

philosophies, themselves "the expression of the long continuity of experience which can be one of the strongest qualities of an institution", the essence of a civil servant's work. Distilled experience that is relevant to real problems is clearly valuable. To make adherence to it the essence of administrative function may well prevent the vital task of fresh and vigorous thinking.

UNESCO AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE

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IN the light of the deepening world crisis and the continuing danger of war, the unresolved question of Unesco's proper role in United Nations affairs becomes an urgent and crucial issue which should be resolved once for all by the General Conference of Unesco meeting in Paris in June, 1951. As the one agency of the United Nations created for the specific purpose of contributing to peace and security through education, science, and culture, it should play a central role in the total effort of the United Nations to achieve and maintain peace.

Actually, Unesco has thus far played only a minor part in this task, although it has undertaken a wide variety of activities in the fields of education, science, and culture that are in themselves interesting and valuable. The degree to which the coming Paris Conference can succeed in focusing the work of Unesco directly upon the task of contributing to peace and security will not only affect the prospects for achieving and maintaining peace; it will also determine whether the people of the United Nations must find some other agency to perform the highly important function set forth in Unesco's constitution.

The question of Unesco's relation to the achievement and maintenance of peace has from the start been a source of confusion and disagreement in the General Conference, the Executive Board, and the Secretariat. It has even been argued by responsible members of these bodies that it is not Unesco's task at all to contribute to the achievement of peace, as the constitution explicitly provides, but rather to enrich the peace, if

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and when it comes. Indeed, an examination of Unesco's programme will reveal how deep-seated and effective this belief has become.

To citizens concerned that means be found for achieving and maintaining peace within the United Nations framework, as well as to students of politics interested in the working of the United Nations system, the reasons for Unesco's uncertain position and inadequate action are particularly important. The first reason is that Unesco's purpose has been obscured and confused by the constitution itself, which declares that the organization exists to contribute to peace and security through education, science, and culture, but then gives plausible (though not in my judgment adequate) justification for activities that merely promote education, science, and culture for their own sake. The second reason is that member governments in the General Conference have further confused the situation by new interpretations that go beyond the constitution, and have voted programmes consisting of a mass of activities generally unrelated to the achievement of peace and security.

One must read the full text of Article I of the constitution, which defines Unesco's purpose, to understand how the organization could have been deflected so far from its constitutional purpose.

"Article I. Purposes and Functions

"1. The purpose of the Organization is 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.

"2. To realize this purpose the Organization will:

"(a) 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;

"(b) give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture; by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities;

"(c) 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, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions;

by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of

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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.

“3. With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.”

The meaning of Article I is clearly that Unesco has *one* purpose (that stated in Section 1) that shall be pursued *by means of* the activities listed in Section 2, but only insofar as these activities do in fact contribute to peace and security. (Note the opening clause of Section 2: “To realize this purpose [singular] the Organization will”.) It has been claimed, however, that it is the intention of Article I to identify as intrinsic contributions to peace and security all the activities enumerated in Section 2, and thus to authorize the Organization to pursue these activities without questioning their relative effectiveness in terms of the stated purpose.

It will immediately be seen in what totally different directions these two interpretations carry the Organization. Not only are different types of programme called for under the two interpretations, but also basically different kinds of structure and personnel for the Secretariat. Criteria to be applied in programme building according to the one approach are hardly applicable according to the other, and appraisals of the Organization's effectiveness call for completely different standards of evaluation.

