

CONFERENCE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT  
OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,  
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL  
ORGANISATION

Held at the Institute of Civil Engineers, London,  
from the 1st to the 16th November, 1945

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NOTE.—The C.A.M.E. text and the proposals of the French Government provided the basis of discussion for the Conference.

# CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION

## DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

### THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

Determined that all possible steps shall be taken to further the attainment of international security and peace and to advance the welfare of the peoples of the world ;

Recognising that co-operation in education and furtherance of cultural interchange in the arts, the humanities and the sciences will promote the freedom, the dignity and the well-being of all and therefore assist in the attainment of understanding, confidence, security and peace among the peoples of the world ;

Dedicated to the proposition that the free and unrestricted education of the peoples of the world, and the free and unrestricted exchange among them of ideas and knowledge are essential to the advancement of human welfare and to the preservation of security and peace ;

Hereby establish the Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations and agree to support its broad purposes and functions as expressed in this constitution through their participation in the activities of this international agency and through their respective national educational and cultural programmes.

#### ARTICLE I

##### PURPOSES

The purposes of the Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations shall be :

(1) To develop and maintain mutual understanding and appreciation of the life and culture, the arts, the humanities and the sciences of the peoples of the world, as a basis for effective international organisation and world peace.

(2) To co-operate in extending and in making available to all peoples for the service of common human needs the world's full body of knowledge and culture, and in assuring its contribution to the economic stability, political security, and general well-being of the peoples of the world.

#### ARTICLE II

##### PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS

To achieve these purposes the Organisation shall :

(1) Facilitate consultation among leaders in the educational and cultural life of all peace-loving countries.

(2) Assist the free flow of ideas and information among the peoples of the world through schools, universities and other educational and research institutions, libraries, publications and the press,

the radio and the motion picture, international conferences and the exchange of students, teachers and all other representatives of educational and cultural life, with special attention to the exchange of information on major educational and cultural developments, including advances in scientific knowledge.

(3) Foster the growth, within each country and in its relations with other countries, of educational and cultural programmes which give support to international peace and security.

(4) Develop and make available educational and cultural plans and materials for such consideration and use as each country may deem appropriate.

(5) Conduct and encourage research and studies on educational and cultural problems related to the maintenance of peace and the advancement of human welfare.

(6) Assist countries that need and request help in developing their educational and cultural activities.

#### ARTICLE III

##### MEMBERSHIP

1. Members of the United Nations shall automatically be granted the right of membership. Other nations may be admitted by the Conference, acting by a two-thirds vote, upon recommendation of the Executive Board.

2. Any member may withdraw from the Organisation after two years' notice of intention to do so, provided that its financial obligations shall have been fulfilled at the time of withdrawal.

3. Each member undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the organisation promptly its share of the expenses. The right of a member to vote in the Conference and the eligibility of its nationals to be elected to the Executive Board shall be automatically suspended for any member that fails for two successive years to meet its financial obligations to this Organisation, with the proviso that the Conference may in exceptional circumstances waive such suspension.

4. Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership in the United Nations shall automatically be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.

## ARTICLE IV

### ORGANS

The Organisation shall include a Conference, an Executive Board, and a Secretariat.

## ARTICLE V

### THE CONFERENCE

#### A. COMPOSITION.

##### *Alternative a.*

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organisation. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five representatives, who shall be selected in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

##### *Alternative b.*

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organisation. The Government of each member state shall designate not more than five delegates. Three out of a five-member delegation shall be selected in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or Commission). When a state does not appoint the full delegation of five, one delegate only shall be appointed independently by the Government, except that, when there is only one delegate that delegate shall be selected in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

##### *Alternative c.*

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organisation. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five delegates who shall be selected after consultation with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

##### *Alternative d.*

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organisation. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five delegates who shall be selected after consultation with educational and cultural bodies.

##### *Alternative e.\**

The Conference shall consist of the representatives of the Members of the Organisation. The Government of each member state shall appoint not more than five delegates who shall be selected, if convenient to the Government concerned, after consultation with educational and cultural bodies.

#### B. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS.

1. The Conference shall determine the general policies and the programme of the Organisation.

2. The Conference is empowered to make

\* *Note.* The adoption of this alternative would involve the modification of ARTICLE VIII in the sense of making the provisions of this Article entirely optional.

recommendations to the members. The Conference may by a two-thirds majority adopt for submission to the members with a view to their acceptance by the appropriate constitutional procedure, agreements on educational and cultural programmes, designed to accomplish the purposes of the Organisation.

3. The Conference shall advise the United Nations on the Educational and Cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter in accordance with terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two organisations.

4. The Conference shall receive and consider reports submitted periodically by the members on educational and cultural developments within their respective territories and on the effect given to the recommendations of the Organisation.

5. The Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board. It shall admit new members to the Organisation and elect the Director-General on the recommendation of the Executive Board.

6. The Conference shall approve the budget of the Organisation and the allocation of financial responsibility to the members.

7. Gifts and bequests may be accepted by the Conference and utilised under its direction provided the conditions of the gift or bequest are consistent with the purposes and policies of the Organisation.

#### C. VOTING.

Each Member State shall have one vote in the Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority of those present and voting, except where otherwise specified in this instrument.

#### D. PROCEDURE.

1. The Conference shall meet annually in regular session ; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. The sessions shall be held from time to time within the territories of different members.

2. The Conference shall set up such committees and other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for the performance of its functions.

3. The Conference shall elect its own officers and adopt its own rules of procedure.

## ARTICLE VI

### THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

#### A. COMPOSITION.

The Executive Board shall consist of fifteen persons elected by the Conference from among the delegates. In electing the members of the Executive Board, the Conference shall have regard to the desirability of including persons with varied experience in education, in the arts, the humanities and the sciences, bearing in mind geographical distribution. Not more than one delegate from any member state shall serve on the Board at any one time. The members of the Board shall serve for a term of three years and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election. At the first election,

five persons shall be elected for a three-year term, five for two years, and five for one year. Thereafter, five persons shall be elected each year. Members elected to the Executive Board for a partial term shall be eligible for re-election.

#### **B. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS.**

1. The Executive Board shall be responsible within the competence of the Organisation for giving effect to the programme for the Organisation adopted by the Conference.

2. The Executive Board shall supervise the administration of the Organisation and prepare the agenda for meetings of the Conference.

3. The Executive Board shall recommend to the Conference the admission of new members to the Organisation.

4. It shall be empowered to make appointments to fill vacancies in its membership, which appointments shall terminate at the next meeting of the Conference, when an election shall be held for the unexpired term.

5. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the Conference on behalf of the whole Conference and not as representatives of their respective governments.

#### **C. PROCEDURE.**

The Executive Board shall elect its own officers and subject to any decisions of the Conference, determine its own rules of procedure.

### **ARTICLE VII**

#### **THE SECRETARIAT**

1. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.

2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and elected by the Conference under such conditions of tenure and compensation as the Conference may approve. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation, immediately responsible to the Executive Board, and the staff shall be responsible to him. He, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the Conference, the Board, and all committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.

3. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat under regulations adopted by the Executive Board which shall provide for the approval by the Board of appointments in the higher administrative grades. Subject to the requirements of efficiency and technical competence, the staff shall be recruited on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

4. In the performance of their duties, the Director-General and the staff shall be responsible only to the Organisation. Their responsibilities shall be exclusively international in character, and they shall not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge thereof from any authority external

to the Organisation. The members undertake to respect fully the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretariat and not to seek to influence any of their nationals in the discharge of such responsibilities.

5. The Conference shall make provision for the determination by an administrative tribunal of disputes relating to the conditions and terms of appointment of members of the staff.

### **ARTICLE VIII**

Alternative titles :—

**(1) NATIONAL COMMISSIONS.**

**(2) NATIONAL CO-OPERATING BODIES.**

#### **A. COMPOSITION.**

*Alternative a.*

Each member of the Organisation shall establish a National Commission on educational and cultural co-operation, broadly representative of the Government and the principal groups devoted to and interested in educational and cultural matters. Delegates to the Conference shall, during their period of service be included in the National Commission. Each member state shall be free to adapt the size and scope of the National Commission to its own special conditions.

*Alternative h.*

Within each member state, the Government shall appoint or recognise a National Co-operating Body or Bodies, representative of its principal educational and cultural groups, to be associated with the Government in the activities of the Organisation.

*Alternative c.*

Each member state shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions, either by the formation of a National Commission or otherwise, for the purpose of associating bodies of educational and cultural opinion with the work of the Organisation.

#### **B. FUNCTIONS AND POWERS.**

1. National Co-operating Bodies (or National Commissions) shall act in an advisory capacity to the National Delegation to the Conference and to the Government in matters relating to the Organisation.

*Alternative a.*

2. The National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed by the Government in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

*Alternative b.*

Certain members of the National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed by the Government in agreement with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

*Alternative c.*

The National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed by the Government after consultation

with the National Co-operating Body or Bodies (or National Commission).

*Alternative d.*

The National Delegation to the Conference shall be appointed after consultation with bodies of educational and cultural opinion.

3. The National Co-operating Bodies (or National Commissions) shall consider recommendations and reports made by the Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations and take such steps as are suitable and desirable to further the general objectives of the Organisation.

## **ARTICLE IX**

### **REPORTS BY MEMBERS**

1. Each member shall report periodically to the Organisation, in a manner to be determined by the Conference, on activities and developments related to the functions of the Organisation and on the action taken on the recommendations by the Conference.

2. Each member shall upon publication communicate to the Organisation laws, regulations, official reports and statistics concerning its educational and cultural institutions and organisations.

## **ARTICLE X**

### **JURIDICAL STATUS OF THE ORGANISATION AND ITS PERSONNEL**

1. The Organisation shall possess international personality and legal capacity. The members of the Organisation shall accord to the Organisation the privileges, immunities, exemptions and facilities which they accord to each other including in particular (a) immunity from every form of legal process ; (b) exemption from taxation and customs duties; and (c) inviolability of premises occupied by, and of the archives and communications of, the Organisation.

2. The members of the Organisation shall accord diplomatic privileges and immunities to persons appointed by other members as their representatives in or to the Organisation, and to the higher officials of the Organisation not being their own nationals. They shall accord to all officials and employees of the Organisation (a) immunity from suit and legal process relating to acts performed by them in their official capacity ; (b) exemption from taxation of their official salaries and emoluments ; and, in general (c) such privileges, exemptions and facilities as they accord under similar circumstances to officials and employees of foreign governments.

## **ARTICLE XI**

### **AMENDMENTS**

1. Proposals for amendments to this instrument shall require the approval of the Conference by a two-thirds majority, and amendments shall take effect on ratification by two-thirds of the member states. The draft texts of proposed amendments

shall be communicated by the Director-General to the members at least six months in advance of their consideration by the Conference.

2. The Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules prescribing the times within which proposed amendments must be accepted in order to become effective and other rules of procedure to carry out the provisions of this Article.

## **ARTICLE XII**

### **INTERPRETATION**

The English and French texts of the Constitution shall be regarded as authoritative.

Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this instrument shall be referred for determination to the international court of justice or to an arbitral tribunal as the Conference may determine.

## **ARTICLE XIII**

### **RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS**

1. The Organisation shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations, this relationship to be defined by an agreement to be approved by the appropriate organs of both bodies.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article XI, such agreement may, if approved by the Conference by a two-thirds majority, involve modification of the provisions of this Constitution, provided that no such agreement shall modify the purposes and limitations of the Organisation.

## **ARTICLE XIV**

### **RELATIONS WITH OTHER SPECIALISED INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS**

1. The Organisation may co-operate with other specialised international organisations, both public and private, whose interests and activities are related to and in harmony with its purposes.

2. The Executive Board, with the approval of the Conference, may enter into agreements with the competent authorities of such organisations defining the distribution of responsibilities and methods of co-operating, and maintain such joint committees with them as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation.

3. Whenever the Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other organisation whose purposes are similar deem it desirable to effect transfer of the resources and functions of the latter to this Organisation, the Executive Board, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.

## **ARTICLE XV**

### **ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORGANISATION**

This instrument shall come into force when twenty of the Governments of the United Nations shall have filed with the Interim Educational and



Cultural Commission of the United Nations (to be set up in accordance with Transitory Provision 1 below) official notice of their acceptance of it and adherence to the Organisation. Thereupon the Chairman of the Interim Commission shall cause to be convened the first meeting of the Conference of the Organisation, which shall proceed with the election of the Executive Board and the Director-General and shall make whatever other arrangements may be necessary to put the Organisation into operation.

#### **TRANSITORY PROVISIONS.**

##### **INTERIM EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL COMMISSION**

1. Pending the approval of the Constitution by twenty nations and the calling of the first meeting of the Conference, the persons designated in Annex 1 of this Constitution shall serve as members of the

Interim Educational and Cultural Commission of the United Nations. This commission shall call the first meeting of the Conference and prepare the agenda and preliminary analyses required for effective action by the Conference.

This Interim Commission shall be assisted by an international Secretariat and financed by the participating Governments in a manner to be determined at the Constituent Conference.

2. The following exceptional arrangements shall apply in respect of the financial year in which this Constitution comes into force : the budget shall be the provisional budget set forth in Annex 2 of this Constitution, and the amount to be contributed by member states shall be in the proportion set forth in Annex 3 of this Constitution.

Note.-Annexes 1, 2 and 3 will be drawn up at the Constituent Conference.

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## **FRENCH PROPOSALS FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.**

(The Roman letters indicate the parallel article in the Draft Proposals of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education.)

*Whereas* the world war, in which civilisation and mankind itself have narrowly escaped destruction, was rendered possible by the abandonment of democratic ideas and the promulgation of doctrines glorifying violence and proclaiming the inequality of races ; and whereas it has become the duty of the United Nations to ensure the triumph throughout the world of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, which are at the basis of their charter ;

*Whereas* the relations between peoples have constantly been poisoned by prejudice and lack of understanding ; and whereas it is necessary, through a large-scale exchange of persons and through the free circulation of ideas, to diffuse a sense of universal solidarity and to create an international atmosphere of confidence and peace ;

*Whereas* the dignity of man is inseparably bound up with the development of culture and it is impossible to create the conditions for true progress without uplifting mankind to a higher moral and intellectual standard ; and whereas popular education has now become a sacred duty which all democratic nations should fulfil through mutual assistance With all their resources ;

*Whereas* the growth of specialisation in all realms of knowledge makes international organisation for the exchange of teachers, and for access to the materials of learning increasingly necessary ; and whereas the advancement of the sciences demands an ever closer co-ordination between the scholars and research workers of all countries ;

*Whereas* the material and moral devastation caused by the war and enemy oppression accompanying it demand tasks of reconstruction which

exceed the present capacity of most of the nations thus stricken, and can only be successfully carried through by means of the joint efforts of all the United Nations

#### **THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES**

hereby constitute the "United Nations Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation" and agree to bestow upon it all the necessary resources and to support it in the pursuit of its aims and in the exercise of its functions (as defined in the present Constitution), each State pledging itself in the measure incumbent upon it to promote the conditions of such collaboration.

##### *Article 1. (I, II)*

1. In order to diffuse the spirit of peace throughout the world, the Organisation will establish, on the widest basis, the contacts and the exchanges of ideas and persons best calculated to promote the spread of knowledge and of mutual understanding between the peoples. The Organisation will endeavour to enter into contact, in all countries, with the Press, and Broadcasting Authorities, and all the other elements which contribute to the formation of public feeling and opinion, in order to help them better to accomplish their task and to arouse in them a fresh sense of their responsibility. The Organisation will draw up such diplomatic agreements as are necessary for ensuring the free exchange of knowledge and information.

2. In order to give a fresh impulse in each country to popular education and the spread of culture amongst the masses of the people, the Organisation will institute collaboration in regard to educational

systems and curricula and to methods of teaching ; it will draw up the agreements calculated to ensure that every nation shall benefit by the resources and progress of others in the whole range of technical aids to education (educational films, broadcasting, library and museum methods, etc.).

Without interfering with the general educational policies of the various nations, the Organisation will endeavour to win their consent to such a convergence and co-ordination of curricula and schemes of study as to make possible the equivalence of degrees and certificates and the large-scale exchange of teachers, pupils, and university students.

3. In order to promote the advancement of knowledge-in particular of science and of technology-and the expansion of culture, the Organisation will call Committees of experts ; it will give pride of place to studies bearing on the organisation and the peaceful progress of the nations. It will assemble and devote constant study to bibliographical material and will keep up to date its information on problems bearing on intellectual life : it will encourage co-operation between the nations in all fields of intellectual activity and will organise the international exchange of scholars and research workers and mutual aid between the nations in this domain.

4. The Organisation will lay down definitions of the rights of intellectuals and will draw up the international conventions needed for their protection.

## CHAPTER II

### MEMBERSHIP

Article 2. (III, 1)

*Members of the United Nations shall automatically be granted the right of membership in the United Nations Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation.*

Other nations may be admitted by the Conference, acting by a two-thirds vote, upon the recommendation of the Executive Board.

Article 3.

The Conference of the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation may, on the proposal of its Executive Board, grant admission to the world Associations referred to in Chapter IX.

## CHAPTER III

### ORGANS

Article 4. (IV)

*The Organisation shall include a Conference, an Executive Board, and a Secretariat, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.*

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GENERAL CONFERENCE COMPOSITION

Article 5. (V, A.)

*The General Conference shall consist :*  
(a) of a maximum of three delegates of the Government of each Member State :

(b) of a maximum of five delegates of each National Commission of Intellectual Co-operation chosen from among representatives of the Arts, the Humanities, the Sciences, Technology, the Social and Political Sciences, Education, the Means for the Diffusion of Thought :

(c) of a delegate of each intellectual association of a world-wide character admitted by the General Conference.

## FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 6. (V, B.)

*The General Conference shall determine the main lines of the work of the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation.* It shall take decisions on the programmes drawn up by the Executive Board.

2. It will summon, when deemed desirable, meetings of specialised international conferences on problems in the field of Education, the Fine Arts, Reconstruction; the Dissemination of Information, etc . . .

3. When the Conference decides on the adoption of proposals concerning an item on the agenda, it shall determine whether these questions should take the form :

(a) of a "recommendation" to be submitted for the examination of State Members, with a view to giving it effect : or

(b) of a draft International Convention to be ratified by the State Members.

In either case, a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the delegates present is required for a recommendation or a draft Convention to be adopted by the final vote of the Conference.

Each of the State Members binds itself to submit, within a period of one year, dating from the close of the Session of the Conference, the recommendations or Draft Conventions to the competent National Authorities so that they may pass them into law or take all measures appropriate to assure their application.

4. Any project which, though not receiving a two-thirds majority of the votes of the members present, receives at least one-half in the final vote on the whole question, may form the subject of a special Convention between such members of the Organisation as wish to sign.

Article 7.

The General Conference shall be the Council of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation for problems of Culture and Education. It will draw up an annual report of its work for the Social and Economic Council. It will express its opinion on all questions submitted to it by the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council, and, without prejudice to the procedure outlined in the preceding Article, it will submit to them all proposals which are deemed by it to require examination by the States Members.

Article 8. (V, B, 4)

*The Conference shall receive and consider reports submitted periodically by the members on educational and cultural developments within their respective territories and on the effect given to the recommendations and draft Conventions of the Organisation.*

Article 9. (V, B, 5)

*The Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board and shall approve the nomination of its President.*

Article 10. (V, B, 6)

*The General Conference shall examine and pass the Budget of the Organisation.*

**VOTING.** (V, C)

Article 11.

At a full meeting of the General Conference every delegate present shall dispose of one vote. Decisions shall be taken by a simple majority of members present and voting, except in the case of provisions to the contrary expressly formulated in the present document. No vote shall be valid if the number of votes given is less than half the number of delegates at the Session.

**PROCEDURE**

Article 12. (V, D.)

*The General Conference shall meet annually in regular Session. It may meet in extraordinary Session on the call of the Executive Board.*

2. The General Conference shall elect the President of each Session and draw up its Rules of Procedure. It shall appoint Technical Commissions (Arts, Humanities, Science, Technology, the Social and Political Sciences, Education, the Dissemination of Thought, etc . . . .)

3. The General Conference shall set up, or authorise the Executive Board to set up, such permanent or temporary organisms as are necessary for the accomplishment of its functions.

**CHAPTER V**

**EXECUTIVE BOARD**

**COMPOSITION**

Article 13. (VI)

*The Executive Board shall consist of 17 persons elected by the Conference from among the delegates.*

*In picking the members of the Executive Board the Conference shall have regard to the desirability of including persons with varied experience in Education, in the Arts, the Humanities, the Sciences, Technology, Education, and the Dissemination of Thought. It shall have regard to the various fields of culture and to a balanced geographical distribution.*

*The Executive Board must not be composed at any moment of more than one member of each nationality.*

Article 14. (VI, C)

The Executive Board shall choose from amongst its members a Chairman who is responsible to the

General Conference for the working of the Organisation. His election is subject to the approbation of the General Conference.

Article 15. (VI, A)

The Chairman and the members of the Executive Board shall hold office for a period of five years.

**FUNCTIONS AND POWERS**

Article 16. (VI, B)

The Executive Committee shall direct the work of the Organisation. It shall prepare the work and the agenda of the meetings of the General Conference, and in particular, the programme of work for adoption by the Conference. It will be responsible for ensuring the carrying out of this programme.

Article 17.

The Executive Committee may propose to the General Conference the admission into the Organisation of new members, whether States or world Associations.

Article 18. (VI, C)

*The Executive Board, subject to the decisions of the General Conference, shall determine its own rules of procedure.*

It shall meet at least four times a year. The Chairman, with two members of the Committee and the Secretary-General, may constitute a permanent bureau to ensure continuity of action between the Sessions.

Article 19.

The Executive Committee may invite to its meetings, in a consultative capacity, any representative of an international organisation, or any other qualified person, which it desires to associate with its work.

**CHAPTER VI**

**SECRETARIAT**

Article 20. (VII)

The Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, set up by the Agreement of December 8, 1924, and the Act of December 9, 1938, shall be the Secretariat of the United Nations Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation.

The Director of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation shall be the Secretary-General of the Organisation. He shall be appointed by the Executive Board on the proposition of the Chairman.

He shall attend, in this capacity, all meetings of the General Conference and of the Executive Board, and shall fulfil all other functions entrusted to him by these Organs.

Article 21. (VII, 3)

*The Secretary-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat, subject to the approbation of the Executive Board for the higher posts.*

2. Subject to the needs of efficiency and technical competence, the official Organisation shall be recruited on as large a geographical basis as possible.

*In the performance of their duties, the Director-General and the staff shall neither seek nor receive instructions from any Government, nor from any other Authority external to the Organisation. They shall abstain from any act incompatible with their position as international officials and shall be responsible only to the Organisation.*

Every State Member binds itself to respect the exclusively international character of the Organisation and of its staff, and not to seek to influence any of its nationals in the discharge of their tasks.

*Article 22.*

The Executive Board shall conclude an Agreement with the United Nations Organisation, subject to the approval of the General Conference, with the object of taking any dispositions concerning the equipment, the financial and staff management of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation needed to adapt them to its new functions.

## CHAPTER VII

### SPECIALISED INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

*Article 23. (XIV)*

*The Organisation may co-operate with other specialised international Organisations, both public and private, whose activities are in harmony with its own.*

2. *The Executive Board, with the approbation of the General Conference, may enter into Agreements with the competent Authorities of such Organisations defining the distribution of responsibility and methods of co-operation, and form such joint Committees" with them as may be necessary to ensure effective co-operation.*

*Article 24. (XIV, 3)*

*Whenever the General Conference and the competent Authority of any other Organisation deem it desirable to effect transfer of the resources and functions of the latter to the Organisation, the Executive Board, subject to the approval of the General Conference, may enter into arrangements for this purpose.*

## CHAPTER VIII

### NATIONAL COMMISSIONS

*Article 25. (VIII, A)*

Each State Member of the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation binds itself to set up a National Commission of Intellectual Co-operation representative of the national genius. The Arts, the Humanities, the Sciences, Technology, the Political and Social Sciences, Education, and the Means of Dissemination of Thought shall be represented upon it, preferably by election.

State Members shall ensure to National Commissions the resources necessary for their working.

*Article 26. (VII, B)*

The National Commission shall function as an organ of liaison between the Cultural and Educa-

tional movements of each nation and the United Nations Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation.

2. The National Commission shall have a permanent Secretariat.

*Article 27.*

The Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation may delegate, either temporarily or permanently, a member of its Secretariat to serve on National Commissions, in order to follow their work.

## CHAPTER IX

### WORLD ASSOCIATIONS

*Article 28.*

Any Association of a world-wide character, with an activity in harmony with the aims of the Organisation, approved by a two-thirds majority of the General Conference, may be admitted to membership of the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation on the proposal of the Executive Board.

## CHAPTER X

### REPORTS PRESENTED BY MEMBERS

*Article 29. (IX)*

*Each Member shall report periodically to the Organisation, upon publication, its laws, its regulations, its official reports and statistics concerning its institutions and activity in the sphere of culture and education.*

2. Each Government, National Commission, or world Association shall furnish all the reports called for by the United Nations Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation.

## CHAPTER XI

### RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

*Article 30. (XIII)*

The Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation shall be associated with the United Nations Organisation on the conditions laid down in Articles 57 and 63 of the Charter.

*Article 31. (XV)*

The present Convention shall enter into force when it has been agreed to by the General Assembly of the United Nations and has been ratified by the majority of the United Nations.

*Article 32. (Transitory Provisions)*

Pending the entry into force of the present Convention, a Preparatory Commission, composed of a representative of each of the signatory Governments, shall be set up in order to conclude with the Economic and Social Council the Agreements provided for in Articles 57 and 63 of the Charter and to approve any modifications which the General Assembly of the United Nations may make in the present text. The decisions of this Commission shall be taken by a two-thirds majority.

*Article 33.*

Any further modification in the text; adopted by a two-thirds majority of the General Conference of the United Nations Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation, shall enter into force when it has been agreed to by the General Assembly of the United Nations by a two-thirds majority of its members and shall have been ratified, in conformity with their respective Constitutional Rules, by two-thirds of the Members of the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation.

**CHAPTER XII**

**BUDGET**

*Article 34. (V, B, 7)*

The expenses of the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation shall be borne by the United Nations in such manner as the General Assembly of the United Nations may decide.

The Organisation or its Technical Organisations, *may also receive* directly all gifts, bequests or subventions, provided by Governments, public or private institutions, associations, or private persons, subject to approbation by its General Conference.

*Article 35.*

The Budget drawn up by the General Conference shall be submitted to the approval of the General

Assembly of the United Nations, in conformity with Article 17, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

**CHAPTER XIII**

**GENERAL PROVISIONS**

*Article 36.*

Membership of the General Conference, Executive Committee, and all posts in the Secretariat, is open to all without distinction of sex, race or religion.

*Article 37. (X)*

The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the United Nations Charter concerning the legal status of the Organisation, and its privileges and immunities, shall apply to the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation, and its staff.

*Article 38.*

The seat of the Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation shall be at

*Article 39.*

The English and French texts of the present Agreement shall both be regarded as authentic. N.B.—The passages in italics reproduce the wording of the Draft Proposals drawn up by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education.

**LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATIONS.**

**ARGENTINE**

H.E. Dr. Conrado Traverso.  
M. Manuel Rubio Eguiquiza.

**AUSTRALIA**

The Rt. Hon. Dr. H. V. Evatt (*in absentia*).  
Dr. E. R. Walker.  
Dr. H. S. Wyndham.  
Mr. J. A. Seitz, Adviser.  
Major Radford, Secretary.  
Mr. Colin Deane, Secretary.

**BELGIUM**

M. A. Buisseret, Minister of Public Instruction.  
M. J. Hoste.  
M. C. H. de Visscher.  
M. R. Gruslin.  
M. V. Bohet.  
M. G. Magnel.  
M. P. Lambrechts.  
M. Geeraerts.

**BOLIVIA**

H. E. M. Carlos Salamanca.  
M. Juan Peñaranda.  
M. Hernan Aranibar.  
M. Guillermo Scott-Murga (Secretary).

**BRAZIL**

H.E. M. J.J. Moniz de Aragao.  
Prof. Abgar Renault.

M. Diogenes B. R. Monteiro.  
M. Paschoal Carlos Magno (Secretary).

**CANADA**

The Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, High Commissioner for Canada.  
Dr. R. C. Wallace.  
Mr. E. Turcotte.  
Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot, Adviser.  
Dr. J. E. Robbins.                   "  
Mr. J. G. Malloch.                   "

**CHILE**

M. Francisco Walker Linares.  
Mlle I. Salas.

**CHINA**

Mr. Chu Chia-Hua, Minister of Education.  
Dr. Hu Shih.  
Mr. Cheng Tien-Fong.  
Dr. Lo Chia Luen.  
Mr. Y. R. Chao.  
Mr. Li Shu-Hua.  
Mr. Chen Yuan. Adviser and Secretary-General.  
Mr. Chen Shih-Ying. Adviser.  
Mr. Siao Yu.  
Mr. Wang Gingsi.                   "  
Mr. Yang Kon-Ta.                   "  
Mr. K. C. George Yeh.               "  
Mr. Edgar C. Tang, Secretary.

Mr. Yen Yeh-Hua.                    ,,  
Mr. T. D. Tsien.                    ,,  
Mr. S. K. Chow.                    ,,  
Mr. Wou Kiuan.                    ,,  
Mr. Chu Chu-Nung. Observer.

#### **COLOMBIA**

H.E. Dr. Jaime Jaramillo-Arango.  
Dr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel.  
Dr. Eduardo Nieto Calderón. Secretary.  
M. Arturo Martinez Herrera. Sub-Secretary.

#### **CUBA**

M. Luis Marino Perez.  
Dr. Ernesto Dihigo. Adviser.  
Dr. Guy Perez Cisneros. ,,

#### **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Dr. Jan Opocensky.  
Prof. O. Odlozilik.  
Prof. A. Kolman.  
Prof. J. Liska.  
Prof. V. Huska.  
Dr. V. Prihoda.  
M. Sova.

#### **DENMARK**

M. A. Michelsen.  
Prof. C. Hoeg.  
Prof. J. Nielsen.  
M. J. Rosenkjaer.  
M. K. Schmidt-Phiseldeck.  
Dr. P. Christophersen. Secretary.

#### **DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

H.E. M. Andres Pastoriza.  
M. Porfirio Herrera Baez.

#### **ECUADOR**

**M.** Alberto Puig-Arosemena.

#### **EGYPT**

H.E. Abdel Fattah Amr Pasha.  
M. A. N. Hashem.

#### **FRANCE**

M. Léon Blum.  
H.E. M. Henri Bonnet.  
M. René Cassin.  
M. Louis Joxe.  
M. Jacques Fouques Duparc.  
M. H. Laugier.  
M. Jean Thomas.  
M. Julien Cain.  
M. P. Augé.  
M. Joliot-Curie.  
M. Lucien Febvre.  
M. E. Gilson.  
M. H. Wallon.  
M. Lavergne.  
M. P. de Castellane.  
M. **POZZO** Di Borgo. Technical Adviser.  
M. R. Seydoux.                    ,,                    ,,  
M. Cheffaud.                    ,,                    ,,  
M. R. Varin.                    ,,                    ,,

M. A. Gros.                    ,,                    ,,  
M. M. Fontaine.                    ,,                    ,,  
M. L. Gros.                    ,,                    ,,  
M. L. Demolon.                    ,,                    ,,  
M. Vincent Broustra. Secretary-General.  
M. de la Granville. Asst. Secretary-General.

#### **GREECE**

H.E. M. Thanassis Aghnides.  
Prof. A. Photiades.  
Prof. Zepos.  
M. B. Mostras.  
M. D. Lambros.

#### **GUATEMALA**

M. Manuel Galich, Minister of Education.  
Prof. Mardoqueo Garcia Asturias.  
M. Francisco Azurdia Soto, Secretary.

#### **HAITI**

H.E. M. Léon Laleau.

#### **INDIA**

Dr. John Sargent.  
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.  
Dr. Zakir Husain.  
Dr. Amarnath Jha.  
Dr. T. Quayle.  
Mr. K. G. Saiyidain.

#### **IRAN**

H.E. Ali Asghar Hekmat.  
Dr. Gholm Ah Raadi.  
Dr. Gholam Hossein Sadighi.  
Dr. Mehdi Vakil.  
Dr. Issa Sepahbody. Secretary.

#### **I R A Q**

H.E. Dr. Naji Al-Asil.  
M. Abdul-Jabbar Al-Jalabi.  
M. Hassan Ahmad Al Salman.  
**M.** Hikmat Abdul-Majid.  
M. Fuad Safar.

#### **LEBANON**

H. E. M. Camille Chamoun.  
M. Nadim Dimechkieh.

#### **LIBERIA**

The Hon. John W. Pearson.  
Mr. H. B. Freeman. Secretary.

#### **LUXEMBOURG**

Prof. Pierre Frieden, Minister of Education.  
Prof. Mathias Thinnès.  
M. Alphonse Als.

#### **MEXICO**

Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Minister of Education.  
H.E. Dr. Alfonso Rosenzweig Diaz.  
Dr. Samuel Ramos.  
Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo.  
M. José Gorostiza.  
M. Rafael Munoz. Adviser.  
M. E. Luquin.  
M. Horacio Gil Partearroyo, Secretary.

#### **NETHERLANDS**

Prof. G. van der Leeuw.  
Dr. H. J. Reinink.  
Dr. Bolkestein.  
M. J.E.A. Reyneke van Stuwe. Secretary.  
Prof. Sassen. Adviser.  
Prof. Kruyt. „  
Dr. Welling. „  
Dr. U. P. Harting. „

#### **NEW ZEALAND**

Mr. R. M. Campbell.  
Mr. A. E. Campbell.  
Miss L. McPhee.  
Lt.-Col. W. E. Alexander.  
Capt. Wynne Mason, M.C.  
Flt.-Lieut. A. C. Arnesen.

#### **NICARAGUA**

Dr. Ernesto Selva Sandoval.

#### **NORWAY**

M. Nils Hjelmteit.  
Dr. Olaf Devik.  
Prof. Alf Sommerfelt.  
Dr. Ellen Gleditsch.  
Dr. Hans Mohr.  
M. Arne Okkenhaug.

#### **PANAMA**

M. Eusebio A. Morales.  
Dr. Ramon E. Arango.

#### **PERU**

M. Edwin Letts.

#### **PHILIPPINES**

**Dr.** Maximo M. Kalaw.  
Dr. Solomon V. Arnaldo.

#### **POLAND**

M. Czeslaw Wycech, Minister of Education.  
M. W. Bienkowski.  
M. S. Zolkiewski.  
M. S. Galazka.  
M. M. Olekiewicz.  
Dr. Z. Korman.  
**M.** W. Schayer.  
Dr. M. Falski.  
Dr. B. Drzewieski.  
M. J. Kott. Adviser.  
Prof. B. Suchodolski. Adviser.  
M. F. Korniszewski. Adviser.  
Dr. Clara. Jastroch. Adviser.

#### **SALVADOR**

M. Samuel Jorge Dawson

#### **SAUDI ARABIA**

H.E. Sheikh Hafiz Wahba.  
Sayed Jamil Dawoud.  
Prof. Mahdi Allam.

#### **SYRIA**

H.E. Dr. Nagib Al-Armanazi.  
M. George Tomah.

#### **TURKEY**

M. Hasan Ali Yucel, Minister of Education.  
Prof. Omer Celal Sarc.  
Prof. Ratip Berker.  
M. Salahattin Eyupoglu.  
M. Irfan Sahinbas.  
M. Nurettin Sevin.  
M. Sadik Balkan.  
M. Turgut Erem.

#### **UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

The Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Education.  
Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls.  
Lt.-Col. L. Marquard.  
Sir Fred Clark.

