of the contrast between the urgent needs of the world and the sums at our disposal, we are finding that the gap between the two is being gradually reduced as we proceed with our work.

28.4 On behalf of my delegation and the Moroccan Government, I am very happy to announce that my country will place 10 fellowships for African countries at Unesco's disposal. I am also very pleased at the speed with which our Government has replied to this appeal, which was only launched a few hours ago, and I think this speed is due to the intervention of the Rector of our university, who is also the head of our delegation.

28.5 Our offer is a symbolical one; it is only a beginning, and we hope to be able to do more in the future and throw open the gates of our university and other educational institutes in Morocco. The Moroccan Government has already, as part of its programme of bilateral aid, made 30 fellowships

available to Africans. But this is, as I said, only a beginning, and we hope to be able to place an increasing number of fellowships at the disposal of Unesco. I should also like to mention that the Moroccan Government is ready to share the experience it has acquired in building schools cheaply and rapidly with other African States, by letting them have documents, models and plans either direct or through Unesco. Furthermore, and in accordance with the list of requirements drawn up by the Director-General on the basis of correspondence with the States concerned, the Moroccan Government will give favourable consideration to other means of assistance covered by this emergency programme of additional aid for Africa.

28.6 As an African State, we are deeply touched by the generosity which has been shown here; if we have calculated rightly, over 100 fellowships have already been offered, and several delegations present have not yet received instructions from their respective governments. We are sure that in this way we shall succeed in reaching a figure of 300 fellowships and perhaps more. But what interests us most is that we see an important precedent being created, with several countries placing fellowships which they had been accustomed to give as part of a bilateral aid programme at the disposal of a multilateral programme. This is a precedent of capital importance and we are convinced that it will be followed increasingly in the future.

28.7 Merely because I had the honour of acting as Chairman of the Working Party on the development of Unesco's activities in Africa, I would not presume to thank all Member States on behalf of Africa. There is among us here a person far more qualified to do so than I and one who can speak as an African elder. You all know who I mean, and I shall leave it to you, Mr. President, to call upon this delegate to speak.

29. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish): I call upon Mr. Hampate Ba, delegate of Mali.

30.1 Mr. HAMPATE BA (Mali) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and delegates, like all mortal things, the great historic year of 1960 is nearing its end. But it is only doing so after having opened up for future generations an era which could be a most glorious one if we, men from all countries, could recover our human qualities - love of one's neighbour, defence of the rights of the weak, education of the ignorant and liberation of the slave. If, on the other hand, we allow ourselves to be led astray by the dark powers which seek to dominate and enslave their neighbours, the year 1960 which is drawing to a close will herald the opening of the gigantic tomb of mankind. I personally have every reason to believe that the light of understanding between countries and humanitarian assistance between peoples will prevail over national and individual egoism.

30.2 The generous offers just made by older, more advanced and better equipped countries with a view to helping Africa to educate itself, abolish its material poverty, reinforce its natural strength and play its full part in the life of the modern world, are a magnificent sign of the times; they are the first rays preceding the dawn of peace and mutual assistance. These gestures can be considered as the first steps of a rejuvenated humanity, desirous of making up for any political errors that may have been committed and adding to any benefits that may have been given.

30.3 On behalf of Africa, one and indivisible, whether black or white, East or West, in the name of an Africa which ranges from countries where it never rains and where there are neither trees nor grass to countries where it never stops raining and where, in order to build, man is obliged to clear the forest and, in order to march, he must cut a path before him, I thank the generous donors. They are inspired by a spirit of human kindness that does more honour to man than costly wars, which lower the morale of the victors and inflict material damage on the defeated.

30.4 I am sure that Africans, feeling that they are being treated as men rather than as domestic brutes, will thankfully accept any moral and material assistance and will not blush at their status of younger brothers dependent on the advice and assistance of their elders.

30.5 The word "Kuffar" which so enraged colonial peoples when it was applied to one of them, is worthy of an explanation. The word is derived from the Arabic root "kafara", which means "to be ungrateful for something". There are two sorts of ingratitude - ingratitude towards God, for those who believe in God, and ingratitude towards a human benefactor, which applies to everybody. The latter is a far more serious fault than the former, for the simple reason that ingratitude towards God cannot in any way affect the magnanimity of God, whereas, where a man is concerned, it is quite another matter. Ingratitude towards a benefactor may well influence his state of mind and even, sometimes, lead him to regret his act and thus make him spiteful. Ingratitude towards one's neighbour is therefore more serious, because it can divert a man who is well disposed from the path of well-doing and make him spiteful. Africa will not be ungrateful for the assistance it receives. It will receive but it will also try to give.

30.6 It goes without saying that I shall not finish my speech without thanking, on behalf of all Africa, the Director-General, his brilliant and energetic assistants and his devoted and intelligent Secretariat.

30.7 As Vice-Chairman, I congratulate the Working Party on the development of Unesco's activities in Tropical Africa and its Chairman, my young and brilliant friend, Elmanjra, of the Moroccan delegation.

30.8 On the eve of the New Year which is about to begin, it is my earnest wish that all will enjoy peace and happiness.

30.9 What has been done during this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco is proof of the fact that, with a little more goodwill and patience, we can subdue the brute that may be latent in each one of us and extirpate this idea of war and this lust for killing which stalks us and degrades us.

30.10 In conclusion, Mr. President and fellow delegates, I shall quote one of our proverbs: there are only two little words to express the gratitude inspired in us by kindness, no matter how great that kindness may be. These words are "Thank you". I repeat them a thousand times, in the name of Africa, to Unesco and to all those who have helped our country in one manner or another.

30.11 We shall go forward together, hand in hand, with the same ideal of peace and desire for mutual assistance in our hearts, and work to save our day and age, with its immense potentialities from ending in catastrophe. Peace therefore, Peace unto you all.

31.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

The finest Christmas present for all peoples is this desire for peace and this demonstration of universal support for a continent which needs it as much as Africa.

31.2 Before closing the discussion, I call upon the Director-General.

32.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, the moving address which has just been given by the distinguished representative of Mali and the other speeches which have been made during this debate require no comment; they are of capital importance in their own right and mark an important date in this session of the General Conference and also - and this I say without any hesitation - in the very history of Unesco.

32.2 May I, however, be allowed to add my voice to those who have expressed their gratitude, since it is Unesco, which, thanks to a proposal inspired by very noble feelings, is receiving increased resources for meeting, not only the requirements of its ordinary programme, but also the urgent needs - which we had foreseen - of the countries of the African Continent that have recently attained independence.

32.3 Why did I say that this proposal and the idea of the Yugoslav delegation were inspired by very noble sentiments? Why is it necessary to thank all those who have helped to secure the unanimous adoption of this proposal? Because, for the first time, as a result of an important decision unanimously adopted by the General Conference, there was not a mere proclamation of the results of a vote, as often occurs; the resolution actually began to be implemented, and that is why the Director-General must immediately express his profound gratitude. After the adoption of the exceptional measures proposed, thanks to the initiative taken by the Yugoslav delegation, the gifts which have been offered to us by the Yugoslav delegation itself, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and all the other countries which have stated that they are prepared to participate in the fellowships programme, enable us to take action. We already have more than half of the 300 fellowships which were provided for in this programme. That in itself is an absolutely remarkable success. In addition, these gifts and these offers came from all parts of the world; that is another thing on which I cannot place too much emphasis.

32.4 I have pleasure in informing you, Mr. President and delegates, that I am in a position to propose forthwith the implementation of some projects to the Executive Board, since the resources are available and the requirements are known. And as has been requested, I shall, without fail, keep all Member States informed of the possibilities open to them and the requests which are forwarded to us.

32.5 I again express my thanks, not only on behalf of Unesco, but in the name of international co-operation and understanding.

33.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

Thank you, Mr. Director-General, for your very useful remarks. On this optimistic note, we shall now proceed further with our work.

33.2 We shall now begin our consideration of Chapter 1 of Part II - Education. In order that our discussion may be coherent, I shall request delegates who wish to make suggestions to do so in connexion with each particular chapter, so that we do not become involved in too general a discussion.

33.3 Chapter 1 - Education. Are there any comments? Chapter 1 is adopted.

33.4 We shall now continue with Chapter 1A - Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America. Are there any comments? Adopted.

33.5 We will pass on to Chapter 2 - Natural Sciences.

We have one speaker on this chapter, namely H.E. Mr. Calcagno, delegate of Argentina, whom I now call upon.

34.1 Mr. CALCAGNO (Argentina) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, it was with profound regret that I had to interrupt my attendance at this eleventh session of the General Conference from the first meeting of the Credentials Committee. Now that I have recovered from my illness, my first thought was to come here to take part in the final decisions of this great gathering. I feel very closely linked to Unesco and have followed its work with the keenest interest in these last two years. Only my faith and my confidence in the future of our Organization have given me the strength to come here this afternoon to work at your side.

34.2 Since its foundation, Unesco has been, and still is, an outstanding symbol of hope for mankind, which relies on its help to build a better world. This is the thought and the feeling of all the delegates here assembled.

34.3 Unesco must continue on its benificent way and extend the scope of its action, in spite of all obstacles and vicissitudes. We must welcome constructive criticism, take justified criticisms and objections in good part - even if it hurts us - try to correct our faults and, at the same time, strive to enlighten those who do not understand, do not wish to understand or act unjustly.

34.4 The primary purpose of the programme of our Organization is to confer dignity upon mankind. How can this be done? By defending human rights, fighting against poverty and ignorance, reaffirming confidence in the merits of democracy, contributing to the spiritual freedom of oppressed peoples, and offering wider possibilities to every human being. But, in addition, the Organization's programme of action should aim at ensuring that all peoples are included in the ascent of mankind and, hence, in its scientific and cultural progress, which is conducive to the moulding of minds capable of devising, with intelligence and zeal, ways of drawing every nation and every people into the great enterprise which distinguishes this era of prodigious progress. Our

peoples do not wish to be mere spectators in this gigantic campaign, this crusade for the conquest of the globe: this is the aspect of Unesco's Natural Sciences programme on which I should like to touch briefly.

34.5 Mr. President, a great deal has been said at this eleventh session about the Major Projects launched by Unesco to implement the initial stages of its programme of action. Until now, the greatest effort has been devoted to spreading learning and extending the benefits of education to the maximum number of children and adults. In this domain, i.e. in everything related to the development of primary education, my country has reached a level comparable in many respects to that of the most advanced countries.

34.6 That illiteracy has been completely eradicated in Argentina is due to the perseverance of five generations of teachers and statesmen who focused national efforts on the training of teachers and the construction of schools. Among all these, we were fortunate in benefiting by the bold and productive activity of one of the outstanding figures of world education, namely Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, whose 150th anniversary will be celebrated throughout the continent on 15 February 1961. Our brilliant educator fired the enthusiasm of his fellow countrymen and of our brothers in Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay and inspired them to devote themselves to improving the lot of their peoples through education. His work has never been equalled in South America. In 1888, when his mortal remains were borne down the great river Paraná from Asunción in Paraguay to Buenos Aires, five flags covered his coffin. This was the tribute paid by these sister countries to this great benefactor of mankind.

34.7 But progress in primary education is not enough. Moving upwards through the various stages of education, from the kindergarten to institutes for advanced studies, the pupil's personality is gradually developed, so that every stage is of fundamental importance to his future career. But the highest forms of education are those which enable the individual to spread culture around him and give his fellow citizens the benefit of unhoped-for contributions, transforming science into collective happiness.

34.8 The insufficiently equipped countries and, even more, those which are on the way to ranking among the well-equipped nations, cannot hope, by eradicating illiteracy, to convert their people at once into experts of this new atomic age. They cannot hope that a large percentage of their children will learn to read and educate themselves so that they can then receive a higher education proper, which will qualify them to make up the required teams of technicians, scientists and statesmen. It is precisely these scientists, technicians and statesmen who must root out illiteracy in their own countries, and their immediate training is perhaps the most effective way of breaking the vicious circle of cultural backwardness.

34.9 The essential but slow campaign against illiteracy is weakened if the dynamic and progressive influence of institutes of higher education is lacking. This is a point I should like to stress. Unesco is doing an excellent thing in devoting all possible resources to fighting illiteracy; but it should not forget that there is another swifter, less costly and more effective way of pursuing the same end - that is by helping to train educators, scientists and key personnel, who spurred on by national sentiments will give impetus to the development of their respective countries.

34.10 Unesco's action should be twofold: while teaching children to read and write with an eye to the future, it should also endeavour to form, with the least possible delay, a nucleus of leaders in the fields of culture, social science and natural science, who will provide slowly developing countries with the technicians and politicians they need.

34.11 The present painful experience of some countries which have recently become independent leads me to assert that every centre for scientific, technical and political education promoted by Unesco will mean one batallion less of United Nations' forces for the future. The facts have taught us that the shears which cut through cultural backwardness should have two mottoes engraved on their blades: on one side, "teach literacy" and, on the other, "train technical and political leaders".

34.12 I should like to point out the urgent necessity of developing science at the highest levels, because scientific progress starts at the top; it does not go from the bottom upwards but from the top downwards. It is the privileged minds and the great scientific institutions which have given the impetus for scientific and cultural progress. Those nations which have placed major emphasis on the great conquests of science are the most advanced ones. This exceptional hour, in which we are witnessing the dawn of a new historical era, will be a landmark for future generations. For it undoubtedly marks the dividing line between what is falsely described as the contemporary era and the atomic age, which is opening up new and unforeseen horizons.

34.13 Just as people do not stop to think of the mystery enshrined in the television set they use every day or of the enormous amount of effort that it has cost to bring this marvel into being, they do not imagine or even try to think of the tremendous amount of energy, devotion, intelligence, spirit of inquiry, passion for invention and discovery, and genius required to send a sputnik or a "discoverer" into space, to fix its orbit and to control it in such a way that the capsule, falling into a specific part of the ocean, can be recognized by an aeroplane flying in search of it, as if it were a fixed point in the firmament.

34.14 To contribute to the training of minds capable of achieving the exploits and great conquests of this atomic era is also a fundamental task of Unesco and is directly connected with the programme of this Organization dedicated to education, science and culture.

34.15 Today, the philosopher's stone is not something which turns base metals into gold, but the touchstone which, in the mystery of laboratories and experimental centres, enables human minds to make prodigious conquests. For the past 15 years, we have been living in a new historic era and we are the witnesses of the extraordinary evolution of the conception of the world in the minds of men in this period of portentous changes. Who would have suspected, 15 years ago, that it would be no longer a mere dream in the style of Jules Verne, but scientifically possible in the immediate future, i.e. between

1961 and 1972, to launch men into space to conquer new worlds?

34.16 The less favoured nations also wish to share in this stirring daily transformation which mankind is undergoing. Therefore, we claim as a fundamental right of this new world society that all nations should benefit by the most up-to-date developments in education, science and culture. Unesco, as the Organization responsible for promoting and spreading them, should concern itself with all their aspects, from the general to the particular - humanistic and scientific aspects, old problems and new prospects. We do not ask that our nations - and I am speaking specifically of the countries of Latin America, although what I am saying also applies to many other countries at the same stage of development - should be endowed with specialized institutions enabling them to compete with the great powers, or at least catch up with them in some respects. But we want our universities and the scientific institutions which already exist to receive such aid and support as will enable them to improve their equipment and bring their laboratories up to date, to secure the co-operation of leading specialists, to encourage the training of young scientists and to help to create a cultural atmosphere which will enable significant advances to be made. In Latin America, we need large centres for research and for the training of people who will be capable of serving us efficiently and well.

34.17 The delegation of the Argentine Republic requests the Director-General and the heads of the different Departments to interpret this idea of co-operation in the light of Unesco's ideals and, availing themselves of the ample opportunities for action provided by the Organization's programme and budget, to satisfy this noble desire, which appears to be fundamental if the aims of our Organization are to be fully accomplished.

34.18 Mr. President, fellow delegates, the representatives of nearly 100 nations are gathered here. The amount of effort, of self-denial and of sacrifice required for the majority of our countries to achieve their independence is incalculable. The blood flowing today in so many parts of the world was also shed by our ancestors for the same ideals. In all our countries, the recognition of human rights has been a gradual process and would not have been possible at all but for renunciation, generosity and the loss of thousands of lives. The noble task of educating communities, promoting science and disseminating culture, so vital at the beginning of a new era of human progress, is of such dimensions that it requires and deserves the same spirit, the same passion and as much love as that of building a nation and seeing that all its people enjoy human rights.

34.19 We are facing the revival of science as a religion which, like all religions throughout the ages, has always needed its apostles and martyrs. May this be the spirit inspiring the execution of Unesco's programme.

35.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I thank the delegate of Argentina for his brilliant speech and I believe I am interpreting the feeling of the meeting in congratulating him most sincerely on his restoration to health. This has permitted him once again to participate in the work of the Organization after some days of illness which prevented him from attending the first meetings of the Conference.

35.2 I now call upon Mr. Louis François, Chairman of the Programme Commission, who wishes to say a few words.

36. Mr. FRANCOIS (France), Chairman of the Programme Commission, (Translation from the French):

I feel I ought to draw your attention to the fact that, in adopting Chapter 2 of the Report of the Programme Commission - the one dealing with Natural Sciences - you will also be adopting the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, which are to be found in document 11 C/5 Add. and Corr., paragraph 190. By your approval, you will thus confirm the Statutes of this Intergovernmental Commission which has a very great scientific future before it.

37.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

If there are no other speakers, I shall put the Chapter to the vote. Chapter 2 is adopted.

37.2 We now come to Chapter 3 - Social Sciences. Are there any comments? Chapter 3 is adopted.

37.3 We now come to Chapter 4 - Cultural Activities. Mr. Louis François, Chairman of the Programme Commission, wishes to make a few observations, and I now call upon him to do so.