To date the governments of member states have permitted the second interpretation to have wide influence in the formulation of the policy and programme of Unesco. Indeed, the annual General Conference of government delegates has regularly voted programmes that reflect considerable uncertainty as to the intention of the constitution. The last General Conference, held in Florence in June, 1950, illustrated most dramatically the confusion that has resulted from this uncertainty. The Conference had before it a series of pleas from the Director-General (at one point dramatized by his resignation) and from some delegations to achieve greater concentration in the programme and to relate

Unesco's work more closely to that of the United Nations. Its response was to attempt to redefine the purpose of the Organization by vastly increasing Unesco's task to include the "advancing . . . of the common welfare of mankind"* and by asserting that according to the constitution all Unesco activities "must be directed towards the peace and prosperity of mankind, within the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".† In fact, Article I, "Purposes and Functions", of the constitution does not mention the general welfare or prosperity, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was not signed until long after Unesco's constitution had been adopted.

The General Conference then proceeded to identify "three main fields of work",‡ ten "main tasks",§ and seven "main ideas"|| to guide Unesco and voted a programme consisting of a Basic Programme, a Programme for 1951, a programme of activities in Germany and Japan, a Resolution on Technical Assistance for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries, a Statement of Methods, and a number of general Resolutions including one on a World Friendship Flag for children and a friendship postage stamp.

Although it instructed the Director-General and the Executive Board to carry out the programme of 1950 and 1951 "in the most effective and concentrated manner possible", the Conference still voted the 1951 programme as a series of separate programmes in education, natural sciences, social sciences, cultural activities, exchange of persons, mass communication, and relief services. This compartmentalization naturally precludes focusing upon objectives designed to contribute to peace and security. It even prevents directing work toward the main "tasks" and "ideas" which the Conference spelled out in such detail to explain the programme to the public.

Given the obscurity of the constitution that has provided plausible ground for evading the central responsibility and given the uncertainty and lack of direction of the General Conference, it is not surprising that Unesco's programme has consisted of a vast number of activities lacking in precise orientation toward making a calculated contribution to the attainment of peace in the foreseeable future.

A fair description of the present programme emerges from the recent analysis by the first Director-General, Julian Huxley, of

* *Records of the General Conference, Fifth Session, Florence, 1950*, p. 15. † *Ibid.*, p. 61.
 ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 15. § *Ibid.*, p. 65. || *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 23, 61.

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the internal conflict that has plagued Unesco since the days of the Preparatory Commission meeting in London.

“. . . One school of thought wished to judge Unesco's programme by its direct and immediate contribution to peace in the present, the other laid stress on the indirect but indispensable contribution of education, science, and culture to the peaceful one world of the future.

"The former accordingly believed that Unesco could and should play a certain political role, and be concerned with peace in the essentially negative sense of preventing the outbreak of wars. The latter felt that this task could only properly be undertaken by a primarily political organization—in this case the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular—and that the peace which Unesco could promote was what Archibald MacLeish called positive peace: the business of fuller living in a world from which the threat of war has been banished. However, in doing this, they went on to argue, Unesco might be making an indirect contribution to political peace—for instance, by aiding in the removal of the inequalities of opportunity which are among the tensions leading to unrest and war." (*Manchester Guardian*, August 10th, 1950.)

Under the influence of this second conception, the Unesco programme has been divided almost in the manner of a university curriculum into areas of knowledge: education, natural science, social science, philosophy and humanistic studies, arts and letters, museums, historical monuments, libraries and documentation, copyright (the last seven combined under the title of "cultural activities"), exchange of persons, mass communications, relief assistance, and technical assistance. Under each of these Unesco seeks to promote professional co-operation and the increased development and diffusion of knowledge. Only in the social sciences programmes and in a portion of the education and mass communications programme is there a deliberate and calculated effort to contribute to peace and security except in the very remote future and by the most indirect means.

Without in any way underestimating the intrinsic value of the kinds of educational, scientific, and cultural activities Unesco has largely promoted to date, it is highly questionable whether these do in fact contribute to peace and security in the sense in which the constitution defines Unesco's single purpose. There is grave doubt whether the general maintenance, development, or diffusion of knowledge is likely to affect favourably the prospects for peace and security in this world.

The seriousness of the world crisis and the magnitude of the educational task to be done to provide the foundation for a

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peaceful United Nations community demand that Unesco concentrate now upon activities that can increase the prospect for achieving and maintaining peace.