#### **UNITED KINGDOM**

The Rt. Hon. Ellen Wilkinson, P.C., M.P.,  
Minister of Education.  
Lt. - Col. S. H. Hali-Thompson, Minister of  
Education, Northern Ireland  
Mr. R. S. Brownell, C.B.E.  
Mr. T. Fraser, M.P.  
Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, M.P.  
Mr. D. R. Hardman, M.P. (Alternate).  
Mr. W. E. F. Ward, C.M.G. (Alternate).  
Mr. J. Poynton (Alternate).  
Dr. E. F. Armstrong, F.R.S. Adviser.  
Miss Theodora Bosanquet. Adviser.  
Mr. G. G. Fitzmaurice. Adviser.  
Sir Frederic Mander. Adviser.  
Miss N. Parkinson, Adviser.  
Sir Robert Wood. Adviser.  
Mr. W. R. Richardson. Adviser.  
Mr. G. T. Hankin. Adviser.  
Mr. F. R. Cowell. Technical Assistant.  
Mr. F. H. Vivian. Secretary.

#### **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

The Hon. Archibald MacLeish.  
The Hon. William Benton.  
The Hon. Chester E. Merrow.  
Dr. Harlow Shapley.  
The Hon. James E. Murray.  
Dr. George D. Stoddard.  
Dr. C. Mildred Thompson.  
Dr. Harriet W. Elliott. Adviser.  
Mr. Herbert Emmerich. Adviser.  
The Hon. Luther H. Evans. Adviser.  
Mr. B. Gerig. Adviser.  
Dr. Grayson N. Kefauver. Adviser.  
Dr. Waldo Leland. Adviser.  
Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn. Adviser.  
Mr. Frank Leslie Schlagle. Adviser.  
Dr. George N. Shuster. Adviser.  
Mr. Mark Starr. Adviser.  
Dr. John W. Studebaker. Adviser.  
Dr. Warren Kelchner. Secretary-General.  
Dr. Bryn J. Hovde. Technical Secretary.  
Dr. Walter M. Kotschnig. Technical Secretary.  
Dr. Harold Benjamin. Technical Expert.  
Mr. Eric H. Biddle. Technical Expert.  
Dr. Esther C. Brunauer. Technical Expert.  
Dr. George Kenneth Holland. Technical Expert.

Dr. Donald C. Stone. Technical Expert.  
Mr. Charles A. Thomson. Technical Expert.  
Mr. Victor Weybright. Press Relations Officer.  
Mr. Joseph Polakoff. Asst. Press Relations Officer.  
Mr. Donald B. Eddy. Secretary.  
Mr. Richard A. Johnson. Secretary.  
Dr. Herbert J. Abraham. Asst. Secretary.  
Miss Mary Stewart French. Asst. Secretary.  
Miss Frances E. Pringle. Administrative Assistant.

#### URUGUAY

H.E. M. Roberto E. MacEachen.  
M. Eduardo Daniel de Arteaga.

#### VENEZUELA

H.E. M. A. Rodriguez Azpurua (Observer).

#### YUGOSLAVIA

H.E. Dr. L. Leontic.  
Dr. D. Protitch.  
Prof. Radomir Zivkovic.

## REPRESENTATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

#### INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Mr. E. J. Phelan.  
Mr. C. W. Jenks.  
Mr. E. J. Riches.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS SECRETARIAT

Major Gerald Abraham.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

Dr. Gilbert Murray.

#### INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION

Prof. J. J. Mayoux.

#### PAN-AMERICAN UNION

Mrs. Concha Romero James.

#### PREPARATORY COMMISSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Mr. Gladwyn Jebb.

#### UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION (U.N.R.R.A.)

Mr. Dudley Ward.

#### INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION

M. Piaget.  
M. Rossello.  
Miss Marie Butts.  
M. Weigle.

## MINUTES OF THE PLENARY MEETINGS.

#### PRESIDENT:

The Rt. Hon. Ellen Wilkinson, P.C., M.P.

#### ASSOCIATE-PRESIDENT:

M. Léon Blum.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS:

H.E. M. J. J. Moniz de Aragao, delegate of Brazil ;  
M. Francisco Walker Linares, delegate of Chile ;  
Dr. Hu Shih, delegate of China ;  
H.E. Don Jaime Jaramillo-Arango, delegate of Colombia ;

H.E. A. Fattah Amr Pasha, delegate of Egypt ;  
H.E. M. Thanassis Aghnides, delegate of Greece ;  
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, delegate of India ;  
H.E. M. Jaime Torres Bodet, delegate of Mexico ;  
Professor Alf Sommerfelt, delegate of Norway ;  
M. Czeslaw Wycech, delegate of Poland ;  
Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, delegate of the Union of South Africa ;  
Mr. Archibald MacLeish, delegate of the United States of America.

#### SECRETARY-GENERAL:

Sir Alfred Zimmern.

## CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX OF PLENARY MEETINGS.

#### I. ORGANISATION OF THE CONFERENCE

1. Opening of Conference by the Chairman of the Working Committee.
2. Appointment of Credentials Committee.
3. Adoption of the Rules of Procedure (Document ECO/Conf./3).
4. Report of the Credentials Committee.
5. Election of President, Associate-President and Vice-Presidents.
6. Welcoming Address by the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
7. Opening Address by the President of the Conference.
8. Appointment of Commissions and adoption of their Terms of Reference (E.C.O./Conf./4).
9. Communication of Resolutions adopted by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education on October 3rd, 1945.



10. Address by the Associate-President.
11. Addresses by the Vice-Presidents and other Heads of Delegations.

## II. CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION

12. Report of the First Commission (E.C.O./Conf./12).
13. Report of the Fifth Commission (E.C.O., Conf./10).
14. Report of the Third Commission (E.C.O./Conf./16).
15. Resolutions submitted by the United States delegation :
  - A. Media of Mass Communication (E.C.O./Conf./13).
  - B. Plans for a working arrangement between UNESCO and the Council of Scientific Unions (E.C.O./Conf./14).
  - C. Adult Education (E.C.O./Conf./15).
16. Proposal by the Colombian delegation for the establishment of a United Nations University (E.C.O./Conf./9).
17. Proposal by the Egyptian delegation for the creation of a permanent UNESCO centre in Cairo (E.C.O./Conf./17).
18. Report of the Fourth Commission (E.C.O./Conf./23).
19. Resolution concerning the Seat of UNESCO (E.C.O./Conf./22).
20. Report of the Second Commission (E.C.O./Conf./19).
21. Proposal of the French delegation on the Circulation of the Documents of the Conference to those United Nations not represented (E.C.O./Conf./20).
22. Resolution presented by the Chilean delegation expressing thanks to the Paris Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and to the Government of Cuba (E.C.O./Conf./21).
23. Adoption of Final Act (E.C.O./Conf./25).
24. Final Declarations.
25. Signature of the Final Act.

## FIRST PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, November 1st, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.

*President* : The Chairman of the Working Committee (PROF. ALF SOMMERFELT)

### 1. OPENING OF CONFERENCE BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT (Professor Alf Sommerfelt) : On behalf of the Working Committee I have the honour and the pleasure to welcome you here at this Meeting, and to let you know that on the initiative of the British Minister of Education, Mr. R. A. Butler, a Meeting of the Allied Ministers of Education or their Representatives was called here in London in the latter half of 1942. Since that date these Ministers of Education have had regular meetings to discuss educational matters of common interest to the United Nations. One of the tasks which this Conference set before itself was to prepare for the establishment of a United Nations Organisation for educational and cultural co-operation. When victory in Europe was won last spring, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education appointed a Working Committee to do the necessary preparatory work for the establishment of such an organisation. It is the proposals put forward by this Working Committee which are now laid before you. But before we start our work we have to settle a number of formal items of our Agenda.

### 2. APPOINTMENT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT : The first business today is the appointment of a Credentials Committee. According to the draft rules of procedure, which we shall

be considering in a few moments, the Credentials Committee should consist of nine members. I have some suggestions to make to the Conference and I would ask the Secretary-General to read them to you.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : Here is the proposed list of members for the Credentials Committee:

|                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>BOLIVIA :</b>        | H.E. M. Carlos Salamanca. |
| <b>DENMARK :</b>        | M. Albert Michelsen.      |
| <b>FRANCE :</b>         | M. René Cassin.           |
| <b>IRAN :</b>           | M. Ali Asghar Hekmat.     |
| <b>IRAQ :</b>           | H.E. Naji Al-Asil.        |
| <b>NEW ZEALAND :</b>    | Mr. A. E. Campbell.       |
| <b>PERU :</b>           | M. Edwin Letts.           |
| <b>UNITED KINGDOM :</b> | Mr. F. R. Cowell.         |
| <b>YUGOSLAVIA :</b>     | Dr. Protitch.             |

The PRESIDENT : Is there any objection to these names ? (After a pause) : If not, they are regarded as elected and the proposal is adopted. Then I ask the Members of the Credentials Committee to retire to the President's Office on the second floor and report to us as soon as they have finished their work.

### 3. ADOPTION OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE

The PRESIDENT : Ladies and gentlemen, we have now arrived at Item 3 of the Agenda : Adoption of the Rules of Procedure. The Rules of Procedure are the outcome of the work of the Pre-

paratory Commission. The Preparatory Commission have met quite a number of times and have gone through the questions with great care. The Rules are modelled on the rules of San Francisco with necessary changes caused by the special object of this Conference and by the experience of San Francisco and other international meetings during the war. I should therefore advise you to change as little as possible in these draft Rules. There is, of course, another consideration in favour of that : a change in one of the Rules will in very many cases entail changes in other Rules, and that would very much delay our work. I will now ask the Secretary-General to read the Rules one by one ; they will be translated into French and you will have the possibility of suggesting modifications after each Rule has been read.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL :

“ Rule 1.

“ *Chairmanship.*

“ 1. At the opening session of the Conference the Chairman of the Working Committee shall preside until the Conference has elected a President for all meetings of the Conference.

“ 2. The Conference shall elect a President, an Associate-President, and at least five Vice-Presidents. The President, the Associate-President and Vice-Presidents shall hold office until the close of the session at which they are elected. The Associate-President shall assume all the functions of President mentioned hereafter, whenever the latter finds it necessary to be absent.

“ 3. If the President finds it necessary to be absent during a meeting or part of a meeting, he shall invite a Vice-President to take his place --inviting them in turn according to the alphabetical order of the English names of their countries.

“ 4. A Vice-President acting as President shall have the same powers and duties as the President.

“ 5. The President or a Vice-President acting as President shall not vote, but may appoint an alternate to act as the representative of his government on the Conference.

“ 6. In addition to exercising such powers as are conferred upon him elsewhere by these Rules, the President shall declare the opening and closing of each meeting of the Conference. He shall direct the discussions of the Conference, ensure observance of these Rules, accord the right to speak, put questions and announce decisions. He shall rule on points of order and, subject to these Rules, shall have complete control over the proceedings at any meeting.”

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections or comments on draft Rule 1 ?

H.E. M. Camille CHAMOUN (Lebanon) (*translation*) : I suggest that the words “ at least ” before the words “ five Vice-Presidents ” be deleted, as I consider it sufficient that there should be five Vice-Presidents.

The PRESIDENT : Does anyone second that motion ? (*After a pause*) : It is not supported and is not carried. I ask the Secretary-General to continue.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL :

“ Rule 2.

“ 1. The Executive Secretary and the Secretaires-Adjoints of the Working Committee shall act as Secretary-General and Under Secretaries-General of the Conference.

“ 2. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the Conference.

“ 3. The Secretary-General shall provide and direct such staff and facilities as may be required by the Conference and by such commissions or committees as it may establish.

“ 4. The Secretary-General may authorise an Under Secretary-General or other Deputy to act in his capacity at the meetings of the Conference.

“ 5. The Secretary-General may at any time, subject to the approval of the President, make reports and verbal communications to the Conference concerning any question which is being considered by the Conference.

“ 6. It shall be the duty of the Secretariat to receive, translate and distribute documents, reports and resolutions of the Conference and its commissions or committees ; to prepare the records of their proceedings ; to translate speeches made at the meetings ; and to perform such other work as the Conference or any commission or committee established by the Conference may require.

“ 7. The Secretariat shall distribute all documents of the Conference and its commissions or committees to the Members, and, at the discretion of the Secretary-General, to the press.”

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections to the second rule ? (*After a pause*) : Then it is adopted.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL :

“ Rule 3.

“ *Agenda.*

“ 1. The provisional Agenda shall be submitted to the Conference for approval as soon as convenient after the opening of the session.

“ 2. The Conference may, at any time, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, revise or add to the Agenda.”

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : Rule 7 states that the Executive Committee shall fix the dates and agenda of the plenary meetings of the Conference. I think there may be conflict between that provision and the second paragraph of Rule 3 and I personally consider the matter of fixing the agenda should be left to the Executive Committee.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : The honourable delegate said Rule 7. I think he means Rule 10, paragraph 7.

The PRESIDENT: Does anybody want to second that motion ? (*After a pause*) : The motion is not carried.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL :

“ Rule 4.

“ *Languages.*

“ 1. English and French shall be the working languages of the Conference.

“ 2. As regards meetings of the Conference and its commissions, interpretations from English into French and from French into English will be provided. Delegates shall be free in these bodies also to speak in any other language, but shall provide their own interpretations into either English or French at their choice ; the Secretariat will provide interpretations into the other of these two languages.

“ 3. All Conference documents, records, etc., will be issued in the two working languages of the Conference. ”

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections ? (*After a pause*) : Rule 4 is adopted.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL :

“ Rule 5.

“ *Records of Proceedings.*

“ 1. Verbatim reports shall be made of all meetings held during each session of the Conference. Summary minutes shall be made of the proceedings of the Conference and of Commissions and Committees established by the Conference.

“ 2. The verbatim reports and minutes referred to in the preceding paragraph of this Rule shall be circulated as soon as possible to members of delegations who participated in the meeting concerned in order to give them the opportunity to suggest corrections to the Secretariat.

“ 3. At the termination of the Conference verbatim reports and minutes, as corrected in accordance with the preceding paragraph, shall be circulated to all members of the Conference, including observers.

“ 4. At the termination of the Conference, the following documents shall be translated into Spanish, Russian and Chinese :

- (a) Constitution as finally agreed by the Conference ;
- (b) any explanatory documents attached thereto ;
- (c) any other document specifically requested by any Government.

“ In this task of translation, the Secretariat (of the Interim Commission) is empowered to request the assistance, if necessary, of any of the authorities of the countries concerned. These translations, in addition to the documents mentioned in the preceding paragraph, shall be

circulated to any Government that intimates its desire to receive them.”

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections to this Rule ? (*Pause.*) As there are no objections the Rule is adopted.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I will now read Rule 6.

“ *Publicity of Meetings.*

“ 1. The meetings of the Conference, its commissions and committees shall be public unless the body concerned decides otherwise.

“ 2. All decisions of the Conference which may have been taken at a private meeting shall be announced at any early public meeting of the Conference.”

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections to Rule 6 ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : May I propose that we delete the last six words of the first paragraph : “ Unless the body concerned decides otherwise ” ? I also suggest that we delete the second paragraph. I make this proposal because I cannot see any reason for secrecy in our meetings, and because I think that we should not, in our rules, establish the possibility of their not being public in the fullest sense. We need the co-operation of public opinion and of the Press in our deliberations.

The PRESIDENT : Does anybody want to second this motion ? (*Pause.*) As there is no seconder, the motion is not carried.

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : I should like to make a further suggestion with reference to Rule 6. The second paragraph of the Rule provides that “ all decisions of the Conference which may have been taken at a private meeting shall be announced at any early public meeting of the Conference. ” I suggest that that be amended so as to read “ all decisions of the Conference, its commissions and committees which may have been taken at a private meeting shall be announced at an early public meeting of the Conference. ”

The PRESIDENT : Does anybody second that motion ?

M. BONNET (France) (*translation*) : I do.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Chairman, I think the intention of the Working Committee in framing this rule was entirely in accordance with the spirit expressed by the speaker who proposed the addition of the words “ its commissions and committees, ” but it occurs to me that there might possibly be matters arising in private commissions, perhaps concerning individuals (we do not know yet what questions will come up), which it might be wise not to bind the Conference to submit at a very early date, as provided in this rule, to the Conference as a whole. We are entirely in the hands of the Conference in this matter, but I think the Working Committee thought that rather looser form of words was safer in this matter.

May I say, with regard to what the delegate from Cuba has said, that the intention of the Working Committee was to make proceedings as public as possible and to enlist the interest of all the peoples represented in the Conference to the greatest possible degree. There is no intention at all to do anything secret or behind closed doors, but everyone experienced in public affairs knows that there are occasions which cannot be foreseen when matters arise which are better kept secret, perhaps only for a short time.

The PRESIDENT : Are there any further comments on this proposal ?

M. BONNET (France) (*translation*) : It says, " shall be announced at an early public meeting of the Conference " ; so it leaves us at liberty to keep anything secret if it is thought necessary to do so. There is no contradiction here.

The PRESIDENT : Does the delegate of the United States want us to vote on this question ?

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : I think it would be well to be quite clear whether we propose to announce decisions of commissions and committees as well as the decisions of the Conference itself. But we should like to be quite certain that the former are made public at the earliest moment which accords with the necessities referred to.

The PRESIDENT : I think it will be sufficient to have this recorded in the Minutes, and then every member of the Conference will know of it.

I will now ask the Secretary-General to continue with Rule 7.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL:

" Rule 7.

" *Attendance of Observers.*

" I. The Conference may extend invitations, in addition to those already issued by H.M. Government, to other organs of the United Nations. and to inter-governmental bodies, for attendance of observers at all or any part of their meetings. Observers shall be without vote but with the right to speak when called on by the President, to whom they may apply for leave to speak."

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections to Rule 7 ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : Mr. Chairman, I wish to propose that after the words " the Conference " we insert " on the recommendation of the Executive Committee " ; and that after the words " inter-governmental bodies " we add " and to other national or international organisations. "

The PRESIDENT : Does anybody wish to second this proposal ? (Pause.) As there is no seconder, the proposal is not adopted.

The SECRETARY- GENERAL :

" Rule 8.

" *Conduct of Conference Business.*

" 1. The President shall call upon speakers in the order in which they signify their desire to speak.

" 2. The Chairman or rapporteur of a Commission or Committee shall be accorded preference for the purpose of explaining or defending the report of the commission or committee.

" 3. When a motion is under discussion any member of the Conference, or of the Commission or Committee in question, may rise to a point of order, and such point of order shall be immediately decided by the President in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

" 4. During the discussion of any question any member may move the adjournment. Any such motion shall have priority in the debate.

" 5. A member may at any time move the closure of the debate. If application is made to speak against the closure it may be accorded to not more than two speakers. The President shall take the sense of the Conference on a motion for closure. If the Conference decides in favour of the closure, the President shall declare the closure of the debate.

" 6. When any delegate is unable to attend any meeting, his place may be taken by another member of his delegation designated by him. The name of such alternate shall be communicated to the Secretary-General of the Conference.

" 7. Resolutions, amendments and motions shall be introduced in writing and handed to the President. Copies shall be distributed to the representatives."

The PRESIDENT : Are there any objections to Rule 8 ? (Pause.) As there are no objections, Rule 8 is adopted.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : On Rule 9 there will be a very slight amendment which I shall move after reading the rule. It is an amendment proposed from the Chair after closer scrutiny of the rule. I will first read it in its original form :

" *Voting.*

" 1. Each State member of the Conference shall have one vote.

" 2. Decisions of the Conference shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

" 3. Voting shall be by show of hands except as hereinafter provided.

" 4. In case of doubt as to the result of any vote by show of hands, the President shall cause a record vote to be taken.

" 5. A record vote shall be taken on any question if requested in writing by not less than five members of the Conference and handed to the President in advance of the vote or immediately after a show of hands.

“ 6. The vote of each member participating in any record vote shall be inserted in the verbatim and summary reports of the meeting.

“ 7. On decisions relating to individuals a secret ballot shall be taken whenever requested in writing by at least five members of the Conference or if the President should so decide.

“ 8. If, when one person only is to be elected, no one person obtains at the first ballot an absolute majority of votes, an entirely new ballot shall be taken, and the candidate who receives the greatest number of votes shall be deemed elected. If there is at this ballot an equality of votes for two of the candidates, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots.

“ 9. When a number of elective places are to be filled at one time under the same conditions, those persons who obtain an absolute majority at the first ballot shall be elected. A second ballot shall then take place for the remaining places, and those candidates who receive the greatest number of votes at the second ballot shall be declared elected.

“ 10. In the case of equality in any voting other than that referred to in paragraphs 8 and 9, a second vote shall be taken in the course of the next meeting. Unless there is at this subsequent meeting a majority in favour of the proposal, it shall be considered lost.”

May I now, before the translation, mention the amendment which I am proposing on behalf of the Chair ? It is simply the omission in paragraph 2 of the words “ present and voting”, because it seemed to us, on closer scrutiny, that it was just conceivable that “ snap ” votes might be taken in very small meetings, and that it was wiser to guard against it. It would then run : “ Decisions of the Conference shall be made by a majority of the members.”

The PRESIDENT : Is there any objection against Rule 9 as it is now after the proposed amendment?

Dr. Amarnath JHA (India) : Is it the implication of the amendment moved from the Chair that voting shall be postponed until all members are present ?

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : No, not until all the members of the Conference are present ; but until there is a clear majority of the members of the Conference.

Dr. Amarnath JHA (India) : If I may venture to make a suggestion, I think what Sir Alfred Zimmern has now said makes the point clearer than the form in which he moved the amendment.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : Has the honourable delegate a form of words to suggest to clarify the position ? I understand that his aim is the same as that of the Chair ?

Dr. Amarnath JHA (India) : “ A majority of the members of the Conference.”

Lt.-Col. S. H. HALL-THOMPSON (United Kingdom) : Might I ask if there will be a quorum fixed ?

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : It was precisely because we had not included a clause about a quorum that it was thought wise, on careful consideration, to make this small amendment, to provide against “ snap ” voting ; but I think the resolution moved by the honourable delegate of India makes the matter quite clear.

The PRESIDENT : Are there any more comments ?

Then Rule 9 is adopted, as proposed by the Chair, with the amendment by the honourable delegate of India.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : I come now to the last rule, Rule 10. Here also there is a very small amendment, to be moved from the Chair, to the Clause at the very end of the Rule :

“ Rule 10.

“ *Commissions and Committees.*

“ 1. The Conference shall establish such Commissions and Committees as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

“ 2. On each Commission each delegation may be represented by any member of the delegation. Any member of a Commission may request leave from the Chairman for other members of his delegation, whatever may be their title within their respective delegations, to address the Commission.

“ 3. Each Commission and Committee shall appoint its Chairman and, if desired, its Rapporteur.

“ 4. Each Commission and Committee may appoint sub-committees, or panels, which shall elect their own officers, and shall have power to co-opt further members, nominated by heads of delegations, in order to ensure that no delegation shall lack the opportunity of representation on any sub-committee.

“ 5. The procedure set forth in Rules 4, 6, 8 and 9 shall apply to proceedings of Commissions and Committees of the Conference, unless the Commission or Committee, with the approval of the Executive Committee, decides otherwise.

“ 6. The Conference shall not decide items on the agenda in full meeting until the report of a Commission or Committee upon them has been presented and circulated, unless the Conference itself shall determine otherwise.

“ 7. The Conference shall appoint a Credentials Committee and an Executive Committee.

“ The Credentials Committee shall consist of nine members and shall be appointed by the Conference at its opening meeting. It shall examine forthwith the credentials of all members of delegations and report thereon to the Conference.

“ The Executive Committee shall consist of the President (who shall be the Chairman),

of the Associate President, and of the Vice-Presidents and of the Chairmen of Commissions, as appointed. The President, if unable to be present, shall act in accordance with Rule 1 (3). Its duties shall be :

- (i) to fix the times, dates and agenda of the plenary meetings of the Conference ;
- (ii) to co-ordinate the work of the Conference and of all Commissions by means of a sub-committee, if necessary ;
- (iii) to nominate the Chairman and Members of the Drafting Committee for the approval of the Conference ;
- (iv) to fix the date of adjournment of the Session ;
- (v) to facilitate the orderly despatch of the business of the Session.

“ The Secretary-General shall be the Secretary of the Executive Committee. ”

The small amendment which I have to move from the Chair is that after paragraph (v), “ to facilitate the orderly despatch of the business of the Session”, there be inserted the same words as are put in after paragraph (ii)—“ by means of a sub-committee, if necessary. ”

The PRESIDENT : Is there any objection to accepting the amendment from the Chair ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : Mr. Chairman, I think that Rule 7, which has already been adopted, is in contradiction with paragraph 6 of Rule 10, which says : “ The Conference shall not decide items on the agenda in full meeting until the report of a Commission or Committee upon them has been presented and circulated.” Rule 7 provides that invitations may be issued for the attendance of observers at the Conference without a preliminary report by any Commission. Also the Conference is given the function of fixing the agenda, whereas sub-paragraph (i) of paragraph 7 of Rule 10 says that “ to fix the times, dates and agenda of the plenary meetings of the Conference ” is the task of the Executive Committee. I believe there is, or may be, some contradiction between these parts of Rule 10 and those Rules which have already been approved by the Conference.

The PRESIDENT : I will ask the Secretary-General to reply.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : I would wish to reply without waiting for the motion to be seconded, because I would like to put the mind of the honourable delegate at rest. In Rule 7 it is not said that the Conference, acting on its motion without a Committee, shall invite. It might perhaps have been clearer if a clause had been added saying : “ The Conference, following the procedure laid down in these Rules, may ” but we did not think that was necessary ; so I hope the honourable delegate will feel happy on that point.

The second point is a little more subtle. The word “ agenda ” has two meanings. There is the agenda for the proceedings of the Conference as a whole, which has been circulated to you in

advance : the Programme of the Conference. Then there is the agenda in the sense used in Rule 10, which means what is to be done each day. Perhaps it would have been better to use those short simple English words rather than the Latin word, to avoid the confusion ; but I hope this has satisfied the honourable delegate.

The PRESIDENT : Does the honourable delegate maintain his proposition ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : I think we are agreed that the Conference shall not take decisions before a Commission or Committee has reported on the subject. That covers my point.

The PRESIDENT : Then I move that the Draft Rules 1 to 10 be adopted *en bloc*.

M. BONNET (France) (translation) : There are two remarks I should like to make. First of all, in connection with paragraph 4 of Rule 10. Under this paragraph it would appear to be foreseen that a sub-committee appointed by a Commission will be able to co-opt any number of members of the Conference. That is a procedure I have never seen applied in any international body. I have no objection in substance, but I believe we would agree between ourselves that, when the Conference appoints such a sub-committee by agreement between its members, in order to study any problems that are presented, such sub-committee of 3, 4 or 5 members shall not be changed into a plenary meeting. I really think that if we were to interpret this Clause too freely, we should risk losing a lot of time during our discussions.

The second point is with regard to sub-paragraph 4 of paragraph 7, of Rule 10, where it is said that one of the duties of the Executive Committee will be to fix the date of adjournment of the Session. I would like to know exactly what that means.

Further, the third sub-paragraph of paragraph 7 of the Rule says : “ The President, if unable to be present, shall act in accordance with Rule 1 (3).” If we refer to Rule 1 (3), we see that it specifically states that he will be replaced by a Vice-President. As there is another Article which mentions an Associate-President, I think it is only an omission, and I assume that, if the Associate-President is absent, he will be replaced by the Vice-President ; and that applies also to the paragraph I have just quoted in Rule 10.

The PRESIDENT : I do not think it is necessary to make any change here, but just to record in the Minutes what has been said by the delegate of France.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : May I very respectfully point out that the honourable delegate from France has not, I think, read carefully Rule 1, paragraph 2. The last sentence of Rule 1, paragraph 2, says “ The Associate-President shall assume all the functions of President mentioned hereafter, whenever the latter finds it necessary to be absent. ” That covers all the other references in the document to the President ; at least, it was drafted with that intention.

M. BONNET (France) (*translation*) : Agreed.

The PRESIDENT : Then I move that we adopt these rules *en bloc*.

M. BONNET (France) (*translation*) : I asked a third question, as to what is meant by the date of adjournment of the session.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : There arises at every Conference a time when members begin to ask themselves when the proceedings will be drawing to a close, and this clause simply gives the Executive Committee power to satisfy the curiosity of members and to allow them to make their arrangements, and to fix what, I think, is now popularly called " a target for the despatch of business. " It is impossible to foresee that date at an early stage of the Conference, but I think it is a very natural power to give to the Executive Committee to exercise during the later stages of the Conference.

M. BONNET (France) (*translation*) : I propose then-the point is not worth voting on-that we say in French " ... de fixer la date de la clôture de la session. "

The PRESIDENT : There is no objection from the Chair. Then is there any objection against the Rules *en bloc* ?

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : Relating to the power of the Executive Committee, I am not quite certain as to the meaning of the amendment. I feel strongly with the delegate of France that the power of the Executive Committee to fix the date of the adjournment should be subject to the will of the Conference. I do not propose an amendment, but I do wish to be clear in our minds on that subject.

The PRESIDENT : That is clear. Is there any objection against the adoption of these Rules ? (*Pause.*) Then they are adopted.

#### 4. REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT : Now we come to the report of the Credentials Committee.

The SECRETARY&GENERAL : The Chairman of the Credentials Committee will read it.

M. CASSIN (Chairman of the Credentials

Committee) (*translation*) : The Credentials Committee has considered the credentials submitted by the various delegates and has declared that they are in proper form. It therefore unanimously moves that the Conference should accept those credentials. In the case of Luxembourg it is proposed that the Conference should provisionally accept M. Alphonse Als as the representative of that country, pending the arrival of the titular member, who is bringing the credentials.

The PRESIDENT : Is there any objection to that ? (*After a pause.*) Then it is adopted.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : I have one announcement to make. Owing to the wide dispersal of delegates over the London area, it is greatly regretted that it will not be possible to carry out the arrangement contemplated for the distribution of documents to hotels. We had hoped to be able to send documents by motor-car to the hotels so that delegates could have them earlier in the morning. Delegations will, I am afraid, have to obtain their documents by applying to the Enquiries Bureau at the entrance to this building. The documents will be there and the office will be open from 9 o'clock in the morning. I am extremely sorry that the accommodation problem in central London renders this necessary and I would like to say, on behalf of the Secretariat, that we are very sensitive of the difficulties to which some delegations have been exposed in the matter of accommodation. A very large number of dwellings in the London area have been rendered unusable through causes on which I will not enlarge, and that has made the task of those responsible for accommodation extremely difficult. So I would like already at this stage to offer my regrets and excuses on behalf of the organisers of the Conference. May I say one more thing : that the Secretariat is entirely at the disposal of delegates, and we would be very grateful if anyone who has any observations, complaints or suggestions to make would put them in writing addressed to the Secretariat, and they will find their way to my room.

The PRESIDENT : The business of this morning is finished. The Meeting is adjourned until 2.30 o'clock for the transaction of certain business ; the address of welcome will be given at 3 o'clock.

## SECOND PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, November 1st, 1945, at 2.45 p.m.

*President* : DR. ALF SOMMERFELT, later the Rt. Hon. ELLEN WILKINSON  
(*President of the Conference*)

### 5. ELECTION OF PRESIDENT, ASSOCIATE-PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

The PRESIDENT : Ladies and gentlemen, we have arrived at Item No. 5 on our agenda—the election of President, Associate-President and Vice-Presidents. The Secretary has received two requests to speak from the floor. I call upon Monsieur Léon Blum, delegate of France.

M. Léon BLUM (France) (*translation*) : In the name of the French delegation I move that the Right Honourable Ellen Wilkinson, British Minister of Education, be elected President.

The PRESIDENT : I call upon Mr. Archibald MacLeish, delegate of the United States of America.

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : I take particular pleasure in supporting and seconding the happy suggestion of the distinguished delegate from France, not only because of the obvious merits of the suggestion itself, but because of its source. No representative of my country could fail to feel the pride I feel in associating myself in any capacity or quality whatever with M. Léon Blum, whose services and sufferings on behalf of our common cause, the cause of the United Nations, the cause of humanity everywhere, are as well known and as deeply admired in the United States—and I daresay throughout the United Nations—as they are in his own great country.

It is in every way appropriate that this Conference should select as its President one whose life has been dedicated to the two great causes of education and labour. The achievement of greater and more effective international co-operation in the field of education, as in the fields of culture generally—of science and the arts—is the immediate purpose of this meeting. But that purpose has behind it a greater and even more moving objective—the common understanding of the masses of the people in this world.

Mankind has at last demonstrated to itself in a manner which neither ignorance, nor provinciality, nor intellectual prejudice can deny, that the two alternatives of modern man are alternatives indeed—are inescapable alternatives—are alternatives of which one or the other must be chosen and chosen now. The alternatives are not new. They have long existed, though some refused to see them. They are the alternatives our own advance in science, our own advance in knowledge—one dare not say our advance in civilization—have presented to us. They are these : we must choose to live together or we must choose, quite literally, not to live.

At San Francisco we chose to live together. But it sometimes seems as though our choice had been made by our wills, not by our minds and hearts. Until the choice to live together is the choice of the minds and hearts of men, the alternative of life will not truly have been chosen.

As I understand it, it is the purpose of this Conference to support the choice made by will with a choice made by mind and heart. This Conference has been called to prepare the instrument through which the common understanding of mankind may be increased. Only when the peoples of the nations—not their governments—not their scientists even or their learned men—but the peoples, all the people—recognize each other's common manhood, common humanity, can the choice of will become the choice of heart. The universal languages of communication have always existed in the sciences and in the arts and in the language of the human spirit. Human science has provided those universal languages with instruments, in the last few years, by which men can speak to men across the frontiers of the world, by which the peoples of the world may speak and answer.

What remains to do is what we have been called here to accomplish : to create a social instrument through which these instruments of communication, these universal languages, may be put to the service of the common human hope for peace. It seems to me altogether fitting and proper that we should be led in that undertaking by a representative of this great country, so long dedicated to the cause of freedom of the mind and spirit. It seems altogether fitting also that the representative of Great Britain who is to preside over our meetings should be Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who has served for so many useful years the two great objects of the education of the people and the people's cause.

The PRESIDENT : As there is no opposition, I have much pleasure in declaring Miss Ellen Wilkinson, first delegate of the United Kingdom, President of the Conference, and I would ask Miss Wilkinson to take the Chair.

*Miss Ellen Wilkinson then assumed the Presidential Chair*

The PRESIDENT : I thank the delegates to the Conference for the great honour which has been done to the head of the delegation of the United Kingdom.

The first business on our agenda is the election of the Associate-President and the Vice-Presidents.

I will ask the Secretary-General to read the suggestions of the Conference.



The SECRETARY-GENERAL : For Associate-President the name put forward is that of M. Léon Blum, delegate of France.

The PRESIDENT : I take it that, by that general acclaim, we welcome as Associate-President one of Europe's most distinguished men, M. Leon Blum.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : For Vice-Presidents, the following names have been put forward :

H.E. M. J. J. Moniz de Aragao, delegate of Brazil ;  
M. F. Walker Linares, delegate of Chile ;  
Dr. Hu Shih, delegate of China ;  
H.E. Don Jaime Jaramillo-Arango, delegate of Colombia ;  
H.E. Abdel Fattam Amr Pasha, delegate of Egypt ;  
H.E. M. Thanassis Aghnides, delegate of Greece ;  
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, delegate of India ;  
H.E. M. Jaime Torres Bodet, delegate of Mexico ;  
Professor Alf Sommerfelt, delegate of Norway ;  
M. Czeslaw Wycech, delegate of Poland ;  
Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, delegate of the Union of South Africa ;  
Mr. Archibald MacLeish, delegate of the United States of America.

The PRESIDENT : I submit those names to the Conference. If there are no other suggestions, may I have acceptance by acclamation ?

*The proposition was carried by acclamation.*

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: As it is just on 3 o'clock, it would seem better to leave over for the moment the next item on the agenda, until a later stage, as our Rules of Procedure allow us to do.

The PRESIDENT : There will, therefore, be an interval of about three minutes in which the delegates may converse with each other.

#### **6. WELCOMING ADDRESS BY THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER**

The Rt. Hon. C. R. ATTLEE (Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) : It is my very agreeable duty this afternoon to extend the greetings of His Majesty's Government to the delegates attending this Conference and to wish you success in your labours.