38. Mr. FRANCOIS (France), Chairman of the Programme Commission, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I think I ought to draw the attention of the General Conference to resolutions 4.4131 and 4.4132 which do not appear in the report before you, but are contained in document 11 C/PRG/27, pages 8 and 9. This is the Report of the Working Party on the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia. I therefore think that it would be as well for resolutions 4.4131 and 4.4132 to be read to the Conference and formally adopted. I therefore request the President to ask the Secretary of the General Conference to read out the text of these two resolutions, which are to be found in the Report on the activities of the Working Party concerned.

39. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mr. Montagnier.

40.1 Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French):

Resolution 4.413/1

"The General Conference,

Having considered the information contained in the Director-General's Report on the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, including the appeal for international co-operation in this cause launched by the Director-General, with the authorization of the Executive Board, on 8 March 1960;

Approves the steps taken by the Director-General and the Executive Board to organize the International Campaign; and

Authorizes the Director-General:

(a) to continue, in co-operation with the Governments of the United Arab Republic and the Sudan, the appropriate authorities in Member States and, in particular, national committees set up for this purpose, and the international non-governmental organizations concerned, the international campaign inaugurated on 8 March 1960;
(b) to enlist the collaboration of the International Action Committee set up to assist the Director-General in the development of this campaign;
(c) to set up, in consultation with the International Action Committee, an Executive Committee to advise and comment on the allocation and employment of the moneys collected and on the co-ordination and execution of the work;
(d) to continue to receive offers of participation from governments, public or private institutions and individuals, and to transmit these offers to the Governments of the United Arab Republic or the Sudan, according to the intention specified;
(e) to maintain and administer, in accordance with the decisions of the Executive Board, a trust fund for financial contributions;
(f) to continue to give financial assistance for the work of the Consultative Committee of Experts set up by the Government of the United Arab Republic and the group of experts set up by the Government of the Sudan; and
(g) to maintain, with the funds collected through the international campaign and with the authorization of the Executive Board, the staff and services required to ensure the success of the international campaign."

40.2 Resolution 4.413/2
"The General Conference,
Considering that the building of the Aswan High Dam, an imposing work undertaken by the United Arab Republic to ensure the economic development of the country and to increase the well-being of a hard-working population whose numbers are growing, is also likely to entail the disappearance, in the Province of Egypt and in the Sudan, of a number of monuments and sites which are among the noblest memorials of the history of mankind;
Considering the requests addressed to the Director-General in 1959 by the Governments of the United Arab Republic and of the Sudan, with a view to obtaining, through Unesco, international assistance for the safeguarding of these monuments and sites;
Is satisfied with the efforts made for this purpose as a result of the steps taken by Unesco in collaboration with the Governments of the United Arab Republic and the Sudan;
Recognizing the importance of contributions calculated to develop archaeological excavations and surveys;
Noting with satisfaction that, in response to the Director-General's appeal, institutions in many countries have already provided appreciable assistance for the execution of the scientific work required for this purpose;
Reaffirms the extreme urgency of the action undertaken to ensure that the relics of the past in Nubia, which form an essential part of the cultural heritage of mankind as a whole, survive to be admired and cherished by future generations;
Invites Member States to intensify their efforts to encourage their institutions, both public and private, as well as any individuals likely to be interested, to take an active part in this work of international co-operation; and
Recommends that the Governments of Member States take all appropriate steps to ensure their own participation in this international action, in particular by means of financial contributions towards the execution of the work most necessary for the protection of the threatened monuments, by offers of equipment, material or technical and scientific staff, or by any other means which may prove effective."

41.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I thank the Secretary for reading these resolutions. If there are no observations on them, they will be adopted together with the Chapter as a whole. They are adopted.
41.2 We now come to Chapter 4A - Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. But before considering it, I call upon the Head of the delegation of Brazil, H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro.

42. Mr. de BERREDO CARNEIRO (Brazil) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President and delegates, as Chairman of the Working Party on the Monuments of Nubia, I would merely like to add a word to the Report which we have just adopted - a word to strengthen the unanimity of the Programme Commission when the Report, which had been unanimously adopted by the Working Party, was discussed. When we break up tomorrow each of us must, in his own country or no matter where we find ourselves, keep alive the memory of our agreement to save these monuments and to preserve for future generations this wonderful heritage of the past. We must all equally try to supply the Director-General with all the resources he needs in order that this effort may really ensure the survival of these 6,000 year-old monuments for another 6,000 years.

43.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I thank the Head of the delegation of Brazil for his eloquent remarks and hope that in 6,000 years' time, the work of Unesco in conserving these monuments will be remembered.
43.2 We now come to Chapter 4A - Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. Are there any observations? Adopted.
43.3 Chapter 5 - Mass Communication. Does anyone wish to speak? Adopted.
43.4 Chapter 6 - International Exchange Service. Are there any speakers? Adopted.
43.5 Chapter 7 - Relations with Member States. Before calling upon Mr. Caballero de Bedoya, delegate of Paraguay, I should like to ask the Chairman of the Programme Commission to give us an explanation. I call upon Mr. François.

44. Mr. FRANCOIS (France), Chairman of the Programme Commission), (Translation from the French):
I should like to call delegates' attention to paragraph 7 on page 123 of the French copy (page 113 of

the English copy) of the Report of the Programme Commission, where it is stated that draft resolution 11 C/DR/35 Rev.3, presented by the delegations of the United Arab Republic and Sudan and relating to the use of Arabic at regional conferences and the translation into Arabic of certain Unesco publications, was adopted. This is quite true, but a serious error occurred in the text of this resolution during the printing of the Report. Now, since the resolution is extremely important and makes a considerable difference to the work plan submitted in document 11 C/5, I consider it essential for it to be included in extenso in the Report of our Commission. In the final edition of the Report, therefore, this omission will be repaired.

45. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I thank the Chairman of the Programme Commission for his explanation. I call upon H.E. Mr. Caballero de Bedoya, Head of the delegation of Paraguay.

46.1 Mr. CABALLERO DE BEDOYA (Paraguay) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, fellow delegates, it is a fact that the economic inequalities between the developed and the insufficiently developed countries are continuing to increase notwithstanding the aid given by the economically powerful countries. This is proved in the report recently issued by GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).
46.2 The lesson of these events is that the postulate of automatic equilibrium, which implies the belief that every change must of necessity lead to a readjustment through the reaction of secondary changes in the opposite sense, no longer holds water. In fact, the process is a cumulative one in the same sense of circular causation. Consequently, there is no such tendency to spontaneous and automatic stabilization. Moreover, economists have also pointed out the importance of non-economic factors in development. This leads us to think that the failure or setback of aid plans that have been applied - until now at any rate - is due to excessive faith in automatic growth, starting from the injection of foreign capital and, at the same time, to the ignorance or omission of the non-economic factors involved in the process. As a consequence of the cumulative process, an insufficiently developed country, as Myrdal points out, tends to remain at a level below that required to satisfy elementary human needs. It cannot break out of the vicious circle.
46.3 Underdevelopment is a world-wide and organic phenomenon with reference, not only to an economic situation, but also to a human society. The importance of social and psychological factors follows. For example, it has been observed that, in the underdeveloped countries, the search for profit is not always decisive in motivating individual behaviour, contrary to what is the case in advanced forms of society. When these extra-economic factors are not taken into account, they hinder or slow down the development process. It is precisely in the sphere of these non-economic activities that Unesco's intervention could be effective.
46.4 Teaching is the art of changing society, as Ortega y Gasset said, and in fact education is a technique for the transformation, formation and reformation of man. In order to change underdeveloped men, alter their mentality, combat their dislike of novelty, create new needs or create what has been described as a "new deal" of the emotions and transfer to the countries undergoing development the fruits of the technological knowledge of the advanced countries, in all these tasks the intensification of education seems to be the true solution and thus recourse to our Organization is inevitable. For it is in a position to be able to appreciate the real and immediate needs of the so-called proletarian countries and to be able to form a tentative opinion on the future.
46.5 Fellow delegates, these economic facts and these brief, related observations may perhaps not be untimely with regard to the pressing need for co-operation between Unesco and the international or regional bodies specially set up to help the countries of the uncommitted bloc.

47.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I thank the honourable delegate for his treatment of an interesting question of social and economic philosophy, but I do not believe that we can discuss such a subject at this level. It will suffice to include it in the records of the Conference and perhaps the Economic and Social Council may consider it at a later stage.
47.2 We now come to Chapter 7 - Relations with Member States. Are there any observations on this Chapter? It is adopted.
47.3 We now come to consider the balancing of Part II of the budget, on page 129 of document 11 C/36 Add. It would appear that, at the moment, the Conference can only take note of this Chapter. I believe that this is correct, Mr. Secretary.

ADOPTION OF THE CONVENTION AND RECOMMENDATION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

47.4 We now come to item 17.1.4 of the agenda - the Adoption of the Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education. Some governments which are in agreement with this resolution wish to make certain remarks. I call upon Mr. Díaz González of the delegation of Venezuela.

48.1 Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela) (Translation from the Spanish):
Mr. President, the delegation of Venezuela respectfully submits that, when this draft is put to the vote, a separate vote should be taken on Article 8, to determine whether to include or exclude the words in the third line of that article, reading "de una" in Spanish, "de l'une" in French, and "of any one" in English.
48.2 The delegation of Venezuela has a very weighty reason for submitting this request for the consideration of the plenary meeting, since the ability of over 40 States to subscribe to the Convention will depend upon the way in which this article is worded.

49. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I call upon Dr. Mac Lean y Estenós, Head of the delegation of Peru.

50.1 Mr. MAC LEAN y ESTENOS (Peru) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, this gathering is unanimous in its sentiment of condemning every act of discrimination in education. Fortunately, this problem does not exist in Peru, where there is no discrimination, either in education or in any other civic activity. Notwithstanding the unanimity with which this gathering will certainly receive the draft, there are some States which have certain objections, not to the substance of the draft because, as I have said, opinion is unanimous on this point, but to some of the wording and its implications.

50.2 Some delegations expressed these reserves when the point was discussed in the Programme Commission; I recall, among others, those of Austria, Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina and Nicaragua. Peru agrees with what has just been said by the delegate of Venezuela. I remember that this same attitude was expressed in the Programme Commission by the Soviet Union with reference to Article 8 and that the motion was lost by a narrow majority.

50.3 Peru objects to Article 9, which states that "Reservations to this Convention shall not be permitted". Mr. President, I do not feel authorized here to deprive my Government, the Government of Peru, of the exercise of its legitimate right to formulate such reservations as it may deem appropriate when it has studied this Convention and the effects of ratifying it. Therefore, although it agrees fully with the substance and identifies itself absolutely with all those who condemn any discriminatory trend, for the reasons I have just given Peru will abstain from voting on this Convention.

51. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I thank the delegate of Peru for his remarks and now call upon H.E. Mr. Ammoun, Head of the delegation of Lebanon.

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

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to call the attention of the General Conference simply to a point of procedure.

52.2 Two speakers have just asked us to proceed to a separate vote on Article 8, up to but not including the words "at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute". I should like to know if we are subsequently going to replace these words "at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute" by another formula such as "at the request of both parties", or if we are going to delete them altogether. Would you, therefore, Mr. President, be so kind as to appeal for guidance to the Legal Adviser, who has already been of such help to us, so that he can explain what the legal situation would be if those words were deleted?

53. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I have much pleasure in calling upon the Legal Adviser.

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

Mr. President, according to the wording of Article 8 of the Draft Convention, as at present drawn up, any dispute between two or more States can be brought before the International Court of Justice at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute. The other party is then legally obliged to appear before the International Court of Justice. If I understand aright the proposal that has been made to delete the words "of any one", this would leave a text which would read as follows: "at the request of the parties to the dispute", which would imply that the consent of both parties to the dispute would be required for the matter to be brought before the Court. That at least is how I interpret the intention of delegates who have proposed that the different parts of this article should be voted on separately.

55. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mr. François, Chairman of the Programme Commission.

56. Mr. FRANCOIS (France), Chairman of the Programme Commission, (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, in connexion with Article 8, I should like to inform delegates that the Programme Commission, after having approved the Draft Convention itself, adopted a draft resolution concerning Article 8, which is to be found in document 11 C/36 Annex I, pages 7 and 8. I think it is very important to consider this draft resolution at a time when we are going to decide whether to adopt, reject or amend the text of the said Article.

57. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mr. Díaz González, delegate of Venezuela.

58.1 Mr. DIAZ GONZALEZ (Venezuela) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, I apologize for speaking once again, but I should like to make the meaning of the Venezuelan proposal perfectly clear. The Legal Adviser was right; what we want particularly is to avoid compulsory arbitration.

58.2 Many governments - and among them my own - recognize the competence of the International Court of Justice and, like many governments, we agreed to its Statutes, but we did not sign the optional Protocol which binds governments to appear before the Court at the request of only one of the parties. If this article is adopted as it stands, governments will be bound to appear before the Court at the request of only one of the parties. States like mine cannot participate in this Convention, because, even if the Venezuelan delegates here were to sign it, the National Congress, our Parliament, would not ratify it because the Venezuelan Constitution and legislation would not allow it. That is why we are asking for a separate vote to be taken on the two words in the Spanish text "de una" (English "of any one") so that the text would read "at the request of the parties to the dispute", and not refer to the request of any one of them.

58.3 If Article 8 is approved as it stands, it will prevent more than 40 States which, as the delegate of Peru has pointed out, agree with the substance of

the Convention and the principles on which it is based, from participating therein, a fact which would already be a form of discrimination against such States.

58.4 We therefore ask that a separate vote be taken on these two words. With regard to the adoption in the Programme Commission of an additional protocol, this would not solve the question, since in any event the article as it stands would remain.

59. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon Mr. René Cassin, delegate of France.

60.1 Mr. CASSIN (France) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, I think the Conference ought to know the exact implications of the vote it is going to take. The members of the Working Party who drew up the Draft Convention thought it their duty to propose that the International Court of Justice at The Hague should be competent in cases of disputes between States, one of which complained of an act of discrimination violating the Convention.

60.2 At the beginning of the present session of the Conference, the French delegation and others realized that to go direct to the International Court of Justice in the case of disputes which might very well be of a minor nature would involve States in somewhat heavy expenditure. For this reason our delegation, understanding the reluctance shown - which to some extent was legitimate - suggested that the competence of The Hague Court, although compulsory at the summit, should remain subsidiary, with the result that the States concerned, instead of going before the Court of Justice, could quite well solve their disputes by applying to a conciliation committee, which we thought that Unesco, like all the other major international organizations, ought to have at its disposal. It is evident that the Programme Commission, by adopting the amendment to Article 8 which we introduced with the terms "failing other means of settling the dispute", and by voting for the draft resolution which you will find immediately after the Convention, made considerable progress, having to a large extent diminished the risk of States being obliged to go to The Hague Court.

60.3 But some of our colleagues thought, as they had every right to do, that the amendment had not gone far enough, and they wanted the legal solution to be agreed upon only in the event of both parties to the dispute agreeing to submit it to the International Court of Justice. They do not want to accept the Court's competence beforehand, in cases where the dispute cannot be settled by arbitration either before a body chosen by the two States or by this Committee which might be set up by Unesco during the next session of the Conference.

60.4 Here then is the question: either you adopt the text which the Programme Commission adopted unanimously, in which case States could use any means of conciliation available and only apply to the Court of The Hague if the dispute were really a serious one; but in such cases the competence of the Court would be compulsory.

60.5 Or else you adopt the amendment proposed by the delegate of Venezuela, in which case, even if a friendly settlement cannot be reached, there is the danger that a State might refuse to appear before The Hague Court; you will then run the risk of being faced with a dispute which cannot be settled by peaceful means and might well assume very serious proportions, although in fact we are dealing here with a technical convention which could be the subject of a judgement given by any Court.

60.6 I should like to inform delegates that, even if they assembled a majority in favour of modifying the Commission's text, the solution proposed by France in the draft resolution for setting up a conciliation and good offices committee would be even more necessary. And in that event, we should ask for the text of our draft resolution, which was adopted in anticipation of your future vote, to be amended. But it is my hope that you will vote for the text which the Working Party adopted unanimously and which was also adopted by the Programme Commission after very serious discussion.

61. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon H.E. Mr. P.J. Quintanilla, delegate of Nicaragua.

62.1 Mr. QUINTANILLA (Nicaragua) (Translation from the Spanish):

Mr. President, notwithstanding the knowledge and wisdom of the delegate of France in this matter, there can be no doubt that we are dealing here with a legal question and that this would be impossible for the representatives of those countries which have not ratified or signed the Protocol of the International Court of Justice, making submission to its jurisdiction compulsory. For these representatives, I repeat, it is absolutely out of the question to approve the text in its present form.

62.2 Nicaragua has the same reservations with regard to the words mentioned by the delegate of Venezuela in the text of Article 8, because we are in exactly the same position.

62.3 The most recent case of boundaries treated in international public law is without any doubt the historic boundary dispute between Nicaragua and Honduras, recently settled by the International Court at The Hague, a case which, as you all know, was lost by Nicaragua. Nicaragua and Honduras had striven for many years to submit this question to The Hague Court. Sometimes Honduras and sometimes Nicaragua could not agree on going before the Court, but finally, they signed the Washington Protocol which opened the doors for the dispute to be considered at The Hague. After two long years of consideration, the International Court decided that law was on the side of Honduras and, at that time, Nicaragua, through its good offices, hastened to implement the award of King Alfonso XIII. This was done by virtue of a protocol which permitted it, in accordance with its Constitution, to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court.

62.4 We should like to be in a position to vote for this project - which we consider a splendid one - and we very much regret that we shall have to abstain merely for the sake of two words which do not in substance alter the importance of the resolutions before us, especially if, as my distinguished French colleague has so rightly said, provision is made for Unesco to set up a Conciliation Committee where

the parties to a dispute might be able to reach agreement in the event of any possible controversy over the application of this instrument.