A programme so oriented would include some of the present activities, but it would be completely different in emphasis and tempo as well as in scope. It should include four principal areas of work. A positive programme that would contribute directly to peace and security requires first of all considerably more knowledge than is now available concerning the causes of war and the conditions required for peace. So great is the lack of real facts that almost any action undertaken now by Unesco proceeds more or less blindly upon untested assumptions, and may or may not actually contribute to peace.

The research programme would seek to mobilize the resources of education, science, and culture insofar as they can throw light upon (1) the causes of war and the conditions required for peace, and (2) the methods whereby the causes of war can be removed and the conditions for peace established. Research of this kind is not altogether new to Unesco. The so-called Tensions Project, which seeks to find out more about the nature and significance, as causes of war, of a wide range of social tensions, and the project on studies of international co-operation, which seeks to find ways of strengthening the institutions of the United Nations, provide a solid basis upon which to proceed.

More needs to be known concerning the basic knowledge and the attitudes required by men and women in all countries for making decisions that will contribute to peace and security. What are the rational understandings needed, both by ordinary citizens and by officials, if the policies they support and the decisions they take on public questions are to carry us toward the desired goal of peace? We also need more knowledge about the unconscious or non-rational influences that affect decisions related to peace. We need to know more about the ways in which both the rational and the non-rational factors can be influenced by activities that fall within Unesco's orbit.

Research can also help evaluate or measure the effect of Unesco's activities. Objective evaluations of this kind, for which techniques have been developed by social scientists, have been successfully employed by governments and by private industry, where they are increasingly regarded as an essential element in the development of programmes undertaken with a view to producing specific results. For Unesco, such evaluation studies are

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not only desirable to insure the effectiveness of its work; they are indispensable in view of the small budget within which it must work.

While research is under way, Unesco can proceed with three kinds of activities which are aimed precisely to influence the prospects for peace and security in the foreseeable future. The *first* would aim to reach the people who to-day have a part in the making of political decisions that can affect the course of world events toward the maintenance of peace. The people to be reached first of all are those in countries that are most influential in world affairs, and within these countries they are the people in positions of power or in a position to influence those with power. The objective would be to give these people the knowledge and attitudes required for making intelligent decisions. The *second* would aim to raise the educational levels of those countries whose present educational institutions and facilities are inadequate to insure a high enough level of literacy to support effective democratic systems of government. In these countries literacy campaigns must precede efforts to provide people with the understandings and attitudes conducive to peace. The *third* would aim to increase the international flow of information, since this is a prerequisite to the exercise of intelligent influence and to the raising of educational standards.

The general scope of the programmes in these three parts is indicated in the following paragraphs:

1. The objective of the programme intended to reach those who can influence decisions should be to ensure that they have the required knowledge of world affairs to act in a manner consistent with peace, and to encourage action that will in fact promote peace. Instead of promoting what is vaguely called "international understanding", Unesco should promote knowledge of certain elementary facts that public opinion needs for making intelligent decisions on public policy. Five understandings may be suggested here as illustrative.

(a) War anywhere endangers everyone.

People must understand that peace cannot be assured to any part of the world if war or the threat of war exists anywhere else. For this reason, citizens of every nation should learn to view with concern any use or threatened use of force for national purposes, even though it takes place in some remote corner of the world. The revolution in time and space relations between nations, caused by modern technology as applied to all forms of

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communication, no longer permits an attitude of isolation on the part of any but those who are willing to be vanquished and destroyed. Positive educational programmes promoted vigorously by Unesco on the realities of the physical world in which we live could do much to sharpen awareness of the actual interdependence of nations for continued peaceful existence.

(b) Nations depend upon each other for economic welfare.