We are especially glad to welcome you to London which has been a meeting place for so many of you during the years of the war. Indeed, it would perhaps be just to claim that the idea of this conference, the germ of the purpose for which you are now met, was born partly of the wartime meetings of the Allied Ministers of Education in London. The conception of an international organisation for educational and cultural collaboration is of course a great deal older than the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education ; indeed, I believe that in one form or another it has been before the world since the days of the

French Revolution or even earlier. France has indeed steadily kept this aim before the world and we would all, I know, wish to acknowledge the lead she has given, notably by promoting the work of intellectual co-operation undertaken by the League of Nations. But the meetings of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education during the last three years have undoubtedly brought this idea much nearer to its practical fulfilment. It is therefore particularly appropriate that you should now be assembled in London in order to complete the task which was here so largely initiated. It was surely a happy augury that while the Allied Ministers of Education were at work upon their plans for this conference there should have come, simultaneously, from the other hemisphere, the unanimous declaration of the delegates at San Francisco in favour of the summoning of a conference to establish an educational and cultural organisation of the United Nations. Under such doubly favourable auspices your meetings can hardly fail to achieve results.

I am glad to learn that delegates from so many of the United Nations have made the journey—for some of them a very long journey—to attend this conference. There are indeed very few absentees. We are justified, I think, in interpreting the very wide response to the invitation issued by His Majesty's Government as evidence of the world-wide interest which this conference has aroused and of the importance which is attached to its purpose. I should like to devote a minute or two to examining its purpose a little more closely.

Why should we bring into our scheme for international collaboration machinery concerning education and culture ? That is a question which obviously must be faced at the outset of your proceedings, and I do not doubt that you have each one of you faced it for yourselves and would be ready with your answer. I will ask your indulgence while I try very briefly to suggest to you the answer which I should give.

In the new world order towards which we are moving it is essential that we should have appropriate machinery to deal with each of the major fields of human activity. Examples are labour, health, food and agriculture, transport, finance. We have already made quite a good beginning with this task of forging the instruments of our co-operative international life in the future ; but however we classify the principal elements in the public life of the world it would be impossible to exclude from our classification that large and significant field of activity which can be described broadly as the life of the mind. This covers not only the special field of education in all its branches and at all its stages, it includes the whole intellectual realm with its " many goodly states and kingdoms," the sciences, the humanities, the fine arts, research for the advancement of knowledge and the whole vast territory in which ideas are disseminated. The field of educational and cultural relationships is surely one of the richest and most significant in the international life of the world. We cannot

be content until our new world organisation provides for the fullest and most beneficent development of these relationships. Do not wars, after all, begin in the minds of men ? There is surely reason enough why the interests which the members of this conference represent should mobilise themselves and seek, before it is too late, to bring themselves to bear, with the maximum impact, upon the course of the life of the world. Yours is therefore a great responsibility ; upon your deliberations and decisions may rest, I believe, the future of that common understanding which is the best guarantee of peace. In your hands, and in the hands of the constituents whom you represent, the Ministries of Education, the universities, the learned societies, the teachers, the educational associations, rests here and now the opportunity of establishing a common front against the forces of ignorance, prejudice and misunderstanding. An organisation such as you are contemplating may make a great contribution to the shaping of events. One of the evil things against which we fought in the war was the totalitarian practice of drawing a curtain around the minds of the people to prevent them knowing what others thought. Another was the deliberate indoctrination of the minds of the people with a set of rigid narrow ideas in order to prevent them from using their reasoning faculties and from having any criterion on which to form judgment.

I shall, no doubt, hear from the street outside these peaceful walls the question " But what use will it be to the common man, the man in the street ? " It is a fair question and deserves a fair answer. It is true that knowledge, like peace, is indivisible, and that increased co-operation between philosophers, scientists, humanists and historians, will increase the sum of human knowledge. But an increase in human knowledge filters down slowly, almost imperceptibly, to the man in the street. Moreover it is not everybody who cares about the things of the mind. And so the insistent and recurrent question is " What will the new Organisation do for the present generation, the man in the street and the children in the street ? " Let us take the title " Educational and Cultural Organisation " and examine its implications.

First—" Educational." Do any of the Ministers of Education present here today believe that their countries enjoy a system of education so perfect that they could not benefit from the experience of other countries ? Does my Right Honourable friend sitting beside me think so ? If she does, I hope she will resign at the earliest opportunity. But I know she does not think so, for no sane person could imagine such a thing. " Everything is in a state of flux " said the Greek philosopher. And that is pre-eminently true of education, which must constantly be adapted to the needs of a changing world. And today it is not only increased change but an increased rate of change that we have to face. Every country in the world must adapt its educational system to

the new conditions, every country must learn by consultation with the others facing the same problem.

Again let me take one obvious world-wide difficulty that we all have to face—the education of backward races. The Trusteeship Council has a great responsibility for their education. It will be to this new organisation that they will look for advice and guidance.

All of us hope to educate our people for the world we want to build. Our watchword is " educate so that the minds of the people shall be attuned to peace. " As I said a moment ago, wars begin in the minds of men. And we are to live in a world of democracies, where the mind of the common man will be all important. We have left behind us the days when kings and their statesmen could declare war at will, regardless of the feelings of their subjects, and we have no proof that democracy of itself is a protection against a readiness to make war.

Secondly—" Cultural." Today the peoples of the world are " islands shouting at each other over seas of misunderstanding." They do not understand each other's history, each other's ways of living, each other's way of thinking. The better they understand each other, the more they will realise how much they have in common and why and how much they differ, the less prone they will be to take up arms against each other. " Know thyself " said the old proverb. " Know your neighbour " we say today. And the whole world is our neighbour.

How are we to know our neighbours ? To understand their culture, if you will pardon my use of that much abused word ? Surely through their books, their newspapers, their radio and their films. Therefore our new Organisation must concern itself not only with education of the formal kind, but with books, and newspapers and radio and films and television. As such, I see it as a force for good, striving steadily forward to the goal for which we all long, " on earth peace, goodwill toward men."

The PRESIDENT : I understand that the French translation of the Prime Minister's speech has been circulated to French-speaking delegates and, therefore, it will not be necessary for me to call upon the interpreter to translate that speech of welcome, for which I am sure you would all like me to thank the Prime Minister.

#### **7. OPENING ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE**

The Rt. Hon. Ellen WILKINSON, M.P. (Minister of Education) : My first words must be to thank you, and to thank you very sincerely, for the great honour you have done me in choosing me to preside over this Conference—the first, as I hope and believe, of a long line of United Nations Conferences under the Constitution which it is our purpose to work out here together. It is an honour which I am glad to share with my colleague, M. Léon Blum.

As the Prime Minister has just told you, we are indeed delighted to welcome you to this country and we appreciate the readiness of the French Government, which joined with us in the invitation to the Conference, to agree with us on the choice of meeting-place. We are conscious that too often we have not been able to place at your disposal accommodation for your stay such as we would have wished. We have done our best for your comfort, and you will, I am sure, ascribe any shortcomings not to any lack of hospitality, but to the loss and damage which our capital city has sustained during the years of war.

May I too say just a word, as the chief delegate of my country, about the delegation which accompanies me ?

The Ministry of Education, which has had the task of preparing for this Conference, deals only with education in England and Wales. The British Government was, however, desirous to show by the character of its delegation that it considers the tasks of the Conference the concern of all the territories under its charge. I have, therefore, the support of representatives of Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Colonial Empire.

There are certain of our territories for which it was impossible to provide a special place in the delegation. I think of Burma, which has endured an ordeal perhaps as severe as that of any of the liberated countries in Europe. But their interests and those of others I cannot detail have not been and will not be overlooked.

We are met at the end of the greatest war in history, against the background of two continents with their attendant islands, across which the fires of war have raged. Even now the embers still glow, and here and there the flames still flicker.

All of us here—all the nations that we represent—have taken some part in this great struggle. All have ranged themselves under the flag of freedom and against aggression and oppression. Many of us have drunk together from a common cup of sorrow and sacrifice.

Now we are met together ; workers in education, in scientific research and in the varied fields of culture. We represent those who teach, those who discover, those who write, those who express their inspiration in music or in art. We have a high responsibility, for entrusted to us is the task of creating some part—and not the least important part—of that structure of the United Nations on which rest our hopes for the future of mankind. It is for us to clear the channels through which may flow from nation to nation the streams of knowledge and thought, of truth and beauty which are the foundations of true civilization.

Here are things on which, and through which, men can so readily come together. Music knows no barrier of tongues and pictures speak without speech. Knowledge should know no frontiers, and there is a brotherhood of learning no less strong perhaps than that brotherhood of which the poet spoke—" the brotherhood that binds the brave of all the earth. "

We live in a machine age and the world has worshipped at the shrine of the practical man and of technological achievement. But we know that progress as machine users can lead only to disaster unless we also have progress as human beings. Behind the machine, and vastly more important, is man and the mind of man. It is indeed the mind of man—the right-mindedness of man—which alone can prevent the misuse of the new powers always coming to his hand. Civilization, it has been said, represents the conquest of nature. But surely it must also depend on the development of all that is best in human nature.

We have seen in these past years professors forced to glorify the narrowest nationalism : teachers and preachers forced to inculcate unlimited subservience to the war machine. We have seen the service of education—the education of the young—wholly prostituted to the cause of savagery and aggression.

But we have also seen the great fight put up against this monstrous wickedness by the intellectual worker, by men and women of integrity of mind. In every land which the totalitarians overran, it was the intellectual who was picked out first to face the firing squad—teacher, priest, professor. The men who meant to rule the world knew that first they must kill those who tried to keep thought free.

While some suffered martyrdom, others played their part in the battle to preserve freedom. In concentration camps, at Auschwitz, in Czech University or the Maquis, teachers became leaders. Here in England, the war became a professors' war. Scientists developed almost miraculous inventions, and a Professor of Moral Philosophy became a Director of Munitions Supply.

The struggle was won. Now we have to take stock and look to the future.

First, in the physical world, we find ruined schools and universities, textbooks burned, libraries destroyed, scientific apparatus smashed or blown up.

In the realm of the mind, many teachers have been lost. Among the children, many have had no continuous school life during the war and in some countries a whole generation has largely missed its education. There is widespread malnutrition, and the years that should have passed in security and innocence have been lived amid horror, fear and suffering.

On the other hand, we have a generation of young men and women who have shared in a great adventure and have fought in a great cause. They will be returning from the Services experienced in life and filled with a determination to see to it that the world shall not be driven into facing this ordeal again for a third time, which might well be the end.

They realise that wars have got to be prevented. But prevention of war alone is not enough. We need the organisation of something positive—the positive creation of peace and the ways of peace. That is our task at this Conference.

We meet to draw up a constitution for an organisation, designed to take its place as one of the "special agencies" under the Charter of the United Nations.

This is not the first attempt to devise an international organisation in this field. The League of Nations established an Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation, which we are happy to see represented amongst us today in the persons of its Chairman, Dr. Gilbert Murray, and of the Director of its Executive Organ, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

The new Organisation, which we meet here to set up, differs in two important respects from that of the old League. In the first place, it is more representative in character. Whereas the League Committee consisted of some 15-20 persons nominated by the Council of the League, the Organisation contemplated in the draft Constitution which has been submitted to you will function through an annual Conference of representatives of the member states.

Exactly how that Conference should be composed is a matter which will occupy our deliberations; but among all the suggestions which have reached the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and the Preparatory Committee of this Conference, not one has proposed to do away with the representative character of the annual Conference. Thus, if, as seems probable, we adopt a constitution on these lines, we shall have established what has never existed before—a world-wide brain-workers' parliament.

The second difference between the proposals before us and the old League system is that, whereas the League was expressly debarred from dealing with education, we are not merely concerned with education, but education is to be our principal field of activity. It is the emphatic first word in our title.

What do we mean by an international Organisation for education?

First and foremost, we intend surely that there shall henceforward be a link, an official link, under the United Nations Charter, between teachers in every part of the world. Not, of course, between teachers alone. I am not forgetting the administrators, the inspectors, the parents—least of all, the children and young people.

But it is of the teachers that I am particularly thinking today. And, if my fellow-delegates will allow me, I would like to send my voice beyond these walls and address myself to teachers wherever they are carrying on their self-sacrificing labours. I say to them: Pay attention to what is being done here in London. Support those who are establishing this organisation and, when it is established, see that you make it your own, to reflect your wishes and to meet your needs. See that its influence penetrates from the officials at its centre to the scattered workers on the circumference, so that the unity of the teaching profession may at last be no empty slogan but a living reality expressed through the effective working of the new international Organisation.

Though Science was not included in the original title of the Organisation, the British delegation will put forward a proposal that it be included, so that the title would run "Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation." In these days, when we are all wondering, perhaps apprehensively, what the scientists will do to us next, it is important that they should be linked closely with the humanities and should feel that they have a responsibility to mankind for the result of their labours. I do not believe that any scientists will have survived the world catastrophe, who will still say that they are utterly uninterested in the social implications of their discoveries.

It is the scientists themselves, I am glad to say, who have insisted on the United Kingdom delegation putting forward the proposal for the inclusion of the word "Scientific" in the title of the Organisation. There are already in existence many international unions of different branches of science. We welcome their co-operation and, of course, do not wish in any way to cut across or interfere with their activities.

Lastly we have the word Culture. Some may argue that the artist, the musician, the writer, all the creative workers in the humanities and the arts, cannot be organised either nationally or internationally. The artist, it has been said, works to please himself. That might have been a tenable argument before the war. But those of us who remember the struggle in the Far East and in Europe in the days preceding the open war, know how much the fight against fascism depended on the determination of writers and artists to keep their international contacts that they might reach across the rapidly rising frontier barriers.

Some of the delegates of the thirty-five Governments here represented may feel concerned lest, in seeking to bring teachers, scientists and creative artists together in this way, we undermine their loyalty to their own countries. Teachers especially have the task of preparing young minds for national citizenship. May there not be for them a conflict of loyalties?

This question will have to be faced. It is a more real problem for new states than for those with old-established and rooted foundations. But the question is, I suggest, answered by this great international Conference. We here could not be interested in international work if we were not firmly rooted in our national loyalties. You cannot build a bridge unless there is solid earth at each end of the bridge. Our international organisation, intended to be a bridge between nations, must rest firmly on foundations dug deeply into the national life and tradition of the member states. International fellowship and national personality are not incompatible.

As I have said, our task here is to frame a constitution, and constitution-making is a task that tends to interest statesmen rather than creative artists. The creative mind wants to know what we plan to do with our machine when we have made it.

What can this organisation do ? Can we replace nationalist teaching by a conception of humanity that trains children to have a sense of mankind as well as of national citizenship ? That means working for international understanding.

What a difference might be made if we could establish, for instance, international commissions on the impartial teaching of history and geography and standards of civic conduct !

Why should we not undertake international research into comparative educational method and systems of child guidance and psychology ?

Why should we not organise more widely the interchange of scholars and teachers, especially student teachers and teachers in Training Colleges ?

Can we not use broadcasting and films to promote mutual understanding ?

Can we not increase the interchange of books and make easy the flow of books and serious periodicals across the frontiers ? This is especially important for the countries who have lost so many of their books, libraries and records.

Is there then to be no rôle for the national state in modern education ? Of course there is. The problem we shall have to face is how to cast the state for a progressive rôle in education, instead of that of the jealous parent who will allow no outside interest to enter the national home.

It would be a great advantage if states would compete in the new and best methods of teaching, in erecting modern buildings, in supplying up-to-date equipment and in securing a high status for their teachers, and would compare their work one with the other.

Other ideas will be thrown up in our discussions. But we cannot chart the future of the Organisation which we are met here to found. We must not get lost in dreams and visions, for to us has fallen the very practical task of drawing up the constitution of the organisation by which our hopes and desires may be fulfilled, and for which cases we cannot yet discern may later emerge.

Our Conference is of unique importance and unique hopefulness : for surely in the field which is our concern the national and the international can most readily be fused for the common good of common man. Let us then in faith and confidence set our hands to our work.

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(1) The following is the text of ECO./Conf./4 :—

**COMMISSION I**

Title, Preamble, Purposes and Principal Functions.  
Allied Ministers' Draft, Preamble and Articles I and II.  
French Government Draft, Preamble and Article I.

*Terms of Reference :*

To draw up an agreed text of this portion of the Constitution for submission to the Drafting Committee and the Conference, with any necessary observations thereon, including, should the need arise, a statement on divergencies of views within the Commission.

**COMMISSION II**

The general structure of the Organisation (exclusive of the Executive Board and the Secretariat).

Allied Ministers' draft, Articles III, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, and XV.

French Government draft, Articles 2-12 inclusive, 25-27 inclusive, 29, 31, 33, 34-2, 36 and 37.

**8. APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONS AND ADOPTION OF THEIR TERMS OF REFERENCE**

The PRESIDENT : Now to the business of this Conference. We are met in order to work out a Constitution for the Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations, and we have before us a draft which has been worked upon very carefully by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. We have a project which the French Government put forward, and we have a good many comments and proposals which have been received from other sources since the draft of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education was promulgated. Our suggestion is that we devote the remainder of this week and the beginning of next week to a general consideration of the project before you. I hope that early next week we may be ready to go into committee on the detailed constitution, and I would call your attention to the paper before you by the Working Committee, which gives the Committee's proposal for the establishment of Commissions, with their terms of reference. Delegates will see that the Working Committee propose five Commissions. I will not give you any more details now since the paper has been circulated to you. I hope that these five Commissions-which will sometimes, I think be able to work simultaneously-may be able to complete their labours in little over a week. We shall then have to appoint a Drafting Committee, and finally we will hold a Plenary Session of the Conference to consider the final draft and to consider also the appointment and the functions of the Interim Commission. I hope it may not be too optimistic to suggest that these final Plenary Sessions should begin on Thursday, November 15th. The programme which I have suggested gives a clear fortnight in which to evolve a workmanlike project. May I take it that, after translation, you approve of the list of Commissions submitted to you in document No. 4 ?

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : I would like to ask whether we are being asked if we agree with the list of Commissions or if we are in agreement simply with the list or with document E.C.O./Conf./4 ? (1)

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*Terms of Reference :*

To draw up an agreed text of this portion of the Constitution for submission to the Drafting Committee and the Conference, with any necessary observations thereon, including, should the need arise, a statement on divergencies of views within the Commission.

**COMMISSION III**

The Executive Board and the Secretariat.  
Allied Ministers' draft, Articles VI and VII.  
French Government draft, Articles 4, 13-22 inclusive, and 36.

*Terms of Reference :*

To draw up an agreed text of this portion of the Constitution for submission to the Drafting Committee and the Conference, with any necessary observations thereon, including, should the need arise, a statement on divergencies of views within the Commission.

The PRESIDENT : I am asking whether the list of Commissions, with their terms of reference, is agreed. Would you like to speak on this ?

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : If we are discussing the question of terms of reference as set forth in document 4, yes, I would like to speak. If we are simply discussing the list of Commissions—that is to say, whether there should be five Commissions to discuss the subjects—then I would prefer to leave what I have to say until later.

The PRESIDENT : I will call on the Secretary-General at this point.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : As I understand the delegate of the United States, what he is ready to approve is the division of this Conference into five Commissions and the subjects assigned to those five Commissions, without committing himself to approving every jot and tittle in document E.C.O./Conf./4. Am I right in that interpretation ?

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : Somewhat extending the meaning of jot and tittle, yes.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : Now that the division into Commissions has been approved, the Secretariat would be very grateful if delegations would set about the task of deciding how to assign their members to the different Commissions and would let the Secretariat know by Monday morning which members of the delegation will sit on which Commissions.

#### **9. COMMUNICATION OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION ON OCTOBER 3RD, 1945**

(E.C.O./Conf./5) (2)

The PRESIDENT : We turn now to document No. 5. To save time, I will put this document to

##### **COMMISSION IV**

Relations with the Social and Economic Council and with other international organisations ; and the question of the seat of the Organisation.

Allied Ministers' draft, Articles XIII and XIV.

French Government draft, Articles 23, 24, 28, 30-35 inclusive, and 38.

*Terms of Reference :*

To prepare, for submission to the Conference, a text to serve as a basis of discussion for the future negotiation of an agreement between the Social and Economic Council and the new Organisation as a specialised agency in accordance with Articles 57 and 63 of the Charter of the United Nations ; and to arrive at an agreement as to the seat of

<sup>2</sup> The following is the text of E.C.O./Conf./5 :

*Resolutions adopted by the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education on October 3rd, 1945, for submission to the United Nations Conference*

1. " The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, recalling its continuing study of the destruction of educational and cultural life of the countries attacked and occupied by the Axis powers, has taken note with gratitude of the offer made by UNRRA to aid in the reconstruction, on an emergency basis, of buildings and structures used for educational purposes ; and to help in the supply of scientific, technical and engineering equipment designed to assist training or retraining and to facilitate relief and rehabilitation

the Conference without reading it. It contains the Resolutions adopted by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education on October 3rd, 1945, for submission to the United Nations Conference. If that is agreed, it will be submitted to the various Commissions.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : That would mean, I presume, Madame Chairman and delegates, that the first resolution—that dealing with destruction of educational and cultural life in certain countries—would be referred to Commission V, dealing with the work of the Interim Commission ; and the second Resolution about periodic meetings of Ministers of Education would be referred to Commission II, which deals with the general structure of the new Organisation.

The PRESIDENT : Are there any comments ? Is that agreed ? (Agreed.)

I now have the greatest possible pleasure in calling upon the Associate-President, Monsieur Léon Blum, to open the general discussion.

#### **10. ADDRESS BY THE ASSOCIATE-PRESIDENT**

M. Léon BLUM (France) (*translation*) : With reference to the recommendation by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and in the exercise of the initiative which brings us here, the British Government recalled that last June at San Francisco the French delegation persuaded the Conference to adopt a motion to the same effect. The first recital in that resolution said that

" Peace between the nations, if it is to be just and lasting, must be based on mutual knowledge and understanding. "

The motion recommended member Governments to convene a Conference within a few months for the purpose of drawing up the statutes of an international organ of co-operation.

the Organisation—including, should the need arise, a statement on divergencies of views within the Commission.

##### **COMMISSION V**

The Interim Commission.

Allied Ministers' draft, Transitory Provisions.

French Government draft, Article 32.

*Terms of Reference :*

To consider the appointment, functions, and budget of the Interim Commission, including the scope of its activities in relation to educational and cultural reconstruction, and to report thereon to the Conference, including, should the need arise, a statement on divergencies of views within the Commission.

projects. The Conference of Allied Ministers, however, wish to express to the United Nations Conference their serious concern over the slow progress of educational and cultural reconstruction in the liberated countries. They desire to call attention to the urgent importance of the work of educational and cultural reconstruction in all its aspects, and to record their view that unless there is some prospect of an acceleration of this work, public opinion is likely to be seriously disturbed."

2. "That in the opinion of this Conference periodic meetings of the Ministers of Education of the United Nations are desirable, and should be provided for in the plans for the Educational and Cultural Organisation. "

The Conference which the French delegates recommended their colleagues at San Francisco to convene was closely related to that called by the British Government, and for that reason France cordially co-operated in the invitation which brings US here in such large numbers, in a common spirit and with the same wishes.

What we all want is to make our contribution "to international security and peace and to the welfare of the peoples of the world", to use the words at the beginning of the draft by the Conference of Ministers. As President Truman said in points 5 and 10 of his recent speech, we want to help build a world free from fear and poverty, in which conditions everywhere shall be improved, in which Nazism, Fascism and armed aggression shall no longer be able to exist. The French Government is convinced—and it expresses this conviction without reserves in its text—that free circulation of ideas, the advancement of the education of peoples, the expansion of culture and the advance of all branches of science, are essential to the betterment of human welfare and to the maintenance of peace and security. It is convinced that this exchange of ideas, this advancement, expansion and progress call for closer and closer collaboration between all democratic countries with the mutual aid of all their resources, and also call for an ever-closer co-ordination between teachers, scholars and research workers in all countries. The French delegation wholly concurs in this view, which is the guiding motive of the preliminary draft by the Conference of Ministers and it will endeavour to elucidate and develop it with yourselves, particularly emphasising the true function of co-operation in the sphere of science and scientific research, the growing importance of extra- or post-scholastic educational systems, and especially, problems of working-class education. The French delegation further stresses the place belonging, or which should belong, to questions concerning education in the duty and responsibilities of colonising nations towards colonial peoples.

Regarding all these matters the French Government is convinced that progress largely depends on co-operation and that co-operation itself depends upon the reciprocal knowledge and emulation which it arouses. Competition is an egoistic emotion which creates animosity ; emulation is a generous emotion, which creates solidarity and confidence. I may be allowed here to quote a personal instance. Barely a month ago, when I was returning from London, I was constantly boasting to my friends of the wonderful achievements of this country during the last few years : local and circulating libraries, popular debating societies, use of the radio for teaching. My stories roused no envy, but a touching anxiety to imitate and if possible equal these achievements. That is how progress and friendship between the peoples may be permanently advanced.

On all these points therefore and in all these fields the French delegation promises you its wholehearted collaboration. There is however

another aspect which it is impossible and even dangerous to ignore. The war which has just ended and which Marshal Smuts at San Francisco called an essentially ideological war, " the greatest war of religion of all times," has shown us how education, culture (in the strict sense) and science itself may be distorted against the common interests of humanity. Popular education, advanced cultural institutions and scientific research were as expanded and perfected in Germany as in other countries. Expansion and perfecting are therefore not enough. These institutions must be steered in the direction of that " ideology " of democracy and progress which is the psychological condition, the psychological basis of international solidarity and peace.

Accordingly, in framing its preliminary draft to be submitted to you, the French Government's motive was to accentuate this fundamental idea, and not in the least an idle feeling of *amour propre*. It lays down the principle that the world war, in which civilisation and mankind narrowly escaped destruction was rendered possible by the abandonment of democratic ideas and the propagation of doctrines glorifying violence and proclaiming the inequality of races, and that accordingly the duty of the United Nations (not only in the questions now before us but in all others) is to " assure the triumph throughout the world of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity which are at the basis of their Charter. " The French Government asserts that the ultimate aim of the future organisation, through the co-operation of its various activities, will be to " create an international atmosphere of confidence and peace ", to " create the spirit of peace throughout the world."

It follows logically that, in defining the ways by which the future organisation will pursue its action, the French Government purposely goes beyond merely technical co-operation. It declares that the Organisation " will establish on the widest basis the contacts and the exchanges of ideas and persons best calculated to promote the spread of knowledge and of mutual understanding between the peoples. " It provides for contacts " with all the elements—press, radio, cinema—which contribute to the formation of public feeling, in order to help them accomplish their task and to arouse in them a fresh sense of their responsibility." And it is in this same spirit, with these same objects in view, that methods are laid down for the internal constitution of the Organisation to be established.

What this activity will be in practice I do not propose to define here. But I am anxious to anticipate one possible misunderstanding. I have borrowed from the French text and made use of the expression " to establish the spirit of peace in the world " ; the spirit of peace is not a spirit of relinquishment or a spirit of cowardice, but a spirit of courage and of firm resolve and, when necessary, of sacrifice. To diffuse the spirit of peace means teaching the nations and teaching mankind that Peace must be defended at the peril

of *their* peace, and at the peril of their lives. The Charter of the United Nations provides that peace shall be maintained or re-established, if need be, by the application of force, and that would be the only case in which force would have a legitimate use. Moreover, the risk that the United Nations may be driven to this necessity will diminish, the more general their desire and the bolder their resolution not to shrink from it. At the same time the application of force, war, is only an *ultima ratio* for the peoples. We all know, though our imagination cannot avail to depict it, that any new war would be in the nature of what might be called cosmic destruction. We all know that the free peoples must unite or perish. And what we are all aiming at, what we hope to found, is a world in which peace shall become a permanent or rather a natural state of affairs—a world in which the *spirit of peace* shall become one of the guarantees, and perhaps the surest guarantee, of Peace.

It would accordingly be impossible in our view to exaggerate the importance that an Organisation for intellectual and spiritual co-operation must assume in the creation of a peaceful world and in the pacific organisation of the world. But it goes without saying that such an organisation can be conceived of only as one of the many complex parts of this organisation, and its efficacy and above all its authority, will depend in the last resort on the efficacy and the authority conferred on the International Community itself. We laid stress, in our draft, on the nature of the relations to be established between the future Organisation for Education, Culture and Co-operation on the one hand and the organs of the United Nations already created at **San** Francisco, more particularly the Economic and Social Council.

I have only one word to add. The French delegation intends to ask you to decide on Paris as the seat of the new Organisation and desires to

state this quite simply at this first meeting. We do not claim in this connection the privilege of a pre-existing state of affairs or anything in the nature of an acquired right. We know that the International Organisation is today being constituted on a fresh basis and in many respects it is preferable that this should be so. Nor is it our intention to propose indirectly, however great the services it has rendered, the maintenance of the former Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. That Institute, with the working instruments it has available, which in our opinion it would be unwise to ignore—is still at your disposal, but you will make exactly such use of it as you may think fit. Nor does the decision which we are asking you to take involve any sort of preconceived notion as regards the nationality or personality of the responsible officials, whose choice, moreover, does not appear upon your agenda. Again, we would ask you not to interpret our request as a claim advanced by France in virtue of some intellectual or spiritual privilege. France's claims are older than those of other nations ; their lustre is no greater.

If we did possess one advantage, it would be due to the fact on the one hand that French culture has always been marked by a tendency towards universality—there exists in France an age-long tradition of generosity, of liberality in the sphere of thought which are truly in keeping with the spirit of the future Organisation—and to the further fact that all the branches, all the forms of human civilisation—science, general culture, letters, arts and technical science in so far as it touches on art—have always developed side by side and in conjunction. Paris then remains one of the cities in the world where the future Organisation would find a natural seat. We crave this honour, we ask it of you, because it would be infinitely dear to us, because we feel ourselves not unworthy of it, and because we shall endeavour by all the means in our power to prove that it has been well deserved.

## THIRD PLENARY MEETING

Friday, November 2nd, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.

*President* : The Rt. Hon. ELLEN WILKINSON

### 11. ADDRESSES BY VICE-PRESIDENTS AND OTHER HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

The PRESIDENT : I have to announce that we renew the general discussion, and I call upon the first delegate of Brazil, His Excellency J. J. Moniz de Arago.

H.E. J. J. Moniz de ARAGAO (Brazil) : I am very greatly honoured that a delegate of Brazil was chosen for one of the Vice-Presidents of this meeting. I think this honour is only due to the effort that my country has always made on behalf of the development of education.

In this Conference, which has been called together with the idea of forming an international organisation to ensure for education and culture

the grand ideals of liberty, peace and human solidarity, I feel extremely honoured in being the interpreter of the sentiments of the Government and of the people of Brazil.

We are firmly pledged to co-operate with the United Nations in order that the work in which we are engaged may become a reality. Without doubt, the problem of education must have an important influence on the policy of maintaining world peace, and therefore the Brazilian Government will give its wholehearted support to the formation of a permanent international organisation of education and of culture.

Everyone demands that in any plans for the reconstruction of the world due attention shall be given to education and to the cultural develop-



ment of all people ; and that the countries which suffered most from the devastations of the war which has just ended with all its sacrifices for humanity, may not be forgotten, but be aided with the urgency they require.

As the interpreter of these sentiments, which are also my own, I hasten to manifest the desire of my Government that the projected organisation should give special attention to the problems originating from racial contacts, emphasising that education should bear such problems in mind and offer equal opportunities to all young people and adults without distinction of racial origin.

Brazilian sociologists-basing themselves on anthropology-have for years past affirmed the principle now defended by the Committee responsible for this Conference : that the inequality of races and biological inferiority of mixed blood, when it exists, are contingencies connected with the lowering of the standards of the social and cultural classes.

I do not doubt that an educational and cultural international organisation, created by the co-operation of all the Nations without prejudice to the individual characteristics of each-this must be embodied in the Statute of the Organisation--is bound to have a profound influence on the destiny of the world. For progress in the field of education and culture contributes to a better international understanding, and co-operation will allow the people of all countries to have a better knowledge of each other, especially if the relations maintained with other organisations of study, with similar objectives, are of a general character, continental or regional.

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon Dr. Hu Shih, delegate of China.

Dr. Hu SHIH (China) : Madame President, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish to express our warm appreciation to our host delegation for the hospitality and the many courtesies which have been extended to us ; and to the officers and members of the Working Committee for their excellent preparations for the opening of our Conference. I also wish to thank you all for the honour you have conferred on me, by electing me a Vice-President. My colleagues and I like to think that by this act you are doing honour to my Government and my people, who have fought against aggression longer than any other people, but who have struggled against all odds to keep alive practically all our educational and cultural activities through the long years of war, devastation and suffering.

You may recall that it was the Chinese delegation at Dumbarton Oaks that proposed (or attempted to propose) to include in the first draft of the United Nations Charter a section on education and the social welfare of the peoples of the world. It was those early proposals which later opened up the discussions at San Francisco on the question of an international organisation for educational and cultural exchange and co-operation, and which finally led to the inclusion of the Social and Econo-

mic Council as an integral part of the United Nations Organisation.

In citing this historical episode, I have no intention to claim for China a share in the honour of being one of the spiritual godfathers of the International Organisation whose constitution we are met here to frame. I only wish to make known to all our friends that China long ago committed herself to the advocacy and support of the idea of an international organisation for educational, scientific and cultural exchange and co-operation.

We were happy to learn from our President yesterday that the United Kingdom delegation wished to add the word " Scientific " to the title of our projected organisation. The Chinese delegation, too, has been instructed by our Government and our scientific bodies to propose the same addition to the title. It therefore gives us great pleasure to associate ourselves with our British colleagues in this proposal.

As an educator, and as an amateur philosopher, I have been particularly interested in the third paragraph of the Preamble of our Draft Constitution, which refers to the ideal of an unrestricted exchange of knowledge and ideas.

For more than half a century China has been the greatest beneficiary of international educational, scientific and cultural exchange. During these 50 or 60 years, the great universities and scientific laboratories of Europe, Britain and the United States have been educating and training thousands of China's young men and women in the pure and applied sciences, the social sciences, the humanities, and the arts. It is these men and women that have been the leaders in the transformation and modernisation of Chinese thoughts, ideals and institutions.

Madame President, you told us yesterday of the great service rendered by your professors and scientists in your heroic fight against aggression. Chinese scientists, too, have played an important part during the war. The head of our War Production Board, for example, is a Chinese geologist trained in the University of Louvain. The head of our Ordnance Department for the last ten years has been a Chinese mathematician and philosopher trained at Harvard University.

As a beneficiary of such educational and scientific exchange, China can be relied upon as a firm and enthusiastic supporter of international organisation dedicated to the concept of " free and unrestricted exchange of ideas and knowledge " among the peoples of the world.

Our honoured delegate, M. Léon Blum, referred yesterday to a part of the San Francisco Resolution which reads : " Peace between the Nations, if it is to be just and lasting, must be based on mutual knowledge and understanding."

It is my strong belief that the best and the surest way to secure mutual knowledge and understanding among the nations is through free and unrestricted exchange of ideas and knowledge. May I offer an example and call it an amazing proof of the efficacy of this international idea ?

Students of international relations have often marvelled at the long friendship between China and the United States of America. There is no mystery about this phenomenon of Sino-American friendship. It has been said that this friendship cannot be broken because it has been built upon a solid foundation of mutual understanding. At the base of this foundation, there stand 50,000 Chinese men and women in all walks of life, who have freely and voluntarily spent their most formative years in American universities and research institutes, where they have learned to understand and appreciate American ways of life and where they have made themselves and their own ways understood and appreciated by their American teachers and friends.

Madame President, you have charged us in these wise words :

“ We have a high responsibility, for entrusted to us is the task of creating some part-and not the least important part-of that structure of the United Nations on which rest our hopes for the future of mankind. It is for us to clear the channels through which may flow from nation to nation the streams of knowledge and thought, of truth and beauty, which are the foundations of true civilisation. ”

If, Madame President, our new Organisation can only bring about favourable conditions for the free flow and exchange of ideas and knowledge—even though it may fail in everything else—it will yet be creating a solid foundation on which may rest our hopes for the future of mankind.

The PRESIDENT: I call upon H.E. M. Jaramillo-Arango, the first delegate of Colombia.