62.5 Mr. President, I urge this gathering to allow these 40 countries to vote - for it is not that they do not wish to, but that they cannot legally approve the text as it now stands. It seems to me a pity that because of the question of compulsory submission to the Court's jurisdiction - something that has already been discussed and considered by these 40 States which have not yet been able to find a solution - we are going to make the mistake of keeping the text in its present form, with the resulting abstention of 40 countries. It seems to me that it would be better for the text to be adopted unanimously, through the deletion of the two words "any one" which, in the case of Nicaragua, are the only obstacle to our voting in favour.

63.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

There are still two speakers on my list, the delegate of the Soviet Union and the delegate of Lebanon. We shall then proceed to a vote.

63.2 I call upon the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Evgueniev.

64.1 Mr. EVGUENIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Soviet Union delegation expressed itself, both in the Working Party and in the Programme Commission, against the inclusion in the Convention of Articles 8, 9 and 12 in the form in which they appear.

64.2 So far as I understood the speech of the delegate of Venezuela, he proposed no amendments but merely requested the President that the words "of any one" in Article 8 of the Convention be put to a separate vote in accordance with Rule 85 of the Rules of Procedure. And indeed our esteemed President is apparently putting these words in Article 8 to a separate vote: in other words, a vote is first being taken on the adoption of Article 8 including these words, "of any one" and then a second vote on the adoption of Article 8 without them.

64.3 Reaffirming our negative attitude towards Articles 8, 9 and 12, we have already declared, and do so now, that these articles limit the sovereign rights of States. They limit the possibility of States acceding to the Convention, and if these articles remain, and particularly Article 8 in the form it now has in the Convention, then the States participating in the Convention will be few in number, whereas Unesco should strive to ensure that the Conventions adopted by it are universal in character and are signed by the maximum number of States.

65. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon H.E. Mr. Ammoun, Head of the Lebanese delegation.

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

Mr. President, I apologize for speaking a second time in this debate but, as I was the Rapporteur of the Working Party on the Draft Convention and Recommendation concerning Discrimination in Education, I think that I should make a sort of public self-criticism and searching of my conscience, so as to allow the General Conference to determine exactly the scope and consequences of Article 8.

66.2 I myself had advocated that there should be some sort of legal coercion; the first group of legal experts, followed by the Working Party of the Programme Commission, had adopted this Article 8 which provided that one of the parties could arraign the other before the International Court of The Hague. It was not necessary for the two parties to agree.

66.3 Today, however, this article causes me a certain uneasiness, because I do not see very clearly how it could be applied. In addition to all the misgivings and fears which have been most eloquently expressed here and to which I shall not refer again, I should like to know how, once all signatory States have adhered to the Convention, one State could arraign another and why. Will it do so simply because one of its nationals has been the object of discrimination on the territory of another State? This is serious enough for, if we accept this point of view, the whole minority problem could be raised in an extremely dangerous way. Will one State arraign another solely because it has been guilty of discrimination? Could one State, for example, arraign another State by saying: "In your country, there is discrimination against women: I shall therefore arraign you before the Court of The Hague"? This would be quite possible if Article 8 remains as it is. And all this seems to me to be fraught with danger.

66.4 As I myself am playing both Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, in my dual rôle as delegate of a Member State and Rapporteur, I am trying to cut myself in half in order to realize the difficulties in which all this may well involve us.

66.5 At the ILO there is a far more flexible procedure: disputes are settled before a special tribunal, set up within the ILO. From this point of view, I cannot say how much I regret that the excellent French proposal cannot be implemented immediately - which would have solved the problem once and for all.

66.6 But, in your wisdom, you may decide that this Article 8 can be amended, as has been requested by several delegations. If so, I shall do my best, after having heard President Cassin's excellent statement, to persuade you finally to adopt the French delegation's draft resolution, so that we can be certain that, by the next session of the General Conference, a legal body will have been set up within Unesco itself in order to settle this sort of dispute.

67.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

Before voting, and although this is not the function of the President, I should like to point out to the meeting that it would be highly regrettable for a draft resolution with which so many democratic States are in agreement to be wrecked on purely formal grounds which at the same time run counter to the legislation of these States, as the delegate of Lebanon has so clearly pointed out. I incline to the opinion that, should this amendment be accepted, we shall have made a first important step towards really establishing a doctrine against discrimination in education.

67.2 As far as I can see, the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has proposed the complete

amendment of Articles 8, 9, 11 and 12. As this proposal is furthest removed from the original, I think we should vote on it first.
67.3 I call upon the delegate of France, Mr. Cassin.

68.1 Mr. CASSIN (France) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I believe that, so far as procedure is concerned, our Director-General, as represented by the Legal Adviser, is right. We should vote on Articles 1-7 inclusive; then we should vote on Article 8, on Article 9 and on Article 12, which certain delegations wish to amend or delete. It is normal that each delegation should have its proposal put to the vote.
68.2 But since we have not yet proceeded to the vote, please allow me to tell delegates that the real problem with which they are faced is whether, when States sign a Convention they intend it to be binding or not; if they intend it and their undertakings to be binding, they sign the Convention; if they do not really want to be bound there is an option, in the draft submitted to you, in favour of the Recommendation. That being so, States know what they are undertaking. I make no secret of the fact that it would be very risky for the future of international co-operation to sign a Convention allowing for the possibility of its not being regarded as binding. Any Convention which is not binding is far more dangerous for peace than a real recommendation which is honestly stated to be a "recommendation".

69.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
We shall vote on the draft in sections, beginning with Articles 1-7 inclusive.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
69.2 Articles 1-7 are adopted by 59 votes in favour, none against and 3 abstentions.
69.3 We shall now vote on Article 8, in three distinct sections, firstly from the beginning: "Any dispute which may arise between any two or more States..." down to the words: "...a petición" in Spanish, "à la requête" in French, and "at the request" in English.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
69.4 This part is adopted by 59 votes in favour, none against and 3 abstentions.
69.5 We shall now vote on the amendment to delete the words "any one". I think that in this case a roll-call vote would be better.
69.6 I call upon Mr. Lavrichenko, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

70. Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, you have begun the vote and have already concluded the first half. You have put to the vote the question of who is in favour of retaining the words "any one" in the second part of Article 8. As the question is already being voted on, we ask you to continue the voting, that is, to vote on the question of who is against and who abstains.

71.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
We shall now vote on the proposal to delete the words "any one".
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
71.2 The proposal to delete the word "any one" is adopted by 24 votes to 20, with 1 abstention.
71.3 We shall now vote on the remainder of Article 8.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
71.4 This part of Article 8 is adopted by 54 votes in favour, none against and 3 abstentions.
71.5 We shall now vote on the whole of Article 8 as amended. I shall ask the Secretary to read it, so that there may be no doubt in your minds.

72. Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, here is the text of Article 8 amended: "Any dispute which may arise between any two or more States Parties to this Convention concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention, which is not settled by negotiation, shall, at the request of the parties to the dispute, be referred, failing other means of settling the dispute, to the International Court of Justice for decision".

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

73.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
Article 8 as amended is adopted by 59 votes in favour, with 2 abstentions.
73.2 We now have to vote on Articles 9-19. I shall ask for a separate vote on Article 9, to which we shall proceed immediately.
73.3 I call on Mr. Evgueniev, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

74.1 Mr. EVGUENIEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President, we have also asked for a separate vote on Article 9 and Article 12 of the old draft, which now appears as Article 13.
74.2 In other words, we are asking for a separate vote on Articles 9 and 13.

75.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
We shall now proceed to vote on Article 9.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
75.2 Article 9 as it appears in the document is adopted by 41 votes to 9, with 8 abstentions.
75.3 We can now proceed to vote on Articles 10, 11 and 12, as there are some objections to Article 13.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
75.4 Articles 10, 11 and 12 are adopted by 61 votes in favour, none against and 1 abstention.
75.5 We shall now vote on Article 13.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
75.6 Article 13 is adopted by 49 votes to 7, with 1 abstention.
75.7 We shall now vote on Articles 14-19 (to the end of the document).
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
75.8 The Draft Convention against Discrimination in Education is adopted by 62 votes in favour, none against and 2 abstentions.
75.9 We shall now vote on the whole of the Convention against Discrimination in Education.

(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
75.10 It is adopted by 60 votes in favour, none against and 2 abstentions.
75.11 I call upon Mr. Philippovich, delegate of Austria.

76. Mr. PHILIPPOVICH (Austria) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, I should like to explain the Austrian delegation's vote. Austria abstained from voting on the Draft Convention in the Working Party of the Programme Commission. In spite of the reservations which it expressed to the Programme Commission, the Austrian delegation is glad to have been able, on the instructions of its Government, to vote for the Convention and the Recommendation as a whole, thus giving proof of the spirit of close international co-operation by which Austria is inspired.

77.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
We shall now take a separate vote on the draft resolution concerning Article 8 of the Draft Convention (document 11 C/36 - Annex I, pages 7 and 8) with the amendment to Article 8 already adopted.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands.)
77.2 It is adopted by 54 votes in favour, none against and 3 abstentions.
77.3 We shall now consider the Draft Recommendation against Discrimination in Education (document 11 C/36, Annex I, pages 8-12).
77.4 Any observations? Adopted.

ADOPTION OF THE RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF RENDERING MUSEUMS ACCESSIBLE TO EVERYONE

77.5 We now come to item 17.4.1 of the agenda - Adoption of the Recommendation concerning the most effective means of rendering museums accessible to everyone (document 11 C/36, Annex II).
77.6 Are there any observations? Adopted.

ADOPTION OF THE THIRD REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION, PART E - APPROPRIATION RESOLUTION

77.7 We shall now consider the Third Report of the Administrative Commission: Part E - Draft Appropriation Resolution and Draft Appropriation Table for the financial period 1961-1962. I call on the Rapporteur, Mr. Dovey.

78.1 Mr. DOVEY (United Kingdom), Rapporteur of the Administrative Commission:
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, this is the last of the documents which I have the honour to present on behalf of the Administrative Commission for consideration by the General Conference. The Conference will recall that when the third report of the Commission was presented, I indicated that Part E dealing with the Appropriation Resolution would be presented later. It is now before you as document 11 C/48 Addendum 1. The Conference will appreciate that it is appropriate, and indeed essential, that this resolution should not be presented until the Conference has considered the Report of the Programme Commission.
78.2 As the document before you indicates, the Administrative Commission considered the Appropriation Resolution in two stages, in the first of which it discussed and made some amendments to the wording of the resolution, and in the second of which it considered the whole of the resolution, including the appropriation table, with figures added. The record of the second stage of the discussions is shown in paragraphs 505 to 510 of the document before you, and in this connexion, I must report that a part of the text in paragraph 508 has been omitted. The missing words come after the word "abstentions" in the third line of paragraph 508 in the English text. At this point the following addition should be made: "Part V and by 20 votes in favour, 10 against and 11 abstentions". I will read for the benefit of the Conference the full text of the paragraph with the missing words added. "Before agreeing to the figures in paragraph (a) of Section 1 of the Appropriation Resolution, the Commission first considered and approved by 24 votes in favour, 6 against and 9 abstentions Part V, and by 20 votes in favour, 10 against and 11 abstentions the figures for Parts I to IV, as modified by the proposal of the French delegate to distribute pro rata to these four parts the reduction of $298,320". I apologize for this omission in the text before you.
78.3 The words in question are of some importance, since without them the paragraph does not indicate that a number of delegations requested a separate vote on Part V in order that they might emphasize their attitude to the question of a fourth Headquarters building.
78.4 I must also report a minor error, which occurs in the English text only, in the table of figures in paragraph (a) of the resolution, in the line opposite "Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands". In the first column of figures, the figure should read 679,179 and not 697,179.
78.5 Apart from the points which I have just made, the Conference will wish to note the decision of the Commission on the question of spreading over the budget the reduction required in order to bring the total for Parts I to IV down to the limit of the provisional budget ceiling adopted by the Conference at an earlier stage. The full text of the resolution adopted by the Commission runs from page 3 to the end of the document before you. I have the honour on behalf of the Commission to recommend its adoption by the General Conference.

79.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
The Third Report, Part E, of the Administrative Commission is adopted.
79.2 It is already fairly late and I do not think that we have either the time or the energy to continue with our consideration of the agenda. We shall have to leave some work for the meeting tomorrow morning. However, I have some requests to speak, for example, from the delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I therefore call upon Mr. Lavrichenko.

80. Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and fellow delegates, we voted in favour of this document but feel it necessary to state

here, as in the Commission, that the Soviet Union, as in the past, is not paying and will not pay for the followers of Chiang Kai-shek, who represent no one. Secondly, we are opposed to the construction of a fourth new building for Unesco, as we think that the Secretariat machine is too big and that the aim should be to reduce rather than expand the administrative apparatus. We are naturally opposed therefore, to Part V of the proposed programme and budget which relates to expenditure for the building.

81.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I thank the delegate of the Soviet Union. It seems clear to me that the meeting has already adopted the resolutions contained in the four parts of this document, i.e. the Regular programme, the Technical Assistance programme, the Special Fund and the Special Account for the Unesco programme, and other funds.

81.2 I call upon the delegate of the Ivory Coast, Mr. Assoi.

82.1 Mr. ASSOI (Ivory Coast) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President and fellow delegates, the Republic of the Ivory Coast, which has been a member of Unesco since October 1960, is happy to begin its career within this extremely humanitarian Organization.

82.2 It is a good sign that, ever since it achieved independence, the Ivory Coast has been able to take part in the work of this Organization in an atmosphere of calm and sweet reasonableness.

82.3 The problems which disturbed the Ivory Coast have been happily solved, since we are here with full rights as a sovereign and independent country. And it must be recognized that this atmosphere is due to the far-sighted attitude of France, who, so far as we are concerned, has shown a wisdom worthy of her history.

82.4 My Government has done me the great honour of allowing me to write a page of our national history with you, for over and above all political quarrels and economic and financial interests which upset the world and threaten to destroy it - and our whole civilization with it - Unesco's activities are carried on in anatmosphere of peace, mutual recognition, understanding and political appeasement which we must not lose sight of.

82.5 We are the vigilant guardians of world culture, of human values which ought to be imperishable and without which the world would be nothing more than an inextricable chaos. We know that there must be considerable financial contributions from the whole world in order to succeed in making up for the backwardness which has been forced upon us over the centuries by a number of insidious factors and conditions.

82.6 We know that we need the help of our brothers in other more favoured States. But you can be sure that the Ivory Coast will give the fullest possible help to Unesco's activities, for the rôle of States like ours in process of development should not be confined to the passive rôle of perpetual begging. We want to place all our human and cultural resources at the service of Unesco and our brothers throughout the world. This is the spirit in which the activities of the Ivory Coast will be conducted, for we are fully resolved to make our contribution, modest perhaps, but full of faith, to Unesco.

82.7 No description of the immensity of our requirements can be exaggerated, for they are so many and complex that we are obliged to draw up an order of priority. We cannot repeat too often that, so far as we are concerned in the Ivory Coast, education in all its forms is our first concern. Here, it is obvious that our main problem is how to recruit enough teachers. May I take this opportunity of paying tribute to France as represented by our eminent colleague, Mr. Hessel, who always meets our constant requests with so much efficiency and calmness. But no matter how considerable such bilateral aid may be, it should be supplemented in accordance with Unesco's ideals, by multilateral assistance. And we know that we can count on your understanding, my dear colleagues, for it has been enough to attend meetings of the Programme Commission to have a very clear idea of the scale of world generosity and the interest which you take in us.

82.8 We know that your words were too sincere to remain without result: the proof of this is the substantial material assistance that you are giving and the many fellowships which you have just offered. For all of that, many thanks, Mr. Director-General and my dear colleagues.

82.9 This session has been one of apprenticeship and observation for us. I can assure you that we have learnt a great deal and that from now onwards we shall be able to collaborate very effectively with Unesco, particularly owing to our permanent presence at Headquarters and through our own National Commission which will shortly be set up. Such participation has already taken concrete form. At this very moment, a group of experts, convened by the Organization is meeting in our capital of Abidjan and discussing the problem of the teaching of natural sciences.

82.10 I shall conclude, Mr. President, by offering Unesco a double wedding present; we bring it, firstly all the problems raised by our presence here, which can but make its activities more sublime and, secondly, the immensity of the horizons revealed through the window which our recent admission has thrown open onto a little known world. It is our dearest wish that all our friends from Member States may come and visit us as often as possible, so as to get to know us better.

83. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):

I call upon the delegate of Somalia, Mr. Syad.

84.1 Mr. SYAD (Somalia):

Mr. President, fellow delegates, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Somalia, we thank the Director-General and the Secretariat for having facilitated our task during these 31 cold days in Paris. We also thank the Member States who, at this eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco, have done so much for our continent. We wish especially to thank the delegation of Yugoslavia for the generosity of its thought for Africa and all those who replied so spontaneously to the appeal for Africa and the African peoples who are thirsting for education.

84.2 It makes us uneasy, however, to hear the Ethiopian delegate speak of granting fellowships to Somalia. If these fellowships exist, the students come from Ethiopian-controlled Somaliland, and the statement of the Ethiopian delegation is motivated by the desire to confuse and to make propaganda. We sincerely hope that the fellowships granted to African students will not bear the stigma of propaganda. How can such a small country as Abyssinia, Ethiopia since 1945, suffering from a feudal régime and asking for fellowships, grant such fellowships if not for propaganda? Charity begins at home.

84.3 The statement made by our Minister on 26 November was an objective one and was intended to emphasize our people's thought and will. The Somali personality and culture cannot be denied, and it is not the Lion of Judah, with the help of those who want our people to be divided, who will keep our people separated. No one can deny the culture of any people which is based on one language, one religion and one race. It was in reference to the situation of the last world war, when all the Somali territories were under British administration, that Lord Cecil Rhodes said: "and so the only large part of Africa which is . radically homogeneous has again been split".