The same factors that have made the world's peace problem one and indivisible have also made of the world an economic unity whose several parts are dependent upon each other for prosperity and a decent standard of welfare. Citizens who are called upon to approve or disapprove of economic policies must learn to recognize their implications for the welfare of other countries. They must learn to resist and to disapprove those that may appear to give immediate national benefits but spell economic hardship or disaster for others. Such policies tend ultimately to boomerang and cause disaster also for those who thought they would only gain.

(c) People are different.

Although the world has become one for the purposes of achieving security and prosperity, the peoples of the world are very different from each other. They have arisen out of vastly different backgrounds and have different habits and values. These differences are among the facts of life in the world community. They must be known and taken into account in any planning and in any negotiations. No one nation can control or dominate—nor can any one way of life. Through exchanges of ideas, through personal contacts, through books, through the mass media and in many other ways, the culture of each people should be made known to others. Because people are so different, it is especially important to understand adequately the mainsprings of political action in other nations. Only then can we hope to understand better the objectives and the reasons behind the policies of other nations.

(d) Human rights are essential to peace.

Again, it would seem essential that all citizens should understand how far peace depends upon the observance by all nations of certain fundamental human rights. These rights reflect the basic human values by which people live, and there must be a minimum agreement here, if all people are to support with conviction and, if necessary, with personal sacrifices, the common

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policies and action of the United Nations. Although the adoption of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been achieved, no member of the United Nations has a record of observing all the rights to which it subscribes. This is not surprising, and the main value of the Declaration lies still in the standard and goal it sets. But the achievement of the goal requires a positive campaign for the education of public opinion in all countries that are members of the United Nations.

(e) The U.N. is indispensable to-day.

Finally, an understanding of the indispensability of the United Nations and its specialized agencies is a requisite for intelligent citizenship. Unless this is understood, people may yet fail to see how much is at stake when its authority—that is, the common will of its members—is challenged. But it is also necessary to understand that successful action by the United Nations requires of its members methods of conduct that are different from those of the days of independent national diplomacy. No nation can carry out its foreign policies without consulting others. All national policies affecting the welfare and security of other peoples must continually be examined in terms of their consistency with membership in the United Nations. All nations must be prepared to support with all their resources, the common will expressed in U.N. decisions, even to the point of military action.

Although the above formulations are offered merely by way of illustration, some such body of ideas should form the substance of Unesco's programme addressed to those whose attitudes can affect the prospects for world peace. The promotion of these ideas will call for the use of all the means and media at Unesco's disposal, and they should form the constant frame of reference for all the activities in this part of Unesco's programme. Beginning with the pre-school influences upon children, educational programmes should be developed to reach every level of education, including the universities. By all available means, Unesco should attempt to reach teachers, curricula, textbooks, and research activities, and, through these, the minds of students.

Outside the formal educational system, the several media designed to reach mass audiences, primarily of adults, should be used in the most imaginative and purposeful manner possible. Press, film, radio, television, libraries, museums and theatres, all are means through which to promote the ideas and attitudes that Unesco believes are important prerequisites to the kind of action

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that will further the prospects for peace. The campaign must reflect a deliberately adopted tempo and strategy, both for the purpose of bringing about changes in the attitudes and actions of specific and selected people as quickly as possible, and to ensure the most efficient use of Unesco's small financial resources.

2. The *second* would aim to raise the educational levels of those countries whose present educational facilities are inadequate to support effective democratic systems of government. In these countries, literacy campaigns are a pre-requisite to providing people with the understandings and attitudes conducive to peace, but such campaigns must comprise also positive programmes to further *political* literacy.

Though the raising of educational levels must, in some areas, precede the programmes by which Unesco wishes to provide the knowledge and attitudes outlined above, the two objectives should not be rigidly separated. Even the most elementary programmes to combat illiteracy should include from the beginning the objective of providing the newly literate with the attitudes and understandings that will help them in the making of decisions that will contribute to peace. It would be short-sighted to promote extensive literacy campaigns without careful attention to the uses to be made of the newly gained freedom from illiteracy and ignorance. Without an orientation of the newly literate for the assumption of civic responsibilities, their new freedom may become more a liability than an asset to peace, since they may succumb to various kinds of propaganda that lead in the opposite direction. In short, their literacy programmes are to no avail unless aimed at achieving *political* literacy.