M. Jaime JARAMILLO-ARANGO (Colombia) (*translation*) : Madame President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen. The Colombian delegation brings to this Assembly no extraordinary proposals or extravagant schemes. We would like to see the Organisation which this Conference is called to establish regard as one of its main purposes a World Crusade against illiteracy—one of the greatest outrages to human dignity. It is our desire that it should be successful in initiating and maintaining continuous exchange of professors, students and books among the different countries, in order that continents and nations may come to know one another better : that is the best safeguard for peace among the peoples. Thanks to this new Institution all the discoveries made, all the progress realised in the sphere of education would thus become rapidly accessible to all nations of the world, to the advantage of youth everywhere. We would like this Organisation to set up as soon as possible—in a place to be appointed, and taking full advantage of such resources as may be found there—a University of the United Nations, the essential activities of which would be high technical education and the encouragement of scientific research—a luxury which so many of the smaller nations are unable to afford, owing to their financial limitations and restricted resources in specialised personnel and

material—without excluding other aspects of human knowledge. Finally, we would like the new Organisation, faithful to the old Latin proverb *mens sana in corpore sano*, to constitute itself a universal counsellor in all that relates to the physical health and morale of the pupil. This plan is not speedily realisable. For the time being it will have to be the subject of detailed and earnest study.

While what I have said remains in the domain of aspirations, other more urgent requirements call for our immediate and wholehearted attention. I refer to the precarious conditions under which the material and spiritual life of Europe exists today.

I do not wish to mention here the moral sufferings to which these people have been subjected during the war. I do not wish even to insist on the state of famine, the physical decline which is the fate of so many. I already had the opportunity of bringing up this question at the meeting of the Third Council of U.N.R.R.A. which has just taken place in London. When one reads the technical reports of the conditions existing in those countries, when one hears the statements made on the subject by medical men coming from the Continent, one stands aghast. I said then that, while it was conceivable that during the campaigns of the Caesars and during the long wars of the Middle Ages, scurvy, rickets, pellagra and nervous diseases of that type could ravage a whole nation ; and even admitting that the same facts occurred during the long voyages of discovery, which took two, three or more years, that such a state of affairs could exist even during the more recent wars of the past, it is intolerable to the human mind that scourges such as these should reign in Europe almost six months after the end of hostilities, when an aeroplane can span the Atlantic in five hours ten minutes, when almost everywhere harvests are more plentiful than ever, and when one adds to that the immense progress of bio-chemistry, which has enabled the isolation and synthetic production ---almost in tabloid form-of those elements essential in the fight against nutritional deficiencies. I insist on these astonishingly contradictory facts. How is it possible that European populations should be decimated by such plagues ? The statement which His Majesty's First Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made last week in the House of Commons stresses more urgently and more eloquently the magnitude of the problem.

But, Mr. Bevin added, there are today in Europe two kinds of famine : one is physical, the other spiritual, and he wondered whether the character of the latter is not more devastating. It is to this last point that I would like to revert.

Schools and universities in Europe have been destroyed, teachers and professors killed, vast quantities of educational material burned. The chaos in the educational system, the psychological upheaval, intellectual confusion and anarchy have created havoc among the young of the Continent.

And, if in the physical as well as the spiritual order, man is the principal and most valuable of

elements constituting a Nation, how can we hope to achieve as quickly as possible, as we would all wish, a rapid reconstruction and rehabilitation of Europe, if we do not contribute to its realisation with all our force and all our resources ?

Indeed, one essential reason, in my view, which justifies the convening of this Conference now and not next year, as some Chancelleries were in favour of doing, is the urgency of the situation to which I have just alluded, which calls for immediate relief, relief to be provided through a real and genuine system of co-operation.

That does not mean that we shall interfere in the educational problems of any country. For the principle of the spiritual sovereignty of a Nation should count for at least as much as that pertaining to territorial sovereignty. But that again does not mean that our task in this Assembly is to be confined to Framing brilliant proposals, couched in elegant phrases, as was the case in more than one pre-war international meeting, the results of which in practice proved only so many essays in literary composition. The post-war Conferences, the United Nations' Conferences, must be distinguished from those of the pre-war period by a sense of action or rather a spirit of achievement. I trust that the deliberations which have opened today in this Hall may be carried out in the spirit and with due regard for the reflections which I have ventured to offer for your consideration. This is the earnest desire of the Colombian delegation. We see in it not only an inescapable duty in the matter of international solidarity, but also the best means now of paying our tribute of admiration and gratitude to those European peoples to whom we are indebted alike for their brilliant and constant contributions to science and culture and for the recent contribution of their forces of resistance to the victory of the United Nations.

There is another point. The rapid reconstruction of Europe-and that implies the reconstruction of her schools and universities-is not a purely sentimental matter, but a matter which concerns human progress and world equilibrium.

My Government is attending this Conference moved by the warmth of these sentiments and convinced of the value of the considerations I have just laid before you ; and this, I can assure you, without reserve, represents the feeling of the Colombian people.

The PRESIDENT : I now call upon Abdel Fattah Amr Pasha, the delegate of Egypt.

H.E. ABDEL FATTAH AMR PASHA (Egypt) : As one of the Egyptian delegates to this Conference, let me first thank you most sincerely for the great honour you have done my country. As a representative of a country differing culturally and economically from the Great Powers, I realise that my task will be difficult ; but, having heard yesterday's distinguished speakers, I feel inspired by their faith and strengthened in my belief in the practicability of setting up an efficient international educational, scientific and cultural organisation.

I am sure you will appreciate my difficulties in the same spirit in which you will find that I will co-operate with you to the full extent of my mandate and within the official policy of my country. I am confident that this spirit will prevail at this Conference and guide it to a successful issue.

I recognise among the delegates some from countries which have a great deal in common with my own: we are bound by bonds of language, tradition, culture and economy ; we have common problems and ideals. On the other hand, there are problems and needs which the Arab countries share with all the countries represented in this Conference. We share with the rest of the world the desire for democratic education, for equality of opportunity in equipping our youth with knowledge adequate to cope with an industrial age which we have freely accepted. We are determined to contribute to this industrial civilisation as we have in the past contributed to the progress of the human race ; but we feel that racial, religious and economic prejudices must be eliminated first, and we have faith that, when the various articles of the draft Constitution are discussed in detail, the Conference will afford us in the proposed Organisation the means to put at least a few stones in the edifice of the new world. We hope that when this Organisation becomes a reality, it will agree on practical suggestions for the exchange of teachers, on the activities of the Press, radio and cinema, in writing international textbooks for schools which would be translated into all languages. Scientists and thinkers of all nations should combine in issuing, under the guidance of the Organisation, universal books in the various languages to explain to every schoolboy his responsibility as a citizen, the consequences of aggression on the part of his country and the range of destruction possible in future warfare.

How to do these things, how to help in restoring the educational institutions and materials destroyed by the war in the whole world-these and other problems of an international nature are obviously the common responsibility of the United Nations as a body. As a representative of one of these nations, I pledge my country's support and help and I promise to co-operate fully with you in finding the right and speedy solution.

But, to return to our local problems, to which I referred previously and which the big Powers do not share with us, such as illiteracy, the primitive nature of production, the shortage of technicians and the scarcity of educational materials-these problems, though they are to a great extent our own, are yet such that we feel justified in asking your help in whatever measure modern education deems necessary for their solution. We are convinced that ultimately and materially it is to the interest of the great nations to help the smaller nations. Modern inventions make closer relations between the peoples of the world inevitable, and no country today can afford to live next door to poverty or ignorance.

I hope that throughout their discussion of the draft Constitution the members of this Conference will realise the aspirations of all countries of the world and that the smaller ones will come away feeling that they have been constructive in their proposals and that they will have their due share in the projected educational, scientific and cultural organisation.

The PRESIDENT : I now have to call on His Excellency the delegate of Greece, Dr. Thanassis Agnides.

H.E. M. Thanassis AGHNIDES (Greece) : In the first instance I must express my Government's thanks to the British and French Governments for having summoned us here with the object of establishing an Educational and Cultural Organisation. We owe thanks also to the British Government and to our eminent Secretary-General for the material arrangements and facilities they have made for our convenience.

Thirty-five nations responded readily to the invitation and they have come here to offer their contributions to the cause of international co-operation and understanding. Greece could not fail to make her own contribution to a cause with which her history has been closely associated since the dawn of civilisation. No doubt this Conference wished to pay tribute to my country, in view of its special position in matters relating to culture and humanism, when they decided to confer on me the honour of being one of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference. I must express my gratitude to you for this token of confidence, and my delegation will do all in their power to justify your decision.

After having fought Fascism and aggression in the mountains and valleys of Albania during the winter of 1940-41, after having resisted the aggressors during the dark years of occupation, the youth of liberated Greece are anxious to devote their energies to more congenial pursuits in the interest of human welfare and a better understanding between nations.

Our task is clear. We have before us a draft statute for the establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organisation worked out by the Conference of United Nations Ministers of Education, and which constitutes an excellent basis for our discussions. We shall endeavour to work out a final text, and our task will be greatly facilitated since we have also been presented with an alternative draft statute by the French Government. It will be the task of the Commissions set up yesterday to integrate into the final text of the Statutes such elements of the French draft as the Conference may see fit to adopt in order to improve the instrument we are about to create.

There is one point to which my delegation would draw special attention. As our President mentioned in her admirable speech, in certain countries schools and universities have been ruined, textbooks burned, libraries destroyed, scientific apparatus smashed. It is hardly conceivable to draw up the statutes of an international organ of co-operation without making provision for the

reconstruction of the educational, cultural and scientific equipment of the liberated countries, whose schools, laboratories, libraries and other educational centres have been devastated by the Axis Powers and their satellites. It is difficult to visualise how these countries could make any effective contribution to the collective work which the statutes foreshadow, unless they receive assistance such as is contemplated by the resolution adopted on October 3rd by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. We must, I submit, aim at the creation of the cultural equilibrium which was upset by the Axis and its satellites. It was a good omen that our Conference decided at its first meeting to refer the resolution of October 3rd to the competent Commission for consideration.

There is very little I can add to the inspired speeches made by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Attlee, by our President, by Mr. MacLeish and by M. Leon Blum. In lofty terms they depicted to us the importance of the work we are about to accomplish and its vast repercussions on the future of international relations. We can do no better than accept their wise leadership, work hard and in a disinterested spirit to fulfil one of the obligations we assumed in signing the United Nations Charter. We will do so also in the hope that structurally the new Organisation will be widely representative of the cultures of all the United Nations participating in this worthy undertaking. I express this hope with no selfish motives, and I have no doubt that it is shared by you all, since little countries such as my own have had the privilege and the good fortune of displaying, from time immemorial, audacity of thought and of combining it harmoniously with originality of conception. Their legacy now belongs to the whole world and has contributed in no small measure to the intellectual and moral unity of the civilised nations. Politics often divide nations. Unity of action in the field of international politics is at times difficult to attain. It is all the more necessary for us to make a start on a common denominator on the basis of something we all believe in—collaboration in the domains of education, science and the arts.

The British Prime Minister very aptly said yesterday, " All wars begin in the minds of men. " Let us therefore begin with the task of co-ordinating our minds and of attuning them to the works of science and the arts, which are the safest road to Peace.

The PRESIDENT : I now have to call upon the delegate of India, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

Rajkumari Amrit KAUR (India) : I am indeed most grateful to the Conference for the honour done to my country in electing me one of your Vice-Presidents. I would, at the outset, like to associate myself and my co-delegates with the expressions of good wishes for the success of this Conference which have been voiced by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the President, and all the distinguished delegates of other countries.

I should, however, be failing in my duty if I were to confine myself to mere expressions- of good wishes and did not give vent, however briefly, to what I consider to be some of the most important conditions essential for the success of an organisation of this nature and offer concrete suggestions for the implementing of our aims in practice. May I, therefore, preface my remarks by saying that we must try to visualise our work as part of the larger network of international organisations that are being established simultaneously ? The disease that has been eating into the vitals of the modern world has gone so deep that no single line of attack can radically cure it. It must be approached from all angles-social, economic, political, psychological and, above all, spiritual and moral. People working in all these fields must be inspired by the same spirit of understanding and fellowship. And it is the creation of this spirit of understanding and world fellowship which is the primary task of this Conference.

We are met to consider a very vital issue-the proper education of mankind. Culture and civilisation stand today at the brink of disaster. In a world dominated by power politics, rent asunder by mutual suspicions and jealousies, still bent on the exploitation of weaker peoples, each country solicitous of its own freedom but indifferent to that of others, it is, I believe, educational and cultural forces that will, if directed in right channels, save humanity. There is need, urgent need, of educating primarily our children, and our youth, but also those of us who belong to an older generation, so to order our personal and collective lives, so to plan the world that greed and desire for domination may cease ; for they, surely, are the root causes of war. The countries taking part in this Conference must be honestly and sincerely prepared to eschew in every field of activity what is undemocratic, illiberal, totalitarian and imperialistic. There can be no true freedom and consequently no genuine culture in a world which is half bond and half free, half fed and half starved, where exploitation and social injustices flourish side by side with pious expressions of good intentions and high-sounding policies.

The radio, the cinema and the aeroplane have brought the countries of the world very near each other in one sense, and yet how far we really are from each other ! Geographical barriers may have been conquered, but oceans of hate and misunderstanding still divide us. If education is to play the part it should in the refashioning of the world, it must itself be refashioned. No longer must our children be taught to think in terms only of the glory of their own country ; they must think of their country as being no more than a unit in and dedicated to the service of the larger whole of a world state. The precious heritage of freedom must be for every race, however backward they may be held to be in the matter of educational or industrial development. There must be recognition of the common humanity of all ; no barriers of race or creed may divide man from man. Educational institutions and cultural organisations of

every country must receive and welcome students and teachers from other lands. The study of the cultures, history and religions of various countries, and travel should form an integral part of education. We should facilitate visits for our educationists also to study the various methods of education in vogue and attempts at new ones. Truth, alas, is the first casualty in war, but if we really covet peace, we must use the weapons of the press, the radio and the cinema to educate man to understand and appreciate his fellow-men. We should be taught to see the goodness and the beauty that exist in every land. It is points of common vantage that must be sought in order to build anew. Translation must be made in every language of the books, both classic and modern, that reflect the soul of a people. Lying and ill-informed propaganda about any country or race must not be allowed. We can replace the buildings that have been devastated, by better ones. The stories of the material destruction caused in the war will be a mere myth for those who will come after us. But it is the wounds of the spirit that it is ever so difficult but urgently important to heal, so that love and faith and hope may replace the spirit of hatred and revenge. Children know no barriers of race or creed. Let us not educate them to know them. And here I would stress the vital importance of women's education. If goodwill is to be created, it will be primarily through the mothers of the race. The spirit of service and self-sacrifice is woman's crowning glory. It must be exploited to the full in order to enable her to make her vital contribution to society. I believe it is women who will, if they can realise their latent moral strength, force the world to give up the doctrine of " might is right. " The early training of the child is in their hands. I appeal to them to come forward in their thousands for the stupendous task of educating children for the new world for which we all yearn. This Conference must stretch out its hands to youth. The future is in their hands. In future Conferences I should like to see a far larger contingent of women and youth. We must help to the utmost with money, with equipment and with personnel those countries which have not the means to educate their children. I should also like this Conference to recommend and insist that science shall not be allowed to give to the world that which contributes to or has potentialities for the destruction of humanity.

The country which I have the privilege of representing has a special interest in the success of this Conference. India has, through her religions and philosophy, always stood for peace. She has, through the centuries, assimilated many different racial and cultural streams. Alas that we too are today battling against internal dissensions. What country is not ? But throughout our ancient past and in the present our sympathies have been invariably international and we have given full moral support to all victims of aggression. On all such issues we have ever spoken with a united and unmistakable voice. The greatest and finest spirits of modern India, Tagore, Iqbal and Gandhi,

have stressed in clear terms the essential oneness of the human spirit and have resolutely cut through the national and racial discriminations that disfigure modern life. It is for this underlying spiritual unity of mankind that Indian thought at its best has stood. In our own warfare we have, under the unique leadership of one of the most remarkable personalities the world has ever seen, chosen the path of non-violence, the path of self-suffering, for the attainment of our goal. I believe it is the only way to universal peace. I would invite a deeper study of Mr. Gandhi's way of life. It is after all by contacts with each other, by an honest endeavour to understand each other, that we shall ourselves be educated and permitted to educate our people to appreciate each other, so that we may be enabled to settle our problems without killing each other.

Finally, no structure of society can be a stable one that has not its roots deep in the moral and spiritual values of life. Our children must be educated to appreciate that which is of permanent worth. While economic prosperity is essential to the welfare of mankind, it may not take first place. Man cannot live by bread alone. He may not become a slave of the machine. It is the quality of what one has that is far more important than the quantity. We have come very near to losing our souls. We must find them again if we are to live. In so far as this Conference is to strive for the realisation of the highest values in life, India will find herself on congenial soil, and I should like to assure all the delegates that we shall do all we can to implement the attainment of these noble objectives.

The PRESIDENT : I am going to ask Dr. Hofmeyr to speak now.

The Hon. J. H. HOFMEYR (South Africa) : Madame President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen : I am glad to be able to convey to this Conference the good wishes of the Government of the Union of South Africa, and to express the desire that it will lead to the establishment of an International Educational and Cultural Organisation for the benefit of humanity. We heartily accept the provision in the San Francisco Charter, in terms of which the United Nations are to promote international cultural and educational co-operation as well as—and these two things rightly go together—universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all men. We regard this as not the least important part in the post-war agenda. There have been two great forces in the history of humanity—the sword and the spirit. For six years the forces represented by the sword have been predominant. It is the spirit that will prevail to enable humanity to win the battles of peace. Napoleon once said that of those two forces—the sword and the spirit—it is the spirit which in the long run always wins. But that does not absolve us of responsibility not to fail in our efforts to create the machinery necessary for its successful functioning.

It is, I think, appropriate that I should devote

my remarks to a presentation of the South African approach to the problem before us. There are features in our position in this regard which are not common to most of the Nations represented here. The first is that, in relation to the main streams of world culture, our position has in the past been one of isolation. That is partly due to our geographical situation. Wider cultural contacts have been made difficult by the vastness of the ocean and of the undeveloped African Continent. But it has also been due to historical facts. Two of the communities which came together to form the South African Union had been brought into being as Republics conceived in the spirit of isolationism. It was the deliberate desire of their founders to break away from those things that linked them with Europe, to live their own lives and develop their own cultural and other institutions on what was then the remote Central South African plateau. The South African War of 1899-1902 was, in effect, the supreme struggle for the maintenance of that conception. The war ended in defeat for those who upheld it—the consummation of the South African Union between the two Republics and the two Colonies of the Cape and Natal was a consequence and a corollary. But even so, the spirit of isolationism continued to exist. "South Africa Alone" has often been used as a slogan. That spirit is not entirely dead today. Yet the march of events, the annihilation of distance as a result of scientific and technical progress, the contacts established with other countries by the men and women in the South African Forces during the war—these and other things have gone a long way towards its elimination. South Africa is today more conscious than it has ever been of its position in relation to the wider world.

That constitutes an opportunity from the cultural and educational viewpoints. The time to consolidate and extend the position is now. An organisation such as that, the setting-up of which this Conference is called upon to consider, can be of great value to South Africa.

I would mention two points in this connection. First, it is important that there should be improved machinery for the interchange of information, ideas and cultural trends between South Africa and other countries. There has, of course, been such an interchange in the past between our universities and cultural bodies and those in other lands, but it has been on an impersonal basis, and there have been many gaps. The normal culture-spread from Europe and America to South Africa is slow. The war has accidentally speeded up the process, but there is a danger of this advantage being lost. I might mention, by way of illustration, that during the period which our South African Forces have spent in Italy most valuable contacts have been made by scientists and educationists in those Forces with Italian universities and cultural organisations. As a result, there have been revealed gaps in cultural interchange as it existed before the war. It is desirable that such contacts should be maintained and developed, that some-

thing similar should be done in relation to other countries. It is a matter for consideration by South Africa and countries similarly situated whether the appointment of cultural attachés at Foreign Legations should not be undertaken.

The second point I would make is a more specifically educational one of an internal character. I have said that the spirit of isolationism is not yet dead in South Africa. It lives on also in our schools, and to that extent has a prospect of continuing vitality. There is undoubtedly scope for the furtherance of the ideal of international co-operation, and also of democracy as part of our educational activities.

That any such action should be positive and constructive hardly needs emphasis. There is no essential conflict between nationalism and internationalism. A sane internationalism should grow out of nationalism. In this, as in so many other respects, the lesser loyalty is the appropriate nursing-mother of the larger loyalty. In a country like South Africa the promotion of the spirit of internationalism must be closely linked up with, indeed, founded on, the development of its own indigenous culture, both institutionally and linguistically. That is, indeed, a principle of general applicability, and I hope that, if it is decided that assistance shall be rendered to war-devastated nations in the matter of educational reconstruction, the primary aim will be the building-up of the culture of the countries assisted and not their cultural permeation by the countries which lend the aid. In all cases, however, the development of national culture through educational processes should be regarded rather as a basis than as an end in itself, and the way should always be left open for positive action to excite the interest of young people in the general march of civilisation, to stimulate their sense of human solidarity, and to satisfy them that collaboration in these things involves no surrender of anything worth while in their distinctive national tradition. I look to the proposed International Cultural and Educational Organisation to help us in South Africa to advance along lines such as these. I have no doubt that other nations will desire to derive a similar benefit from it.

I said that I wished to touch on three more or less distinctive features in South Africa's position. I have dealt with one of these. I will refer to the others more briefly. The first of them is this. Alongside our relative isolation from the main cultural streams of the world, there is the fact that South Africa is none the less the natural channel linking a large part of the African Continent with those streams. In relation to most of that Continent, ours is the most important outpost of western civilisation and culture. That confers on us at once an opportunity and a responsibility. Certainly, in relation to the lands south of the Equator, we are in a natural position of cultural leadership ; we can give much that they are not in a position to get for themselves. The implications of that situation South Africa accepts. It has, of course, no desire for territorial expansion, but

it does regard it as its function to take the lead in building up intellectual co-operation with those lands. Already they make use of our universities and our schools ; this, too, is something which the war has stimulated ; they look to us for teachers and scientific workers ; they co-operate with us in matters of research. Much more can be done along these lines. There is no lack of goodwill on our side in the doing of it.

The last of my three points is this. To some extent, South Africa is a microcosm in relation to the wider problems with which this Conference is concerned. Ours is a multi-racial society. We have the European community, with its roots in western civilisation ; we have the Bantu peoples with their African institutions ; we have an Asiatic population group with its eastern background, and we have the so-called coloured element, the men and women of mixed blood, who are groping towards cultural distinctiveness. Our problem in this regard is not merely that of providing educational facilities for all these groups—a matter in which we have, of late, quickened considerably the tempo of progress ; it is rather that of building up an educational system, which must naturally be diversified, having regard to the distinctive backgrounds and needs of the four groups, but which will, none the less, help make it possible for all four groups to live together in peace and harmony and effective co-operation between citizens of a common country. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of education in our country in breaking through the walls of prejudice and laying down the paths of understanding. But, as I have said, in that respect, South Africa is a microcosm. The problem is a world problem. Through an Organisation such as is contemplated we expect to learn much. We may also have something to teach.

I would say just this in conclusion. The period in which we are met is one of demobilisation and disarmament. But there is not only military disarmament today ; there is also moral disarmament. As a possibly inevitable result of the most convulsive war in human history, moral standards have been lowered, and the stability of the foundations of human welfare impaired. I am not sure that the biggest task before us is not that of bringing about a spiritual renewal. We, who regard ourselves as educationists, are charged with a peculiar responsibility in this regard.

The PRESIDENT : I now have to call upon His Excellency Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, delegate of Mexico.

H.E. Dr. Jaime Torres BODET (Mexico) (translation) : Fellow-delegates, we are met here united in one great hope, the hope of affirming world co-operation through the medium of culture. All the peoples we represent here have experienced the agonies of war, though its direct material impact on them may vary in degree. Some have seen a sky rent by machine guns lowering over their cities, have had their fields ploughed up by gunfire ; others have had their schools converted into prisons or barracks by the enemy and later

converted once again by the forces of liberation in their work of mercy into temporary hospitals for the wounded or shelters for the thousands of human beings left derelict by despotic might ; without house or home, without family, without work, without even a purpose in the midst of society. Others again, at the height of the battle have had their works transformed into scientific laboratories for purposes of extermination or their markets suddenly swept bare of articles of prime necessity.

Many of the delegates here present come from towns which lie in ruins, from countries where a home is rarely found that does not shelter the relative of some combatant, a poverty-stricken mother, a suffering widow, a sick orphan child. But while war has not imposed its horrible test on all the nations with equal rigour, while some may have seemed more favoured than others in the distribution of sacrifices, not one has remained beyond the scope of universal grief, not one has felt outside the struggle, not one could ignore the fact that the ruins heaped up far from it were those of its own civilisation, just as the griefs of which each one was witness signified the death in it of so many egoisms, prejudices, fatal errors in the valuation of life, of independence, of beauty, of fortune and of liberty.

Thus we find ourselves all brought face to face with the same problem : the problem of entering an era of human history distinct from that which has just closed. Peace, which we sought for years, has been established by the armies. Now the organisation of peace in the political and economic domain claims the attention of those who hold the reins of government, of diplomats, workers, industrialists and members of the Forces, of all those who for reasons which we must acknowledge claim to call themselves men of action.

The world is waiting for something more than the delimitation of frontiers and zones of influence, something more than a system of agreements for the exploitation and marketing of its products, something more in short than an interim system of security. It looks for the establishment of a new kind of relationship between nations and between men, that is to say, a different way of assessing the value of acts, a new meaning for joy, work, hope, a definite object demanding the collective effort of all, an object whose lofty nature would justify the determination to seek it without hesitation or reserve.

Let us face the fact squarely : what would be the fate of this age on which we are just entering if we neglected the intellectual and moral basis of education ?

War is invariably the logical result in great part of some inadequacy or some lamentable misshaping of the national educational system. And I mention the two causes in this order, first inadequacy and then misshaping, for I note that many voices have been heard maintaining that the source of Nazi-Fascist crimes lies in the erroneous criterion adopted in the matter of education.

The statement appears to me sound but incomplete. It is self-evident that the totalitarian postulates which guided those false teachers of despotism have wrought enormous evil throughout the world. But would it have been possible to carry on this teaching of hate and murder if there had existed among all the other peoples any real enthusiasm for democracy, any active love of culture and, let us say it, without burking the issue, any effective system of education ? What did the dictators see around them ? A collection of very advanced peoples who could undoubtedly lay claims to progressive technical sciences, healthy and prosperous industries, learned and famous universities ; but in the shadow of those peoples, how many others existed without books or schools, how many communities wallowed in ignorance, how many latent victims awaited the theorists of " living space," the doctrinaire protagonists of the domination of privileged races ?

Nothing can better illustrate the strength of man's devotion to liberty than the realisation today of the enormous disproportion which civilised countries have tolerated for centuries between the cultural progress of the few and the miserable effacement of the others. And such devotion must indeed have been great to have triumphed finally even in those societies least prepared for the struggle over the seductions of automatism and the lure of mechanised barbarism.

But the gratification of triumph would be madness if we were to neglect the immediate need of finding some guarantee against the recurrence of such perils. And it is in search of that very guarantee that we have come here from all the continents, imbued with the desire to found a democratic institution in the service of education and culture.

I would ask you to accept my congratulations on being here, for your very presence points to the restoration of faith in the power of the spirit.

And this faith is a clear token of victory. It is a token infinitely clearer than the waving of Allied flags over the theatres and palaces in which the dictators once delivered their hateful diatribes. It is, moreover, of exceeding good augury, for it is proof that, after vanquishing their enemies by force, the free peoples are preparing to win also by reason the internal battle of conscience.

Never have we been more indebted for essentials to the masses. For it is in them, among those innumerable crowds of men, women and even children that hope-and sometimes, alas, despair—have awakened that anonymous heroism which has saved us.

And at the same time, without paradox, never have progress and liberty been so greatly indebted to the selection of minorities.

Without the technical, scientific and strategic staffs what could the peoples have done to realise their ideals ?

And it is this double debt which the world has contracted—a debt towards the masses who have been sacrificed and a debt towards the learned



experts whose investigations supplied the final instruments of victory-which points to the very essence of all the problems now confronting us : our purpose is to find a *modus vivendi*, whereby the training of strong personalities shall not presuppose the neglect of the masses, and the expansion of the masses shall not imply the stifling of the individual.

Everything indeed revolves on the axis which I have just defined. Perhaps the solution already beginning to emerge from the events in the midst of which we are anxiously situated would seem to bring closer together the extremes of what might be called a traditional antinomy, reminding us, as a great mind proclaimed centuries ago, that what is not good for the swarm is not good for the bee either, and that consequently the opposition between the rights of the individual and the rights of the collective body must be replaced by some form of organisation in which the best citizen shall also be the best man.

I am fully alive to the audacity of such a programme. I know that it will continue to encounter, as it has encountered hitherto, innumerable obstacles-economic, political, legal, sentimental and cultural.

A certain exclusive mode of defining nationalism and patriotism, sovereignty and independence, history and geography, duty and liberty, has prevented man from acting as an individual with a fervour equal to that which he habitually shows as a member of the society to which he belongs.

Hence the urgency of assigning a common denominator to his development. And that common denominator can be supplied only by the moral solidarity of humankind acting through knowledge and on the basis of education.

That, in the plane of its immediate responsibility, is what the people of my country have realised. And that is why at the height of the war Mexico initiated as part of her compulsory civil defence service, a vital attack upon ignorance, and by the law of August 21st, 1944, entrusted to anyone who could read and write the mission of instructing someone who could do neither.

To some of the delegates here today, from countries where this problem has been practically eliminated, it may seem an anachronism to find living among the vestiges of first-class cultures and side by side with the elite of university rank, young and adult members of the population who do not even know the alphabet. And perhaps it may even be that in the depths of their heart they share that opinion which was beginning to win credence before the war in a number of more subtle minds : why bother so much about elementary education ? Are there not jobs in which the illiterate prove more satisfactory than those who have been to school ? This argument conceals a bitter sophistry. The more fully convinced we are of the importance of higher culture, the more earnestly we should devote ourselves to seeing that it reaches more extensive strata of the population every day. Any denial of this would be absurd, as absurd, for example, as it would be

in an irrigation system to build barrages without opening channels- to distribute the waters captive behind those barrages and intended to fertilise the lands that are thirsting for them. Any form of partiality in education implies disastrous consequences, whether we are dealing with the ready philosophy of elementary education regarded as a universal remedy, or the no less ready philosophy of higher education regarded as a basis for the right to rule. That is the real issue. Our task is a dual one ; to raise the level of our higher education and to overcome the ignorance of the lower classes ; to train guides who shall be capable of honestly interpreting the people as such and peoples who shall be able to debate the formulas put before them by those guides and to distinguish between the persuasion of teachers and the tyrants' hypnotic spell.

We believe that the intellectualism of the eighteenth century and the materialism of the nineteenth should give place in the twentieth to the conception of a true and balanced integration of man. That is why-while the education of the intellectual faculties was the chief concern of those systems which are now obsolete, and while the education of the will has resulted in extremes of imperialism that we condemn-the horizons now open to our view will demand of us a form of education aiming at international co-operation through the medium of truth, virtue in all its significance, and democracy.

Our national service for the education of the illiterate is already one step in the direction of this new education. Within its limited scope, it aims at educating for democracy and in the most democratic form. Based as it is on the efforts of all in the service of all, it is of benefit alike to learner and to teacher, to the first by reason of the knowledge he acquires and to the second by reason of the experience he gains in the omissions and the ills that afflict the nation. You see now why I said just now that we must concern ourselves not only with the mis-shaping of education, but also with its inadequacy-the latter in a very high degree.

Thus it is right and proper that we should set up an organisation for intellectual co-operation such as has been submitted to us for approval. But are we going to confine ourselves to exchanging opinions on theoretical generalities that are open to discussion ? Should we not rather direct the attention of our governments to the need for creating and affirming a real spirit of international collaboration in the interests of education ?

The proposed organisation is no doubt a first step in this direction. As such we fully appreciate and applaud it. But we feel that this first step should be followed by another and that we shall have boldly to face three questions : what are the wealthier and technically best-equipped countries prepared to do to help the others to raise the level of education among their peoples ? How are we to reconcile such assistance with the duty which devolves upon us of respecting the freedom of each nation in the choice of methods for organising

education in its own territory ? And how shall we co-ordinate that freedom, which we regard as inalienable, with the imperative necessity of pronouncing decisively on the general aims implied in the education of man ?

In postulating the first of these three questions I have no intention of asking our Conference to consider undertakings of a unilateral character. On the contrary such obligations would in my view not be calculated to encourage in free and sovereign nations the spirit of co-operation for which we are striving. But there are means, which we can employ without offence to other countries, involving multilateral or at any rate bilateral action. I have in mind especially the organisation of a system of scholarships fixed according to the wealth, i.e. the total revenue of the countries which grant them. If it has been the monopoly of specific industries and of certain commercial methods which created the hostilities which have constantly set men at loggerheads, how can we allow the improvements in technique, the resources of scientific research and the conquests of knowledge to be monopolised by the mere privilege of wealth ? The same spirit should govern the allocation of expenditure incurred by the intensified exchange of teachers and students, of publications, films and other information, and no one should be permitted to refuse to place his knowledge at the disposal of those who appeal to it in order to improve their own progressive work.

The obligation I here claim must be understood in an even wider sense when it comes to the education of peoples under a protectorate, mandate or colonial system. The ignorance in which many of them have existed is a latent threat to peace.

And even if it were not so, elementary justice impels us to claim from the future organ that it shall devote prior attention to these peoples, an attention which, if it is to be immune from political passions, must display before all else vigilance, loyalty, lucidity and generosity.

This brings me straight to my second question. For every country education is the most effective and most lasting of all lines of defence.

No international aid in this field, which touches the very soul of nations, would justify those who furnish this help in using it in order to impair the right of nations to choose the legal standards and fix the methods of education within their frontiers.

On this point the San Francisco Charter is clear beyond all discussion.

Paragraph 7 of Article 2 says : " Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. " However-and now I come to my third question-respect for these rights seems to me perfectly consistent with the need to determine in common the general aims to be pursued by an education which is to ensure peace. In the opinion of my government these aims are : to remove suspicion and rancour, to overcome hate, to stimulate human solidarity, balance the exercise of pure intelligence by the honourable practice of

manual labour, to implant in future citizens the feeling that no nationalism may be exalted above the social obligations of universal justice-in fact, to make all national education, with due regard for the aspirations, customs and traditions of the country, a solid base upon which international co-operation may rest in independence and justice.

It is obvious that such an education could not be advocated in a world where there still prevails abuse of imperialism, the law of the strongest and, in concealed forms, the arbitrary pride of the great powers and prejudices of races which think and call themselves superior.

We shall not be entitled to speak of universal liberty, equality and fraternity until we are prepared to act in accordance with these postulates, until, i.e. the international action and thought, which are to issue from our meetings, shall no longer be in open conflict. What is to be the ideal which shall inspire true education ?

Is it to be one of resignation in the face of evil ? One of permanent conflict between the fundamental conditions of society and of the nations ? Or is it, on the contrary, to be an ideal of unity based upon realities and consolidated by measures loyally and sincerely inspired by the welfare of nations ? An education based upon unassailable principles cannot possibly yield its full fruits if it is required to operate within an economic and political system which underestimates the tremendous importance of these principles.

The question how we are to educate ourselves is therefore closely linked with two other questions : how are we to live ? What is to be the system for the world of tomorrow ? And that is what millions of people of all races, colours and tongues are asking, millions of men and women who have experienced the horrors of war in its physical and spiritual forms and who do not wish to see them repeated. These millions of men and women are hoping that all of us who accept the responsibility for thinking and speaking on their behalf will lay the foundations of something more than a mere list of regulations and ideals.