84.4 To conclude, Mr. President, I would ask anyone interested in knowing our situation better to refer to the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, page 964, which states that: "The inland boundaries give a total area of about 425,000 square miles, of which 120,000 are in Ethiopian-controlled Somaliland". This international gathering is not an arena for politics, nevertheless I am appealing to you my fellow delegates, in the name of 2,000,000 people who are denied their culture, who are denied their will to be united with their brothers. We ask you, in the name of culture itself, for the self-determination of those people, our brothers.

85. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
I thank the delegate. I should like to point out to him, however, that items which are not included in the agenda should not be raised here; we should all like to see a strong spirit of co-operation and fraternity among the peoples of Africa who are awakening to a new phase of their history with so much enthusiasm. I call upon the delegate of Ethiopia, Mr. Neqniq.

86.1 Mr. NEQNIQ (Ethiopia):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I shall be brief. I regret that I have asked to speak twice and I regret also that, at the time when a greater number of African countries have joined this great Organization, there is discord among Africans. I thought that this was a day of goodwill, a time of generosity, but at the end discord has arisen. In my earlier speech I merely mentioned that I regretted the fact that such a statement as the one to which I referred had been made by the honourable delegate of Somalia. I think there are two points which must be explained: one is a question of boundary and the other is a question of banditry in the Horn of Africa. Is Unesco a place to discuss this question? It is not.

86.2 In regard to the fellowships that have been mentioned, I myself, as the Director-General of Education, every day received students from the Republic of Somalia; I know them by name, I know their numbers, I know where they are studying - this is not a false propaganda. If any of the fellowships that we offer to any of the African countries are not acceptable to them, then Somalia might withdraw her students, but I do not think that such action would coincide with the spirit even of the Government of Somalia.

86.3 In conclusion, Mr. President, may I borrow the wise words of the honourable delegate of Mali? "What we need in Africa is unity and solidarity and not discord and animosity".

87. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
Before closing the meeting, I call upon the Director-General.

88. The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):
I merely wanted to suggest that the Conference should meet tomorrow morning at 10 a.m. instead of 10.30 a.m., and that the meeting should start on time. I believe that this will be the best way of ensuring that our work can be completed, as planned, at a single meeting tomorrow morning.

89. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the Spanish):
The meeting is closed.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.

THIRTY-FIRST PLENARY MEETING

15 December 1960, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Akale-Work ABTE-WOLD (Ethiopia)

CONTENTS

Adoption of the Report of the Working Party of the General Conference on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget 484
Election of the members of the Headquarters Committee, of the Legal Committee and of the Reports Committee. . 488
Adoption of the Addendum to the Report of the Programme Commission 489
Tribute to Mr. Jean Thomas, Assistant Director-General 491
Close of the eleventh session of the General Conference . . 493

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT OF THE WORKING PARTY OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE ON METHODS OF PREPARING THE PROGRAMME AND BUDGET

1.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, the last meeting of this session is open. I hope that speakers will be brief, so that we can finish by the end of the morning.

1.2 The first item on the agenda is the Report of the Working Party of the General Conference on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget.

1.3 I call upon the Chairman of the Working Party, Professor Eek.

2.1 Mr. EEK (Sweden), Chairman of the Working Party:

Mr. President, I have the honour to present to you and to the General Conference the Report of the Working Party of the General Conference on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget. The report is contained in document 11 C/47, which is divided into two parts. The first part, the nine pages in the English text, includes not a full, but I believe a fair account of the very useful, interesting and searching discussions which were held in the working group during its five sessions. The second part contains the three draft resolutions that the working group recommends for your adoption.

2.2 With your permission, Mr. President, I shall say a few words on the subject with which the latest draft resolutions are concerned. But before doing so I wish to refer to the last paragraph in the document, paragraph 35. At its last meeting when it was about to adopt its report the Working Party received a communication from the delegation of Canada concerning the working methods of the General Conference. As the Working Party was unable to give adequate consideration to this communication, it was suggested that it be transmitted to the Executive Board. Therefore this note from the delegation of Canada would, just as the report of the Working Party and the various draft resolutions which were dealt with by the Working Party, become documentation for the forthcoming working group of the Executive Board concerning methods of work of our Organization.

2.3 The first item referred to the Working Party was the recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General for further improvement of the methods of preparing the programme and budget. The reason for these proposals concerning the preparation of the programme and budget for the years 1963-1964, which are made on an experimental basis, is the need for simplification of methods. The present system obliges the Secretariat to begin the preparatory work immediately after the close of the session of the General Conference, that is, at the moment when its main task is to initiate the operation of the newly adopted programme. The preparation of a preliminary draft and then of two successive versions of the proposed programme and budget not only entails heavy work for the Executive Board and the Secretariat, but tends also to diminish the significance of the consultations with Member States. Member States and the other bodies concerned have not had an adequate opportunity to consider the Organization's future activities in their broad outlines and in the proper perspective.

2.4 The Director-General therefore, when he made his proposal to the Executive Board, had worked out a new procedure designed to avoid these disadvantages. This procedure was unanimously approved by the Executive Board and it was also approved by our Working Party. The Working Party of the General Conference therefore proposes the adoption of draft resolution no. 1 which includes in its first operative paragraph a decision that the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1963-1964 shall, as an experiment, be prepared in accordance with the recommendations formulated in this connexion by the Executive Board and the Director-General.

2.5 When dealing with draft resolution no.1 (document 11 C/47 Annex) I also want to direct your attention to the last paragraph in which the Working Party suggests to you that you decide to invite Member States to transmit to the Director-General any proposals or suggestions they may wish to formulate with regard to the questions discussed in the report of the Working Party on methods of preparing the programme and budget. This paragraph is intended to refer not only to those Member States which are represented in the Executive Board, but to all Member States of our Organization who should, we felt, be enlisted in the work of improving the working methods of the Organization as a whole.

2.6 The Working Party also discussed a draft resolution by the delegation of Brazil concerning the procedure for the examination and approval of the programme and budget of Unesco. This draft resolution was discussed in the Working Party, and as a result of the discussion it was decided to propose to the General Conference the adoption of draft resolution no.2. The Working Party suggests that the General Conference should note that the proposal by the delegation of Brazil raises a number of problems of the greatest importance in relation to the functioning of the Organization, and it suggests that you transmit the proposals to the Executive Board for study and request the Board to report to you on the subject at the twelfth session of the General Conference.

2.7 In addition, three draft resolutions concerning methods of work of Unesco were referred to the Working Party: one by the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden; one by the delegation of Iran; and one by the delegation of Switzerland.

2.8 The Working Party proposes that the General Conference adopt draft resolution no.3 which deals with the three draft resolutions I have just mentioned. In the first part of draft resolution no.3, the Working Party proposes that the General Conference note with satisfaction "the intention of the Executive Board to undertake a general study of the Organization's methods of work and of the functioning of its various organs, with a view to solving certain current problems". Here the Working Group thought that the General Conference should take note of the fact that the Executive Board has expressed its intention of making, during the two years to come, a thorough study of the working methods of the Organization as a whole. The Working Party further considered that the draft resolutions submitted to it concern, in one respect or another, the work methods of our Organization and, it therefore wished the subject matter of these three draft resolutions to be included in the study to be undertaken by the Executive Board. That is the meaning of draft resolution no.3 which has been submitted to you.

3.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

On behalf of the Conference, I should like to thank Professor Eek and the members of the Working Party who took part in preparing the draft report which you have before you.

3.2 I call upon H.E. Dr. Raadi, Head of the Iranian delegation.

4.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran) (Translation from the French):

Mr. President, it is with some uneasiness and a certain reluctance that I rise to address you since I know that we are pressed for time. But the question under consideration is, I think, so important that I would feel certain scruples about remaining silent.

4.2 At this, its last plenary meeting, the Conference has before it the Report of the Working Party on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget (document 11 C/47). I have the honour of belonging to that Working Party, and I should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Eek, who conducted our discussions with great patience and understanding.

4.3 Nevertheless, as stated in paragraph 33 of document 11 C/47, I could not agree with the majority of the Working Party on several of the items discussed, nor indeed on the contents of the Report, and therefore reserved the right to raise the matter in plenary meeting, more especially as no minutes of our discussions were taken, nor, as some of us had thought, were our discussions in the Working Party recorded.

4.4 The Report comprises two separate parts, the first concerning the recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General for further improvement of the methods of preparing the programme and budget, and the second dealing with various resolutions submitted by the delegations of Brazil, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Iran.

4.5 As the Report makes clear, the majority of the Working Party approved the recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General, and proposed that the General Conference put them into effect, on an experimental basis, in 1961.

4.6 Nevertheless, as stated at the end of paragraph 10, sub-paragraph (d), "another speaker thought that the proposals contained in document 11 C/29 were useful but were only palliative measures; and that a more thorough-going reform was necessary". Without revealing the identity of that speaker, I shall merely say that the new methods contemplated whilst having some merits from the point of view of simplification, do not seem to me likely to bring about any appreciable improvement in the present procedure, which is too complex. In fact, in document 11 C/29 and Add. (Recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General), the faults are clearly enough revealed, but the remedies suggested hardly seem sufficiently appropriate.

4.7 Mr. President, in view of the anxiety to conclude this closing meeting, I should like as far as possible to avoid initiating a discussion such as, in other circumstances, I would have considered absolutely essential. But the Committee's Report, despite the praiseworthy efforts of our distinguished Rapporteur, has, as the Working Party's Chairman pointed out, failed to provide an accurate summing up of the discussions, especially as regards the Iranian draft resolution. As a result, I am very much afraid that if the Report is transmitted on my behalf to the Executive Board in its present form, it may provoke an unfavourable reaction to the ideas contained in that draft - particularly as the Report embodies objections to our draft without sufficiently stressing the well-founded support of certain members of the group, or the statement

and the answers to the objections which I made within the Working Party.
4.8 Mr. President, I would refer to paragraph 33 of document 11 C/47 in which I reserved the right to bring up this question in plenary meeting, but at the same time I recognize the circumstances and the fact that we are all eager to conclude the eleventh session of the General Conference this morning; I should like therefore, to suggest three possible solutions: the first is that you should allow me to try the Conference's patience by reading a lengthy text; the second is that I should read only part of my comments; the third is that I should submit these comments to you without reading them and request you to convey them officially to the Executive Board on behalf of the Conference. In the latter two cases, however - namely, a partial reading or transmission to the Executive Board without a reading - I should expect you to rule that the comments be included in full in the verbatim record of this plenary meeting.
4.9 Finally, Mr. President, while awaiting your decision, whatever it may be, I should like to introduce two slight amendments to draft resolution no.3 which appears on page 11 of document 11 C/47.

5.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): You have heard Mr. Raadi's three suggestions: the reading of twelve pages of text, a partial reading of his comments, or transmission of the text without any reading. If there are no objections, it might be best to adopt the third of these proposals.
5.2 Mr. Legassov, delegate of the Soviet Union, wishes to speak and I now call upon him.

6.1 Mr. LEGASSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President, distinguished delegates, an important number of delegates attended the Working Party which studied the proposals of the different delegations, including those of Iran.
6.2 The Working Party devoted much time to a discussion of the proposals of the Iranian delegation, and Mr. Raadi explained his proposals carefully and in great detail and demonstrated how advisable it was to approve them. A detailed assessment of these proposals, the remarks made by the delegates in the Working Party, and Mr. Raadi's answers to these remarks are contained in the document which you have before you, namely, the Report of the Working Party. I propose that you approve the last of Mr. Raadi's proposals, i.e. to hand over the document of the Iranian delegation for study by the Executive Board. This in effect is what the Working Party proposes.

7.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): If there are no objections, I think we will adopt the third solution.
7.2 I call upon H.E. Dr. Raadi, Head of the Iranian delegation.

8.1 Mr. RAADI (Iran) (Translation from the French): If I understand correctly, Mr. President, you have adopted the third solution. I therefore bow to your decision, on the understanding that the full text of my comments will, of course, be included in the verbatim record of this meeting.
8.2 But as I just mentioned, Mr. President, I also wish to submit two slight amendments to draft resolution no.3, on page 11 of document 11 C/47; it concerns the transmission to the Executive Board of the Working Party's Report and the draft resolutions. I propose the insertion of a special paragraph requesting the Director-General to refer to the Executive Board not only the draft resolutions and the Report in question, but also all the points raised by delegations, whether they belonged to the Working Party or not, at plenary meetings or meetings of subsidiary organs which were directly or indirectly concerned with the subject of document 11 C/47 - i.e. Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget. For most of the delegations advanced very interesting views but, as they were not members of the Working Party, these may be slightly forgotten unless a summary of them is communicated to the Executive Board.
8.3 My second amendment is even simpler: I propose that the last paragraph reading "Invites the Executive Board to submit to the General Conference at its twelfth session" be altered to read "Invites the Executive Board and the Director-General to submit to the General Conference ...". I propose this addition because we all know that, under the Constitution and various provisions of the Financial Regulations, the preparation of the programme and budget is mainly the responsibility of the Director-General, subject, naturally, to the observations of the Executive Board which, for its part, is responsible to the General Conference for the execution of the programme. In addition, I should like to draw your attention to the fact that even document 11 C/29 is entitled "Recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General for Further Improvement of the Methods ...". I should therefore like to see a certain agreement between the Constitution and the practice of the Executive Board which is reflected in this document.

9.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): If there are no objections, I shall consider the third solution proposed by Dr. Raadi as adopted. I therefore ask Dr. Raadi to hand his comments to the Secretariat for transmission to the Executive Board.(1) If no one else wishes to speak to the Report, I shall consider it as adopted.
9.2 The Report of the Working Party on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget is adopted.
9.3 We will now go on to draft resolution no.1 (document 11 C/47 Annex). Are there any objections to the adoption of this draft resolution? Draft resolution no.1 is adopted.
9.4 Draft resolution no.2 (document 11 C/47, Annex). Are there any objections to the adoption of this draft? Draft resolution no.2 is adopted.
9.5 We must now consider draft resolution no.3. Two amendments have been submitted by Dr. Raadi. I shall ask the Secretary of the General Conference to read these.

10.1 Mr. MONTAGNIER (Secretary) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, the first amendment consists of inserting a new paragraph between the second and

(1) The full text of the comments by H.E. Dr. Raadi, Head of the Iranian delegation, is annexed to this record.

third paragraphs to read as follows: "Requests the Director-General to refer to the Executive Board not only the draft resolutions and the above-mentioned Report of the Working Party, but also all the points raised by delegations at plenary meetings or meetings of subsidiary organs which were directly or indirectly concerned with the questions dealt with in document 11 C/47".

10.2 The second amendment relates to the last paragraph and would result in the following text: "Invites the Executive Board and the Director-General to submit ...". The rest of the paragraph would remain unchanged.

11.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I shall ask the Chairman of the Working Party whether he wishes to raise any objections or make any observations.

11.2 The Chairman of the Working Party does not wish to speak. Are there any delegates who wish to speak to this amendment?

11.3 No delegates wish to speak and I shall therefore call for a vote on the first amendment read by the Secretary of the Conference.

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

11.4 The first amendment submitted by Dr. Raadi is adopted by 27 votes to 1, with 15 abstentions.

11.5 We shall now vote on the second amendment submitted by Dr. Raadi.

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

11.6 The second amendment is adopted by 21 votes to 7, with 12 abstentions.

11.7 We shall now proceed to a vote on draft resolution no.3 as a whole.

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

11.8 The Working Party's draft resolution no.3 is adopted unanimously.

11.9 I should like to thank the Working Party again for facilitating the task of the General Conference.

11.10 I call upon Mr. Shuster, delegate of the United States of America.

12.1 Mr. SHUSTER (United States of America): Mr. President, I rise to speak on a matter of significance in the preparation of the programme and budget. The distinguished delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics stated yesterday that his Government would withhold part of its contribution which is due under the Appropriation Resolution adopted by this Assembly. I do not wish at this late hour to discuss or challenge the reasons given for this action, but the action is no doubt in itself a matter of importance. In order that we may all see clearly what is involved, the United States would appreciate it if the Director-General would provide answers to the following questions: First, is there any provision in the Constitution or the Financial Regulations of Unesco which authorizes a Member State to withhold part of its contribution? Second, if such an action to withhold is not authorized, does any penalty attach to it?

12.2 We realize that the Director-General may not have had time to consider the next questions. They are based on a concern lest we find that the income received from Member States is insufficient to cover the cost of the programme as adopted. The questions are, third, how large will be the total amount withheld so far and now to be withheld by the Soviet Union in the light of the above explanation, and how large will be the amount withheld by other Member States which may follow the example of the USSR? Fourth, as a result of such withholding, what will be the actual cash position of the Organization, that is to say, how far will contributions remain below the adopted assessment ceiling? Fifth, what will be the consequences for the programme? In particular, what projects may suffer from lack of funds, that is to say, may either have to be reduced or dropped in their entirety?

12.3 The United States delegation would appreciate obtaining information on the above points.

13. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon the Director-General who will answer the questions raised.

14.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French): Mr. President, I am not sure if I can give a complete and detailed reply to the series of questions which have just been put by the United States delegate in regard to the declaration made yesterday evening by the delegate of the Soviet Union.

14.2 I do not think that the obligation on every Member State to pay its contribution in full can be in any way affected by the stand which a given State may have adopted during the discussion of the budget on any other question that may have been the subject of a decision by the General Conference.

14.3 Accordingly, any part of a contribution which may be withheld represents a falling in arrears, under the existing Financial Regulations, and I must so consider it.

14.4 I believe that the delegate of the United States asked if there were any provisions of the Constitution relevant to such a situation. This question is dealt with in paragraph 8 (b) of Article IV of the Constitution, which provides for a certain penalty, but only when the arrears in a Member State's contribution reach a sum equivalent to the amount due from that State for the preceding year and the current year. I may add that I have already had occasion to remind certain Member States of this.

14.5 Finally, if I understood correctly, the distinguished delegate of the United States requested me to provide exact figures. I am sure he will understand that I am not in a position to supply them at the present time but I am prepared to do so, for example, within the Executive Board, if so requested.