Unesco has made a beginning toward raising educational levels in its so-called fundamental education programme, as is evident from the plans for 1951. In this programme, however, neither the tempo nor the strategy are of a kind to produce the result of increasing political literacy, although the teacher training institute located in Mexico appears to be conceived in terms bold enough to effect a reduction in illiteracy.

3. The *third* part of the programme should be concerned with increasing the flow of information across all international boundaries. Its objective should be first of all to remove the obstacles to this flow. This can be done by some of the methods already contained in the mass communications programme, but efforts should be more concentrated and adequate resources allotted so that objectives are reached quickly and visible results attained.

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For example, the so-called Technical Needs Surveys, through which basic information is collected on the availability of equipment and resources for press, radio, and films, should have been completed in one year so that the data collected from various countries would be comparable and so that the next steps could be taken—the improvement of facilities on the basis of up-to-date information. In fact, the surveys have been spread out over five years.

Unesco should also concern itself, within the framework of a world campaign, with the inadequacy of the present mechanism and content of international news dissemination. Most of the world's population receives only the most fragmentary news from outside their own countries, and as a consequence are lacking in the basic information for making intelligent judgments or decisions. The absence of adequate channels and services constitutes an important barrier also to that part of Unesco's own programme of education that relies upon the mass media.

The purpose of the suggested programme outlined above is to make the most direct contribution possible to peace and security. It begins with a basic research programme to ensure that what is done will indeed make such a contribution. It proposes an action programme with a limited focus and always subject to reorientation if this seems indicated on the basis of further research and evaluation. The action programme has precise objectives that permit the achievement and measurement of results.

Unesco has to date very largely failed to reach the people of its member states. A number of factors have contributed to this failure, but the principal reason has been the absence of a sense of urgency in the Conference resolutions and consequently a lack of preoccupation with the techniques needed to reach people. The mailing of questionnaires and results of expert meetings to governments and to special interest groups has been considered too often as an adequate discharge of responsibility. The printing of pamphlets on a wide variety of interesting subjects, but distributed only to the extent of perhaps 5,000 to 20,000 copies to governments, has been substituted for discovering ingenious ways of reaching the masses of people in whose hands rests ultimate political power. Even carefully conceived and well planned undertakings such as teachers' training seminars have hardly reached, in their effect, beyond the few hundred who may have attended personally.

Many activities now being carried on, notably in natural

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sciences, cultural activities, and relief assistance, do not seem to have any direct relation to the purpose of Unesco as here described. One may regret that certain activities whose inherent or abstract value arouses interest, should be eliminated. Yet the choice that is now required in Unesco does not permit the retention of items unrelated to Unesco's purpose. To retain them would endanger Unesco's performance of its main task.

The suggestions made here do not imply that Unesco should attempt to replace the U.N. as the organization to deal with current crises. It does, however, mean that Unesco should change its focus from the dim, distant and uncertain future to making whatever contribution it can at the earliest possible moment. If Unesco will make a clear decision that its function is to make direct contributions to peace and security, and if this decision is reflected in the Secretariat's execution as well as in the Conference's planning of its programme, the organization can still play its proper and important role as a positive force for peace within the United Nations system. The decision that is now required can be taken only in the General Conference of government delegates. It was the governments who drafted and adopted the constitution. It has been the governments who have voted the programme at each General Conference. Only the governments can clarify Unesco's role to-day, and this they will do only if they see the potential significance of Unesco in the U.N. system. Once the importance of its potential role is understood, it will be apparent that full support of the U.N. requires full mobilization of the resources of Unesco for the achievement and maintenance of peace.