That is why I must insist upon one point. Intellectual co-operation is more than a mere exchange of knowledge and ideas, of professors, publications, laboratory equipment and museum collections. Underlying intellectual co-operation is something infinitely more important, and that is the co-operation of men of brain, the organised force of the world of thought in order to prevent the reproduction of the monstrous errors which have led nations to settle their problems by violence. Those who accuse education of having failed in time to restrain the passions which brought about the war, are making a partial but profound mistake. Undoubtedly schools and books can do much, but clearly they cannot do everything. If all that the peoples expect from education by their teachers in schools is promptly contradicted by the acts of these same peoples in the fields of trading, banking, diplomacy, and judicial administration, what in such conditions can schools achieve in the

matter of moral reformation ? For this reason, unless we were determined to make the law of education the law of the universal harmony of life, it would be better not to delude ourselves by words and promises which have no meaning. One last word. If the proposed Organisation could not count upon making its voice heard at moments of crises, if its plans breathed peace, kindness and love for all beings, while on the other hand economics and political decisions bore the seal of factious egoism, of the greed of the mighty, of past injustices and hatreds, history may accuse us of having been something more than over-credulous ; it may accuse us of the greatest and most sordid of hypocrisies. And then, weakened by a system of education which had failed to consider all the realities, future generations would one day come to curse our simplicity.

No schools or school teachers can in fact educate more than does life itself. And if the schools educated for peace, while life itself taught war, we should not be creating men ; we should be breeding victims of life.

No doubt these considerations exceed the scope of our gathering. But our activities will be useful according as we are determined to make our governments and peoples understand that everything which they adopt in the sphere of culture

will also commit them in other spheres of life and more especially in the concrete field of politics.

Ladies and gentlemen, in conformity with the opinions I have just expressed, my country cordially associates itself with the noble thoughts which have brought us here to London. And it is glad to find that this city, which in the darkest days furnished so fine a lesson in heroism, has been chosen as the seat of our discussions concerning one of the noblest duties incumbent upon our governments and our peoples : the duty of consolidating, through education and intellectual co-operation, a sincere and splendid peace.

The PRESIDENT : I now call upon the Secretary-General to make an announcement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : I only wish to remind members of the Executive Committee -that is to say, the President, the Associate-President and Vice-Presidents-that there will be a meeting of the Executive Committee at half-past two this afternoon in the President's room on the second floor ; but it will be over in time for the afternoon Session of the Conference.

The PRESIDENT : The Conference this afternoon will be presided over by the Associate-President, M. Léon Blum.

## FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, November 2nd. 1945, at 3 p.m.

*President : M. LEON BLUM (Associate-President)*

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call first upon the Secretary-General.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : There are one or two points arising out of the meeting of the Executive Committee which has just been held. In the first place, the Committee decided to go on sitting tomorrow in the afternoon as well as in the morning in the hope of being able to finish the general debate. There is no wish to curtail it in any way, but to finish it if possible by tomorrow evening, or at any rate to make very good progress with that debate. That means that the Commissions may perhaps begin on Monday, and that therefore means a slight alteration in the arrangements that were put forward to you, under which two of the Commissions only would form themselves on Tuesday ; but there will be a notice put out with the details of that later on.

The Executive Committee also formed two Committees. In accordance with the little change in the rules of procedure made yesterday, the Executive Committee agreed to form a Sub-Committee to help it in its task of ensuring the orderly functioning of the Conference, and on that Sub-Committee there were appointed the following members of the Conference in addition of course, to the President : The Associate-President (who may be replaced on occasion by M. Cain

of the French delegation) ; Mr. MacLeish of the United States delegation ; Professor Sommerfelt of the Norwegian delegation ; His Excellency Señor Moniz de Aragao of Brazil ; and Dr. Hu Shih of China.

This Sub-Committee will keep in the closest touch with the Executive Committee, to which it will regularly report.

The Executive Committee also appointed a Drafting Committee by countries, and the following countries will be represented on the Drafting Committee : The United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, China, Greece, Belgium and Mexico.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I will now call upon M. Wycech of the Polish delegation.

M. Czeslaw WYCECH (Poland) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : It is a great joy to me to have the honour to greet the esteemed representatives of the Allied Nations who have come to London for this Conference.

I represent a nation whose name has been on the lips of the whole world from the first day of this great and terrible war, a war begun on grounds of a false and specious doctrine, as if by force and violence, by slavery and crime, one could gain domination over nations which love liberty and peace. For centuries Poland was loyal to the

principle that the happiness of mankind and the peace of the world can be built only on mutual respect for liberty and dignity and on sincere international co-operation.

To the Hitlerite attack Poland answered with uncompromising defence making an internal stand against the enemy during those hard years of unequal battle.

About 7,000,000 of our citizens have fallen prey to the hatred of the occupant. We have lost the best from among us—the flower of our youth and many irreplaceable leaders of our cultural and social life. The enemy has systematically destroyed unique specimens of our ancient culture and acquisitions of universal civilisation, like churches, universities, books and works of art.

We have made enormous sacrifices and have sustained heavy losses, but we are proud that they have not been in vain.

The Poles, despite the terror, did not lay down arms, but fought against violence in the political, military and cultural spheres. Because of the closing down of the schools and the stifling of our cultural life, we built up a powerful system of clandestine education, from elementary schools to universities, in which about one and a half million children, fifty thousand youth of the secondary schools and six thousand university students took part. A few thousand qualified teachers participated in this work. I consider my leading of this underground work the finest page in the story of my life.

In the name of the common principles of humanity the sons of our country have always taken part in the many wars of peoples and nations ; they have fought, and are now fighting with other warriors in the great family of democratic nations, proving thereby that we not only stood first in the line, but that the name of Poland was never missing from those lines.

The magnificent spirit and weapons of the Allied Nations, the indomitable stand of the army and population of Great Britain, the heroism of the Soviet Army, the sacrifices and help extended by the United States of America, as also the talents and brains of leaders and commanders, have contributed to the historic victory which brought liberty to all mankind and to our country also, and which, we hope, has banished once for all the spectre of a new war.

Believe me, at the time when the Hitlerites perpetrated their terrible violence upon us, we felt painfully our severance from contact with those better and nobler thoughts and creations of civilisation, with which Poland was bound during centuries, from which she has drawn benefit and to which she has added her modest share. Copernicus, Chopin, Curie-Sklodowska, were the ambassadors of honest work in the domain of science, culture and art.

I am happy that there are opening before us wide perspectives of lasting union in the form of a permanent, powerful and authoritative cultural and educational organisation, embracing so many peace and liberty-loving nations.

Because of the enormous devastation wrought in our cultural and educational sphere, Poland expects great results and much help from this Organisation. We possess great potentialities of quick recovery.

Teachers and educationists, scholars and artists, deem it their reason for existence to create as much as they can. The gifts of culture do not become poorer—on the contrary, they grow richer, not only for those who receive but also for those who give. By giving, their sphere of influence expands, it strengthens the spiritual ties which unite societies and humanity and leads to the peak of satisfaction in the lives of mankind.

On behalf of my country, I am anxious that this new international organisation of culture and education shall commence its useful activity, so that it may contribute its important and weighty share to the work of safeguarding peace and prosperity for mankind. Please accept my assurance that the Polish Nation will not spare her strength in this great work, just as she never spared pains and sacrifices when the liberty, dignity and brotherhood of peoples were at stake.

Mr. Archibald MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : It would be unfair to those who are to follow me on this rostrum, and unfair to the Conference which has before it so engrossing a task, if I were to yield to the temptation which this opportunity offers to express to you the many and enthusiastic reactions of the United States delegation to the opening session of this Conference and the warm hopes of that delegation for the future of our work. But though I must limit myself to a speech of a very few minutes, there are certain matters which my colleagues of the American delegation would wish me to put before you.

The first, in point of fundamental importance, is certainly the pleasure with which the United States delegation has heard the opening addresses, which have set, we most earnestly hope, the tone and broad objective of our discussions. I refer particularly to the notable addresses by the Prime Minister and M. Léon Blum. What impressed us in those addresses was the common agreement, echoed in other declarations of belief and hope, that the great purpose of the Organisation we have met to create should be the fostering of understanding between the nations, not in terms merely of the understanding of their governments or the understanding of their learned men, but in terms of the common understanding of the peoples of the world. This we too believe.

Again, we have been heartened and encouraged by the readiness of speakers here to include within the field of interest of the proposed Organisation the great new media of world communication—the motion picture, the radio, and the modern press with its vastly improved and extended wire and wireless services. The fostering of free exchange of information would be meaningless without the inclusion of the principal means for the exchange of information in the modern world. It is not, of course, the duty of this Conference to

attempt to solve problems related to the free exchange of information, such as the problem of security of military information. Such problems are not new in kind, however new they may seem in degree in the atomic age which has just opened. They will undoubtedly be dealt with in the future, as they have been in the past, in terms of world disarmament, and by those who bear the heavy responsibility for decisions in that field. Here we are concerned with a Constitution and with the great positive principles on which a Constitution must rest. The American delegation has no doubt that that Constitution will include a guarantee of the fundamental principle of intellectual freedom-of freedom of the mind-of the expressions of the mind-which finds one of its earliest and surely one of its most explicit enunciations in the Constitution of the United States.

Thirdly, we have been encouraged and impressed by the clear assurances given on every hand that the Organisation we propose to establish should be an Organisation open eventually to all the peoples of the world who seek, as we do, the mutual understanding and confidence and trust on which the peace must rest. We feel certain that the Constitution will be drafted in such terms of high principle and high usefulness that no nation which shares its purpose need be excluded by its terms—certainly no one of the nations, bound together with the United Nations, whether present here or not.

We Americans believe in the objective these first speakers have put before us. We believe in the possibility of understanding. We believe also that the Organisation which we shall here construct is an Organisation through which the understanding of the peoples can be fostered. We believe this not only because we are a believing and an optimistic people. We believe it because we have the proof and record to support our faith.

It is a curious thing that men in our time are more willing to believe in the incredible miracles of matter than in the simplest miracles of the human spirit. They are more willing to believe in the power of the invisible atom to construct and to destroy than in the power of the human heart to love and to create. It is perhaps for this reason that there are some among us-and not few—who compare our century with earlier centuries not altogether to the advantage of our own.

We in America have been called, and with some reason, a material people. But we have behind us a history of belief in the dignity and the possibility of man which is entitled also to consideration. And we have behind us proofs that nothing in this faith in man, this confidence that binds the living to the living, is national or limited, or ever need be.

Members of this Conference, meeting as they do in London, will forgive me for recalling to their minds one recent chapter of this history of faith. For five years, as every American and every Englishman in this room well knows, Americans and Englishmen worked together in a common cause with complete reliance, a complete belief,

which erased in many instances the very indicia and marks of national difference. Not only American soldiers and British soldiers, but American scientists and British scientists, American intellectuals and British intellectuals, American technicians and British technicians, worked together, not as brothers in arms alone but as brothers in mind and heart-with a relationship between them in which understanding bred affection and affection bred community of experience and of life.

I think it is worth while to pause a moment in this room at this war's end, and think of that experience of two peoples bound together in a common knowledge and a common trust. What was the reason for this confidence? A common cause? Many nations and peoples are bound in common cause who have not found this human and this personal relationship. A common language? There are those who believe the common gift of English is the greatest difficulty to understanding our two peoples have. A common danger and a common compulsion to defend against that danger? The dangers of war are great and immediate but the dangers of peace can be even greater. And never perhaps in the history of the world was there so great a compulsion to common effort as the compulsion of this moment.

What, then, was it that worked this human miracle in which the cynical do not believe? One could suggest many answers. Certainly the warm friendship of the American President and the British Prime Minister played its part. Certainly too other personalities of which your minds must now be thinking were effective agents of unity. But I do not think these or any other partial explanations give the answers to the question. I think the real answer lies in this: that in those years we and the British were engaged, not in a common cause alone, but in a common *work*. We had work to do and we did that work together—soldiers and scientists, intellectuals and devoted women, boys and mature men.

But if that is the true answer-and I believe it is—then it has its lesson of hope and meaning for this Conference. For what we are here to do is to create an Organisation through which the like-minded men and women of the nations of the world will work together-through which, moreover, they will work for the highest purposes they know, and with the devotion which human beings only give to the things they most believe in.

No, ladies and gentlemen, if work to be done in common is the answer, then our Conference is full of hope-for the world knows there is work to do. There is work to be done which none of us can do alone-no nation-not the greatest or the most powerful or the most withdrawn or the most fortunate. There is work to be done which can only be done in common, There is work to be done such as the peoples of the world have never before, in war or in peace, attempted.

We of the American delegation submit to you, our colleagues in this great undertaking, that if

we will make it the purpose of our meeting to create an Organisation through which the peoples of the world may work together to perfect their understanding of each other and to enrich their common heritage of knowledge, there can be no doubt but that our labours will succeed.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call on Dr. Wyndham, delegate of Australia.

Dr. H. S. WYNDHAM (Australia) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : In the absence of the delegate for Australia, the Rt. Hon. H. V. Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, I am bidden to say how glad the Commonwealth of Australia has been to accept the invitation to take part in this Conference. The Australian delegation find themselves obviously in accord with the ideals and purposes expressed yesterday by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, by the President of our Conference, the Associate President and by the delegate of the United States. Our own experience during the past few days has vividly reminded us of what this Conference may mean-what, indeed, it must mean-for the peoples of the world, Sixty hours before we arrived in this green and pleasant land, we walked in the spring sunshine of our own cities. It has been brought home to us that distances on the map have been swept away, but we are more than ever aware that the more significant distances between men's minds may persist. Surely the same spirit of resolution and of adventure, the same ingenuity and skill which have contracted the geographical world into a span can be devoted to the task of encompassing the divergencies of men's thinking and of spanning the frontiers of the mind.

It is the view of my country that the Organisation which we are called together to set up should be conceived and developed as a specialised agency of the United Nations, directed towards specific objectives in the field of educational, scientific and cultural relations and that it should have a wide autonomy in that field. The Organisation will obviously benefit from the experience of bodies set up under the League of Nations. We would naturally hope that there will be continuity with the work of the League Committees and its associated Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, but we are convinced that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation should be, in all respects, a new body. It should be, furthermore, the sole inter-governmental organisation in educational and cultural matters.

Australia is aware that the first task with which we are confronted is that of working out the constitution of the new Organisation. That constitution must be based upon a clarification of views as to the nature of the objectives of the Organisation, but the feeling of my country is that we must be ever on our guard lest, in expressing our devotion to high ideals and lofty purposes, we fail to remind ourselves that, at this moment, there are children without schools and teaching facilities, there are scholars and workers of the mind still cut off from their fellows in other countries and

that, in a world to be rebuilt from the wastage of war, teachers are as essential as bricklayers.

All we would say further at this stage is that the Commonwealth of Australia responds spontaneously and with alacrity to the hopes and purposes which lie behind the calling of this Conference, and its delegation pledges itself to make every contribution in its power to the working out of the problems of practice and of detail which lie before us.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call upon M. A. Buisseret, delegate of Belgium.

M. A. BUISSERET (Belgium) (*translation*) : Belgium associates itself wholeheartedly with the efforts of the United Nations-efforts the significance of which was splendidly voiced yesterday by Great Britain, the United States of America and France, and today by many other Allied countries which aim at leading the peoples along the path of peace and happiness by intensifying their cultural relations and creating permanent links of moral, artistic, scientific and intellectual solidarity. In doing so, Belgium cherishes no selfish political aims. Indeed, it is in the field of thought that the smaller nations, which have everything to fear from armed conflicts, may best claim to play an effective role of liaison. Moreover the geographical position of Belgium places it at the crossroad of the great economic highways and of the paths of the spirit. That is why the part played by Belgium in international cultural relations has asserted itself for several centuries.

It is compatible with the historic mission of a nation possessing so many qualifications and whose democratic tradition is one of the oldest that, at the moment when the Free Nations endeavour to inspire men with noble concepts of life, Belgium should collaborate in the erection of a system which will organise the world of tomorrow.

Among the earliest pioneers of pacifism were many Belgians. During the years of trial 1914-1918, the importance of moral factors in the genesis of wars and consequently the part they were to play in the work of peace construction became more and more evident. Mutual understanding between nations appeared to earnest people as one of the essential conditions, indeed as the dominant condition of an effective and solid world organisation. The history of the peace conference of 1919 demonstrates that Belgium was the first country to propose a concrete form of intellectual co-operation. I quote a passage from David Miller's "The Drafting of the Covenant" (Putnam 1928, p. 350) :

" Two Belgian suggestions were withdrawn : one was for the creation of a permanent commission on Agriculture . . . the other for an International Commission on Intellectual Relations, an institution which the League has since created. The text of the Belgian amendment was this :

" ' The Associated Nations will assure in the largest possible way the development of international moral, scientific and artistic re-

lations between the different peoples and endeavour, by all means, to shape an international mentality . . . To this end an International Commission of intellectual relations is created. ’

“ There seems to have been no discussion of the proposal ; the minutes do not mention it at all, though the early draft of the English minutes say that it was brought forward and withdrawn. ”

It is easy to guess that the Belgian suggestion, manifestly in advance of the mentality of the time, had encountered difficulties which were temporarily insuperable and that it appeared wiser to withdraw it rather than expose it to being thrown out, Soon, however, truth imposed itself upon many well-disposed but ill-prepared minds, and the Allied and Associated Nations took over the Belgian initiative and created a first organisation of intellectual co-operation.

The ideological character of the second world war revealed itself most clearly. The war was waged by military action as well as by the vitiating education of youth, a propaganda of hate, lies vigorously reaffirmed and frequently repeated by all technical means of persuasion and diffusion. The free world was aware of this and from all quarters the will to defend truth, rights, liberty, democracy and to build peace by appropriate methods asserted itself. To conceive educational methods of child psychology and to bring together men who had the privilege to belong to the intellectual elite are highly important tasks ; but the problem must now be solved in its entirety. Education must be pursued beyond childhood, intellectual confrontation be effected on every level. What must be done is to set up an organisation aiming at the education and re-education of the peoples themselves, and at the exchange of ideas in every field, moral, scientific, intellectual and artistic.

The Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education was the forerunner of the present Conference. For more than two years it directed its energy towards that end. Its work deserves to be enlarged and systematized. In the person of M. Julius Hoste, who here in this free capital, for ever a symbol of heroic resistance and unyielding hope, was the head of the Belgian Ministry of Education during the years of exile, Belgium once more played no negligible part in the foundation as well as in the activity of the Allied Ministers’ Educational Conference, till the liberation of our country. Then, being the first of all invaded countries to be entirely liberated, Belgium was confronted with the problem of re-education in that part of the territory which was annexed by Hitler. This enabled us to take a new initiative and as early as March 1945 to place before the Conference of Allied Ministers a memorandum which gave rise to the creation of a special commission for the study of re-education, the elaboration of new methods and the creation of adequate material.

The Belgian delegates at the present Conference are not indifferent to the questions of organisation and procedure with which we shall be concerned.

To obtain efficient results good machinery is necessary : let us give to the peaceful peoples and their leaders the adequate tools, and they will do the job.

It is important that representation of the United Nations shall be so organised that each delegation should express the culture of its country, but also, to be true to the principles of democracy, should be an expression of the nation and its feelings. An international spirit and the will to peace must underlie all joint action. Our delegation will be making proposals to this effect in the Commissions.

But we must not forget that, apart from organisation and procedure, there are fundamental and very urgent problems to be tackled. Among these I see not only the task of moral disintoxication, but also the repair of the destruction and pillage suffered by the scientific institutions and art treasures of so many countries. In Belgium most schools in the region of Antwerp, Liege and the Ardennes have been destroyed. All our universities have suffered extensive losses besides the many vexatious measures inflicted upon them because of their patriotism and their attachment to democracy. The Institute of Applied Sciences of the University of Liege, which had been inaugurated on the eve of the war, is completely ruined. The Academic Hospital of the University of Ghent has been severely damaged. At Louvain the rich library, which had been reconstructed after the first world war, has been burnt down for the second time. The University of Brussels, closed by the Nazis, has lost a large part of its scientific equipment.

The Belgian delegation will in due time take the liberty of making a few practical suggestions of immediate interest. We shall propose among other things measures of educational and artistic reconstruction, the creation of an international Institute of Bibliography, of an Institute of Educational and Scientific Cinematography, a concerted reform of the teaching of history, the re-education of the masses and of the youth that have been subjected to Nazi training, an international organisation of broadcasting and the creation of special machinery for the promotion of educational and cultural travel exchanges.

The liberation of nuclear energy, though in a still anarchic form, has let loose a blinding light, the light of the new worlds, which in a space in perpetual evolution emerge from the nebulae. It depends upon the United Nations, their agreement, their will for organisation and peaceful action, whether this light will illumine the path for a humanity which shall be forever free, peaceful and fraternal.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call on Dr. Wallace, delegate of Canada.

Dr. R. C. WALLACE (Canada) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : It is a great honour to speak in the name of Canada. I regret that the head of our delegation, the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, High Commissioner for Canada in Great Britain,

is unable to be with us on this occasion. He is on the high seas on his way back to London and will be here, I trust, on Monday.

Canada has a special interest in the success of the Organisation which is now in process of being. Like the other United Nations, we have pledged ourselves to take joint and separate action with the United Nations to promote international cultural and educational co-operation. For we in Canada are the product of several cultures, and we have learned to value co-operative enterprise in the world of education, science and culture. Our ties with British ideals in education remain strong, and we draw richly from that inexhaustible well. Our associations with the United States are those of close and friendly neighbours, and we profit greatly from their forward-looking outlook on policies and practice. And the French culture of Quebec is a constant example of the humanistic outlook on education and on life. In our own environment and under our own skies it is our responsibility in Canada to weld these three influences into a harmonious unity, befitting the needs of a practical people engaged in the harnessing of nations' resources to the higher ends of mankind. We from Canada came with a sympathetic background to the great task in which we are now together engaged. And may I venture to hope that the atmosphere of this building, so generously placed at our disposal, a building in which men of practical visions are wont to congregate, a building in which men translate those visions into practical foundations in building a nation's life, may assist us in the transforming of high ideals into practical realities. For we believe that in the things of the mind and the spirit men can come together the world over to build an enduring edifice of co-operative partnership for the higher ends of mankind.

We look to this Conference to add one more wing to the great edifice of an international society which the nations are now endeavouring to build, because we know as a people of two principal cultures, supplemented and enriched by many others from all the countries of Europe and elsewhere, that differences of outlook, of heritage, of philosophy must be exchanged if they are to bind.

Our writers, teachers, artists of all kinds, our universities and our scientists, all those who live for the advancement of learning, the creation of beauty and the technological service of society, and abide by their standards, look forward eagerly to an international grouping of these interests in which Canada may play her part.

For we are engaged in the exploration of the vast possibilities of the human mind. If we can achieve the aim of free and untrammelled development of human personality, unrestricted by economic or other hindrances, we shall indeed have laid the foundations of a richer and happier life. The possibilities are beyond calculation. "For though thy soul sails leagues and leagues beyond, still leagues beyond these leagues there is more sea."

Canada speaks with two languages. It would not be adequate to be represented alone by words in the English tongue, the tongue of Shakespeare and of Masefield and, I may say, of Scott and Burns. To French Canada we owe a delicacy of expression which is the true fruit of a humanistic culture. You will permit my colleague, M. Turcotte, to speak to you in the other language of our country.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I shall therefore now call on M. Turcotte, also a delegate of Canada, to address you in French.

M. E. TURCOTTE (Canada) (*translation*) : In speaking to you from Canada in French, following upon a speech from my country in English, I think I am presenting you with a happy augury of the work of international rapprochement, a rapprochement of culture, which is one of the principal aims of the work we are embarking upon this week.

I am, if I may say so, proud of this anticipated achievement which Canada is so fortunate as to furnish to the other countries as a promise and a hope.

I am not so vain as to think that the whole story of my enormous, but youthful country is familiar to all of you, especially to those of you who come from ancient or very distant lands. But you are surely aware that Canada was originally called New France and that New France, with its sixty thousand French settlers was ceded to Great Britain after the Seven Years War. That is some two centuries ago, two centuries during which the small settlement has become a power of eleven and a half million inhabitants, of whom at least three and a half millions talk French.

I will not claim that the relations between the two linguistic and cultural elements which now make up the Canadian people were at all periods in our history consistently happy or trusting or brotherly. But the deep significance of the Canadian testimony which I desire to voice at the opening of this Conference consists precisely in the conviction gradually acquired by Canadians, through generations of life in common, that cultural differences must not create an obstacle to the solidarity of men of good will, but that the propinquity and brotherly character of cultures are rather a source of enrichment to all.

It is therefore in the light of their national experience that Canadians today fervently pray that the present Conference may guide men in all countries towards an epoch of solidarity and brotherhood, through the mutually beneficent exchange of knowledge and culture, in which we Canadians hope to see in a form enlarged to world scale the harmonious reflection of our country, Canada.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call on Monsieur Chamoun, first delegate of the Lebanon, who has to leave London this evening and who will therefore speak earlier than originally planned.

M. Camille CHAMOUN (Lebanon) : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : Of all the eras



which the world has ever known, that which has rendered the greatest service to human thought, and without which no ideas and no sciences could have been developed or propagated, is the era of the alphabet. It was on the shores of the Lebanon—which country I have the honour to represent at this Conference—that the alphabet was born 3,000 years ago, and whence it steadily penetrated to the rest of the civilised world.

The Lebanon has not only made her contributions towards humanity in this most outstanding invention of all times, but also during the Roman age by the teachings of her jurists, whose works helped in the compilation of the Justinian Codes, the principles of which are still embodied in the codes of justice of most of Europe and America. More recently, the Lebanon has enriched her spiritual legacy by developing western culture, while giving herself without stint to the study of Arab philosophy, literature and science, which is the present-day intellectual outlook of 70 million people of the Arab world.

In the name of my country, I express a sincere desire for the success of this Conference, for it is through cultural co-operation and intellectual understanding that some of the aims of mankind can be attained : the triumph of Right over Might, of Liberty over Oppression, of Co-operation over Jealousy, the maintenance of Peace and Security.

Lebanon, to a large extent, has attained a happy stage of intellectual understanding, for Beirut—our capital—with its Arab cultural background and the numerous high schools representing it—has two universities, one representing the Anglo-Saxon outlook on life, and the other the Latin. We feel that this educational harmony reflects an ideal state of cultural collaboration.

Our hope, at the first session of this Conference, is to realise the relinquishment by nations of large and powerful armies, navies and air forces, and to have no other objectives in view than the attainment of higher moral standards in which all peoples of the earth will join in a spirit of true brotherhood.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I shall now call upon H.E. Señor Carlos Salamanca, delegate of Bolivia.

H.E. M. Carlos SALAMANCA (Bolivia) : Honourable delegates, to maintain the activity and intimate contact of all the elements, great and small, of international culture, is a problem involving common obligations of mutual assistance. Western culture can no longer be considered in a restricted or limited way. It has evolved in this Continent throughout the centuries, and every country in the world is bound to it in one way or another. Its seeds—essential values in human life—flourish in different social media.

The expansion of Western culture has no limits. If it is to prevail, it must conquer all the social prejudices that may stand in its path.

Before the present world conflict, there were many notable European writers who foretold, with the gravest pessimism, the decay of Western culture;

but in view of its universality; and of the internal forces of the European Continent, we may confidently expect that its powers of recovery and revival will prove, as always, to be stronger than the perils which assail it.

Article 55 of the United Nations Charter deals with the need to promote or create the conditions of stability necessary for the friendly relationship of all Nations of the world. This Conference, in a sense, takes the lead in this matter, and, anticipating some of the functions of the Economic and Social Council, proposes the establishment of an organisation to assist in cultural development. We cannot indeed ignore the fact that educational problems are intimately connected with the restoration and also improvement of the social economy of many nations.

The aims of the Conference are abundantly clear, and its ends so portentous that it is highly improbable that any fundamental differences of opinion will arise during its deliberations. Consequently, it is possible that in the future its executive powers may need to be co-ordinated with whatever organisation the world Council of Education decides to establish in the pursuit of its purposes. No doubt the sense of international moral responsibility that is gradually developing towards this great undertaking will be of positive help to the Council.

Any international organisation that is feebly supported is liable to be dismissed as ineffective. It is, therefore, vitally important at this critical stage through which the world is passing, that the approach to all the problems facing it be made with faith in peaceful international co-operation.

We are very conscious indeed of the importance of this Conference, and I need hardly say that we shall give our fullest support to the fulfilment of its high and noble ideals.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I will now call upon Dr. Jan Opocensky, the delegate of Czechoslovakia.

Dr. Jan OPOCENSKY (Czechoslovakia) : It is the tradition of the Czechs and Slovaks to answer “ Aye-aye, Sir ” to a roll-call of peace. May an historian tell you that in the long list of the forerunners of European organisations for international peace, the different plans of the Middle Ages for a League of Princes to preserve perpetual peace—a peace that, alas, never lasted long—we find always the name of a King of Bohemia. After the first World War the new Czechoslovak Republic was proud to continue that tradition, to which both Czechs and Slovaks were attached. We need only quote the name of the League of Nations. At the same time, it is the tradition of our country to bring its active co-operation to all matters in the sphere of education. Our Nation has always participated in the work of laying down the fundamentals of the modern educational system.

The Czech and Slovak nation is proud that it was a son of her country, John Amos Comenius, who was the first to show clearly the way to de-

mocracy in education in his *Didactica Magna*. He not only asks for the common education of every child without difference of sex or social origin ; but he gave a wonderful plan of the comprehensive school, from the " Mother School " —*école maternelle*--up to the University. If this great Organisation, of which we have the honour to be a member, sets this ideal and plan as that of genuine democracy and helps put it into effect everywhere in the world, it will be her contribution to the worth of cultured and just living.

It is in continuation of this tradition of the Nation that the Czechoslovak Government has sent us to London to co-operate in the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. We are conscious that we are only a very small country in this great Assembly of Nations. It is, however, our intention to try to contribute to the betterment of the world through sincere democracy.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I will call upon M. A. Michelsen, the delegate of Denmark.

M. A. MICHELSEN (Denmark) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : As spokesman of the Danish delegation I wish to tender the sincere thanks of the Danish Government to the two inviting Governments and, at the same time, to express their appreciation of the work done by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, which has led up to the present Conference.

For five long years Denmark was cut off from the Allied world, but, thanks to the splendid war effort of the Allied Nations and to the active and passive resistance of her own population, Denmark is now, as a free and democratic country and as a member of the United Nations, able to play her part and to contribute her full share in the work of restoring and securing a lasting peace.

Denmark has in the past participated in all spheres of peaceful collaboration, and not least in the field of education and culture, to which she attaches the very highest importance. Danish educationists, scientists and scholars are anxious to resume the many connections with other countries that were severed by the war. They see in the proposed Organisation an invaluable means of promoting mutual knowledge and understanding between the peoples of the world and thereby helping to establish peace and prosperity.

It is the hope of the Danish delegation that this Conference may devote its attention not merely to the external structure of the Organisation but also, and first and foremost, to the realities which are to fill up its framework. We are anxious that the Conference should not confine itself to vague and general sentiments, but should give the new Organisation a precise and definite mandate. The Danish Government take the view that the problems and tasks which the Organisation will have to tackle should be clearly defined and laid down by the Conference, in order to give the Interim Commission as precise terms of reference as possible. Among the problems that have to be faced are the provision of books for countries

ravaged by war, the restoration of libraries, museums and art-galleries, the exchange of learned publications and official documents and the equivalence of degrees and diplomas in different countries. The new Organisation should neither abolish nor duplicate the work of existing official and unofficial organs of intellectual collaboration, but should co-ordinate their activities and bring them into relationship with the new Organisation, while at the same time preserving their individuality.

The Danish delegation are of opinion that the scope of the Organisation should be extended to cover the widest possible field. It should not be confined to collaboration between representatives of higher educational institutes. -The Danish educational system, from the primary school to the university, is based on broad and democratic principles, and so are our Folk High Schools and our libraries. We are convinced of the importance of bringing the common people within the sphere of the new Organisation. Only if it is able to reach the common people and to foster in them an international outlook and an understanding of the brotherhood of man, can the Organisation be a success.

For the task of creating such an Organisation I pledge you, on behalf of the Danish Government, our warmest and most earnest support.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I now call upon the honourable Dominican delegate. He has expressed his intention of speaking in Spanish. Under paragraph 2 or Article 4 of the Standing Orders, any delegate speaking in a language other than the official languages of the Conference is expected to bring his own interpreter. I understand, however, that M. Pastoriza has no Spanish interpreter at his disposal. We shall, therefore, do the best we can to interpret his address and to get a summary of what he says in the official languages of the Conference, unless, which would be better still, one of the Spanish delegates to the Conference will be kind enough to act as interpreter for M. Pastoriza, and then give his speech either in French or in English, after which the official interpreter to the Secretariat will translate it into the official language. Is there anybody in the Conference who will be kind enough to undertake that task ?

M. BUISSERET (Belgium) : If it is written, I will undertake to do it.

The PRESIDENT: Thank you.

M. Andres PASTORIZA (Dominican Republic) (*translation*) : Mr. Chairman and fellow-delegates: It is with a deep sense of history that I have the honour of appearing and of speaking in the name and on behalf of the Dominican Republic at this Conference for the establishment of a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation.

I cannot sufficiently stress the spirit of co-operation with which my country wishes to participate in this conference ; nor can I give a clear picture of my country's complete accord

with the noble project which has gathered us without emphasising the significance of our participation in this assembly of the United Nations in the light of the spiritual traditions of the Dominican Republic.

I am overwhelmed by emotion at speaking in the name of the land where the spirit of the first impact of Christian culture in America still survives. It was in Española that the free destiny of the American man had its first trial, when the holy Friar Las Casas upheld the famous world-wide tradition of the Order of the Dominicans in his dramatic defence of the native races of the new world.

That island was the home of the first Church, that island had the first Law Courts to be founded in the New World ; in that island was written the first history in Spanish of the great events of the conquest and colonisation of the New World.

Of outstanding importance in the history of the Dominican Republic is the University of Santo Domingo, the first cultural centre to be founded in America, created in the year 1538 with the same privileges and rights as the famous Spanish University of Alcalá de Henares.

If historical pre-eminence were not sufficient to make the Dominican University outstanding, I would recall how the benefits of its influence were in no way limited to the territory that today forms the Dominican Republic. It should not be forgotten that this University taught the first professors who spread the light of Christian thought among the other islands of the Caribbean and the Continent of America.

And this work of the University of my country, gentlemen, was a forerunner in America of the grandiose project that will take practical form as a result of the deliberations of this Conference ; and by that I mean the mobilisation of culture and education as instruments of peace and solidarity.

With a firm faith in education, culture and solidarity among men, my country has made very great efforts to bring about friendship and interchanges of ideas with other nations within the spirit of present-day international collaboration.

From a purely national viewpoint it is of interest to mention that in my country, with a population of barely two millions, we have achieved a figure of 226,987 pupils inscribed on our school registers and have at the present moment 2,390 schools in

charge of 4,428 teachers. We have in practice achieved the ideal of compulsory and free education for all in the elementary and primary grades, and free for secondary and higher grades.

We are linked by cultural agreements with a number of American nations, and the study of the four inter-American languages has been made compulsory in our secondary, higher and University 'curricula.

Year after year our country has sent forth groups of students and professional people to other countries of the Americas to interchange ideas and progressive thought and, more important still, to make contact with the strong currents of solidarity that flow within the American hemisphere, in order to accomplish a higher mission than that of individual improvement, by creating men and women of goodwill in an America united for peace and economic and political democracy.

We feel strongly that these links of confraternity through culture and education should be forged on a universal level, and we, therefore, hope that the spirit underlying these cultural agreements, which have formed an excellent foundation for co-operation within the Americas, may spread among and link all the United Nations.

All that mankind may desire throughout the world, without self-interest or limitation but widespread and for all, may one day come to pass with the advent of a type of man and woman thoroughly adult in reasoning and conscience, of the same type that the great genius of American education, Eugenio María de Hostos, foresaw in his own times.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call on the Secretary-General.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : The list which so far has reached us of speakers for tomorrow's debate is rather small and I fancy that some delegations have not sent in notifications or possibly some notifications may have gone astray. May I read the list as I have it ? Ecuador, Guatemala, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Turkey, Would any delegations, other than those, who wish to speak in the course of the debate drop me a line, to be placed in the reception office at the entrance to the building.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : The Meeting stands adjourned.

## FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, November 3rd, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.