15.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I take it that the delegate of the United States of America is satisfied with this reply.

15.2 I call upon Mr. Lavrichenko, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

16.1 Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian): Mr. President and fellow delegates, we are baffled by the statement of the United States representative. The Soviet Union has always been a scrupulous contributor, it has always paid its dues and fulfilled its obligations, and intends to go on doing so. But we stated, and state again, that we have no intention of supporting Chiang Kai-shek's clique, the Chiang

Kai-shek gang, which is at present under the protection of the United States Navy. Let those who protect them support them.

16.2 The Soviet Union considers that only the People's Republic of China, with its 670 million population can be the country's representative in Unesco. Let the United States representative grasp this fact once again: we do not intend to pay, and never will pay, for the supporters of Chiang Kai-shek.

16.3 There is a second point, gentlemen, which I should like to make in connexion with his statement. Under the guidance of that brilliant Chairman, Mr. Barón Castro, we had a long discussion in the Administrative Commission, about the budget and about finance, and we expressed in some detail our views concerning the construction of a fourth building for Unesco.

16.4 We said that there were more important tasks for us at the present time than the construction of a fourth building, and that the Soviet Union delegation thought it advisable that the three and a half million dollars earmarked for the fourth building, including the 915,000 dollars earmarked in the 1961-1962 budget for the construction of the building, should be spent on constructing schools in Africa, on the training of teachers or on fellowships.

16.5 Gentlemen, we cannot now or next year spend a million dollars for the construction of a new building when only yesterday, at the two plenary meetings, we were told that the question of education in Africa was highly important, and so on.

16.6 The Soviet Union delegation therefore reiterates yet again that we are against the construction of a fourth building at a time when Africa is in need of money. It is in this situation that we are asked to spend a million dollars - 915,000 dollars, to be precise - on the construction of a fourth building instead of putting up a hundred centres in Africa for training teachers from among the local population, which so desperately needs them.

16.7 Let me repeat, Mr. President and fellow delegates: the Soviet Union has never said that it would refuse to pay those contributions which are due from it. I trust that the representative of the United States of America has heard what I said. But we shall not pay for the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Funds exist - 915,000 dollars which the Director-General can spend out of our budget for the construction of the fourth building. We should like these resources to be spent for schools in Africa and for teacher-training centres.

17. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I call upon Mr. Chen Yuan, delegate of China.

18. Mr. CHEN Yuan (China):

Mr. Chairman, I protest strongly against the use of insulting, offensive language about the Head of a Member State. This should not be allowed; moreover I do not understand the word "clique". I am afraid this hat does not fit our head, perhaps it may fit some other heads. I am glad that some of the Soviet delegations are still here, for I should like to issue them a challenge. I have attended every General Conference of Unesco since its foundation as a delegate of my Government, but I have never in my life been a member of any political party - I can say so publicly from this rostrum. I should like to challenge any member of the Soviet delegation or any member of the delegations of the satellites to come up here and say that he is not a member of the Communist Party; if they dare let them come now. Everyone then will see who are members of their "clique" and who are not. Everyone will see which countries are under the rule of a "clique" and which are not.

19.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I regard the question as being closed. The information requested will be given to the Executive Board by the Director-General.

ELECTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE, OF THE LEGAL COMMITTEE AND OF THE REPORTS COMMITTEE

19.2 We shall now deal with the next item, namely the recommendations of the Nominations Committee regarding the membership of the Headquarters Committee, the Legal Committee and the Reports Committee for the twelfth session of the General Conference (document 11 C/54).

19.3 I call upon the Chairman of the Nominations Committee, H.E. Mr. Sharif.

20.1 Mr. SHARIF (Pakistan), Chairman of the Nominations Committee:

Mr. President, fellow delegates, the Nominations Committee held its third meeting on 13 December, and it is now my privilege to present its recommendations for the membership of the Headquarters, Legal and Reports Committees.

20.2 As you are aware, the General Conference at its present session, decided to increase the membership of the Reports Committee from 23 to 30 members and to restore the membership of the Headquarters Committee to 15 members.

20.3 During the discussions the need for adequate representation of the various geographical regions and of new Member States of the Organization was emphasized. The special responsibility of membership of the various committees was also stressed.

20.4 In conclusion, I would like to express my gratitude to all the delegations participating in the discussion for their help and co-operation, as a result of which the Committee was able to reach agreement on the proposals which I have the honour to submit to you on its behalf. They are before you in document 11 C/54.

21.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

I shall put each of the recommendations of the Nominations Committee to the vote, beginning with the one relating to the membership of the Headquarters Committee. Are there any objections to the Committee's recommendation? The recommendation relating to the membership of the Headquarters Committee is adopted unanimously.

21.2 We shall proceed to the second recommendation which deals with the membership of the Legal Committee. Are there any objections? The recommendation is adopted unanimously.

21.3 The last recommendation concerns the membership of the Reports Committee.
21.4 Mr. Lavrichenko, delegate of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics wishes to speak and I now call upon him.

22. Mr. LAVRICHENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (Translation from the Russian):
Mr. President and esteemed delegates, I have in my hands the Report of the Nominations Committee in Russian. China may have been listed by error; but if no mistake has been made, and by China is meant the Chiang Kai-shek clique, then we shall abstain from voting.

23.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
We shall proceed to a vote on the last recommendation of the Nominations Committee concerning the membership of the Reports Committee.
(The vote was taken by a show of hands).
23.2 The recommendation is adopted by 35 votes, with 8 abstentions.

ADOPTION OF THE ADDENDUM TO THE REPORT OF THE PROGRAMME COMMISSION

23.3 We will now proceed to the next item on the agenda which is the adoption of the Addendum to the Report of the Programme Commission (document 11 C/36 Addendum).
23.4 I call upon Mr. François, Chairman of the Commission.

24. Mr. FRANCOIS (France), Chairman of the Programme Commission (Translation from the French):
I have only one comment to make on document 11 C/36 Addendum. It relates to page 5, which concerns Unesco's publications policy. Paragraph 3 contains a phrase which is there by mistake; the passage concerned reads as follows: "The Commission finally approved the resolution which 'invites the Director-General to take all necessary measures, within the limits of the funds available, to ensure the use of Arabic at regional conferences'". The words "within the limits of the funds available" should be removed, since the Programme Commission and the General Conference have voted the necessary funds: a sum of $25,000 was accepted by the Programme Commission and was approved here, yesterday, in plenary meeting. In these circumstances the words "within the limits of the funds available" are obviously not required.

25.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
We shall first of all examine the resolution embodied in paragraph 1 of the document before you. If there are no objections, the resolution will be considered as adopted. The resolution included in paragraph 1 of the Addendum to the Report of the Programme Commission is adopted.
25.2 We shall now proceed to the resolution in paragraph 3 of the Addendum. This resolution is adopted.
25.3 We shall now deal with the resolution which appears at the end of page 3 of the Addendum. This resolution is adopted.
25.4 The second part of the document deals with "Unesco's publications policy". Does anyone wish to raise an objection? The second part of the Addendum to the Report of the Programme Commission is adopted.
25.5 I now call upon the General Conference to decide on the Addendum to the Report as a whole. Are there any objections? The Addendum to the Report as a whole is adopted.
25.6 I thank the Chairman and members of the Programme Commission for their excellent work.
25.7 I call upon Mr. Ouagadjio, delegate of Chad.

26.1 Mr. OUAGADJIO (Chad) (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the Chad delegation cannot adequately express its gratitude to the delegates of the so-called "developed" countries for the confidence revealed in their remarks here concerning the young nations of Tropical Africa which have recently become independent.
26.2 Those delegates have played the part of a father who leans over the cradle in which a new-born child is crying! We have been given clear and unequivocal promises. We hope to meet again in 1962 when we shall have an opportunity to describe the work which has been undertaken by Unesco in Chad.

27. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):
I now call upon the Director-General.

28.1 The DIRECTOR-GENERAL (Translation from the French):
Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the work of the eleventh session of the General Conference has come to an end and I should like to convey to you something of what I felt during the discussions and what I feel at this moment. I think I should begin by stressing three features of this session of the General Conference.
28.2 Firstly, I would refer to the progress made towards universalism and the universality of Unesco, this progress being reflected in the fact that the needs of Member States have been considered in more practical, more regional, terms and above all, in the admission to our family circle of the group of countries which have recently become independent, in particular those of the African continent.
28.3 In submitting their proposed programme, the Secretariat and the Director-General have tried to show that we were ready to welcome this group into our family. I feel that the General Conference has not only realized this but has, through its decisions, greatly helped the Secretariat to meet the requests and the requirements of these new States. I also feel that the General Conference has appreciated the cultural and intellectual contribution made by these States to its work - I would even go so far as to say that it has been touched and moved by the part they have played.
28.4 Secondly, I consider that, this time, without in any way abandoning the Organization's basic duty, which is to serve as a permanent centre for planning, documentation, study and research, we have made

substantial and fairly striking progress towards practical action and direct aid to countries on a larger scale with the object of meeting their needs, particularly as regards education and international scientific co-operation, on the lines I proposed and the Conference has approved.

28.5 Thirdly, I believe that this session of the General Conference has repeatedly brought out the need for a thorough revision of our Organization's methods and structures, owing to its development and the increase in the number of its Member States.

28.6 I should like to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the programme which you have authorized me to carry out. This programme has unquestionably been improved and clarified through your efforts, to the extent - as the Chairman of the Programme Commission observed yesterday - that discussions within that Commission, like those within the Administrative Commission as regards the budget and in all the plenary meetings, will leave you with no feeling of hastiness or frustration - contrary, perhaps, to what has been felt on other occasions. The Conference can be proud of having played its part fully and effectively, that part not being simply to ratify the Director-General's proposals but to examine them scrupulously, improve them and add to them.

28.7 We now have a budget that has been increased, substantially increased and the circumstances in which you approved that increase deserve also, in my opinion, to be emphasized and noted. It is yet another reason for the Director-General to convey his warmest gratitude to you.

28.8 Apart from the Organization's programme and budget, we now have the possibility, thanks to the means which have been provided for, and since yesterday afternoon partly furnished, of meeting the urgent needs of the African countries. And although it has already been said I should like to repeat that the contributions offered to the Organization yesterday come from all parts of the world, from rich States and from others less rich and, as the delegate from Morocco emphasized yesterday, they provide a practical demonstration of the transition from bilateral to multilateral aid through the United Nations and our own educational, scientific and cultural Organization.

28.9 Before concluding, I should like to say that the understanding and generous spirit shown by delegates during these busy and tiring, but rewarding, days has been most cheering to the Director-General and the Secretariat; for although the present session of the Conference is nearly over, Unesco's work goes on. The co-operation between the Director-General and the Executive Board has been particularly close and profitable during the last two years and will, I am sure, continue and develop during the period ahead. This is for us, in the Secretariat, an essential guarantee of being able to discharge our duties. But, as you are aware, our work has increased and our responsibilities have become more extensive; and we, the Secretariat, leave this session of the General Conference with powerful encouragement but with a heightened sense of the responsibilities we bear and the effort expected of us.

28.10 Needless to say, the Director-General cannot cope single-handed and I take this opportunity of pointing out how much is owed to the whole Secretariat and, in particular, to my closest collaborators, the Deputy Director-General, René Maheu, the Assistant Directors-General, Jean Thomas, Malcolm Adiseshiah and Alvin Roseman, the Directors of Departments and Heads of Services and the Legal Adviser. I do not wish to pay tribute to them individually - especially to those who are closest to me: you yourselves have seen what they have accomplished and have referred to their work on a number of occasions; but I do want to say - and there could be no pleasanter duty as I am about to start implementing this programme - how much I appreciate their co-operation and I should like to place on public record my gratitude to all my colleagues.

28.11 In addition to the Regular programme and the programme of aid to the new African States, you have adopted a draft Convention and a draft Recommendation against Discrimination in Education; you have approved and encouraged the continuation of the campaign to save the monuments of Nubia (both Egyptian and Sudanese) you have approved work on behalf of schools and children in the Congo; and in the course of a rich and profitable debate, you gave the Secretariat guidance for the working out of principles to be followed in international exchanges in education, science and culture.

28.12 Whether it be in carrying out the Regular programme or in accomplishing any other task which you have entrusted to us, action invariably entails preparatory thinking and deep reflection which are sometimes difficult to reconcile with the feverish pace of our work. And you have especially emphasized this aspect of evaluating needs before undertaking any practical action.

28.13 In conclusion, I should like to assure you that, after this session of the Conference, we shall immediately undertake with increased enthusiasm and to the best of our ability, the tasks which you have entrusted to us and which we accept with gratitude and with that sense of responsibility I mentioned earlier.

28.14 We must co-ordinate our work with that of other international bodies, with that of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency; we must initiate that urgent study you have requested us to carry out with a view to improving the Secretariat's working methods; we must likewise ensure a reasonable cultural and geographical balance in appointing members of the Secretariat. Finally, we must see to it that the necessary space for our work is available.

28.15 But, when all is said and done, ladies and gentlemen, the ideals we cherish are eternal and the aims we pursue are matters of the present and the future. In carrying out our programme we must strive to promote mutual understanding and peaceful co-operation, without which none of the Secretariat's projects can be achieved. We must always draw our inspiration from the great idea of respect for human rights, without any form of discrimination, and we must seek to remove, as quickly as possible, the tragic disproportion - the only one which truly divides the world - between different standards of living, social, economic and cultural, and especially in the field of education.

28.16 With the resources and the programme you have given us, we shall therefore work to give effect

to this great idea of abolishing the contrasts between peoples' standards of living and of releasing funds at present devoted to armaments for the benefit of newly independent countries, so that they may speed up their own development. We shall endeavour to ensure always that spiritual values take precedence over political, social, economic and technical questions, in accordance with the teaching of the Gospel that "Man shall not live by bread alone".

28.17 We shall try to do all this to the best of our ability and with maximum efficiency, by rationalizing the work and seeking in the future programme to achieve concentration of our efforts which you have requested to an ever increasing extent.

28.18 I shall conclude this part of my statement by expressing my particular gratitude to you, Mr. President, for having so admirably and firmly guided the work of the Conference in this African year of ours and by thanking all the chairmen and rapporteurs of the commissions and committees and all the delegations. We shall meet again in two years' time for the twelfth session of our General Conference.

28.19 I have no wish to prophesy as regards this twelfth session and the fact that it may well mark another big step forward. But what I do hope above all is that in two years' time we shall find the flags of Unesco, the flags of peace, which we have now perhaps planted in a forward trench beyond our present position, deep rooted in world reality, flying in the wind of justice, truth and freedom.

TRIBUTE TO MR. JEAN THOMAS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-GENERAL

28.20 Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would not let this session of the General Conference end without asking you to join me in paying the tribute due to a man who is soon to leave the Unesco Secretariat - one of the men who played a key part in the birth and development of our Organization. I refer to my friend and colleague Jean Thomas, Assistant Director-General of Unesco.

28.21 In conveying to him the admiration and affection which you and I feel for him, I cannot forbear to mention that harsh law whereby no joy in this world is unaccompanied by a shadow of some kind. After fifteen years' development, Unesco has at last achieved almost complete universality by welcoming the young nations of Africa. And it is at this very moment that the Organization is losing a man whose clear-sighted idealism, a compound of devotion to spiritual values, a sense of humanity and respect for the concrete and the real, has, throughout those fifteen years, been a sure guide in its advance.

28.22 A lesson in uprightness, honesty and responsibility, insistence on always comparing the ideal with what actually exists, the sacrifice of subjective and personal preferences in the interests of objectivity - such, my dear Thomas, is undoubtedly the most valuable message which you leave us.

28.23 An exceptionally brilliant and varied career had prepared you admirably for the part which you were destined to play from 1946 onwards, on the international stage of Unesco. I use the word "career" with some hesitation for no man perhaps has been less concerned with all that is vain and deadening in ambition. I believe that you were first and foremost concerned with being rather than succeeding, with remaining yourself and developing your independent mind, concerned more with constantly broadening your outlook, enriching yourself by contact with ideas, activities and new experiences than with imprisoning yourself within the limits of a figure. Yet your devotion to intellectual independence, your feeling for the things of the mind has never separated you from the world and its vicissitudes, you have lived in your own time, ready to take your share of responsibility.

28.24 I shall not here recount in detail the different stages of an exceptionally brilliant career, in the course of which Jean Thomas, graduate of the "Ecole normale supérieure", then "agrégé de lettres", was called on to occupy the chair of higher education at the Arts School at Poitiers and, subsequently, at Lyons, while still continuing his own research, particularly concerned with Diderot and his period.

28.25 After the war, in which you unhesitatingly answered the call of the French Resistance and took on highly dangerous duties, you headed the Office of the Minister of Education and there demonstrated your outstanding qualities as an administrator and man of action.

28.26 Such are the broad outlines of the invaluable personal qualities, qualifications and experience which you brought with you when, at the beginning of 1946, you joined the Preparatory Commission of Unesco as Deputy Executive Secretary. Side by side with Dr. Julian Huxley in the modest London offices of the Preparatory Commission's Secretariat, Jean Thomas devoted himself not to a reality which already existed and was already full of promise but to an idea which was at that time a challenge.

28.27 From that point on, Jean Thomas' biography is wholly bound up with the history of Unesco. His work has contributed to each of the stages which has led our Organization to its present position.

28.28 If I wished to sum up his contribution to our Organization in a single word, I should choose the word "culture", but on condition that it be given its full meaning. The Department of Cultural Activities, with which Jean Thomas was especially concerned, owes to him a clear concept of the guiding principles of its programme, smoothly developed from the beginning: the concern to serve the interests of creators and research workers, to respect the specific rôle of intellectuals, artists and writers and to ensure their confident co-operation with Unesco; the need to treat culture as the expression and property of all men, to ensure the enjoyment of its riches by all, to make inter-cultural exchanges a meeting ground for the universal dialogue of peoples.