*President* : M. LEON BLUM (*Associate-President*)

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : The following telegram has been received from the International Labour Conference now sitting in Paris ; it is addressed to the General-Secretary of this Conference :-

“Please forward to the President of the Conference for the Creation of an Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations in London the following message : In the name of the I.L.O. we have the honour to ask you kindly to submit to the Conference for the creation of an Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations its warmest wishes for the success of that important Session. The new body will be a great instrument for social welfare and will make a contribution of the highest value to the betterment of international order founded on freedom of the human mind. The Declaration of Philadelphia promises the full co-operation of the I.L.O. to all international bodies which may bear a part of the responsibility in the fields of health, education and welfare of all peoples. The I.L.O. will be happy to do everything in its power to help your Organisation reach that aim and to collaborate with it in realms of common interest,”  
Signed Alexandre Parodi, President of the 27th Session of the I.L.O., and Edward Phelan, General-Secretary.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : I have two communications to make about our business, and I will reverse the chronological order and start with Monday's business, because we hope that we shall finish the general discussion today and start work on the Commissions on Monday. It would be, I think, more convenient if, at 10.30 on Monday, the whole Conference assembled here ; there may be communications to make and it would be convenient to make them to everybody.

Now there is the question of the orderly discharge of the work of the Commissions, particularly the Commissions which are dealing with the Draft Constitution. The Conference of Allied Ministers had asked, or rather, it was the British Minister of Education asked, Governments at a very early date to send in their observations and amendments, and already, before the British Ministry had done that, the French Government, with great promptitude, had responded by sending in a draft project, which was very fully considered by the Working Committee, translated into English at once, and has been in the minds of all the members of the Working Committee ever since. Unfortunately the other Governments have not been so prompt. We had amendments from the United States Government and we have had one quite recently

from Mexico ; but so far, to my knowledge, no other Government has responded. Might I beg any Governments who have amendments to make to the draft to be prompt in sending them in before the Commissions start on their work.

As regards the procedure to be followed in the Commissions it is very desirable that that should be carried out in an orderly way so that the work can be done as quickly as possible. I would suggest that the following should be the working directive of the Commissions dealing with the text of the draft ; that the draft put forward by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and circulated to the United Nations, with the invitation to the Conference, shall be the working document before the Conference and the basis of its discussions. In amending this draft, full consideration shall be given to the French Draft and to all other drafts and proposals offered by other countries.

This I put forward with the Chairman's leave simply as a working directive to enable the Commissions to discharge their business in an orderly way. It is a matter of procedure, not a resolution from the Chair.

There is one other point. Some delegations have not enough members to be in all five Commissions at once. It would be a great help to the Secretariat if delegations who feel that they have members who wish to be in more than one Commission, would let us know so that we can prevent an overlap which will be inconvenient to them.

Lastly, may I, Mr. President, read out the names of the speakers of the countries who have expressed a desire to speak this morning, because I am rather afraid that some may not have reached me : Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Luxembourg, the Netherlands (who will be called early because the Minister, I think, is leaving), Norway, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I will call on M. Luis Marino Perez, delegate of Cuba.

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : Mr. President, the mission of this Conference is to set up a special organ of the United Nations in the field of intellectual, cultural and educational co-operation. In discharging this task, the Conference should, therefore, be guided by the spirit which inspires the broad purposes laid down in the Charter of San Francisco.

If we inquire what are the aims of the United Nations in relation to intellectual, cultural and educational co-operation, we find in Articles I and 55 of the Charter that they are “ To develop friendly relations among Nations ” (Article 1, 1) ;

“To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of a social and cultural character ” (Article 1, 3) ; and “to promote higher standards of living and social progress” (Article 55, a).

In connection with these purposes, the Conference is aware that the United Nations is not simply an association of governments or an elaborate machinery for international purposes, but a living partnership of peoples associated together for their common welfare and advancement.

We know, unfortunately, by experience that diplomatic and inter-governmental efforts to promote a better understanding and to reach agreements between nations, or at least between their Governments, are not always successful and at times only partially successful.

It is evident then that diplomacy needs the collaboration of a United Nations Organisation in the intellectual, cultural and educational field, based on the free association, the creative activity and the common aspirations of the peoples of the United Nations, so that the efforts of diplomacy may be more fruitful.

In order to create such an Organisation, which would adequately serve the purposes laid down in the Charter of San Francisco, the Cuban delegation suggests that it should be composed of the following organs :

1. A Central Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation ;
2. A Council of Ministers of Education ;
3. A Conference of delegates of the National Commissions of Intellectual Co-operation ; and
4. An Assembly of Representatives of Scientific and Learned Societies.

To the last two organs mentioned, representing the various intellectual, cultural and scientific bodies throughout the United Nations, speaking and acting for the people of the United Nations with a minimum of intervention on the part of the respective national governments, would be entrusted the great task of promoting mutual understanding, common sympathies and friendly relations between all the peoples of the United Nations. These organs of the Organisation would also undertake to bring about the fullest exchange of ideas and knowledge and of the progress attained in science, art, technology and the humanities. They would together constitute a world parliament for the promotion of the intellectual life of the United Nations, guided by the spirit and carrying out the purposes of the Charter of San Francisco.

In the special field of education both general and technical, the Cuban delegation suggests that there should be created a United Nations Council of Ministers of Education, entrusted with the task of co-operating to bring about the greatest possible extension of education to all the peoples of the United Nations and to improve the standards of education among them. It should, however,

be emphasised that education is primarily a responsibility of each nation and that diversity rather than uniformity should be encouraged, for it would be a disaster to the world to suppress differences and refreshing tendencies in matters of education.

The functions of the Central Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation, in the scheme advocated by the Cuban delegation, would be solely to supervise and co-ordinate the policies and activities of the special organs already mentioned, to make recommendations to them in regard to their particular tasks, and to represent them in all relationships with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. This Central Organisation would be composed only of representatives of the Governments.

The Cuban delegation considers that the principal purpose behind whatever Organisation this Conference sets up should be to break down the intellectual barriers which still separate the peoples of the United Nations and to strengthen the bonds of sympathy between them, so as to promote their common welfare and aspirations.

This is an immense task of the most vital importance, requiring the utmost efforts of all men and women throughout the United Nations, if they wish to see their common aspirations for peace and human progress translated from the realms of Utopia into a reality.

In the view of the Cuban delegation, this is not a task which any purely inter-governmental organisation can successfully carry out ; it would be best to entrust it directly to the intellectual, cultural and scientific agencies which already exist as national institutions in the United Nations, bringing them for this purpose into relationship in international bodies under one common Central Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation.

The people in each one of the United Nations would thus be called upon, through their respective intellectual and cultural organisations, to promote friendly international relations and mutual understanding between all the peoples who form the United Nations, thereby contributing to create higher standards of living and social progress.

If it is not within the plans of this Conference to organise and inspire the peoples of the United Nations to work with faith and fervour in the field of intellectual, cultural and educational co-operation and to assume the responsibility of carrying out the purposes laid down in the Charter of San Francisco in this field of international collaboration, but if the Conference, on the contrary, is to put its trust and hopes solely in an inter-governmental organisation and in the already strained resources of diplomacy, I for one could not look forward with confidence to that better world which we are pledged to create.

The PRESIDENT (translation) : Again entrenching on alphabetical order, I shall call upon the delegate of the Netherlands, who will have to leave the Conference shortly.

Professor G. van der LEEUW (Netherlands) : Mr. President, Members of this Conference, ladies and gentlemen : In the name of my country I wish to thank you with all my heart for the words of welcome you have addressed to us, who have come together to plan an organisation which is meant to further the cause of education and culture throughout the world. Very willingly the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands has accepted the invitation of the British and French Governments to join in this Conference.

For five long years the Dutch people have been in prison. Excluded from all intercourse with the world, forced to defend their own ways of living and thinking with all means possible and impossible in a seemingly hopeless struggle against a ruthless and cruel oppressor, the Dutch people have had to fall back on their own spiritual and moral resources, to reckon up the total of their assets and their shortcomings as a nation. To the nation as a whole has happened what happened to so many of its members shut up in a German cell or behind barbed wire, driven from their homes and bereft of their possessions until either liberation or death at the hands of the tyrant put a term to their sufferings : they have found their own selves. Some of them have found their God, others a strong conviction, others again a new and strong love for all things which threatened to be stolen or falsified, which in past years they had been led to regard as common property, trivial and almost worthless, but which now they came to prize anew as living forces of inspiration, possessions of small value perhaps on the great index of the world's civilisation, but genuine and their own. So the enemy has given our nation a renewed sense of national values, a new consciousness of its mission in the world. And so you find us prepared to share in the great work of cultural and educational reconstruction, outwardly hampered by the terrible situation in which the enemy has left us, but inwardly reinforced by our mishaps to share in the responsibility for the world's welfare.

During the war it has been possible in hospitable England for our Government to co-operate with other Allied Governments in the preparations for this Conference. There is certainly nothing which is so entirely in the line of the Dutch as international co-operation. We not only dearly love, it, but our very existence is founded on it. When saying this, I am not stressing the political fact that the small nations are dependent on the big ones. I am hoping for an entire interdependence of all nations in the scriptural sense of the one body, whereof not one member can suffer without the whole suffering too. In this interdependent co-operation there is a big task for small nations, like our own, who do not want to stand on prestige or precedence, who only want to be their own selves. I see no necessity to anticipate the discussions of our Commissions on the points at issue. I only wish to say, as to the prospective seat of the Conference, that the Dutch have never regarded the sea as an obstacle to gaining their ends ;

they have always in history crossed it, fighting or trading, or, as in the present case, spreading their own culture and learning from others. So they have done now and are ready to do again. It were a sorrowful task for me to enlarge upon our present trading, badly damaged as it is by the Germans. As to fighting, we are a peace-loving people, but we have done our bit, not only in the Java Sea and in the air at Singapore, but also by an ever-strengthening resistance by those who could not cross the frontier. The bitter-sweet remembrance of so many who have fallen for the cause, murdered or killed in underground warfare, is an ever-present incentive to renew the fighting in the domains of the mind.

It has been said before that this war has been a war of religion, " in defence of our nation, religion and laws," as it is said in Judas Maccabeus. Therefore the whole world should from now on know only one aim, that of realising what we have fought for. We call it liberty and democracy, and we are right in doing so. But liberty and democracy are worthless when they are nothing but the absence of oppression and dictatorship. Nazism and Fascism were only the symptoms of a graver illness threatening the world, whereby all ideals would become so many empty shells and whereby all sense of there being something better worth living for than having a good time would be lost. It is, as De Rougemont said, a " commune mesure, " which we must strive for, a new faith and a strong belief. That is the great responsibility of this Conference, as I see it. Education is always dependent on some faith, tending towards some ideal. It therefore cannot limit itself to work in schools and universities. It comprises the whole field of modern culture-radio, press, films. It may be truly national, and rightly so, but it will fail utterly if it is not served in the spirit of obedience to what is more than all things national, more even than all things human.

The PRESIDENT (translation) : I now call on the delegate of Ecuador.

M. Alberto PUIG-AROSEMENA (Ecuador) : Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen : My government, fully realising the importance of this Conference, could not fail to respond to the invitation to send a delegation to take part in its deliberations.

During the war we have heard and read statements from prominent statesmen, which were echoed by the Press and radio, to the effect that not only the Nazi leaders but the German people in general were responsible for this war, and it has been suggested that the best means to prevent Germany from waging war in future would be to re-educate the German people.

I venture to believe that it would be a good thing not only for the Germans but for all the nations of the world to revise their educational problems and the systems intended to solve such problems. To mention but one example, I call the attention of the delegates to this Conference to the textbooks

of history. No two nations would teach their children the same story about one and the same historical event. It is proved fact that historical events, and particularly wars, are taught differently according to the national interests of each country. Furthermore, children and youngsters, when told of the wars of their countries, have been taught to glorify their national heroes, and it often happens that such heroes, valiant, brave and gallant as they might have been, have waged unjust wars, causing suffering, wrong and damage to the peoples of other nations ; yet these men are glorified and their deeds presented to the children of their countries as examples to be imitated ; thus not only creating but developing in children and youngsters a mental attitude in favour of war.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain told us in his admirable speech the day before yesterday that wars begin in the minds of men ; and if we agree with his statement-as indeed I do-then we must conclude that education plays a very important part in the cause of peace. The exchange and free' circulation of ideas and ideals should be encouraged ; and this should be coupled with an exchange of professors and teachers, who should lecture in countries other than their own ; and the exchange of students by means of scholarships should also be encouraged, so that the peoples of the world may come to know each other better and may so learn to understand each other.

While I readily admit that one of the most urgent problems we have to face is the re-establishment of education in countries which have suffered the ravages of war, I think, if we want to lay the foundation of an organisation in which all nations should co-operate with each other, we must set -ourselves-a wider scope and we should try to help each other unselfishly. Those more advanced nations which have at their disposal better means of achieving their aims should stretch out their hands to help generously those other nations, less fortunate, which, for causes not of their own making, have not been able to attain their goal.

If I may find some generous support, I should like to move that this Conference pass a resolution recommending the Governments represented at this gathering to spend more and more in education and less and less in armaments.

The PRESIDENT (translation) : I now call on the delegate of Guatemala.

M. Manuel GALICH (Guatemala) (*translation*) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : I feel that it is for me and my country a great honour to assist at this meeting of such distinguished representatives of the democracies of the world. At the same time I am happy that Guatemala, one of the young nations in process of formation, has come to profess her faith in the triumph of democracy and the maintenance of lasting peace. I have come to present to all delegations here assembled the greetings of my country and wishes that this Conference may contribute to the conservation of universal order and harmony.

Guatemala, small in territory and geographically far away from Britain, received with pleasure the invitation to take part in this Conference for the establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations, and promptly sent her Minister of Education as representative, since work, peace and co-operation govern her present life in national as well as international affairs. Guatemala considers her presence advisable at these deliberations for international as well as for domestic reasons.

Internationally, Guatemala greatly desires the consolidation of peace. Our country did not, of course, take part in the fighting, but she anxiously felt the calamities which befell her friends and trembled lest the civilisation and culture of centuries should succumb ; a civilisation and a culture from which Guatemala has learnt a great deal and whose values are incorporated in the, very life of the nation. She wishes the consolidation of peace because, in the measure of her possibilities, she was in the economic front and suffered, like nearly all the other nations of the world, the repercussions of war.

Another reason is that during this century Guatemala has shown how to solve her differences with her neighbours by pacific methods and paying respect to the rules of international law.

At home today Guatemala is living through a period of transition and reconstruction which reproduces in miniature the present world unrest. Our country, therefore, is favourably placed for playing her part with the rest of the democratic peoples with sincerity and respect for those high and honest principles which are the rule in Guatemala today. Our small country understands the needs of the world and the benefits which lie in the mutual respect of all and co-operation of all in every field. For this double reason Guatemala is firmly decided to follow an educational policy of strongly democratic shape, and she is ready to give and to receive co-operation in the exchange of observation and experience, within, of course, her intellectual and economic limits. This ready will and firm decision to carry out such a programme are possible, thanks to the new Guatemalan democracy born on October 20th, 1944. This is no label for international trade, neither is it a theoretical body of constitutional precepts, but a practical aspiration which is pursued by the people of Guatemala, who are united in this high purpose.

Please accept, my dear colleagues, the respectful greetings of my country and her wishes that this educational and cultural organisation of the United Nations which we are going to set up be not an organisation which egotism and private interests will destroy, but a faithful testimony to the good of humanity and a benefit to all nations.

The PRESIDENT (translation) : I now call upon His Excellency Dr. Naji Al Asil, the delegate of Iraq.

H.E. Dr. Naji Al ASIL (Iraq) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : On behalf of the Iraqi

delegation, I wish to associate myself with my fellow-delegates in the expression of thanks to His Majesty's Government for their kind consideration and the courtesies which have been extended to us all.

At this stage of the Conference I feel that one can hardly add anything more to the views and hopes so nobly expressed in the speeches of the honourable delegates since this Conference began, with a view to the organisation of common human endeavour in the service of the spirit of peace. Iraq is a country with a very long and varied history extending back some 8,000 years. During that long period of struggle and endeavour to create an approach to a stable state of peace, various cultures, civilisations and creeds rose, flourished and passed away, leaving their mark upon the spirit of man and his mind, just as they have left their relics buried deep in the soil of Iraq. With that record of grandeur and terror, we can appreciate more readily the two important points which Mr. Attlee mentioned in his speech the other day. It is indeed because peace, like war, begins in the mind that this Conference has been convened ; and it is in order to organise neighbourly human relationships on a permanent basis of equality and mutual helpfulness that the Constitution of the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations shall be agreed upon, so that a practical instrument of peace among the nations shall serve the spirit of peace on earth.

Iraq will not be lacking in the fulfilment of its obligations to realise, in harmony with the United Nations, the great objective in view.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I now call upon M. Alphonse Als, the delegate of Luxembourg.

M. Alphonse ALS (Luxembourg) (*translation*) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : As delegate of one of the smallest of the United Nations, I rise with some emotion to address this assembly. Do not expect any far-reaching revelations ; my speech will be commensurate with the size of my country.

What I have to tell you quite simply is this : my Government is happy to participate in the work of this Conference, of which it realises the full importance and is prepared to honour all the obligations ensuing from such participation.

We are particularly glad that this opening congress should have been convened in London, a city whose name echoes in the heart of all my compatriots, not only because during the war it offered a sanctuary to our Sovereign and to her Government, but above all because, during the dark months of the autumn of 1940, when the invader held out the terrifying prospect of endless slavery, London, by her magnificent example of courage and tenacity, revived in our stricken hearts the spirit of resistance and faith in the final triumph of democratic forces.

This triumph of democracy and liberty we hope from now onwards to secure by pacific means. The memory of suffering and of triumph experi-

enced in common, fraternity between United Nations sealed on the field of battle, in concentration camps and factories, will furnish the quickening leaven from which a new world will arise.

The experience of these last few years has been too dire for the world to want it ever to recur.

We who have been fortunate in escaping from this terrifying cataclysm think gratefully and with profound emotion of all those scientists, educationists and artists who by their heroic death made possible the hopes which exist today. Their sacrifice will not have been in vain. May their spirit hover over our deliberations.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I now call on Mr. Campbell, delegate of New Zealand.

Mr. A. E. CAMPBELL (New Zealand) : -Mr. President, Members of the Conference, ladies and gentlemen : New Zealand, the country which I have the honour to represent, is warmly in sympathy with the aims of this Conference. We had, well before 1939, committed ourselves to a bold and avowedly democratic programme of educational advance, and we hope that the new organisation which is to be set up will be of assistance to us in carrying that programme through. As things are, we receive stimulus and practical suggestions from Britain, the other Dominions, the United States of America, the Scandinavian countries, and elsewhere ; but we should like to see the channels of communication widened and deepened. More than this, we know, as some of you have even more bitter reason than we to know, that a peace-loving democracy cannot live and breathe freely except in a world of peace-loving democracies ; and we know further that education, in the broad sense of that word, is the only means whereby peace-loving democracies can be created and renewed.

On the other hand, we venture to think that we may have a contribution to make to other countries through the new Organisation. New Zealand, for example, has made education at the secondary and higher levels very freely available ; and we have an elaborate set of arrangements designed to even up educational opportunities between town and country. Since, in addition, incomes are fairly evenly distributed in New Zealand and we have no extremes of wealth and poverty, our educational system does in fact provide something approaching real equality of educational opportunity. And this applies in considerable degree to our native Maori people as well as to those of European stock ; so both our achievements in this direction and the problems that have arisen in the process of democratising our educational system may be worthy of some attention from other countries.

As delegates to this Conference have already been reminded, the United Nations are pledged to promote " universal respect for, and observance of, fundamental rights and freedoms for *all* without distinction of race, language and religion. " With that aspiration New Zealand is very much in sympathy ; and we take it that one of the



fundamental rights to which everyone is entitled is the right to a full and generous education to the limits of his powers. This means that we desire for all children a rich and happy family life ; it means, so far as schooling is concerned, that we desire genuine equality of educational opportunities ; it means that we desire our schools themselves to be really civilised places-pleasant to look at, bright, spacious, airy, and well equipped with modern aids to learning ; it means that their discipline should be positive and humane, not negative and repressive ; it means that we desire first-rate teachers at all levels and first-rate teaching conditions, including reasonably small classes ; it means that we desire for each child a well-balanced programme of studies and activities that will foster his full development as a person, bring him into touch with the creative activities of man, and prepare him for an active place in a democratic society ; it means that we wish every citizen to have freedom of access to the cultural riches of man, and freedom to make his own characteristic contribution, however small, to the life of his society ; and it means other things as well.

One has only to put the matter in some such terms as these to be aware of the great gap between the stated aspirations of the united Nations and educational conditions as they exist at the moment. We of the New Zealand delegation are very conscious of that gap, very conscious of the fact that vast numbers of children and young people are denied the opportunity of growing to full stature. In this, we know, we are far from being alone. We were very glad to hear the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom say, in effect, in his address of welcome, that the new Organisation had a responsibility to the man in the street and the children in the street ; and we have been pleased to hear much the same idea reiterated by other speakers ; by Mr. MacLeish, for example, when he spoke of the common understanding of the peoples of the world. But we would emphasise that, in our view, the task of repairing the educational ravages of the war and making up the educational arrears of the war years is one of very great urgency. Not even the most advanced countries have cause for complacency.

We are clear that the action that needs to be taken must be taken for the most part by individual countries. Some indeed, have adopted comprehensive and far-reaching plans for post-war educational development and are in process of putting them into effect. But we are also clear that the new Organisation could provide a powerful stimulus to advance and give much practical help to those countries that desire it. We hope, therefore, that the new Organisation will be a really strong and effective body. Here we agree with those who would like to see it firmly linked with the United Nations Organisation through the Social and Economic Council. We should like to see it given status and resources fully adequate to the very important and varied tasks it will carry out.

Indeed, we have in mind a body that will command the respect of the civilised world and attract to its service men and women of ability, courage and imagination.

My delegation, has been greatly encouraged by the general tenor of the speeches that have been made. It appears that many countries are ready to embark on cultural interchange on a scale not hitherto attempted, and that there is a widespread desire to translate the educational and cultural aspirations of the United Nations into practical realities. In our view this is no more than common sense, and we feel sure that at this Conference common sense will prevail.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I now call on the delegate of Norway.

M. Nils HJELMTVEIT (Norway) : Mr. President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen : It is just three years since the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education was constituted as a forum for discussions and deliberations on problems of reconstruction, rehabilitation and re-education which would be common to the United Nations after the war. Very soon, however, the discussions went far beyond the problems arising out of the present and the near future and connected with the devastation wrought by the war. So many of the problems facing us were of a general character and pointed to the necessity of founding a *permanent* organisation which would be an instrument in the work of creating mutual understanding as a basis for peace and security.

The idea has grown. It has become more and more obvious that an international organisation in the field of education and culture must be set up if the United Nations Organisation itself is to succeed. It is up to us gathered here to lay the sound foundations of such an Educational Organisation, and, what is quite as important, to give to that Organisation the right spirit. A heavy responsibility rests upon our shoulders. There exists today all over the world a spirit of restlessness and uncertainty, a fear that the devil will be let loose once more and that the world then will face complete destruction. We have to accept the existence of this spirit as a fact, but we must not allow it to prevail. A great many people today are disillusioned, disappointed-the more so because the war was fought exactly to eliminate fear and to establish peace and security for all. We must fight these defeatist feelings with spiritual means, we must try to replace fear by understanding and collaboration. That will be the obvious task of our new Organisation. If it fails, the Organisation of the United Nations itself will be endangered. If disillusion and defeatism grow, if they take hold of the peoples of the world, nothing can prevent the complete destruction by a new and still more horrible war. No political, no economic, no social organisation will then save us.

The structural framework we are going to erect in our meetings will have to be set up not only to

meet the needs arising out of the present conditions, but also to pursue a long-term policy. Both aims are equally important. I expect the Organisation to head straight for the practical problems of today and to solve them in a practical way and not let itself be lost in academic and theoretical discussions. Remember that the Organisation will be judged by its fruits and that the world is in an impatient mood. But, however brilliant the structural design may be, we must all agree that success will ultimately depend upon the spirit and the mind of those who will carry out the tasks of our Organisation.

Without entering into details I may be allowed to emphasise that the Organisation must plough much deeper than to the strata of the intellectual professions within the nations joining our Organisation. If it is to succeed, it must raise the general education in the different societies. To do away with illiteracy may perhaps be thought a trivial matter, but it is a necessary first step in countries where it exists, and it must be followed by a general raising of the educational standards and the cultural level of the people as a whole. We must give width and breadth to the education of the common people if we are to lay a firm basis for democracy within the individual nation and for understanding and collaboration between the peoples of the world.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that, as a representative of a small nation which has always been open to and extremely eager to take part in international effort to create understanding and collaboration, I look with relief and eagerness for every sign of growing fellowship among men. On behalf of the Norwegian Government I heartily welcome the calling of this Conference and the initiative taken by the British Government. May we succeed in our task !

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call on the delegate of Saudi Arabia.

H.E. Sheikh Hafiz WAHBA (Saudi Arabia) (*translation*) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the Government of Saudi Arabia, I wish to express my thanks to the inviting Governments, as well as to associate myself with the lofty ideals which it is our sincere hope will be implemented as the culmination to the efforts of this Conference.

The idea of international culture is not a new conception in the life of the Arabs. Arab culture, which sprang from the heart of Arabia, was the first cultural movement to disregard national frontiers and to declare complete equality among nations and individuals. It was the Prophet of Islam who attacked the pre-Islamic prejudices of the Arabs and told them in no uncertain terms that no Arab was better than a non-Arab save by piety. This equality was enjoyed under Islamic and Arab culture by a large section of the human race for many centuries. The renaissance of Saudi Arabia today finds her in possession of the Islamic tradition, which declared fourteen centuries ago that

learning is the religious duty of every man and woman, that the ink of the learned is more sacred than the blood of the martyr.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I wish the Conference the greatest success.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call now on the delegate of Turkey, His Excellency Hasan Ali Yucel, Minister of Education.

H.E. Hasan Ali YUCEL (Turkey) (*translation*) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : It is in a spirit of sincere faith and far-reaching hope that the Turkish Republic has come to take part in this Conference of the United Nations. For a union of the nations in support of principles common to all mankind has always appeared to us an essential condition of any lasting peace.

We represent here a nation which during the past twenty years has carried out a radical reform of its institutions in order to comply with the existing requirements of human civilisation ; a nation which has trained its younger generations in a love of peace, imbued with a spirit of friendship between nations. Ever since its foundation the Turkish Republic has regarded its own security and its own well-being as closely linked with the security and well-being of all nations.

The guiding principles taken as a basis for national education in the new Turkish State may be summed up as follows :

- (a) To know, understand and form a true estimate of all the nations of the world.
- (b) To draw on the common sources of human civilisation, without remaining within the narrow framework of chauvinistic culture.
- (c) To refrain from any distinction between citizens, in regard to race, sex, language, religion or class.

A people which has placed its reliance on these ideas could not fail to support the cause of the nations which have victoriously defended and will always defend the rights of man.

We are convinced that close collaboration between the United Nations in the domain of education and culture is the true foundation of peace. Recent events have clearly proved that the rôle of education is of primary importance both in preparing for war and in securing peace. Just as the second World War was due, to a very large degree, to the scorn of man which was inculcated in certain nations, so a lasting world peace will be found possible only by the more general application of teaching based on respect for man. It is not enough to teach men, they must be rallied round common pacific principles. The war which has just ended has given us startling confirmation of this truth : nations which had reached a high degree of culture and education were dragged on and engulfed in catastrophe by the national egoism of their political bodies. In the space of a few years peoples who stood in the highest rank of culture and technical achievement reverted to conceptions dating back to the Middle Ages.

The time has come to proclaim the principles which shall secure a rapprochement between the peoples, principles which shall serve as an effective weapon against the aggressive egoism of nations. These are the principles on which education must be based in every country.

The nations must show in the spreading of pacific ideas the same zeal and persistence as were enlisted in the service of warlike ideals by those regimes which deny the rights of man. In an age when means of destruction are assuming gigantic proportions the only safeguard for the nations lies in the ideal of human fraternity.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, paraphrased a famous proverb and we appreciate its appositeness, in the form Mr. Attlee gave it. We were very pleased to obtain from Miss Wilkinson's speech a clear and exact expression of the ideas by which the Government of the United Kingdom was inspired when it organised the Conference.

Humanitarian and pacific ideas, after being frequently treated with contempt, are now, with our experience of the recent war, beginning to be gauged at their true value. A betrayal of those ideas can bring humanity nothing but ruin and misery.

We believe that the best means of realising the ideal of peace is to base the education of peoples upon democratic conceptions, which imply full recognition of individual rights. It was essential to establish the common principles of such education, principles which must shape the cultural policy of each country without detriment to its national peculiarities. Those principles are set forth generally in the United Nations' Charter.

We are hoping that the work of the Conference will show how best to apply these principles and that, in the fields of education and culture, it will mark the beginning of organised and continuous international co-operation.

It is the wish of the Turkish people that this Conference may bring to birth a permanent and fruitful organisation which will gather within its fold all countries in the world.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I call upon Mr. Edwin Letts, delegate of Peru.

M. Edwin LETTS (Peru) : Would you allow me to express the sincere interest of the Peruvian Government in the work of this Conference and the hope we place on the results of its deliberations.

We are met here to find the best way to establish an effective international co-operation in the educational and cultural fields, so as to create in the world, as a whole, conditions favourable to the maintenance of peace and to the advancement of human welfare. These are, undoubtedly, broad and high purposes.

For the moment, I, as Peruvian delegate, shall try only to emphasise the importance, the vital importance, of striving to consolidate the hard-won peace. For this purpose, we should not merely confine our collaboration to the free cir-

culuation of ideas, the advancement of the education of peoples, and the expansion of culture and all branches of science—essential though they may be. Rather we should take them as a starting point, and, rising over and above them, we should earnestly endeavour to educate and to impress on the minds of all men and of all peoples the spirit of the new responsibility that is required at the present time.

Now, more than ever, we feel in our innermost consciences the imperative necessity of making a supreme and concerted effort to avoid the recurrence of another catastrophic war, which would inflict the final mortal wound to humanity and to our concept of civilisation.

Peru comes to this Conference in order to implement her belief in the necessity of sparing no effort which would contribute to the establishment of peace. Moreover, she is convinced that the consolidation of the objects of this Conference is one of the most necessary steps to the fulfilment of that purpose. The international political machinery which is now being set up will function more efficiently if the spirit of the peoples and of the individuals who are to use it is permeated with those ideals for the realisation of which it is intended ; and in the absence of this, no matter how well-constructed or how far-seeing are the international organisations that will be created, or how solemn the pacts that bring them into being, they will make no difference to the road which humanity has followed until now.

This can only be achieved when humanity is fully educated in mind and heart, to desire, at long last, peace on earth.

We thus perceive a double orientation of the work of the Organisation that is to be set up by this Conference. Two orientations, which are neither divergent nor opposed to each other, 'but rather super-imposed. In the first place, the essential thing is co-operation in the spread of knowledge and culture. This is the basis on top of which we can trust that the Organisation will direct its efforts to the fruitful task of educating humanity to a new spirit in the relations among States, to achieve consciousness of the essential unity of the human race, of the unavoidable necessity of harmonious collaboration among the peoples of the world.

This second task, the more important of the two, is also the more difficult and the more delicate.

The peoples of the American Continent feel justly proud of the spirit which presides in all our mutual relations, of solidarity and harmony in our international actions. The letter of the pacts and of the institutions which we have established to that effect, do not have the extent and force of the undertakings to which we are obliged by the spirit of continental unity.

It is true that exceptional geographical and historical circumstances have favoured the formation of this common sentiment among the peoples of the continent ; but it is also true that, first of all, the ideals which inspire it were proclaimed and

preached. More than a century has elapsed since the leaders of our revolutionary movements of independence, with far-seeing romanticism, enunciated them with full belief and faith ; faith that is bearing fruits today.

We are far, indeed very far—we know it well—from being advanced on the road to perfection, but we are fully convinced that we are taking a step forward, and we wish to be accompanied on it, and in our future progress, and to go ahead from the feeling of continental solidarity to the higher concept of world unity. This Organisation offers us the hope of achieving it.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I shall now call upon the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

M. René CASSIN (Chairman of Committee on Credentials) (*translation*) : The Credentials Committee communicates to the Conference that it has received the adhesion of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands by the sending of a delegation from that country.

The Credentials Committee has also verified the credentials which have been received by a delegate-observer sent to the Conference by the revolutionary Government of Venezuela. It would ask the delegate of Venezuela kindly to indicate with precision whether he is here as a delegate or merely as an observer ; that is to say, whether he has a right to vote or not on behalf of his Government.

Finally, the Credentials Committee communicates to the Conference that it has examined the credentials of the delegates of Luxembourg, Mexico, Norway and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It would ask the Conference to accept these verifications of credentials.

*(The Report was adopted)*

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : There are only two names left on the list of speakers, the Ambassador of Yugoslavia and the representative of Syria, both of whom reach London only this afternoon. I suggest there is no need to hold a special session this afternoon for hearing only two delegates, and

my suggestion is that we hear them both at the Plenary Session which we have decided to call at the beginning of the morning on Monday. Further, at the International Bureau of Education at Geneva, one of its representatives, Dr. Piaget, also asked to address the Conference. This will be in conformity with Rule 7 of our Standing Orders under which "The Conference may extend invitations, in addition to those already issued by H.M. Government, to other organs of the United Nations, and to inter-Governmental bodies, for attendance of observers at all or any part of their meetings. Observers shall be without vote but with the right to speak when called on by the President, to whom they may apply for leave to speak." Since I am in the Chair, I ask you whether you see any objection to applying this Rule of our Standing Orders to the representative of the International Bureau of Education, who would speak on Monday morning.

M. BONNET (France) (*translation*) : With regard to that regulation, I am wondering whether, in the sense intended by those who wrote the rules, it did not apply more or less to the Commission meetings where observers could speak. If we had to admit such intervention by those who are not representatives of Governments, it would prolong our discussions quite a lot, and I again ask myself whether, if the representative of the International Bureau of Education is to speak, we should not permit other representatives of non-Government bodies to address the meeting here. If we are not prepared to do so for the time being, I should like to be enlightened as to the meaning of Rule 7.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : My own feeling is that it might take a considerable time if we engage on a discussion on the suggestion of M. Bonnet, and I suggest that either the Executive Committee or the Sub-Committee should meet for a few minutes before the Plenary Session on Monday morning to consider the question. The next Meeting will take place on Monday morning. The Conference is adjourned.

## SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.

*President* : The Rt. Hon. ELLEN WILKINSON

The PRESIDENT : We welcome this morning two delegates who have just arrived. One has come from the Philippines, the other is from Iran.

I will now ask the Secretary-General to read some announcements.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : There are five speeches still remaining in the general discussion this morning. When those are concluded, the Conference will divide into Commissions, as already arranged. Commissions 1 and 2 will meet in Committee Rooms 1 and 2, one on the

ground floor and one on the first floor. Commission 3 will meet as best it can in this room. When Commissions 1 and 2 have finished their work, they will be succeeded by Commissions 4 and 5, Commission 4 meeting in the room of Commission 1 and Commission 5 in the room of Commission 2. However, for the work of the Commissions this afternoon it has been arranged, owing to representations made by certain delegations, that Commissions 1 and 3 (not 1 and 2) shall meet simultaneously this afternoon in the two Committee Rooms respectively, and Commissions 2

and 5 tomorrow morning. They will meet, as usual, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and at 10.30 in the morning.

The Executive Committee, which has just met, has also decided that the meetings of the Commissions should be public from the beginning. There will be no closing of the doors, as there sometimes has been at Geneva.

I would like to say a word about the work of the Commissions. The Commissions will find before them some material prepared by the Working Committee. That material has, I hope, carefully abstained from giving any judgment on points of substance ; it has simply been drawn up for the convenience of members of the Commissions to help them more easily to master the material. That is the first point I wanted to make, and the second is this : that the Conference on Thursday decided to amend the Rules of Procedure so that every decision taken in a Committee has to be taken by a majority of the members of the Conference : that is to say, over twenty votes. The effect of that is that, if members of the Commission abstain from voting, a deadlock will be reached. Personally—if I may express an opinion—I think it is perhaps a healthy thing that every delegation should be forced to take up a position, even when its views are very nearly balanced ; but, at any rate, the position is that, unless delegations vote on matters in Commissions, they run the risk of bringing the proceedings of the Commissions, and therefore of the Conference, to a standstill. Of course, every delegation is at liberty to ask for a record vote—a ballot—rather than a vote by show of hands.

The PRESIDENT : We now open the general discussion, and I call on the delegate of the Argentine, Dr. Conrado Traverso.

H.E. Dr. Conrado TRAVERSO (Argentina) (*translation*) : The Argentine delegation, in attending this Conference, only wishes to express the unbreakable and traditional faith of our Republic in the ideals of human liberty and freedom. The famous Argentine statesman, Alberdi, said a hundred years ago : “ You have to educate man for peace. Make men of peace if you want to see peace reign among men. ” Our degree of faith may be judged by the unanimous and enthusiastic response of our cultural centres and the Press in general in Argentine on the occasion of the two international meetings in Buenos Ayres in 1936, at which questions relating to culture were discussed. A group of distinguished European and American personalities met to consider the problem of cultural relations between Europe and Latin America. When the debates started two separate groups formed, the European and the American, which analysed and justified their respective positions, each group taking up its historical cultural position. Points of agreement and disagreement were discussed, and, as a result of those discussions, in which there were misunderstandings and anxieties, but common aspirations, the fusion of the

two groups was achieved, and the Conference ended by facing together a problem embracing a wider objective than that which was contemplated at the beginning of the discussions. They found a common denominator : humanism in Europe and America as the salvation of culture. This agreement was certainly reached through the clash of divergent opinions, but at the end they interpreted in a unanimous way the common goal : to visualise together an objective culture that embraced peace among men.

The PRESIDENT : I will now call upon the delegate of Chile, Dr. Francisco Walker Linares.

M. Walker LINARES (Chile) (*translation*) : I was kept in Paris by the International Labour Conference and only arrived in London after the present Conference had started, but I am most anxious to say a few words in order to stress the importance attached by the Government of Chile, which I have the honour to represent, to this Conference, which is designed to prepare the way for education in the cause of peace and to promote that noble “ Société des Esprits,” of which our illustrious and lamented master Paul Valéry used to speak.

I am happy to be able to tell you that Chile is pursuing a very intensive life of intellectual co-operation ; her national Commission acts as the co-ordinating centre of the different spiritual activities of the country, and, through the medium of its seventeen bi-national cultural institutes, has created links between Chilean culture and that of other countries, American and European. Our Commission organised the first American Conference on Intellectual Co-operation held at Santiago in 1939 and has always collaborated with the international Committee and the Paris Institute. Our ideal is that of universality and on that account we welcome the convening of this Conference, convinced as we are that intellectual Co-operation should form a part of the United Nations while retaining some degree of autonomy within the international framework. No organisation designed to safeguard peace is conceivable unless it concerns itself at the same time with the creation of a spiritual climate favourable to pacifist education and with a generous feeling for humanity.

I may state also that Chile is in agreement with the general lines of the French draft for the Constitution of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the United Nations. My country warmly supports the suggestion that Paris should be made the seat of the Organisation. Paris is worthy of such a choice by reason of her worldwide cultural tradition, her own intrinsic qualities and the fact that for upwards of twenty years she has been the seat of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, generously assisted by the French Government.

I feel that, while the work of international co-operation is essentially and by its very nature international, it is at the same time French and

represents the universal expression of the spirit of France made manifest through that country's age-long history.

The work of intellectual co-operation has made tremendous strides in America and, during the sad years of the War, when Paris was profaned, has sought and found refuge on the American Continent. This constitutes the American nations' title to be adequately represented in the new organisation, in the Executive Board and in the Secretariat. May I say in conclusion that I personally am prepared, as a member of the interim International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation and as founder and Secretary-General of the Chilean Commission to offer my fullest contribution, modest though it be, to the service of an ideal which has brought together here, in this beautiful, heroic and hospitable City of London, so many eminent persons representative of the highest culture in different countries of the world.

The PRESIDENT : I now call upon the delegate of Iran, M. Ali Asghar Hekmat.

M. Ali Asghar HEKMAT (Iran) : Madame President, at this historic time, when the eminent educationists and scholars of the United Nations have gathered together in this great capital, I, on behalf of the Government of Iran and that of the Persian cultural societies, offer my sincerest greetings to this distinguished Assembly and to the Governments who have convened this Conference.

This most felicitous idea of cultural co-operation marks the dawn of a brilliant day following a gloomy night for all the nations of the world ; nations exhausted by the evils of the war.

Both the people and the Government of Iran look upon these pioneers of cultural co-operation with great hopes, and expect that the present gathering of illustrious intellectuals will introduce a period of construction and happiness in place of the past machinery of destruction and misfortune.

In spite of all the adversities of the war, it is a source of great pride for a small nation like Iran that she has taken long strides in the promotion of intellectual relations between herself and her neighbours. The cultural societies which she has formed with Britain, United States, France, U.S.S.R., China, India, and Arab countries, have for their object the high ideal of scientific co-operation. Iran's membership of the Institute of International Co-operation and of the International Bureau of Education, and the exchange of cultural missions with her neighbouring countries are the best proof of Iran's endeavours in this field.

I feel confident that just as in ancient times Persia preserved the intellectual union between East and West and fulfilled the duty of maintaining contact between the two great civilisations of Greece and India, at the present time also she will continue to play her great part in this noble cause. In return she naturally expects to enjoy the fruits of modern civilisation.

I sincerely wish for the success of this Conference, and I hope that the corner-stone of this great structure will be laid so firmly that it will stand against the vicissitudes of time, remain solid and sound for centuries to come, and will herald a new era of international understanding and peace.

The PRESIDENT : I now call upon the representative of the Philippines, Dr. Maximo M. Kalaw.

Dr. Maximo M. KALAW (Philippines) : Madame President, Members of the Conference ; I beg to apologise for my tardy appearance and for not having prepared a written address. In the first place, we received the invitation less than six days ago. I was attending the Quebec Conference of the F.A.O. when I was told to come here, and I flew directly from Canada to London. We could not possibly miss this Conference, for the history of Philippine culture and education has been responsible for the loyalty and tenacity shown by my people in the cause of the Allied Nations. My country, the Philippines, twice in her history, has been threatened with a complete extinction of her culture and education ; first, in the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards first invaded the Philippines. The early religious organisations who went with the early conquerors of Spain attempted to extinguish all that remained of Philippine culture, which has been based on Malay civilisation and Hindu institutions. So great was the devastation that almost 95 per cent. of our literature was set on fire. Our first native alphabet was eliminated, and the Roman alphabet substituted. We were made to forget all the past glory of the Malay people, our previous connections with the great Malay Empires. Scholars from India and other lands are fully aware of the Shri-Visayan and Madjapahit Empires, and our Malay and Hindu cultures. We were told to forget all past connections and to receive only the blessings of Spanish civilisation and the Catholic faith. But, perhaps, there was a blessing in disguise in this almost total destruction of Philippine culture, in that we were able to receive, on a clean slate, as it were, the new culture and civilisation from the West, the Latin civilisation of which we are all so proud. This, in a way, paved the road to the introduction of American culture and civilisation at the end of the Spanish-American war. Thus we received with enthusiasm American culture and American ideas of democracy and government. We sent students and professors to American universities, resulting in complete co-ordination of ideas between the Americans and the Filipinos, and the wonderful relationship, political, economic and cultural, between the two countries ; this, again, paved the way for the loyalty, determination and resistance which my people offered against the Japanese.

Through this resistance we affirmed the principle which I hope henceforth may be accepted—the principle that ideas, culture and civilisation bind peoples together more strongly than race ; for the

Japanese, in endeavouring to establish their sovereignty over the Philippines, told us in beautiful words that we belonged to the same race, that we were both Asiatics, that we had to return to Asiatic civilisation, and that the Filipinos must forget their Western culture and their Western ideas, all the principles of American civilisation and especially democracy. All books expressing such ideas were in the first few days of Japanese occupation hunted down and burnt. Yet, in spite of these facts and in spite of the Japanese claims for racial solidarity, the Filipino people maintained their loyalty to Western culture and civilisation, proving, as I said before, that the principle of race can be beaten by the principle of community of ideas, culture and civilisation.

May I say in passing that, upon the return of General MacArthur and his forces, the Filipino leaders were secretly controlling nine-tenths, I believe, of the Philippine population. Although a Japanese garrison might occupy the central portion of a town or the business section, the remainder of the administration would be under the control of the Filipino leaders. That explains why the reconquest of the Philippines became a very easy proposition for General MacArthur and the American Forces, aided as they were by the Philippine guerillas and underground workers. Upon the return of General MacArthur, the Philippine Commonwealth, which I now represent, was re-established, and, as a protest against the previous attempts of the Japanese to impose their culture and to abolish the institutions of democracy, the Philippine Commonwealth, through the President in his address to the people, issued the statement that from now on the principle of cultural exclusion is taboo, and that the Philippine Commonwealth will maintain from now on the principle that it has maintained throughout its history, namely, that culture is universal and that the Philippines will seek culture not on racial or geographical lines, but wherever it may be found, be it in the West or in the East. On this principle Philippine cultural institutions now rest, and on this principle we come here to the Conference ready to take part in the enunciation of doctrines on which to work for perpetual peace and amity among nations.

The PRESIDENT : I now call on the delegate of Syria, His Excellency Dr. N. Al Armanazi.

H.E. Dr. N. Al ARMANAZI (Syria) : Madame President, ladies and gentlemen : I am very glad to have the honour of representing my country at this cultural Conference. I have worked for several years in Syria for international cultural co-operation, and it is my opinion that identical cultural standards in every country, great or small, will be the best means of organising peaceful relations, common understanding and the development of goodwill throughout the world.

I believe that one of the probable reasons for the deterioration of civilisation in a large part of the world has been the different degree of material and

technical progress compared with moral progress. Humanity has certainly realised an enormous advance in material invention and material science, but moral values are far from reaching the same level.

This Conference, by realising the need for moral standards and mutual comprehension, must work to restore the balance and, by laying the foundations of a common ideal and by working towards the realisation of a happier existence in different parts of the world, construct thereby a better chance of consolidating a firmer basis and hope for peace.

The rôle of the Great Nations naturally runs parallel with their importance, but we must not under-estimate the rôle of the smaller nations towards this end. My country, with its great past in Arab culture, is ready, with other Arab countries, to take its part in cordial co-operation towards the happier progress of humanity. Our contribution, though modest, is sincere and heartfelt.

The PRESIDENT : Now, in the general discussion, I call upon the delegate of Yugoslavia, His Excellency Dr. Ljubo Leontic.

H.E. Dr. Ljubo LEONTIC (Yugoslavia) : Madame President, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen : I regret being obliged to apologise to this distinguished assembly for the absence of our Minister of Education of the Central Government, M. Vladimir Ribnikar, and the Minister of Education for Serbia, Madame Mitra Mitrovic-Gjilas, who have not been able to come, owing to technical difficulties common to today's post-war conditions.

To the many greetings which have already been conveyed to this Conference, I am happy to add those of democratic federative Yugoslavia, and to do so very warmly. We are most glad and grateful that this Conference has been convened, for it is a great and important task which is set before us in our deliberations, and we are all well aware of the necessity of closer co-operation in the educational and cultural relations of all countries.

The very danger of a third war, which would at the same time be the final war, ending in the total destruction of our civilisation, is not in the atomic bomb, but lies rather in misunderstanding among the nations. I underline the danger of intentional misunderstanding ; but even in non-intentional misunderstanding danger also lies. As the energies freed from the atom by science are valuable for the progress of material culture, so also mutual understanding between nations represents an enormous quantity of latent energy in the souls of nations anxious to organise peace as a basic pre-condition for the progress of spiritual culture, for the benefit of civilisation.

The meaning of life consists in the uninterrupted progress of mankind, which not only manifests itself in technical developments but is rather shown in the harmonisation of relations between man and man and between nation and nation, for the well-being of humanity.

We do not exist on earth for killing, and if the struggle for life is unavoidable and imposed upon us by forces beyond our power, we must soften that struggle if we cannot avoid it, instead of, like modern savages, making it even more horrible than the struggle of beasts we are accustomed to call bloodthirsty.

Speaking concretely, we smaller Balkan Nations do not want to be wrongly used as a means of creating a "cordon sanitaire", or bloc of some kind, so as to become like grain between two millstones. Our wish is to be the connecting bridge between East and West. We understand our fateful task : that it is not enough to know the language, but that we must also understand the spirit and minds of others, and for this reason have those psychological dispositions and possibilities which are not always of a technical nature.

Today suspicion is often stressed as a potential source of danger. But suspicion is never unilateral : it is always mutual ; and the indispensable condition of peace is mutual understanding, love and esteem. It is impossible to create harmony on the principle of "*Macht geht vor Recht.*" In the same way it is unthinkable that in peace you should apply one measure to one set of people and another measure to others. Sometimes it is easier to fight in the woods than to endure peace as a man in association with a superman.

After this war the re-education of man-and superman too-is an imperative need of peace ; but when we speak of this we mean that it is necessary to start with ourselves ; and for this reason we can forget the killing of 1,685,000 of our people by the enemy, but we cannot forgive the fact that he has forced us to kill and taught us to apply more and more destructive weapons to this purpose.

In this connection I should like to stress the following point : if others have had for centuries time and possibilities to develop their education, science and art, we have had, during centuries of slavery, enough time to think of such a life, and we have not failed to consider the life of man and relations between nations. In Yugoslavia the importance of education and cultural and scientific effort has never been obscured by the needs or even the tragedies of war. Even during the fighting for the liberation of the country educational and cultural work among our people, immediately behind the lines, was given new life, despite the fact that from the old regime there did not remain sufficient means for cultural development of the people. During the fight in the mountains we had in the woods 1,343 elementary schools with 87,515 pupils, and 20 popular universities.

One of the main aims of the new Yugoslavia is to spread educational and cultural activities as widely as possible, for the democratisation of education. Great determination is needed, for in this field Yugoslavia has suffered immense losses by enemy occupation and through the struggle which her people did not wage in vain against the Fascist and Nazi occupiers, These

losses have been both personal and material—losses in leaders, teachers and students, as well as in buildings and equipment. 5,145 elementary schools are completely, and 2,913 partially demolished ; 6,094 school libraries completely and 1,570 partially destroyed. Therefore it is necessary to devote much attention to the whole work of material rehabilitation.

But, while considering the whole field of national reconstruction, in which it is so important that all the nations should join, Yugoslavia welcomed the resolution unanimously passed on October 3rd by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education setting out the urgency of attending to the work of specifically educational and cultural reconstruction in the liberated lands.

Yugoslavia will support every effort to give such attention to the full organisation of national life. We believe in the necessity of seeking and supporting the widest possible co-operation to this end.

This co-operation of all the United Nations in the field of education will best establish the basis for a lasting peace by which knowledge and understanding among the nations will bring them closer together so that humanity and civilisation may be preserved and developed.

The PRESIDENT : I now call on the delegate of Panama, Don Eusebio A. Morales.

M. Eusebio A. MORALES (Panama) : Madame Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : I must apologise for the circumstances which prevented my being with you last Saturday. For this reason I have not prepared any speech and must crave your indulgence for my lack of eloquence.

My real idea, in fact my motive for speaking today is that I do not want my country, the Republic of Panama, to be silent on this occasion. The importance of education in my country can be best summarised by quoting one figure : in our national Budget education is represented by over one-third : in fact, a figure of substantially over one-third of our national expenditure in Panama is spent on education. Primary education is, of course, compulsory and free. Secondary education is also free. For that reason I could not possibly fail to associate my country with the magnificent idea which has united us here today, which, if I remember a right, was first suggested by the French delegation at San Francisco, which was included in the Charter of the United Nations, and which has made possible our reunion here today for the embodiment of what I sincerely believe to be the main hope for our future. The only way that war can be prevented is through culture and education, making people better known to one another. I believe the first thing to do is to get the countries together. After that, some arrangement should be made so that textbooks all over the world should be in a way standardised, with a view to giving to the boys and girls of the future generation another conception of life. We must make them believe



more in cultural understanding and think less of war and things of that kind. I think this creation of ours will be beneficial to the world and I pledge my country to it decisively, because it is the only way of avoiding future wars.

The PRESIDENT : I now have some rather bad news for this Conference. We have received a telegram and a letter from Lady Mary Murray to say that Professor Gilbert Murray has been taken seriously ill and has also had an accident. He is lying gravely ill at this moment, and I am sure it would be the wish of the whole Conference

that we send to him and to his wife, Lady Mary, the best wishes of the Conference for the restoration to health of this magnificent internationalist and educationist, Professor Gilbert Murray. Is that your wish ? I take it that is generally agreed.

We have now completed the speeches in the general discussion and move on to the work of the Commissions. I want to make it clear that the business of the Commissions this morning is formal only, in the sense that it is to elect the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen, and the serious work, therefore, will begin this afternoon.

## SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, November 14th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.

*President* : The Rt. Hon. ELLEN WILKINSON

### II. CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION

#### 12. **REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMISSION.** (E.C.O./Conf./12).

The PRESIDENT : I call upon Principal Wallace, the first delegate of Canada, to give the Report of the First Commission.

Dr. R. C. WALLACE (Chairman of the First Commission) : Madame Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : Commission I had to deal with the Preamble and Articles I and II of the Allied Ministers Draft and Article I of the French Draft. We had five meetings ; four dealing with the whole matter before us by discussion, after which a Drafting Committee was appointed consisting of the delegates of France, India, Mexico, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, sitting in at our Commission. The fifth meeting of the Commission heard the Report of the Drafting Committee, and there is now before you the text of the Preamble and a consolidation of Articles I and II. As the 'Preamble of the Committee's part of this deals with the general background, on which the Organisation is established and will work, it will be very fitting, it seems to me, if it were to be read to you by the Minister of Education of Great Britain, who is our President here.

The PRESIDENT : I have to read the Preamble, as follows :

#### **" THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THE CONSTITUTION ON BEHALF OF THEIR PEOPLES DECLARE**

" 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 ;

" that 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, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races ;

" that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern ;

" 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.

" For these reasons, 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 ; in consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation 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 Organisation was established and which its Charter proclaims. ”

I formally move the adoption of this Charter of our Conference. May it be carried by acclamation? ”

*(The Motion was carried by acclamation)*

The PRESIDENT : I now call upon Principal Wallace to continue with regard to Article I.

Dr. R. C. WALLACE : Madame President, Article I is a consolidation of Articles I and II in the Draft of the Ministers of the United Nations and represents the sense of Article 1 in the French draft. It consists of three paragraphs :

“ 1. The purpose of the Organisation 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 realise this purpose the Organisation 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 :

(i) by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities ;

(ii) by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex, or any distinctions, economic or social ;

(iii) by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom.

“ (c) maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge :

(i) by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions ;

(ii) 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 ;

(iii) 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 Organisation, the Organisation is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.”

On behalf of Commission I, I beg to move this Article.

Mr. MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : Madame Chairman, on behalf of the delegation of the United States I second the proposal.

The PRESIDENT : May I take it that Article I is adopted ? *(Carried by acclamation.)* Thank you. The Executive Committee of the Conference propose that we add to our list of Vice-Presidents the first delegate of Chile, Dr. Francisco Walker Linares. *(Carried by acclamation.)* That is agreed. Now, I have to call on M. Cassin to give the Report of the Credentials Committee.

#### **Report by Credentials Committee.**

M. CASSIN (France) *(translation)* : Madame Chairman, the Credentials Committee has received the powers of the delegation of Uruguay, which now takes part in the Conference. The powers of the delegation for Nicaragua have also been received. Further countries have designated new delegates. The Credentials Committee suggests that the Assembly welcome the delegation of Uruguay and the other new delegates designated.

The PRESIDENT : Is the Report of the Credentials Committee agreed ? *(Carried by acclamation.)* We now have some further statements by heads of delegations who did not speak at the first plenary meetings. I first call upon Mr. Freeman, the delegate of Liberia.

#### **Further Addresses by Heads of Delegations.**

Mr. H. V. FREEMAN (Liberia) : This statement ought to have been made by the head of the Liberian delegation, who unfortunately has been in bed for six days. It has therefore become my happy lot to speak on his behalf. He says : Madame President, although mine was not the good fortune to be with you at the opening of the United Nations Conference for the establishment of an educational and cultural organisation here in London, yet it is better to be a little late than never to participate in issues upon which the preparedness for service and the welfare of all peoples of the world hang. It is true I have missed hearing the principal and other speeches made, which have probably set the minds of the Members of this Conference ablaze with that true united spirit so essential for implementing education and culture. I am hopeful, however, that I will gravitate towards the ‘same spirit of unification in

measures pointing to the best interests of the United Nations and the welfare of their people. This is where I stand in making my contribution to the desired object.

I cannot refrain from expressing how delighted I am to be associated with men and women of wide educational and cultural experience, broad outlook upon world needs and visional purposes, in establishing a United Nations Organisation, and to plan, direct and make adequate provisions for fuller development of correct ways of applying education and culture—the basis of true democracy.

And so I am here at a season most unpropitious, coming from a hot climate, through flights at altitudes of six to ten thousand feet, right up against winter's entrenchment around the city in which this Conference meets. My resistance to its effects has succumbed. Again, I come at a time when the National Legislature of Liberia is in Session, and receives reports from Departments of Government and debates upon their merits. I ought to be at home to observe their reactions to my report. But I want to say that the depression of winter and absence from Liberia are both interests subordinate to the opportunity afforded to me to take part in establishing an organisation, the aim of which is so significant and from which so much is to be hoped.

I also bring to representatives of the United Nations at this Conference Liberia's recognition of the great sacrifices made by those nations who stood united in efforts to save the world from destruction by the forces of darkness and inhumanity. Liberia enshrines around your sacrifices an ever-living gratitude for providing a home where men and women may live in peace with each other the world over.

More than this, I bring to you the cordial regards of the people of Liberia and the assurance of His Excellency President Tubman that the Conference deeply interests the people of his country and has his Government's full co-operation in the establishment of so essential an organisation. His Excellency has further directed me to place on record the approval of the Government of Liberia of the draft Constitution for adoption at the Conference to establish an organisation of education and culture. This, however, leaves the Government's delegate with the option to respond to any essential point or points in the Constitution of the Organisation re-studied at the sitting of this Conference.

In Liberia we have 200 schools, 462 teachers and 16,872 students distributed over the country by the efforts of the Government, foreign missions, philanthropic missions and private support.

Excerpts from my Annual Report of 1945 show our major problem to be the training of teachers for our schools. It might interest you to know that there are 21 foreign mission boards of varying weight, assisting with educational work in Liberia. While we have no teachers' training college, there is a class at Monrovia for the training of teachers, headed by Mr. Freeman and two foreign teachers

who bear adequate credentials. This strict requirement cannot be put through overnight. We realise the pressure of new conditions and are endeavouring to promote in our teachers a determination to keep in line and qualify for efficient service in the schoolrooms.

We have a division of physical education and health in connection with the Department of Public Instruction. We intend to instal vocational schools in each of the counties and provinces of the Republic as soon as adequate resources and qualified personnel are secured. We have a private library attached to the Department, which, while it does not meet all requirements, assists to some small degree. In view of the lack of statistical data concerning the culture of the people of Liberia, and particularly of the natives of the interior, a Research Bureau is to be established. Kindergartens take care of little tots preparatory to entering primary schools. We have a National College, which confers the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and plans are on foot to make it scientific and vocational. We have a Teachers' Institute which meets once a year. For a few years past we have been sending to universities in America and Achimota at Accra those of our boys who have shown qualifications which enable them to meet Liberia's greatest and most urgent needs. The United States Health Mission to Liberia is co-operating with the Department in health problems. Problems arising in regard to attempts to reorganise and redirect must be solved by the rule of synthesis : “ directing overall change, through changes which must be produced in the individual's knowledge, habits, attitudes, appreciations and ideals,” to quote the statement made by Ambrose Calvier, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes, reflecting the view taken in my Report.

Right at my side can be had copies of the educational policy of Liberia and the curriculum of study with a list of textbooks authorised by the Department of Public Instruction for use in all elementary and high schools in the Republic of Liberia.

Finally, I wish to record my appreciation of the social atmosphere into which I have entered, as well as of the generous hospitality of the English people shown at the seat of this Conference.

The PRESIDENT : Delegates will remember that speeches in one of the two working languages, French and English, will be translated by the Secretariat into the other language. But speakers employing any other language must supply a translation of their speech into either English or French. It will then be interpreted into the second working language.

I am now going to call upon the principal delegate of Nicaragua, Dr. Ernesto Selva Sandoval, who will speak in Spanish and be translated into English and French.

Dr. Ernesto Selva SANDOVAL (Nicaragua) (*translation*) : Madame Chairman and delegates to this Conference : It is with profound sentiments

of regret and for reasons for which I am not responsible that I have been deprived of the privilege of being present during the first days of this Conference. The plane which was taking me to London was delayed some days, as I had the honour to communicate by cable to the President of this Organisation. Since reaching London, I have tried to make up for lost time, and have settled down to work with the Conference Commissions. You will I am sure, permit me to present today to the Conference a very cordial salute from my Government to all the delegations here present who have come to this extremely important Conference for the setting up of an Organisation for education and culture in the United Nations ; and may I also express my appreciation of the great honour that I feel has been bestowed upon me by the Government of Nicaragua in designating me as a delegate to this Conference.

Nicaragua, though a small country in size and population, has always shown a deep concern for matters of education. We have a great many primary and secondary schools and we have also three universities, and we therefore hold a relatively important place in the field of education. My Government feels very great satisfaction in having been called to take part in this Conference. The noble and generous purposes which the Organisation has set itself destined it for one of the main bases of a lasting world peace. The education and culture of these countries here represented, united in a spirit of democracy, will create a better world and exorcise the spirit of evil.

Thus we shall arrive at an understanding among men, pursuing constantly the highest perfection, cherishing, that is to say, the greatest of all ideals, unity of thought. In this vast task which the United Nations have already begun, attention must above all be paid to the cultural education of children from their earliest years. The children of today will be the men of tomorrow, and they must be given their due share of attention if mankind is to enjoy a happy future. The care and training of the child is not an obligation solely upon parents, teachers, sociologists and doctors ; Governments too must co-operate with their peoples without distinction of class. Nor must it be forgotten that the mind of a child, speaking unscientifically, is a mould upon which everything that is written remains engraved for life.

That is why the work of this Organisation is of

such importance and has been so highly commended by the United Nations. The London Conference will be a monument to one of the finest achievements of the United Nations in the cause of democracy.

The Government of Nicaragua, while proclaiming the unanimous wish of its people for the advancement of culture and education, is delighted to co-operate effectively with this world Organisation in the pursuit of these lofty aims.

The PRESIDENT : I now have to call on the first delegate of Uruguay.

H.E. M. R. E. MACEACHEN (Uruguay) : Madame Chairman, fellow delegates : I did not know that I was going to be called upon at this moment to address the Conference, so I am somewhat unprepared. The reasons for our delay in coming to this very important Conference have been manifold and uncontrollable. We have been attending the Conference in Paris and have arrived here only very recently. However, I would like to address the Conference in a few words in order to express, on behalf of a very small nation in South America, our pleasure at being here. Our nation, though a very small one, has undoubtedly shown a continuity in democratic conditions and in its efforts in favour of education and the enhancement of the spiritual values of the people ; this is indicated especially by the importance which my country attaches to this Conference in London for the setting up of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. We believe firmly in freedom of information throughout the world, and one way in which this can be achieved is through an Organisation whose main purpose is to convey through many channels to all the peoples of the world the advancement of knowledge in any part of it. I beg you to excuse my inability to express myself better in a language which is not my own.

The PRESIDENT : I feel that as Chairman I ought to apologise to His Excellency Senor MacEachen, but I thought he had been informed I was calling on him to speak this morning. I can only assure him that the Conference fully appreciates his kindness and courtesy in speaking for his country without any notice at all.

That completes my list of speakers and also completes the business for this morning. The next plenary meeting will be in this hall tomorrow morning at 10.30.

# EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, November 15th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.

*President : DR. HU SHIH (Vice-President of the Conference)*

The PRESIDENT : The Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Conference is now in session. It gives me pleasure to call upon the Chairman of the Fifth Commission, Colonel Marquard, to report.

### 13. REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMISSION (E.C.O./Conf./10).

Lt.-Col. L. MARQUARD (Chairman of the Commission) : Mr. President, the members of your Commission met and considered the terms of reference with which the Commission is charged by the Conference. Your Commission came to the unanimous conclusion to recommend to the Conference the adoption of a Draft instrument which I now have the honour to present to you.

“ The Governments represented at the United Nations Educational and Cultural Conference in London,

“ Having determined that an international organisation to be known as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation shall be established, and

“ Having formulated the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation,

Agree as follows :

“ 1. Pending the coming into force of the Constitution and the establishment of the Organisation provided for in the Constitution, there shall be established a Preparatory Commission to make arrangements for the first Session of the Conference of the Organisation, and to take such other steps as are indicated below.

“ 2. For this purpose the Commission shall :-

- (a) Convoke the first Session of the Conference.
- (b) Prepare the provisional agenda for the First Session of the Conference and prepare documents and recommendations relating to all matters on the agenda including such matters as the possible transfer of functions, activities and assets of existing international agencies, the specific arrangements between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation and arrangements for the Secretariat of the Organisation and the appointment of its Director-General.
- (c) Make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme and the budget of the Organisation for presentation to the Conference at its First Session.

(d) Provide without delay for immediate action or urgent needs of educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries as indicated in Paragraphs 6 and 7.

“ 3. The Commission shall consist of one representative of each of the Governments signatory to this Instrument.

“ 4. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Committee composed of fifteen members to be selected at the first meeting of the Commission. The Executive Committee shall exercise any or all powers of the Commission as the Commission may determine.

“ 5. The Commission shall establish its own Rules of Procedure and shall appoint such other committees and consult with such specialists as may be desirable to facilitate its work.

“ 6. The Commission shall appoint a special technical sub-committee to examine the problems relating to the educational, scientific and cultural needs of the countries devastated by the war, having regard to the information already collected and the work being done by other international organisations, and to prepare as complete a conspectus as possible of the extent and nature of the problems for the information of the Organisation at the First Session of the Conference.

“ 7. When the technical sub-committee is satisfied that any ameliorative measures are immediately practicable to meet any educational, scientific or cultural needs it shall report to the Commission accordingly and the Commission shall, if it approves, take steps to bring such needs to the attention of governments, organisations, and persons wishing to assist by contributing money, supplies or services in order that co-ordinated relief may be given either directly by the donors to the countries requiring aid or indirectly through existing international relief organisations.

“ 8. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Secretary who shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as the Commission may determine, with such international staff as may be required. The staff shall be composed as far as possible of officials and specialists made available for this purpose by the participating Governments on the invitation of the Executive Secretary.

“ 9. Representatives of Governments constituting the Commission and the members of its staff shall be accorded the same diplomatic privileges and immunities as are provided for in the Constitution for the representatives of the Members and for the staff of the Organisation.

“ 10. The Commission shall hold its first meeting in London immediately after the conclusion of the present Conference and shall continue to sit in London until such time as the Constitution of the Organisation has come into force. The Commission shall then transfer to Paris, where the permanent Organisation is to be located.

“ 11. During such period as the Commission is in London the expenses of its maintenance shall be met by the Government of the United Kingdom on the understanding :

- (1) that the amount of the expenses so incurred will be deducted from the contributions of that Government to the new Organisation until they have been recovered, and
- (2) that it will be open to the Commission, if circumstances so warrant, to seek contributions from other Governments.

“ When the Commission is transferred to Paris, the financial responsibility will pass to the French Government on the same terms.

“ 12. The Commission shall cease to exist upon the assumption of office of the Director-General of the Organisation, at which time its property and records shall be transferred to the Organisation.

“ 13. The Government of the United Kingdom shall be the temporary depository and shall have custody of the original document embodying these interim arrangements in the English and French languages. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted to the signatory Governments. The Government of the United Kingdom shall transfer the original to the Director-General on his assumption of office.

“ 14. This instrument shall be effective as from this date, and shall remain open for signature on behalf of the States entitled to be the original members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, until the Commission is dissolved in accordance with Paragraph 12.

“ In faith whereof, the undersigned representatives, having been duly authorised for that purpose, sign this instrument in the English and French languages, both texts being of equal authenticity. ”

I now move the adoption of this draft instrument, Mr. Chairman.

The PRESIDENT : You will notice that this Report is in the form of a draft instrument for the establishment of the Preparatory Commission. The Chairman of the Commission has moved the acceptance of this draft instrument to be signed tomorrow afternoon. Does anybody second that ?

M. BUISSERET (Belgium) (*translation*) : I second that.

The PRESIDENT : Is there any dissenting opinion ?

M. DRZEWIESKI (Poland) : The Polish delegation abstains from voting.

The PRESIDENT : If there is no other dissenting vote or abstention, the Chair takes it that the Motion is unanimously passed except for the Polish abstention. (*The Motion was carried by acclamation.*)

Mr. J. A. SEITZ (Australia) : Mr. Chairman, the delegate of Australia is in the next room, Commission IV. I think he would want the point at the end of No. 10 clarified, where it says that the permanent Organisation shall be located in Paris. I understood that was for a period of five years and subject to review.

The PRESIDENT : I call upon the Secretary-General.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : I think this is really only a question of language. It does not say that the Organisation is to be permanently located in Paris ; it says that the permanent Organisation is to be located in Paris. The Conference can at any time, of its own motion, by the powers given it in the Constitution, change the location, and I believe our friends of the French delegation thoroughly understand that. So that I will appeal to the delegate from Australia to explain that to his colleague and vote with the rest of us for the Final Act.

M. CASSIN (France) (*translation*) : Mr. Chairman, the French delegation fully agrees to what has been suggested by the Secretary-General in this matter. There is a second remark I would like to make. It concerns the numbering of the various Articles in the documents before us. I do not refer in particular to the text submitted by Commission V, as the agreement of the Interim Commission is to be a second instrument. But I am referring to the whole of the documents we are drawing up. I find the reading of these documents rather difficult through the system of numbering which has been adopted. The Charter of the United Nations is easier to read on account of the numbering, and I would submit to the Drafting Committee that this matter be looked into.

The PRESIDENT : The Chair has the assurance of the Secretariat that these matters will be taken care of.

I now have the pleasure of calling upon the Chairman of the Third Commission, Dr. de Visscher, to report on the results of the Third Commission.

#### 14. REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMISSION

M. de VISSCHER (Chairman) (*translation*) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : Your Third Commission was a fortunate Commission, and, like fortunate people, it has no history. Our deliberations were lengthy, and I have now the honour to submit the following text in the name of the Third Commission. Its terms of reference called for the creation of the Executive Board and of the Secretariat.

“ ARTICLE V

“**EXECUTIVE BOARD**

“ A. *Composition*

“ 1. The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen members elected by the General Conference from among the delegates appointed by the Member States, together with the President of the Conference who shall sit es officio in an advisory capacity.

“ 2. In electing the members of the Executive Board the General Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas, and qualified by their experience and capacity to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any time, the President of the Conference excepted.

“ 3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall not serve consecutively for more than two terms.

“ At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one-third shall retire at the end of the first year and one-third at the end of the second year, the order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots. Thereafter six members shall be elected each year.

“ 4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Executive Board shall appoint, from among the delegates of the Member State concerned, a substitute, who shall serve until the next session of the Conference, which shall elect a member for the remainder of the term.

“ B. *Functions*

“ 5. The Executive Board, acting under the authority of the General Conference, shall be responsible for the execution of the programme adopted by the Conference and shall prepare its agenda and programme of work.

“ 6. The Executive Board shall recommend to the General Conference the admission of new Members of the Organisation.

“ 7. Subject to decisions of the General Conference, the Executive Board shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its officers from among its members.

“ The Executive Board shall meet in regular session at least twice a year and may meet in special session if convoked by the Chairman on his own initiative or upon the request of six members of the Board.

“ 8. The Chairman of the Executive Board shall present to the General Conference, with or without comment, the annual report of the

Director-General on the activities of the Organisation, which shall have been previously submitted to the Board.