28.29 As Assistant Director-General, Jean Thomas gave the same attention to all branches of the programme, insisted on having a perfect knowledge of the technical aspects of every question, sought information from specialists, was ready to revise his ideas in the light of any reliable analysis, avoided partisanship and over-hasty judgements and expected of others the same sense of responsibility, the same clear-sightedness and the same precision in thought and action as he himself possessed. My predecessors and I myself could always rely on him for an unfailingly sharp judgement, invariably imbued with a sense of responsibility and with a deep and authentic wisdom.

28.30 Firm and courteous in negotiation and discussion, readily dominating discussions which were sometimes extremely difficult, able to curb impatience as thoroughly as he avoided intolerance and partiality, he served Unesco throughout as a man of outstanding qualities and high distinction.

28.31 In recalling what you represent for all those who have had the privilege of working with you, Jean Thomas, the great influence which you have had on your colleagues, the feelings of affection due to your character and your personality, I am afraid that I may violate that reserve, compound of modesty and discretion, which is one of the most admirable aspects of your personality. At the risk of failing in that virtue myself, I must tell you what feelings of friendship you have aroused in all of us and that that friendship will remain.

28.32 With your departure we lose a comrade who has been with us in our struggles and in our work and to whom we are linked by countless memories; a man of great gifts whose advice and support have always inspired a feeling of invaluable security in all; the presence among us of the best that culture and civilization can produce. But, I repeat, still more, it is a friend who is leaving us, a friend we hope to see often among us but whom we know, alas, is destined henceforward to embark upon other work and another life.

28.33 My dear colleague and my good friend, on behalf of Unesco and the Secretariat, I wish to thank you for all that you have contributed throughout these fifteen years of reflection and toil to the greatness of our Organization. I hope, indeed I know, that the Organization can count on your assistance whenever it is compatible with the new duties which you are to assume in your country's service. And for my own part, at a time when I am appealing to a number of distinguished people throughout the world to help me, as members of the International Action Committee, to give impetus to the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, I am happy to announce that I have chosen you to occupy the important position of Chairman of that Committee. I am not therefore, saying "goodbye" to you but a most affectionate and cordial "au revoir".

29.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I should like first of all to thank the Director-General for his detailed explanation. I am also grateful for his remarks concerning myself. I need hardly emphasize to you, who know the work carried out by the Director-General and his distinguished colleagues, that he will begin work immediately with the increased budget, devoting himself unceasingly with still more enthusiasm and energy to the service of Unesco and its ideals.

29.2 Ladies and gentlemen, I hope you will allow me, on your behalf and on my own, to associate myself with the Director-General's tribute to Mr. Jean Thomas. Mr. Thomas has been a Unesco specialist since its inception, a man of culture, a faithful servant of Unesco, and I believe it will be very hard for the Director-General to find as highly qualified a man to fill the gap left by Mr. Thomas' departure.

29.3 There is a final draft resolution, submitted by the General Committee of the Conference which I shall now read to you:

"The General Conference,

Considering that since 1946, when a Preparatory Commission met in London to prepare for the initial General Conference of Unesco, Mr. Jean Thomas has been intimately associated with the direction of the Organization, first as Director of the Department of Cultural Activities and then as Assistant Director-General, and

Considering further that by reason of the admirable lucidity of his thought, the great gift of creative imagination which has characterized his approach to the Unesco programme, and the unflagging courtesy and dedication to international understanding which he has shown both in his work in the Secretariat and during his many arduous visits to the Member States of the Organization,

Expresses to him its high esteem and profound gratitude, after the manner of friend to friend, and voices the hope that what is termed his retirement will only lead, whatever may be his future services to his country and mankind, to new benefits which will accrue from his continuing identification with the purposes which our Organization strives to serve".

29.4 I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, that you are ready to adopt this draft resolution by acclamation.

29.5 The draft resolution is adopted.

29.6 I call upon Mr. Jean Thomas.

30.1 Mr. THOMAS (Assistant Director-General) (Translation from the French): Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to take up a few moments of your time to express my deep and sincere gratitude to those who drafted this resolution, to the General Committee of the Conference, which submitted it, to the Director-General who referred to me with a generosity and affection which greatly touched me, and to the General Conference as a whole.

30.2 I am certain that I do not deserve this resolution or the Director-General's tribute; I believe that the explanation lies, first of all, in the feelings of friendliness which this resolution expresses but I also think there are two other reasons.

30.3 The first is my length of service with Unesco. The Director-General has just recalled the various stages. In the short history of international organizations which emerged from the war or in the post-war period, such length of service is rare - I do not say exceptional but rare - and this must of course be regarded as one reason for the tribute you have paid me.

30.4 Without going into the details of that career of which you, Mr. Director-General have just spoken, I should like to mention the names of those Directors-General under whom I have had the honour to serve and for all of whom I retain feelings of deep devotion, affection and respect: Julian Huxley, Jaime Torres Bodet, Luther Evans and, finally, Dr. Veronese, you yourself.

30.5 I have been able to follow and observe the signs of Unesco's growth in the very building which it has occupied. It is no more than a symbol but it is a striking and revealing one.

30.6 You have referred to the little Grosvenor Square apartment in London where Unesco was born, then the two houses in Belgrave Square which already

gave us the impression of having some freedom of movement. When we came to Paris, the Hotel Majestic seemed too big and we were able to lease some rooms to other institutions. But it was not long before the Hotel Majestic became too small and perhaps one of the most satisfying memories which I shall keep of my service with Unesco is the construction of this building which seemed imposing and immense and which now, as you have observed, is too small for the Organization's needs. This growth in Unesco's accommodation is an indication of the growth of Unesco itself and, at the moment of my departure, I have at least the pleasure of seeing that you are all thinking of a still greater Unesco.

30.7 I should like to refer just as briefly to the second reason: I am sure that through me and beyond me you wished to pay tribute to the Secretariat as a whole, to all those of my colleagues with whom I have had the privilege of working for fourteen years. Some of them have died at their posts. Of these, there are two whom I feel I must mention: Bernard Drzewieski and William Hodson.

30.8 I also think of those who have left us to take up a new career - and I will confine myself to mentioning some of those with whom I worked most closely: Lionel Elvin, Tom Marshall, Pierre Auger, Prem Kirpal - and of those who have left us to take up important positions in their own countries and who are heading delegations here today: I should like to mention three, of whom I have a particularly keen recollection: Dr. Beeby, now the Head of the New Zealand delegation, Dr. Raadi, now the Head of the Iranian delegation and Dr. Awad, now the Head of the delegation from the United Arab Republic. So you see that, on leaving the Secretariat, one may be destined to occupy exalted positions.

30.9 But, above all, I should like you to agree with me that it was to all my comrades, those who remain with us, that you wished to express your gratitude and friendship; to all those who serve with the Director-General, under his authority, from the Deputy Director-General, through the Assistant Directors-General and the Directors of Departments, to those whom you never see but who are perhaps no less useful, no less devoted, those who make up the documents or translate them, those who reproduce them or distribute them - those mountains of documents to which the Chairman of the Programme Commission alluded yesterday. And it is to all of them that I would wish, with your permission, to transfer your tribute, your gratitude and your friendship.

30.10 Mr. President, there are two parts to every resolution: one which expresses considerations, principles, motives - and there I have nothing to say beyond my thanks. But there is another part known as the operative or executive part - and that part I promise you I will carry out. It is the part which expresses the hope that I will continue in what is called my retirement to give the Organization the benefit of my devotion to the aims which Unesco seeks to serve. I promise you that in whatever position I may be called to fill in future, I will continue to serve both the Organization and the ends for which it was created.

CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

31.1 The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come to close this session of the General Conference which in only a few weeks has succeeded in imposing its pace on us. We had already acquired habits and, without realizing it, this periodic meeting, which only takes place every two years, imperceptibly came to be a permanent institution for us.

31.2 If we find it difficult to separate after a month spent together, that feeling is due to all those who have devoted themselves to making our work so agreeable and, I am certain, so fruitful. It is not easy to thank them: so many different skills, efforts and merits are involved that one could not mention all those who deserve praise. But I must single out certain names. In the first place, the Chairman of the Executive Board, Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, who, with the distinguished members of the Board, prepared the framework of our action. I should also like to convey the gratitude of all of us to the Director-General, Dr. Veronese, whose patience and zeal are inexhaustible as are also those of his immediate assistants. I thank all the members of the Secretariat, all the officers of whatever level, whom we have seen at work and whose precision, tact and devotion have been so much appreciated. Without their keen assistance, it is unlikely that delegates would have been able to carry out the task before them. I also thank the interpreters who have, again this year, been severely tried and have demonstrated the extent of their skill.

31.3 And I scarcely know how to express my gratitude to my colleagues of the General Committee. What sort of an existence would a President have if he could not rely on the Vice-Presidents to come to his aid from time to time? I trust, at any rate, that I have not taken undue advantage of your courteous readiness to assist. My gratitude goes also to the chairmen, vice-chairmen and rapporteurs of the commissions, committees and working parties who have given the drive to our discussions without which they cannot be effective. And I thank all the delegates whose understanding has made my task so pleasant.

31.4 What lesson can we draw from this eleventh session of the General Conference? We have been present on a most happy occasion of historical significance - the "Year of Africa". As an African and as President, I have observed with satisfaction the enthusiasm and the sense of responsibility shown by the delegates from new States who have joined our ranks and I have been struck by the quality of their statements. This proves that these young States have fully understood the capital importance of Unesco's rôle in the building of the future world.

31.5 I cannot refrain from remarking on the fact that certain burning problems - which are discussed with vehemence in other international gatherings - arouse strong feelings here, too. I will understand the scruples shown in this regard by certain delegates but should we not, in this respect, once again stress the spirit of understanding, the realism shown by the members of this assembly in ending, by acclamation, a difficult discussion which could have led to

innumerable controversies? Let us hope that this example will be followed elsewhere in the world!

31.6 I likewise find striking the exceptional interest shown by all delegations in a far-reaching project aimed at securing long-term results - namely, international exchanges in education, science and culture. In the discussions devoted to this project, which owes so much to my worthy colleague and friend, H.E. Mr. de Berredo Carneiro, delegates were able to give free rein to their imagination, without regard to immediate considerations or political expedience and without being bound by pressing administrative and financial demands. The Directorate-General and the rest of the Secretariat will find there a mine of information, ideas and suggestions which will furnish work for years to come.

31.7 I should like once again to emphasize the fact that general priority has been given to education, as the work of the Programme Commission so well indicates. Similarly, it has been recognized that the resources employed by Unesco are not limited to the budget of the Organization properly speaking but that special budgets - in ever increasing number, let us hope - are to be added thereto. The eleventh session of the General Conference likewise wishes to see a balance preserved within the Unesco programme, particularly between regional and country programmes and general activities which are international in scope.

31.8 I should like to assure you that I have felt it a great honour to preside at this session. Unesco's universality, as so many speakers stressed, has shown itself in a striking manner and this place has become the parliament of nearly one hundred nations.

31.9 We have also witnessed the beginning of a phase of expansion of our Organization. Never before have we seen the preparation of such vast programmes, never have we voted so large a budget. The final lesson of our work is one which I single out with particular satisfaction (and this will be my last observation this year), namely the constant determination shown by all the States represented here - both highly developed or in process of development - to face up to their responsibilities together, it being their common conviction that there can be no progress that is not based on education.

31.10 Before declaring this last session officially closed, I should like to wish all those who are returning to their countries a safe and pleasant journey and I hope to see them full of enthusiasm and new ideas at the twelfth session of the Conference. To all those who are here or who have taken part directly or indirectly in our work, I extend my best wishes for 1961.

31.11 I call upon H.E. Mr. Barbey, Head of the Swiss delegation.

32.1 Mr. BARBEY (Switzerland) (Translation from the French):

Ladies and gentlemen, kindly observers and mischief makers alike agree that every compatriot of Rousseau or Pestalozzi is an educator at heart. Let me reassure you: if this is true (and I believe it is) the present speaker will not give in to the temptation to moralize - a disagreeable tendency or fault and, moreover, a useless one. And should he give in all the same, whether through habit or inadvertence, I trust, Mr. President, that you will call him to order with your ivory gavel.

32.2 Everything seems to have been said here and very well said. The only expression of thanks which, with your permission, I shall repeat and emphasize is addressed to men, and to bodies, inseparable in our minds and hearts: the Director-General and the Secretariat, the Chairman and a special Working Party of the Executive Board who together prepared this eleventh session of the General Conference so admirably.

32.3 The scope of this Conference was indicated by the Chairman of our Programme Commission, my friend Louis François, whose tall Greco-like figure was to be seen on this rostrum yesterday and whose voice and manner were so stirringly matched. His statement will help us to demonstrate to our governments and National Commissions the value of the work accomplished here since 14 November. The television unfortunately was not present: it could have recorded on this occasion the most eloquent and honest of speeches pro domo.

32.4 A number of speakers voiced their satisfaction at seeing delegates from a hundred Member States gathered together for the first time in this hall. This was indeed a great day in the history of Unesco and in history itself.

32.5 But the time has passed - or rather has been by-passed - when historians dealt solely with diplomatic events, as if these were the only happenings or the noblest or the most influential. In our time, historians are also concerned with recording other happenings which are defined as economic events, scientific or social events. This morning, might we not describe them more simply as human events?

32.6 I shall take advantage of this moment preceding our farewells and separation, not to play the part of historian but to single out - briefly, I hasten to add - certain impressions. I hope that all the delegations on whose behalf I have the honour to speak will share these, at least in essence.

32.7 In my view, there is something even more significant than the meeting of a hundred Member States and numerous international organizations; and that is the fact that so many different professions are gathered here. What assembly, what parliament could boast of grouping representatives of so many and such varied professions? I can think of none. This diversity and range confers upon the General Conference of Unesco its unique quality and its greatness.

32.8 Whenever the profession - that is to say, knowledge and, at the same time, professional conscience - has found expression in words or votes, then politics, in the pejorative sense, have marked time or retreated. And on certain difficult - and even, let us be candid, distressing - occasions, politics and politics alone dominated this rostrum. But subsequently, rejoining his delegation, the speaker re-entered a plane where the spirit of the profession endowed him with a more accurate and calmer view of men and affairs. The tension diminished; and we were conscious that, the same day, within the committees or working parties, teams could be assembled which, in their work would recover the spirit and tone of tolerance, first, and then of understanding. And that, too renders our Organization unique and great.

32.9 But if this has been a meeting - and, I believe, a useful one - of professions, it has also and above all been a meeting of the most varied personalities - men and women, voices, languages, accents, gestures, attitudes, national costumes ..... Different ways of thought and manners of expression; the analytic approach and the synthetic approach. We know the inexhaustible resources of this diversity and it was invariably apparent, diversity and vitality. These qualities matter far more than the number of texts and the loads of paper, which I do not wish to criticize too harshly, like my friend François, since they are a necessary evil. And I would rather be inclined to take up the defence of words, those poor words which seemed so often to be unduly trite.

32.10 But once we were agreed on the choice of these words - however trite - we felt that our agreement restored their sense, their life and their quality. The work accomplished in reaching that agreement, was, is and will be worth while by reason of the training which it gave us, and the obligation which it imposed on us to commit ourselves to each other.

32.11 For it goes without saying that texts and words are not the whole story. Many delegates met old friends here, others made new friends. There are still others, whose names, nationalities and professions we may not have remembered; but with these, too, we may have shaken hands, or exchanged a conspiratorial wink, a smile, a light for a cigarette. We shall not forget the faces: they are the faces of men and women with whom we will feel ourselves closely linked whenever our paths cross in the course of travels or meetings.

32.12 And that, among other things, is Unesco: that solidarity, which is already so greatly international and which will soon perforce become universal - I hope so, at any rate, and I believe so. It is a solidarity which develops through our common work and which public opinion, too often grudging, should note and be moved by.

32.13 I know that it is difficult to explain the nature of this work. It is difficult to interest governments harassed by immediate problems, newspapers hungry for sensation and laden with advertising, indifferent or sceptical friends. To any of these, it is useless to talk merely of programmes, budgets, committees, meetings and resolutions. But it is possible and useful to show that, gathered together in our meeting rooms, outstanding men, who are also men of goodwill, have managed together to disclose and reduce the evil effects of discrimination. This is only one example among many. To ensure that these various examples are better understood, we must (and it is enough) discuss them in our own circles with insistence, enthusiasm and skill. I believe that we have reached the end of the present session better informed and better equipped to do so with success.

32.14 The intelligent and charming ladies who were with us this year in greater number than ever before will aid us in the task. For nature has equipped them, better than in the case of men, to talk warmly of the work in which they have participated and to convince their hearers. They will succeed all the more in that they have during this session, occupied a variety of positions - as chairmen or rapporteurs - which we, in our innocence, long believed could be occupied only by men.

32.15 Well-earned expressions of gratitude have been conveyed to all in this great building, which, in recent weeks, has been the home of the Secretariat, the Executive Board, the delegations and the observers. We appreciate the fact, Mr. President, that you remembered us all. And it is now up to us, the delegates, to think of you and to convey our gratitude to you.

32.16 It has been your privilege, Mr. President - and we like to think your pleasure also - to preside with such complete friendliness over the eleventh session of our General Conference in this year 1960 when the world, more than ever before, has need of Unesco.

33. The PRESIDENT (Translation from the French): I have the honour to declare the eleventh session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization closed.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

Comments by H.E. Dr. G.A. RAADI, President of the delegation of Iran, to the eleventh session of the General Conference of Unesco

on the subject of the Report of the Working Party on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget (document 11 C/47), during the discussion of this Report in the plenary meeting held on 15 December 1960

Mr. President,

1. It is with some uneasiness and a certain reluctance that I rise to address you, since I know that we are pressed for time. But the question under consideration is, I think, so important that I would feel certain scruples about remaining silent.

2. At this, its last plenary meeting, the Conference has before it the Report of the Working Party on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget

(document 11 C/47). I have the honour of belonging to that Working Party, and I should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to its Chairman, Mr. Eek, who conducted our discussions with great patience and understanding.

3. Nevertheless, as stated in paragraph 33 of document 11 C/47, I could not agree with the majority of the Working Party on several of the items discussed, nor indeed on the contents of the Report, and therefore reserved the right to raise the matter in plenary meeting, more especially as no minutes of our discussions were taken, nor, as some of us had thought, were our discussions in the Working Party recorded.

4. The Report comprises two separate parts, the first concerning the recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General for further improvement of the methods of preparing the programme and budget, and the second dealing with various resolutions submitted by the delegations of Brazil, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and Iran.

5. As the Report makes clear, the majority of the Working Party approved the recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General, and proposed that the General Conference put them into effect on an experimental basis, in 1961.

6. Nevertheless, as stated at the end of paragraph 10, sub-paragraph (d), "another speaker thought that the proposals contained in document 11 C/29 were useful but were only palliative measures, and that a more thorough-going reform was necessary". Without revealing the identity of that speaker, I shall merely say that the new methods contemplated whilst having some merits from the point of view of simplification, do not seem to me likely to bring about any appreciable improvement in the present procedure, which is too complex. In fact, in document 11 C/29 and Add. (Recommendations of the Executive Board and the Director-General), the faults are clearly enough revealed, but the remedies suggested hardly seem sufficiently appropriate. What then are these faults, or at least the main ones?

7. In the first place, there is one to which the Director-General and the Executive Board rightly call attention in paragraph 9 of document 11 C/29 in which it is stated that:

"... the discussion paper, which inevitably tends to constitute the basis of further programming, is written without knowledge of such longer-term ideas and proposals as Member States may have in mind after the conclusion of a session of the General Conference where, under the complex and necessarily rigid procedure imposed by a heavy time-table, they may not have had the opportunity of ventilating long-term suggestions about future programmes. At the subsequent stages of consultation, broader proposals tend to have no impact upon what is already a detailed, if provisional, work plan."

8. If I interpret this paragraph aright, the Director-General would wish to give Member States sufficient time to prepare, in the months immediately following the Conference and in the light of the discussions which have taken place at it, suggestions and observations for use in the preparation of the future programme.

9. Now, such suggestions could be of real use only if they were based on the work of the previous session of the Conference as a whole, and I wonder who could be better qualified than the Director-General himself to draw a practical, overall conclusion from the work of a General Conference in its entirety. Therefore, if this preliminary consultation with Member States is to be profitable, methodical and constructive, it seems to me that the Director-General should, on the basis of his fresh impressions of the General Conference, draw up the main lines to be followed by his future programme and request Member States to let him have their comments and observations, at this preliminary stage, on those main lines. Otherwise, the suggestions received - if they are in sufficient quantity, which is not the case - would merely be a collection of heterogeneous ideas or restatements, in another form, of resolutions which were not adopted at the previous session. There would thus be a basic imbalance at the start, and the house would be built on sand and, if I may say so, with makeshift materials.

10. The second shortcoming of these consultations is that they appear to be conducted in several stages and on a democratic basis whilst their results, in fact, by no means tend towards democracy, since it is, in practice, only the large countries and, in general, those which have a highly developed administrative organization, most of which are frequently - and some permanently - represented on the Board, which submit suggestions, whilst the smaller less well-equipped countries and, in particular, those which are distant from Headquarters are not often able to make their voices heard. And if some of them not represented on the Board, should venture to put forward suggestions, they would not be able to defend or explain them to that body. The result is that, under the present system, and under the pretence of world-wide consultation on an equal footing, the countries which are members of the Board have two chances.

11. As an illustration of this point, it is enough to glance at the work plans and resolutions in the proposed programme and budget: more than three-quarters of them will be found to come directly or indirectly from countries represented on the Board.

12. It should be added that consultations of this type, as they are conducted under the present system, are prescribed neither in the Constitution nor in the Rules of Procedure. Furthermore, they are not, as far as I know, held in this manner, at the preliminary stage, in any of the other Specialized Agencies.

13. Lastly, according to the Constitution, while the greatest responsibility and the prime initiative for preparing the programme rest with the Director-General, he also has to inform Member States and the Executive Board of the future programme from the start of its planning and to solicit their observations. It may be objected that the Director-General could not find the time to carry out this task in the months immediately following the General Conference's session, without some danger of neglecting the execution of the programme. But there is no reason why he should not carry it out during the second six-month period, by postponing the consultations a little longer.

14. The third weakness to be noted in the earlier methods and in those to be tried out experimentally is that we are moving further and further away from the spirit of the Constitution and from the separation of powers which it prescribes, since, as has just been stated, it is the responsibility of the Director-General

to prepare the programme just as it is that of the Executive Board to act as adviser in that respect, and of Member States to take decisions by means of the resolutions submitted to the General Conference. But, in practice, it is the Executive Board which deals with the preparation of the programme, rather than with the supervision of its execution - although the latter is its constitutional task. For instance, during the two-year period which has just ended, 25 meetings of the Board were devoted to discussions on the preparation of the programme. It is not astonishing, then, if the execution of the programme suffers from this state of affairs. It is for these reasons that I wonder whether it is worth while to try out the new experiment under the present system - especially as even the programmes thus prepared, and their relative balance, are liable to be upset at the last minute through the introduction of addenda and corrigenda.

15. According to paragraph 15 of document 11 C/29, the Executive Board and the Director-General would like to encourage Member States to make suggestions, following the eleventh session, on the long-term programmes or projects. But it goes without saying that no long-term programme is possible without a prior budgetary estimate - in other words, without a predetermined financial framework.

16. For this reason, the delegation of Iran, whilst recommending, in the general discussion and ever since the beginning of the current session, that triennial or quadrennial conferences be held, and consequently that long-term programmes be drawn up, submitted a draft resolution after the examination of another related item - the establishment of the provisional budget ceiling. I am certain that if these two principles (quadrennial or triennial programmes, on the one hand, and a predetermined budget increase, on the other) had been approved by the current session - and they could have been - Member States would have been in a position, after the eleventh session, to submit truly constructive suggestions of the sort for which a desire is expressed in paragraph 15 of document 11 C/29.

17. Now I should like to go into the detail of what has just been said. As the meeting will remember, my delegation, at the time of the provisional decision on the budget ceiling, made a number of observations, which are to be found in document 11 C/VR.9 (prov.) (pages 27-31).

18. Whilst stressing the disadvantages of successive recourse to belated addenda and corrigenda and the delay in transmitting the proposed programme and budget to Member States - a delay which had led it unwillingly to abstain from voting on the provisional ceiling - the Iranian delegation submitted certain suggestions with regard to methods of preparing the programme and budget, designed to secure, on the one hand, the normal development of the basic programme and, on the other, the possibility of coping with exceptional circumstances.

19. Expressing the hope that these suggestions would be studied by the competent organs of the General Conference, the delegation stated:

"It is high time that Unesco, in the light of the experience it has thus acquired, should seek a rational solution to the problems of financing its budget, from the point of view both of procedure and of resources. It is undeniable that Unesco's activities are developing and that its budget is increasing and must necessarily and inevitably increase from session to session. But the history of previous sessions - particularly those held in Florence and New Delhi - and to a certain extent the current session of the Conference, show clearly enough that such increases have been proposed, discussed, opposed or adopted in an atmosphere of uncertainty, if not of confusion and improvisation.

To avoid these disadvantages and to assure Unesco of harmonious development and a regular but not unlooked for increase in its budget, might it not be possible to adopt a rule whereby the Director-General would be authorized in advance to prepare the forthcoming programme during each financial period on the basis of a budget subject to a reasonable percentage increase - say, for example, 10, 15 or 20 per cent of the previous budget? In this way, since the regular and ordinary increase in each budget would have been determined by a pre-established principle, the Director-General, the Executive Board and Member States would find it easier to agree, when the programme was being prepared, on the priorities and scope to be given to new activities, and the consultations, more productive though less numerous, would take place in conditions of perfect understanding.

In other words, if this principle is adopted, the provisional ceiling of each budget will, in future, be known at least two years in advance, the Director-General will take account of it in the preparation of his future programme, and Member States will be able to calculate from it, well in advance, the approximate amounts of their contributions.

Needless to say, this regular increase would be devoted to the normal and foreseeable development of the programme and financed by the contributions of Member States.

At the same time, to enable the Director-General to deal fairly rapidly with certain important and exceptional problems - as was the case this year following the recent decisions of the Economic and Social Council with regard to Tropical Africa - it would, in our opinion, be well to consider the establishment of an 'Emergency Fund'. Such a fund would be financed not by the contributions of Member States to the Regular programme, but from extra-budgetary resources, such as voluntary contributions, the Special Account and if possible budgetary savings from preceding financial periods.

Finally, subject to detailed examination and subsequent negotiations, Unesco might perhaps seek to finance this 'Emergency Fund', and certain other operations, by asking for a loan from the International Development Association (in accordance with Article V, section 2, paragraph C of the Association's articles of agreement)."

20. Some days later, during the general discussion of the report on activities during the previous financial period and on the Proposed Programme and Budget for 1961-1962, the Iranian delegation, among its other observations, commended the initiative of the Executive Board with respect to its intention to submit recommendations for increasing the efficiency of the work of the Board, the Secretariat and the General Conference.

21. In that connexion, it put forward arguments in favour of triennial or quadrennial sessions of the

General Conference, together with comments on the composition of the Executive Board, its responsibilities and the harmonization of its activities with the spirit of the Constitution; it emphasized the need for improvement of the system of consultations with Member States and with the Executive Board during the preparation of the programme and budget; and finally, with regard to the rational improvement of the methods of preparing the programme and budget it repeated the suggestion for the adoption of the principle of regular increases and for the establishment of an "emergency" or "marginal" fund. All these observations will be found in detail in document 11 C/VR.12 (prov.).

22. We still believe that all these problems including the fundamental question of the satisfactory functioning of the Executive Board are closely interrelated for, as will be remembered, at the eighth session of the General Conference, held in Montevideo in 1954, the mandate of members of the Executive Board was defined in the following terms: "Although the members of the Executive Board are representatives of their respective governments they shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the Conference as a whole". (Article V, amended, paragraph 12, of the Constitution).

23. Nevertheless, a reading of the minutes of the Executive Board makes it clear that since that date and from session to session, practice has become further and further removed from that international mandate.

24. It is true that most of the members of the Executive Board, to whom the most sincere tribute must be paid, are primarily concerned with the general policy and the whole body of the Organization's activities on the universal plane, for they are fully aware of the fact that they represent their governments only as agents for the execution of international responsibilities. But it happens fairly often that certain others devote much if not all of their work and interventions to questions which are of concern only to their own countries, as if they were merely those countries' permanent delegates or super delegates. Some of them for instance, are constantly making statements, putting questions and presenting requests for favoured treatment of their own countries in the execution and the preparation of the programme, particularly with regard to national associated projects, the choice of the headquarters of regional centres and the venues of international meetings, the allocation of posts in the Secretariat, etc. And how rare it is to find them consulting the Secretariat on the progress or difficulties of a project being carried out in a country not represented on the Board, or supporting an idea put forward by such a country!

25. As far as the preparation of the programme and budget is concerned, it is true that the Director-General consults Member States and takes into consideration all the observations and proposals made, particularly in the initial stages. But it is no less true that, in practice, sugges 'ons and requests from States represented on the Board receive special attention, if not a degree of favour, particularly as, during the later stages, they may be taken up again, reintroduced, defended and further defended by the representatives of those States in that body. And I wonder whether this state of affairs has not some connexion with the insistence of certain countries on securing a semi-permanent seat, to the detriment of the principle of rotation.

26. At all events, it seems to me that logically we must, in the interests of equity and a balanced programme, seek a satisfactory solution with regard to these consultations, or else abandon them purely and simply.

27. Accordingly, at the end of our survey and our thinking on these matters, we come to the conclusion that fundamental shortcomings in the methods by which the programme and budget is prepared are largely responsible for the present state of affairs.

28. Moreover, feeling that the alteration of time-limits or a reduction in the number of successive versions of the programme, whilst useful were only subsidiary measures, we turned our attention to the finding of a radical and rational solution. We found that - as is shown by the experience of 11 previous sessions - Unesco's activities are developing and its budget is increasing and will continue to increase, necessarily and inevitably. But these increases, not being based on a predetermined though flexible rule, often seem to be improvised, and the resulting confusion very largely falsifies the whole basis of the consultations and entails undue recourse to addenda and corrigenda.

29. Furthermore, when exceptional circumstances arise, the measures taken at short notice to meet them, in the absence of the possibility of drawing on a suitable fund, compel the Director-General, at the last minute, to upset the whole balance and machinery of a programme which has been worked out over the whole of a financial period.

30. Not wishing to confine itself to these remarks and statements, the Iranian delegation submits to the Conference draft resolution 11 C/DR/196, whose purpose is to provide, at one and the same time, for the normal development of the Organization's activities and for the possibility of immediate action in exceptional cases. I venture to insert here the complete text of the resolution, for, as you will agree, the two operative provisions contained therein will be better understood if, at the same time, the reader or editor is acquainted with the various considerations set forth in the preamble and with the rough outline (which is, naturally, not exhaustive) of the suggested priorities. This is the text:

"The General Conference,

Considering that, since the foundation of Unesco, through eleven sessions of the General Conference, the Organization's programmes of activities have steadily expanded, and its budget has been increased at each session,

Noting that this trend has, as experience has shown, become an established principle which will necessarily continue to govern budget estimates and work plans for several sessions to come,

Considering, nevertheless, that, under the rules in force, the Director-General, if he is to contemplate the inevitable budgetary increases, must consult Member States several times before sessions of the General Conference, and that these successive consultations by correspondence make the machinery for the preparation of the programme clumsy, without

producing explicit replies, in time, from most Member States.

Considering that, in the absence of a pre-established principle with regard to the expansion of the budget, proposals for increases have sometimes been formulated and adopted at or just before several sessions, thus necessitating impromptu readjustments of the prepared programmes and hasty consultations with their governments by delegations,

Considering that arrangements should be made to ensure the regular development of the Organization's activities, whilst avoiding the above-mentioned inconveniences, and to enable Member States to forecast the approximate amount of their contributions to the future budget,

Considering, also, that apart from the normal development of the programme, the Organization should be enabled to take prompt action to deal with certain important and unforeseeable problems,

Decides:

(I) that, henceforth, the General Conference shall, at the end of each session determine in advance the provisional ceiling of the budget which the Director-General is to submit to the following session;

Authorizes the Director-General to prepare the Regular programme of the Organization for 1963-1964 in terms of a budget up to 15% larger than the approved budget for 1961-1962, and in accordance with the following directives:

(a) as regards general activities, allowance shall be made for normal expansion, emphasis being placed on the development of international co-operation between specialists and on the improvement of documentation, particularly in States which have recently become independent;

(b) among the special activities, the following fields shall be given priority:

(i) Education:
primary and secondary education: teacher training, production of reading materials and survey on school buildings;
higher education: aid to Member States, especially to those which have recently become independent, for the establishment of the necessary institutions;
adult education: literacy campaign;
educational planning.

(ii) Natural Sciences:
promotion of studies on natural resources, especially in connexion with oceanography and soil research;
improvement of the teaching of the basic sciences in secondary schools and universities.

(iii) Social Sciences:
promotion of the teaching of the social sciences, especially in developing countries;
study on the application of the social sciences to economic and social development.

(iv) Cultural Activities:
translation of representative works; development of libraries, especially in countries which have recently become independent; preparation of guides to sources of history.

(v) Mass Communication:
use of mass communication techniques in education, especially in adult education; development of international understanding through mass communication.

(vi) International Exchange Service:
increase of budget estimates for grants in priority fields.

(vii) National Commissions:
promotion of the development of activities recommended to National Commissions.

(c) Major Projects:
The Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America and the Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values shall be continued and strengthened;
the project on the development of primary education in Asia shall be converted into a Major Project with a 30% increase over its budget estimates for 1961-1962.

(d) Publications:
Efforts should be made to widen the distribution of Unesco publications and to encourage national authorities to have them brought out in different languages in accordance with a systematic long-term plan.

(II) that the Director-General and the Executive Board shall be asked to study the desirability of setting up an 'Emergency Fund' to be used in cases where exceptional and unforeseeable circumstances make it urgently necessary to undertake new activities not covered by the Regular programme; to take appropriate action; and to report to the General Conference at its next session, it being possible to finance this fund from budgetary savings from preceding financial periods and from extra-budgetary resources such as voluntary contributions, the Special Account and, if possible, a loan from the International Development Association, etc.".

31. This draft resolution was simultaneously communicated to the Working Party of the General Conference on Methods of Preparing the Programme and Budget and to the Programme Commission. I myself had the honour of submitting it to the former, of which I was a member. Some delegations were sympathetic, at least in principle; others expressed reservations, saying that they had no instructions from their governments, or objections to certain points which seemed to them to require clarification. At the conclusion of the discussion, I was given the opportunity of speaking for a second time, to clear up misunderstandings and to reply to objections. Unfortunately, the report which is before you contains only a small and, may I say, relatively disconnected

part of my statement and my replies, and makes no mention of the cogent further arguments put forward by those who spoke in favour of this resolution. Consequently, in the absence of minutes or even of a tape-recording of the discussion, and to avoid any future error in interpretation, I believe it to be my duty to make the following statement:

32. Some members of the Working Party believed and stated that, in their opinion, this proposal was likely to produce a mechanical, arbitrary or fixed increase, not founded on the real needs of the Organization. Others had in mind an increase of 15%, determined in advance and for all time, for all future programmes. One delegation, which has always spoken in favour of the steady development of Unesco's activities, even drew attention, in moving tones, to the fate of the taxpayer. Now there is neither in the text of the draft, nor in the mind of its author any question of an automatic or mechanical increase. It is merely a matter of sanctioning in principle an inevitable development which has been going on for 14 years past, but, as I have said, on rule-of-thumb lines in circumstances which were frequently confused, and - here I will use that word - "mechanical". The predetermined but flexible increase which I suggest, combined with the idea of an "Emergency Fund", is inspired by life itself - by the life of a sensible family which, on the one hand, foresees an increase in the number of its children or in their needs (that is to say, its Regular programme) and, on the other hand, provides means of dealing with unexpected circumstances or accidents, by creating a reserve fund. The same observation is equally applicable to a wisely and soundly organized administration.

33. If, then, the prudent foresight of a family or an administration in providing for possible expenses can be termed mechanical or arbitrary, then the same epithets should be applied to a predetermined increase in Unesco's budgets. Moreover, is the appraisal of Unesco's previous programmes, with a view to utilizing the conclusions in the future, for the implementation of long-term projects, anything other than a technical and financial process planned in advance? Furthermore, what needs are more real than those for which provision is made in the basic programmes of Unesco, drawn up at Florence and developed at Montevideo? And what particulars could be more appropriate than those given - though naturally only by way of example and as a basis for discussion - with regard to priority activities, in the Iranian proposal itself? Is it not strange that this objection (namely, the difficulty a Conference has in considering a provisional ceiling for a programme to be prepared in the immediate future, e.g. by the current session of the Conference with regard to the programme for 1963-1964) should have been put forward, probably as a result of misunderstanding and hasty judgement, by delegates whose countries are renowned for the launching and success of their five-year plans?

34. For these reasons, I still believe that, if the Working Party had been set up at the very beginning of the current session, and if, as a result, the Iranian resolution and certain other resolutions had had the good fortune to be discussed early enough, the eleventh session of the General Conference would have been able to decide in favour of the principle of a predetermined increase. Moreover, is it not true that, even under the present system, the provisional ceiling of the future budget is estimated during the first three or six months following the General Conference? If, so soon after a session of the Conference, the Executive Board and the Director-General find it possible to estimate the provisional ceiling for the forthcoming period, why should the Conference itself be incapable of doing likewise?

35. I may add that, in reply to a question from a member of the Working Party, the Director-General revealed that, during the preparation of the programme for 1961-1962, and even before the events in Africa, the Board and he himself had repeatedly changed their minds about the provisional budget ceiling, the variations in its amount ranging from an 8% increase - which was at first considered to be too much - to 14% - which was considered too little - then down to a lower percentage again, and finally sharply up to 18%. This, gentlemen, is an example of one of the drawbacks, one of the uncertainties arising from the absence of a predetermined provisional framework.

36. What technical, legal, administrative or financial obstacle, then, prevents us from considering a provisional budget ceiling for the next period, for a programme which is always prepared immediately after the end of a General Conference?

37. It should be mentioned in passing that the figure of 15%, which was suggested merely as an example, could have been reduced or increased in 1963-1964 or in subsequent periods, so that there would be no risk of a stabilized budget which might have compromised Unesco's future.

38. At all events, the majority of the Working Party, although, in our view, its members had enough data before them to take a decision on the first part of the operative section of the resolution, decided - perhaps because they met only at a comparatively late stage - to recommend that it be referred by the General Conference to the Executive Board. We thus find ourselves faced with two years of uncertainty due to the prolongation of a system which is open to criticism of all kinds. In view of these circumstances, which I cannot but call unfortunate, and whilst reluctantly yielding to this decision, we are convinced that the Executive Board will examine this vital problem with the requisite attention.

39. I now come to the second part of the operative section of the draft resolution, which forms a whole with the first part, since the two are mutually complementary. I wish to speak about the "Emergency Fund", or, if you like, the "marginal or reserve fund" for dealing with exceptional circumstances. This matter, which we recommended for examination by the Director-General and the next Executive Board, also called forth favourable and unfavourable comment with regard to its principle. Among the objections, I would mention the contention that, as there is already a Working Capital Fund, a Technical Assistance Fund, a Special Fund etc., the establishment of the proposed marginal fund would represent unnecessary duplication. Now, according to Article 6.3 of the Financial Regulations, the Working Capital Fund was established to meet current expenses under the Regular programme, pending the receipt of contributions. As far as the Technical Assistance and Special

Fund are concerned, since the moneys available are planned in advance and devoted to specific projects they, like the Working Capital Fund, cannot be utilized in emergencies. Furthermore, this idea is not as unusual as it seemed to some members of the Working Party, since Article 6.6 of the Financial Regulations states that trust funds, reserve and special accounts may be established by the Director-General.

40. As for the utilization or provision of voluntary contributions to finance this fund, which was challenged or called in question by some members, it should be noted, and not without a certain bitterness, that most countries - in particular the large ones - are hesitant when there is any question of making contributions of this kind. True generosity, above all on the part of the large countries, towards the underdeveloped countries, should take the form of voluntary contributions rather than of last-minute proposals for increasing the budget ceiling, since such increases then place a burden on all Member States, including those which are economically weak. In other words, as the proverb says: To make a friend is not a costly thing, when offering water freely from the spring...

41. It has also been said that, instead of collecting all voluntary and similar contributions in a marginal fund, as we recommend, it would be better to allot each fund to a given activity. But what, I ask, would we then do in the event of an urgent and exceptional situation for which no fund made provision?

42. It thus seems to me regrettable that it was not possible for the Working Party to go thoroughly into the various aspects of this proposal, and that even the brief discussion which was held has neither been adequately reflected in the report before you, nor recorded in the minutes (for there were none) or on tape. You are probably aware, too, that because of the lack of time, it was not possible for the Programme Commission to discuss it.

43. These are the reasons which have led me, not without embarrassment, to take up so much of your very valuable time in order to leave at least a few traces in the records of the plenary meetings, for the attention of the Executive Board.

44. As I stated a few minutes ago, I do not intend to press for a discussion of this matter in plenary meeting nor to submit a resolution. Nevertheless, I earnestly hope - and this is a formal proposal - that the General Conference will see fit to adopt two minor amendments to draft resolution no.3, on page 11 of document 11 C/47.

45. The first would be to request the Director-General to refer to the Executive Board not only the draft resolutions and the Report in question, but also all the points raised by delegations at plenary meetings or meetings of subsidiary organs which were directly or indirectly concerned with the subject of document 11 C/47.

46. Secondly, I would suggest the insertion in the last paragraph of that resolution, beginning with "Invites the Executive Board", of the words " ... and the Director-General", for we all know that, under the Constitution and the various provisions of the Financial Regulations, the preparation of the programme and budget is mainly the responsibility of the Director-General, subject, naturally, to the observations of the Executive Board, which, for its part, is responsible to the General Conference for the execution of the programme.

UNESCO PUBLICATIONS : NATIONAL DISTRIBUTORS

Afghanistan : Panuzai, Press Department, Royal Afghan Ministry of Education, KABUL.
Albania : N. Sh. Botimeve, «Naim Frasheri», TIRANA.
Argentina : Editorial Sudamericana S.A., Alsina 500, BUENOS AIRES.
Australia : Melbourne University Press, 369 Lonsdale Street, MELBOURNE C, 1 (Victoria).
Austria : Verlag Georg Fromme & Co., Spengergasse 39, VIENNA V.
Belgium : Office de publicité S.A., 16, rue Marcq, BRUXELLES ; N.V. Standaard Boekhandel Belgiëlei 151, ANTWERPEN, For *The Courier:* Louis de Lannoy, 22, Place de Brouckère, BRUXELLES.
Bolivia : Librería Selecciones, avenida Camacho 369, LA PAZ ; Librería Universitaria, Universidad de San Francisco Xavier, SUCRE ; Librería «Los Amigos del Libro», calle Perú 11, COCHABAMBA ; Instituto de Estudios Sociales y Económicos, Universidad Mayor de San Simón, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, casilla 1392, COCHABAMBA.
Brazil : Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 186 Praia de Botafogo, caixa postal 4081, RIO DE JANEIRO.
Bulgaria : Raznoïznos, 1, Tzar Assen, SOFIA.
Burma : Burma Translation Society, 361 Prome Road, RANGOON.
Cambodia : Librairie Albert Portail, 14, avenue Boulloche, PHNOM-PENH.
Canada : The Queen's Printer, OTTAWA (Ont.).
Ceylon : Lake House Bookshop, P.O. Box 244, Lady Lochore Building, 100 Parsons Road, COLOMBO 2.
Chile : Editorial Universitaria S.A., avenida B. O'Higgins 1058, casilla 10220, SANTIAGO. For *The Courier:* Comisión Nacional de la Unesco en Chile, calle San Antonio 255, 7.° piso, SANTIAGO.
China : The World Book Co, Ltd., 99 Chungking South Road, Section 1, TAIPEH, Taiwan (Formosa).
Colombia : Librería Central, carrera 6-A n.° 14-32 BOGOTÁ ; Librería Buchholz Galería, avenida Jiménez de Quesada 8-40, BOGOTÁ ; J. Germán Rodríguez N., oficina 201, Edificio Banco de Bogotá, apartado nacional 83, GIRARDOT. For *The Courier:* Pío Alfonso García, carrera 40 n.° 21-11, CARTAGENA.
Costa Rica : Imprenta y Librería Trejos, S.A., apartado 1313, SAN JOSE.
Cuba : Librería Económica, Pte Zayas 505-7, apartado 113, LA HABANA.
Czechoslovakia : Artia Ltd., 30, Ve Smečkách, PRAHA 2.
Denmark : Ejnar Munksgaard Ltd., 6 Nørregade, KOBENHAVN K.
Dominican Republic : Librería Dominicana, Mercedes 49, apartado de correos 656, CIUDAD TRUJILLO.
Ecuador : Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, Núcleo del Guyas, Pedro Moncayo y 9 de Octubre, casilla de correo n.° 3542, GUAYAQUIL.
El Salvador : Profesor Federico Cárdenas Ruano, Librería «La Luz», Hotel Nuevo Mundo, SAN SALVADOR.
Ethiopia : International Press Agency, P.O. Box 120, ADDIS ABABA.
Finland : Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, 2 Keskuskatu, HELSINKI.
France : Librairie de l'Unesco, place de Fontenoy, PARIS-7e ; *Wholesale:* Sales Section, place de Fontenoy, PARIS-7e.
French West Indies : Librairie J. Bocage, Rue Lavoir, B.P. 208, FORT-DE-FRANCE (Martinique).
Germany (Fed. Rep.) : R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Unesco-Vertrieb für Deutschland Rosenheimerstrasse 145, MUNCHEN 8.
Ghana : Methodist Book Depot Limited, Atlantis House, Commercial Street, P.O. Box 100, CAPE COAST.
Greece : Librairie H. Kauffman, 28, Rue du Stade, ATHENES.
Guatemala : Comisión Nacional de la Unesco, 5.ª Calle 6-79, zona 1 (Altos), GUATEMALA.
Haiti : Librairie «A la Caravelle», 36, rue Roux, B.P. 111, PORT-AU-PRINCE.
Honduras : Librería México, frente Zapatería Atenas, apartado postal 767, TEGUCIGALPA, D.C.
Hong-Kong : Swindon Book Co., 25 Nathan Road, KOWLOON.
Hungary : Kultura, P.O. Box 149, BUDAPEST 62.
India : Orient Longmans Ltd. ; 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, CALCUTTA 13. ; Nicol Road, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY 1. ; 36 A Mount Road, MADRAS 2. ; Kanson House, 1/24 Asaf Ali Road, NEW DELHI 1. *Sub-depots :* Oxford Book & Stationery Co. : 17 Park Street, CALCUTTA 16. ; *and* Scindia House, NEW DELHI.
Indonesia : P.N. Fadjar Bhakti, Djalan Nusantara 22, DJAKARTA.
Iran : Commission nationale iranienne pour l'Unesco, avenue du Musée, TEHERAN.
Iraq : McKenzie's Bookshop, BAGHDAD.
Ireland : The National Press, 2 Wellington Road, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN.
Israel : Blumstein's Bookstores Ltd., 35 Allenby Road and 48 Nahlat Benjamin Street, TEL AVIV.
Italy : Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni (Agente generale), via Gino Capponi, 26, casella postale 552, FIRENZE ; Libreria Zanichelli, Portici del Pavaglione, BOLOGNA ; Hoepli, via Ulrico Hoepli, 5, MILANO.
Italy (cont'd.) Libreria Internazionale Ulrico Hoepli, Largo Chighi, ROMA ; Libreria Internazionale Modernissima, via della Mercede, 43, 45, ROMA ; Libreria Paravia, via Garibaldi, 23, TORINO.
Jamaica : Sangster's Book Room, 91 Harbour Street, KINGSTON ; Knox Educational Services, SPALDINGS.
Japan : Maruzen Co., Ltd., 6, Tori-Nichome, Nihonbashi, P.O. Box 605, Tokyo Central, TOKYO.
Jordan : Joseph I. Bahous & Co., Dar-ul-Kutub, Salt Road, P.O. Box 66, AMMAN.
Korea : Korean National Commission for Unesco, P.O. Box Central 64, SEOUL.
Lebanon : Librairie Antoine, A. Naufal et Frères, B.P. 656, BEYROUTH.
Luxembourg : Librairie Paul Bruck, 22, Grand-Rue, LUXEMBOURG.
Malaya (Federation of) & Singapore : Federal Publications Ltd., Times House, River Valley Road, SINGAPORE.
Malta : Sapienza's Library, 26 Kingsway, VALLETTA.
Mexico : Editorial Hermes, Ignacio Mariscal, 41, MEXICO D.F.
Monaco : British Library, 30, Boulevard des Moulins, MONTE CARLO.
Morocco : Centre de diffusion documentaire du B.E.P.I., B.P. 211, RABAT.
Netherlands : N.V. Martinus Nijhoff, Lange Voorhout 9, 's-GRAVENHAGE.
Netherlands Antilles : G.C.T. Van Dorp & Co., (Ned. Ant.) N.V., WILLEMSTAD (Curaçao, N.A.).
New Zealand : Unesco Publications Centre, 100 Hackthorne Road, CHRISTCHURCH.
Nicaragua : Librería Cultural Nicaragüense, calle 15 de Septiembre n.° 115, MANAGUA.
Nigeria : C.M.S. (Nigeria) Bookshops, P.O. Box 174, LAGOS.
Norway : A.S. Bokhjørnet, Lille Grensen 7, OSLO.
Pakistan : The West-Pak Publishing Co. Ltd., Unesco Publications House, P.O. Box 374, 56-N Gulberg Industrial Colony, LAHORE.
Panama : Cultural Panameña, Avenida 7.ª n.° 11-49, apartado de correos 2018, PANAMA.
Paraguay : Agencia de Librerías de Salvador Nizza, Yegros entre 25 de Mayo y Mcal. Estigarribia, ASUNCIÓN.
Peru : «ESEDAL» — Oficina de Servicios», Depto. de Venta de Publicaciones, Edificio Santos, Jirón Ica 441-A, oficina 108, LIMA.
Philippines : Philippine Education Co. Inc., 1104 Castillejos, Quiapo, P.O. Box 620, MANILA.
Poland : Osrodek Rozpowszechniania Wydawnictw Naukowych PAN, Pałac Kultury i Nauki, WARZAWA.
Portugal : Dias & Andrade Ltda, Livraria Portugal, rua do Carmo 70, LISBOA.
Republic of South Africa : Van Schaik's Bookstore (Pty.), Ltd., Libri Building, Church Street, P.O. Box 724, PRETORIA.
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland : The Book Centre, First Street, SALISBURY (Southern Rhodesia).
Rumania : Cartimex, Str. Aristide Briand 14-18, P.O. Box 134-135, BUCURESTI.
Senegal : La Maison du livre, 13, avenue Roume, DAKAR.
Singapore : *see* Malaya (Federation of).
Spain : Librería Científica Medinaceli, Duque de Medinaceli 4, MADRID 14. For *The Courier:* Ediciones Iberoamericanas S.A., calle de Oñate 15, MADRID.
Sweden : A/B.C.E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel, Fredsgatan 2, STOCKHOLM 16. For *The Courier:* Svenska Unescorådet, Vasagatan 15-17, STOCKHOLM C.
Switzerland : Europa Verlag, Rämistrasse 5, ZURICH ; Payot, 40, rue du Marché, GENEVE.
Tanganyika : Dar es Salaam Bookshop, P.O. Box 9030, DAR ES SALAAM.
Thailand : Suksapan Panit, Mansion 9, Rajdamnern Avenue, BANGKOK.
Turkey : Librairie Hachette, 469, Istiklal Caddesi, Beyoglu, ISTANBUL.
Uganda : Uganda Bookshop, P.O. Box 145, KAMPALA.
United Arab Republic : La Renaissance d'Egypte, 9 Sh. Adly-Pasha, CAIRO (Egypt).
United Kingdom : H.M. Stationery Office, P.O. Box 569, LONDON S.E. 1.
United States of America : Unesco Publications Center, 801 Third Avenue, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. ; *and except for periodicals:* Columbia University Press, 2960, Broadway, NEW YORK 27, N.Y.
Uruguay : Unésco Centro de Cooperación Científica para América Latina, Bulevar Artigas 1320-24, casilla de correo, 859, MONTEVIDEO ; Oficina de Representación de Editoriales, plaza Cagancha 1342, 1.er piso, MONTEVIDEO.
USSR : Mežhdunarodnaja Kniga, MOSKVA G-200.
Venezuela : Librería Politécnica, calle Villaflor, local A, al lado General Electric, Sabana Grande, CARACAS ; Librería Selecta, Avenida 3, n.° 23-23, MÉRIDA.
Viet-Nam : Librairie papeterie Xuan-Thu, 185-193, rue Tu-Do, B.P. 283, SAIGON.
Yugoslavia : Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije 27, BEOGRAD.