“ 9. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organisations or qualified persons concerned with questions, within its competence.

“ 10. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the General Conference as a whole and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

“ ARTICLE VI

“ **SECRETARIAT**

“ I. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.

“ 2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the General Conference for a period of six years, under such conditions as the Conference may approve, and shall be eligible for re-appointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation.

“ The Director-General, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the General Conference, of the Executive Board, and of the Committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.

“ 3. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in accordance with staff regulations to be approved by the General Conference. Subject to the paramount consideration of securing the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and technical competence, appointment to the staff shall be on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

“ 4. The responsibilities of the Director-General and of the staff shall be exclusively international in character. In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their position as international officials.

“ Each State Member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

“ 5. Nothing in this Article shall preclude the Organisation from entering into special arrangements within the United Nations Organisation for common services and staff and for the interchange of personnel. ”

That, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, is the text which the Third Commission proposes for your approval.

The PRESIDENT : You will notice that the Report of the Third Commission is in the form of a draft text as Articles V and VI of the Constitution. The Chairman of the Third Commission has moved the adoption of the text. Will any delegation second the motion ?

M. Juan PENARANDA (Bolivia) : J second it.

The PRESIDENT : The delegate of Bolivia has seconded the motion. Is there any discussion ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : Mr. President, may I say a word with regard to paragraph 10 of " B " ? It says: " The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the General Conference as a whole and not as representatives of their respective Governments." By which I assume that, as all powers of the Executive Board are either expressly or implicitly delegated by the General Conference, the representatives of the respective Governments act not on behalf of their Governments but as agents of the Organisation ? In this connection I note also that, in regard to the Secretariat, it is said, in the second part of paragraph 4 : " Each State Member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties." Consequently, the representatives of the Governments on the Executive Board will be agents of the Organisation and not representatives of their Governments, if we are to interpret these provisions literally.

The PRESIDENT : Is that remark intended to be a question or merely a comment ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : I simply wish to call attention to this part of the Article.

The PRESIDENT : The remark shall be duly recorded in the Minutes. Are there any further comments ? May I take it that it is the wish of the Conference to adopt the Report of the Third Commission as a whole ?

*(The Report was adopted with acclamation.)*

You will notice from the Agenda that there are to be some Resolutions, but, before calling on delegates, the Chair would like to move a vote of thanks to the Chairmen of the two Commissions, Commission III and Commission V, for their hard work and for the results they have achieved.

*(The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.)*

## 15. RESOLUTIONS BY UNITED STATES DELEGATION.

### A. MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION.

(E.C.O./Conf./13.)

I now take pleasure in calling on Mr. MacLeish, of the United States delegation, to present the Resolutions in Conference Documents 13, 14 and 15.

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (United States of America) : Document 13 contains a Resolution proposed by the United States delegation regarding media or instruments of mass communication and their place in this Organisation. It runs as follows :-

" In view of the paramount importance of the media of mass communication such as the press, the radio and the cinema, in advancing the purpose of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security by the spread of knowledge and mutual understanding, and

" In order to define, at the earliest possible moment, the most effective ways and means in which U.N.E.S.C.O. can co-operate with all such media of mass communication in their effort to inform the peoples of the world about each other with truth and justice and understanding, and

" In order to assist in establishing the greatest possible freedom of the instruments of international information from censorship, discriminatory economic practices, and other obstacles to the free movement of ideas by word and image among the peoples of the world, and

" In order to determine more clearly the degree and type of participation of the major agencies of mass communication, private and public, in the work of U.N.E.S.C.O.,

#### " IT IS RESOLVED :

" 1. That the Preparatory Commission, in drawing up the agenda of the first conference of U.N.E.S.C.O., provide full opportunity for the discussion of the scope and opportunities of U.N.E.S.C.O. in furthering the use of the media of mass communication for the ends of peace.

" 2. That in working out the internal arrangements of U.N.E.S.C.O., and particularly its committee structure and Secretariat, the Preparatory Commission give special attention to the relationships to be established with the various agencies and organisations operating in the fields of mass communication.

" 3. That the Preparatory Commission shall advise with specialists and representatives of agencies and organisations interested in these matters with a view to the organisation of discussions of the mutual interests of U.N.E.S.C.O. and the media of mass communication and of the ways in which they can work together for their common ends."

I propose, on behalf of the United States delegation, that this Resolution be adopted.

The PRESIDENT : You have heard the text of the first of the Resolutions proposed by the United States delegation. Is this seconded ?

H.E. M. J. J. MONIZ de ARAGAO (Brazil) : On behalf of my delegation, J should like to second the proposal of the American delegate.

The PRESIDENT : Is there any discussion ?



M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : In the first paragraph of the Resolution, the words " furthering the use of the media of mass communication for the ends of peace " seem to the Cuban delegation to be somewhat general and vague. It might be better to say " for promoting friendly relations among nations in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of San Francisco."

I beg to suggest this change in wording, if acceptable to the honourable delegate of the United States.

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : I am sure we should be happy, in the final drafting, to extend this language so as to indicate complete accord with the purposes of the Organisation as they have already been established in the Constitution.

The PRESIDENT : The verbal change proposed by the Cuban delegation is accepted by the original proposer. Is there any other discussion ? If not, may the Chair take it that the Resolution is passed ?

*(The Resolution was passed by acclamation.)*

**B. RESOLUTION CONCERNING PLANS FOR A WORKING ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN U.N.E.S.C.O. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC UNIONS.**

(E.C.O./Conf./14.)

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (U.S.A.) :

" Considering the urgency of restoring and extending the means through which the scientists of all lands may exchange information and work together for the advancement of knowledge and its application to human needs, and

" In view of the opportunity offered by the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions on December 3 and 4 in London to begin the practical consideration of ways in which that Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may co-operate to their mutual advantage.

**" IT IS RESOLVED :**

" That the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation be requested by this Conference to instruct its Executive Committee to consult with the International Council of Scientific Unions on methods of collaboration to strengthen the programmes of both bodies in the area of their common concern, and

"That the plans thus formulated be reported to the First Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, with recommendations for a suitable working arrangement with the International Council of Scientific Unions. "

I have the honour to move the adoption of this Resolution.

M. Francisco Walker LINARES (Chile) : (*translation*) : The delegate of Chile wholeheartedly supports the proposal put forward by the American delegation.

The PRESIDENT : You have heard the motion seconded. May I take it as the sense of the Conference that this Resolution is unanimously passed ?

*(The Resolution was passed by acclamation.)*

**C. RESOLUTION REGARDING ADULT EDUCATION.**

(E.C.O./Conf./15.)

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (U.S.A.) :

" **WHEREAS** the strength and stability of democratic government depend upon the force of enlightened 'public opinion, and

" **WHEREAS** Adult Education has an immediate contribution to make to the enlightenment of the citizens of the world.

**" IT IS RESOLVED :**

" That U.N.E.S.C.O. be urged to establish close working relationships with the various adult education agencies, public and private, including workers' education associations, and

" That the Preparatory Commission, in elaborating proposals for the Committee structure and the Secretariat of U.N.E.S.C.O., take full account of the need for adequate machinery designed to promote such co-operative relationships."

On behalf of the United States delegation, I move the adoption of this Resolution.

M. Alberto PUIG-AROSEMENA (Ecuador) : The Ecuador delegation would be pleased to second that Resolution.

M. Porfirio HERRERA-BAEZ (Dominican Republic) : The Dominican delegation seconds the Resolution.

H.E. M. Jaime JARAMILLO-ARANGO (Colombia) : The Colombian delegation also supports the Resolution.

Lt.-Col. L. MARQUARD (Union of South Africa) : Mr. President, I wholeheartedly support this Resolution on behalf of the delegation of South Africa, but I would ask the American delegation whether they would consider deleting the words " including workers ' education associations", for this reason : once you begin to include such a list of names there is no end to it, and I think that the workers' education associations, as they are known in Great Britain and South Africa, are automatically included in the " various adult agencies. "

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : I am very keenly aware of the justice of the suggestion made by the delegate of South Africa. In the work of the Drafting Committee it became apparent that the moment you name one you leave out others. Since the original form of the Resolution I moved here and the discussion make

it clear that it is strongly the sense of the movers, and I take it, of the supporters, that the words "workers' education associations" should be deleted, we should be very happy to drop the phrase.

The PRESIDENT : It is suggested that the first section of the Resolution should read : "That U.N.E.S.C.O. be urged to establish close working relationships with the various adult education agencies, public and private "-without the next sentence.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: May I take it that it is the wish of the Conference that the text of this Resolution, as adopted, be communicated to the various adult education agencies, public and private, mentioned in the Resolution ? In that connection, I presume that the Secretariat should communicate with the international parties within this field, and that steps should be taken by the delegations present here to communicate the Resolution to the national bodies within their own borders.

The PRESIDENT : Is there any other discussion ? If not, the Chair takes it that it is the sense of the Conference that this third Resolution is unanimously passed ?

*(The Resolution was carried by acclamation)*

#### **16. PROPOSAL BY THE COLOMBIAN DELEGATION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY**

The PRESIDENT : We now come to a proposal from the Colombian delegation for the establishment of a University of the United Nations. I am asked to read it from the Chair. It is addressed to the Secretary-General.

"Sir, As head of the Colombian delegation to the Conference, I had the honour, when addressing the plenary meeting of the Conference, to outline the views and ideas of my Government regarding co-operation between the United Nations in the sphere of education, science and intellectual culture.

"I mentioned more particularly the paramount importance of a world crusade against ignorance, of the free and regular exchange of teachers, students and publications between all countries, of a common effort on behalf of the moral and physical health of students, and lastly I emphasised the importance of setting up a University of the United Nations, the essential function of which would be to encourage scientific research and higher technical education, but including also other branches of human knowledge.

"Such a creation, as I pointed out, requires the pooling of the resources of several countries. The small nations are not in a position to provide themselves with an Institute of this kind, owing to their small, financial resources and their limited supply of specialised staff and material.

"I have, therefore, the honour to submit to the Conference herewith a more precise state-

ment of the Colombian proposal for the creation of this University, and I should be grateful if you would bring it to the notice of the competent Commission or Commissions.

"I cannot, of course, and do not wish in this note, to enter into the technical details concerning the Organisation of such a University, a task which the Conference itself will no doubt have to refer to the Preparatory Commission and to other specialist bodies. I should like, however, to suggest that the University should have a certain number of permanent Chairs and that others might be equipped with Lecturers and Visiting Readers belonging to the United Nations who would render assistance to the University in their turn.

"The same idea of rotation should, I think, govern the endowment of scholarships, of which it is to be hoped there will be many.

"Thanking you in advance for transmitting my proposal to the Conference, I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) Jaime **JARAMILLO-ARANGO**,  
Colombian Ambassador in  
London, head of the Colombian  
delegation to the Conference."

The PRESIDENT : There are several proposals for a University of the United Nations-not from official delegates, but from friends who are interested in this work and who have submitted such materials to us. May I take it that it is the sense of this Conference that this proposal from the Colombian delegation, together with other similar material, be recommended for study to the Preparatory Commission ? *(Carried by acclamation.)*

Dr. Amarnath JHA (India) : If it is definitely understood that the proposal is being sent up for examination and consideration and not necessarily for adoption, then the Indian delegation is in favour of that.

The PRESIDENT : That is so : it is sent for study.

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : Mr. Chairman, may I say that the idea of the proposal by our honourable colleague of Colombia is one which I think meets with the full approval of the Conference. We cannot fail to recognise the influence it will have on the work of this Organisation in the future, and the Cuban delegation thinks the Conference should be grateful to our honourable colleague and to other members of delegations who have brought this matter before us. I therefore wish, on behalf of the Cuban delegation, to ask the Conference not only to submit this proposal for study to the Preparatory Commission, but to accept it in principle and to recommend the Preparatory Commission to work out the details.

The PRESIDENT : The Chair takes it that the appreciation of this project has been shown by the applause accorded to the proposal, so we shall

pass on to the next proposal, a proposal contained in document E.C.O./Conf./17. It is a communication to the Secretary-General, from the Egyptian delegation :

**17. PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT U.N.E.S.C.O. CENTRE IN CAIRO**

“ I should be most grateful if you would kindly submit to the Executive Committee the following instructions which the Egyptian delegation received yesterday from the Egyptian Minister of Education, with a view to passing them on to the Preparatory Commission of this Conference :

“ While appreciating the long experience of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the services it rendered to the furtherance of international thought, the Egyptian Ministry of Education, nevertheless, feels it to be a duty to draw your attention to the fact that the said Institute had a purely European outlook.

“ The Egyptian Ministry of Education therefore would wish the projected Organisation to take into account the needs, circumstances and difficulties of non-European nations. The Ministry suggests that a practical plan to consider the needs of some of these nations would be to create a permanent centre for the Organisation in Cairo. This permanent centre would act as a link between the permanent seat of the Organisation and the Egyptian National Commission as well as other National Commissions of the States represented in the Arab League.

“ On behalf of the Egyptian delegation—  
signed : **A. N. HASHEM.**”

As this is a letter or a communication and not a formal resolution, the Chair, if there is no objection, will rule that it be referred and recommended to the Preparatory Commission for study. (*Carried by acclamation.*)

This concludes our business for this morning. The Meeting is adjourned.

## NINTH PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, November 15th, 1945, at 3 p.m.

*President* : The Rt. Hon. **ELLEN WILKINSON**

The PRESIDENT: We now take the Report of the Fourth Commission. Dr. Jan Opcensky, delegate of Czechoslovakia, will read it.

**18. REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMISSION**  
(Doc. E.C.O./Conf./23).

M. OPOCENSKY (Chairman of the Fourth Commission) (*translation*) : It is my privilege to submit to you the text prepared by the Fourth Commission of the Conference and revised by the Drafting Committee. This text includes the following items :

1. Relations with the United Nations Organisation ;
2. Relations with other specialised inter-governmental institutions and organisations ;
3. Budget of the Organisation ;
4. Seat of the Organisation.

In the document just distributed to you, the text begins with Article VIII A (provisional number).

“ **ARTICLE VIII A**

“ **BUDGET**

“ 1. The budget shall be administered by the Organisation.

“ 2. The General Conference shall approve and give final effect to the budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the States Members of the Organisation subject to such arrangement with the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article IX.

“ 3. 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.

“ **ARTICLE IX**

“ **RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION**

“ This Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation as soon as practicable as one of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under Article 63 of the Charter, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the General Conference of this Organisation. The agreement shall provide for effective co-operation between the two Organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognise the autonomy of this Organisation, within the fields of its competence as defined in this Constitution. Such agreement may, among other matters, provide for the approval and financing of the budget of the Organisation by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

“ **ARTICLE X**

“ **RELATIONS WITH OTHER SPECIALISED INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND ORGANISATIONS**

“ 1. This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisa-

tions or agencies whose interests and activities are related to its, purposes. To this end' the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relationships with such organisations or agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal arrangements entered into with such organisations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

" 2. Whenever the General Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the field of competence of this Organisation, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.

" 3. This Organisation may make appropriate arrangements with other inter-governmental organisations for reciprocal representation at meetings.

" 4. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake certain specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organisations on advisory committees set up by the Conference. "

The PRESIDENT : On the question of the Organisation's Seat, a document will be circulated later. The Report is now presented to the Conference.

Are there any comments upon, or objections to, the Report of the Commission as now read ?

M. René CASSIN (France) (translation) : I have a few remarks to make on the French wording of the text. One passage in this document speaks of " Conseil d'Administration" which, in French, should be " Conseil Exécutif. "

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : That is a point which can be put right, I think, if the Conference agree to that slight correction.

The PRESIDENT : It is understood that the correction will be made verbally.

May I take it that the Conference accepts the Report of the Fourth Commission ?

*(The Report was adopted by acclamation.)*

#### **19. RESOLUTION ON THE SEAT OF U.N.E.S.C.O.** (E.C.O./Conf./22)

M. OPOCENSKY (Czechoslovakia) (*translation*) : The- Fourth Commission proposed to the Conference a draft Resolution on the Seat of the

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. I will read it to you :

"The Seat of the U.N.E.S.C.O. shall be in Paris.

" This Resolution shall not in any way affect the right of the General Conference to take decisions in regard to this matter by a two-thirds majority. "

The PRESIDENT : May I take it that the Resolution is agreed ?

*(The Resolution was adopted by acclamation.)*

The PRESIDENT : We thank the Chairman of our Commission, Dr. Jan Opocensky, for his work I now have to take the. Report of the Second Commission. The Chairman is Dr. Alf Sommerfelt, of Norway.

#### **20. REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMISSION** (Doc. E.C.O./Conf./19)

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT (Chairman of the Second Commission) : Madame President, ladies and gentlemen : The Second Commission has had a very heavy task. It had to discuss Articles III, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII and XV of the Draft Proposals of the Conference of Allied Ministers. I should like here to pay tribute to the members of the delegations who were represented on this Commission for the spirit of conciliation they have shown in our deliberations. There have been divisions of opinion, but all delegations have, with the greatest loyalty, accepted the consequences of the decisions taken. As the Articles are long and many, I propose to take them by instalments, starting with Articles II and III in the Final Draft ; next, Article IV ; then Articles VII and VIII ; then Articles XI and XII, and finally, Articles XIII and XIV, and the final provisions.

The Commission accepted in general outline the structure recommended by the Allied Ministers' Draft, changing the name of the Conference to the General Conference in order to distinguish this organ from other Conferences that would be convened by the Organisation.

Membership of the Organisation was defined more exactly and 'limited to States. It was decided after discussion that international bodies should not be members of the General Conference.

It was considered that the provision for withdrawal could not easily be implemented and should, therefore, be dropped, and that the provisions for suspension did not leave sufficient discretion in the hands of this Organisation or the United Nations Organisation. Provision was also made for expulsion.

I now propose to read Article II and Article III.

" ARTICLE II

" MEMBERSHIP

" 1. Membership of the United Nations Organisation shall carry with it the right to membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

“ 2. Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation, approved pursuant to Article XII of this Constitution, States not members of the United Nations Organisation may be admitted to membership of the Organisation, upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the General Conference.

“ 3. Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United Nations Organisation shall, upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.

“ Members of the Organisation which are expelled from the United Nations Organisation shall automatically cease to be members of this Organisation,

### “ ARTICLE III

#### “ **ORGANS**

“ The Organisation shall include a General Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat. ”

I should say, in introduction to the following paragraphs, that the Commission wished to leave to Member States as wide powers in the choosing of the National Delegation as was consistent with the aims of the Organisation. Alternative *d* was accepted with the addition of the words “National Commission ” in order to keep this Article in harmony with Article VIII.

The Commission accepted the distinction made in the French Government’s proposals between conventions and recommendations, to promote the maximum amount of concerted international action in a way that has already proved successful in other international organisations.

The financial provisions made in Article V B, paragraphs 6 and 7, C.A.M.E. draft, were discussed, but in view of their inclusion in the terms of reference of Commission IV and after joint discussion with that body, it was decided that all budgetary provision should be the province of Commission IV.

It was, after discussion, agreed unanimously that majorities should be decided by those present and voting. Every encouragement should be given to members to be present at all General Conferences, while provision of a quorum, it was considered, opened the way to deliberate abstention as a means of avoiding debate and voting procedure. Though resort to such tactics was foreseen by none, the statement by the United Kingdom delegate that he did not believe in putting temptation in people’s way expressed the feelings of the Commission.

The next meeting place of the General Conference was considered a suitable subject for decision by the Conference after each session. It was felt that no procedure should be laid down that did not leave the General Conference freedom in this matter.

Rules of Procedure would be adopted at each Session of the General Conference.

I now proceed to read Article IV of the Final Draft :-

### “ ARTICLE IV

#### “ **THE GENERAL CONFERENCE**

##### “ A. *Composition.*

“ 1. The General Conference shall consist of the representatives of the States Members of the Organisation. The Government of each Member State shall appoint not more than five delegates, who shall be selected after consultation with the National Commission, if established, or with educational, scientific and cultural bodies.

##### “ B. *Functions.*

“ 2. The General Conference shall determine the policies and the main lines of work of the Organisation. It shall take decisions on programmes drawn up by the Executive Board.

“ 3. The General Conference shall, when it deems it desirable, summon international conferences on education, the sciences and humanities and the dissemination of knowledge.

“ 4. The General Conference shall, in adopting proposals for submission to the Member States, distinguish between recommendations and international conventions submitted for their approval. In the former case a majority vote shall suffice ; in the latter case a two-thirds majority shall be required. Each of the Member States shall submit recommendations or conventions 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.

“ 5. The General Conference shall advise the United Nations Organisation on the educational, scientific and cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter, in accordance with the terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two Organisations.

“ 6. The General Conference shall receive and consider the reports submitted periodically by Member States as provided by Article VIII.

“ 7. The General Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board and, on the recommendation of the Board, shall appoint the Director-General.

##### “ C. *Voting.*

“ 8. Each Member State shall have one vote in the General Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority except in cases in which a two-thirds majority is required by the provisions of this Constitution. A majority shall be a majority of the Members present and voting.

##### “ D. *Procedure.*

“ 9. The General Conference shall meet annually in ordinary session ; it may meet in

extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. At each session the location of its next session shall be designated by the General Conference and shall vary from year to year.

“ 10. The General Conference shall at each session elect a President and other officers and adopt rules of procedure.

“ 11. The General Conference shall set up special and technical Committees and such other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for its purpose.

“ 12. The General Conference shall cause arrangements to be made for public access to meetings, subject to such regulations as it shall prescribe.

“ E. *Observers.*

“ 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 at specified sessions of the Conference or of its Commissions representatives of international organisations, such as those referred to in Article X. ”

The PRESIDENT : We will stop there a moment to see if any of the English-speaking Members wish to raise any point. I understand the French text is on its way here. The French-speaking delegates will have an opportunity of looking at the French text.

Mr. K. G. SAIYIDAIN (India) : I should like to ask whether under D 12 the words “ subject to such regulations as it shall prescribe ” had not better be modified into “ may prescribe ” ?

The PRESIDENT : I think “ may prescribe ” is quite an appropriate alteration.

M. Alberto PUIG-AROSEMENA (Ecuador) : Paragraph 3 of Article II says : “ Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United Nations Organisation shall, upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.” I would like the Chairman of the Second Commission to enlighten me as to what the procedure would be. At the request of the United Nations Organisation this Organisation would suspend a member. Would that be after this Organisation had taken a vote upon the question, so that this Organisation could consider the merits of the case which cause this step to be taken by the United Nations Organisation ?

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT : It is only a question of suspension, and, as far as I recollect, the opinion of the Commission was that, if a member is suspended from the larger Organisation, he must also be suspended from U.N.E.S.C.O., and that further details will be a matter of rules of procedure.

The PRESIDENT : Are there any further comments ?

Dr. Ramon E ARANGO (Panama) : On that very point the Second Commission was agreed that only in the case of suspension by the United Nations Organisation and at the request of the United Nations Organisation would U.N.E.S.C.O. suspend a member : that in cases of expulsion from the greater organisation, members would be expelled from U.N.E.S.C.O., and that in cases of suspension from the greater Organisation Members would continue to enjoy the privileges and rights of membership of U.N.E.S.C.O. so long as the United Nations Organisation did not request the suspension of such members from U.N.E.S.C.O. I think that was what was meant in the Second Commission.

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT (Norway) : I do not see any difference between what the delegate from Panama has now said and this text. When they are suspended by the larger Organisation, and the larger Organisation wants them suspended from U.N.E.S.C.O., they will have to be suspended, according to paragraph 3.

Dr. Ramon E. ARANGO (Panama) : I think the wording would be much clearer with the addition of the word “ only ” before “ upon ” ; so that it would read “ only upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation. ”

M. Alberto PUIG-AROSEMENA (Ecuador) : Will you please read the amendment which the delegate of Panama wants to make ?

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT : According to the motion by the honourable member for Panama the text would be as follows : “ Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United Nations Organisation shall, only upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.” The delegate of Panama requests that we insert the word “ only ” in the text in the third line before the word “ upon.”

The PRESIDENT : Is there any seconder to the Motion of the delegate of Panama ? (After a pause.) If there is no seconder, that falls. Are there any further comments on that part of the English text which has been read so far ? If not, we will continue reading.

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT :

“ ARTICLE VIII

“ **REPORTS BY MEMBER STATES**

“ Each member state shall report periodically to the Organisation in a manner to be determined by the General Conference, on its laws, regulations and statistics relating to educational, scientific and cultural life and institutions, and on the action taken upon the recommendations and conventions referred to in Article IV, paragraph 4. ”

The proposal that the Organisation should be able to "call for" reports from Members was not viewed with favour, and it was decided to leave the nature of reports to the Members, subject to the general provisions of Article IX, and the manner to be determined by the General Conference itself, according to circumstances. Now, I proceed to read Article VII in the Final Draft :

“ ARTICLE VII

“ NATIONAL CO-OPERATING BODIES

“ 1. Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organisation, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and such bodies.

“ 2. National Commissions or national co-operating bodies, where they exist, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organisation and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it.

“ 3. The Organisation may, on the request of a Member State, delegate, either temporarily or permanently, a member of its secretariat to serve on the National Commission of that State, in order to assist in the development of its work.”

The Commission tried to leave the widest possible latitude in the methods used by Governments to fulfil their duties as members of the Organisation. Nevertheless, it was considered that a recommendation for the establishment of a National Commission was desirable and that the general nature of a National Commission should be stated in the Constitution. To that end the description of a National Commission in VIII A (VII), alternative a, C.A.M.E. Draft, was accepted and incorporated in the more flexible provisions of alternative c.

The PRESIDENT : Cuba has an amendment to move on that.

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : My amendment concerns the first paragraph of Article VII. The proposal of the Cuban delegation is that the national co-operating bodies should consist, as stated, of the educational, scientific and cultural organisations within each country, without the Government being represented on those bodies, for the reason that those bodies, according to the second paragraph of Article VII, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organisation. The Cuban delegation has presented a point of view to the Conference, namely, that the Organisation should make use, as far as possible, of non-Governmental bodies, should place upon them responsibilities, should call for their initiative, and

inspire them with the faith and the endeavour to render in this great cultural work of the United Nations their utmost effort and their maximum contribution.

It seems to me, therefore, that to associate the Governments in the composition of the national co-operating bodies is not in any way useful or necessary and that it detracts from the purpose of creating responsibility and giving functions to the non-Governmental organisations. Surely these national co-operating bodies, as proposed here, will be representative of all the national interests, ideas and culture ; and therefore, as they are to be advisory bodies to the Government and to the delegations to the Organisation, the Government should give them entire freedom and should certainly trust them to carry on the work for which we are met here today. My proposal, therefore, is that we omit the words “ the Government and ” ; it would then read “ National Commission broadly representative of such bodies. ”

The PRESIDENT : Is there any seconder to that resolution ? Delegates will realise, of course, that this is not a mere verbal amendment ; a principle is at stake.

M. René CASSIN (France) (translation) : I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT : The French delegation seconds the motion, and the matter is now open for discussion.

Dr. George STODDARD (United States of America) : Madame President, as I recall, in the discussion in Commission II the only purpose of including the words “ the Government ” was to make sure that in certain circumstances we did not exclude them. There are certain international scientific bodies which are controlled and maintained by Governments, such as the International Coast and Geographic Surveys and, in the United States, let us say, the Bureau of Congress, and we think it would be rather foolish not to associate ourselves in our National Commissions both with Government and non-Government scientists. It may be that in some countries the same considerations would apply on the educational and cultural side.

The PRESIDENT : Are there any further speakers on this very important matter ?

Dr. H. S. WYNDHAM (Australia) : My country represents exactly the situation pointed out by the delegate from the United States. Should this article be accepted by this Conference worded so as to mean that the National Commissions exclude participation of Governmental bodies, then a whole range of cultural organisations which are very closely allied to those in the United States would be excluded—the National Bureau of Standards, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the National Health Council (very closely tied to educational issues), and the whole of the educational service of eighty per cent. of the Commonwealth.

You can understand therefore, ladies and gentlemen, that this article is a very significant one for at least one member of the British Commonwealth.

Mr. K. G. SAIYIDAIN (India) : I am sure we all appreciate the idea at the back of the mind of our honourable colleague from Cuba, namely, that there should be the closest association of the representatives of the Educational and Cultural Organisation and that this body should not be overweighted by Government representation, But in trying to attain this extremely necessary objective, we should be careful not to swing to the other extreme, and I would like to present to the delegate of Cuba, for his consideration, an argument of practical value. The association of Government representatives with the National Commissions or the national co-operating bodies is essential. After all, these bodies are visualised as liaison bodies, and, if we are to put the points of view and the recommendations of these bodies into effect, we shall require the co-operation of these agencies in implementing the proposals, so that it is essential for Government representatives as well as those of the educational and cultural bodies to sit together and come to certain common understandings. It will be easier to do that, I think, if Governments are able to work with these other bodies. I can also visualise that by happy chance now and then people of higher education and culture and scientific ability may find their way into Government services, and I do not think it would be the wish of this Conference to rule out that possibility. So, both from the point of view of securing an adequate representation (and there are many countries where there are not too many people of great cultural and scientific ability) and from the point of view of practical convenience and putting matters through the Organisation, I think it is essential that this representation should be permitted.

M. René CASSIN (France) (translation) : I feel that the delegates are not in agreement because of the rather unfortunate use of the word " Government " here. We speak of Governments, but I think that we could come to a general agreement if we pleaded for liberty in this matter. It is a fact that in certain countries there are institutions of a more or less official character, such as academies and it is also possible that certain Governments would wish to see some official persons in these National Commissions ; and therefore I believe that we should be well advised to formulate this Article in such a way that each Member State would have complete liberty to compose its National Commission as best suited its own requirements and its own situation. Therefore I would suggest' that this paragraph should read as follows : " Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organisation, preferably ' by constituting National Commissions

in which these different groups will be represented and, if need be, the Government will be associated ' . "

The PRESIDENT : We are now faced with two separate amendments. I think we must take the Cuban amendment first, But before we do that I would like to point out to the French delegate that the freedom he is seeking is really contained in the English text (though it may appear differently in the French text), because it says " preferably by the formation of a National Commission." That really gives the freedom that the French delegation wants.

I must take a vote now on the English text, but before I do that the Cuban delegate, as the mover of the amendment, can, if he wishes, claim the right to reply.

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : Madame President, fellow-delegates, I regret to say that there is a misunderstanding. From the text of the Article it seems to me that, in addition to the bodies therein mentioned, there will be a representation of Governments as such. The Cuban delegation could not object that any person or organisation of a cultural character, whether official or semi-official (as some of the academies are, in fact) should form part of the constitution of the national co-operating bodies. The point made by the Cuban delegation is simply that Governments as such should not participate in the composition of the national co-operative bodies. We do not think there should be two elements : one, the bodies to which the Article refers ; and, two, the Government independently represented.

The PRESIDENT : We will now vote on the Cuban Resolution. I think it is perfectly clear as the Cuban delegate has explained.

Will those who are in favour of the amendment moved by the Cuban delegate and seconded by the French delegate, please stand ?

The PRESIDENT : As only two have voted, we now come to the French proposal. Do I understand that the Cuban delegate wishes to second the French proposal ?

M. Luis PEREZ (Cuba) : I second the French proposal.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : The French amendment would read " and, when desirable, of appropriate governmental agencies. "

The PRESIDENT : Will heads of delegations in favour of the French amendment please stand ?

Only six have voted for that. I need hardly, in that case, trouble the rest of the delegates to stand.

Are there any other amendments to Articles VII or VIII ? If not, I will ask Dr. Sommerfelt to proceed with the reading of the text.

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT (Norway) : I now come to the Final Articles. I should like to say, by way of introduction, about the status, that it was decided that on such matters close adherence to the



practice of the United Nations Organisation was essential and, as far as amendments are concerned, the article was drawn up so as to permit the General Conference to adapt the instrument to changing circumstances without infringing the sovereign rights of Member States. The question as to where alterations are fundamental and when no obligations are being incurred is one on which the General Conference must take decisions under the Rules of Procedure. It should also be said that the term "acceptance" here and in the last Article is used in its legal sense to cover various methods of endorsement required in different countries. It will be quite possible for certain nations to ratify these documents if they so desire.

I now proceed to the text of the articles, and the last two paragraphs of the document.

“ ARTICLE XI

“ **LEGAL STATUS OF THE ORGANISATION**

“The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation concerning the legal status of that Organisation, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Organisation.

“ ARTICLE XII

“ **AMENDMENTS**

“ Proposals for amendments to this Constitution shall become effective upon receiving the approval of the General Conference by a two-thirds majority ; provided, however, that those amendments which involve fundamental alterations in the aims of the Organisation or new obligations for the Member States shall require subsequent acceptance on the part of two-thirds of the Member States before they come into force. The draft texts of proposed amendments shall be communicated by the Director-General to the Member States at least six months in advance of their consideration by the General Conference.

“ The General Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules of procedure for carrying out the provisions of this Article.

“ ARTICLE XIII

“ **INTERPRETATION**

“ The English and French texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authoritative.

“ Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this Constitution shall be referred for determination to the International Court of Justice or to an arbitral tribunal, as the General Conference may determine under its rules of procedure.

“ ARTICLE XIV

“ **ENTRY INTO FORCE**

“ 1. This Constitution shall be subject to acceptance. The instruments of acceptance

shall be deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom.

“ 2. This Constitution shall remain open for signature in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom. Signature may take place either before or after the deposit of the instrument of acceptance. No acceptance shall be valid unless preceded or followed by signature.

“ 3. This Constitution shall come into force when it has been accepted by twenty of its signatories. Subsequent acceptances shall take effect immediately.

“ 4. The Government of the United Kingdom will inform all members of the United Nations of the receipt of all instruments of acceptance and of the date on which the Constitution comes into force in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

“ In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorised to that effect, have signed this Constitution.

“ Done in London the sixteenth day of November, 1945, in a single copy, of which certified copies will be communicated by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of all the Members of the United Nations.”

The PRESIDENT : That finishes the English text. Are there any comments or amendments ? If there are not, may I take that as agreed ?

(Agreed.)

I now ask the Secretary-General to make a statement about the French text.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL : Before approval is asked for the French text, I should like to tell the Conference that the French delegation have detected certain small errors in the translation from the English into French. I just mention two in order to show you the nature of these errors and the ones I am pointing out are the most important.

In Article IV, paragraph 1, line 2, “ Le Gouvernement de chaque Etat Membre nommé au plus cinq représentants choisis d'accord avec le Comité National ” : that is an error. It should be “ après consultation “-the English text being “ after consultation. ”

Another similar mistake occurs in Section D of Article IV, paragraph 11 : “ La Conférence générale crée les Commissions spéciales et techniques ”, which should be: “ tant que spéciales que techniques ”-either special or technical.

There are a certain number of other slight mistakes of the same kind. Perhaps the Conference will allow these corrections to be made without their being enumerated one by one.

The PRESIDENT : There are a number of amendments of that kind which are verbal, and which are necessary to bring the French text accurately into line with the English text. I wonder if the French delegation would allow the

Conference to pass the text on the English text on the understanding that the French delegation should make the verbal alterations in the translation, to bring it into conformity with the English. I want to make it clear that there is no suggestion of any difference in principle ; it is only verbal amendment of translation. With that undertaking, would the French delegation allow the Conference to vote ? The French delegate has announced his agreement.

Dr. Gholam Ali RAADI (Iran) (translation) : I would like to make a remark on paragraph 2 of Article II, in which it is said that " States not members of the United Nations Organisation may be admitted to membership of U.N.E.S.C.O. upon recommendation of the Executive Board." In paragraph 3 we find that a member of U.N.E.S.C.O. may be suspended upon request made by the United Nations Organisation. There is no such provision in paragraph 2 as far as the States which are not members of the United Nations Organisation are concerned. If one of these States not a member of the United Nations Organisation is admitted as a member of U.N.E.S.C.O. and does not behave in the way wished for by U.N.E.S.C.O. or acts against the general principles of the United Nations Organisation, how can such a Member State be suspended ? If the Conference agrees to the inclusion of such provisions, the delegation of Iran is ready to make a suggestion on this point.

The PRESIDENT : I will call upon Dr. Sommerfelt to answer that.

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT (Norway) : This point was not discussed in the Commission. If a State, which is only a member of U.N.E.S.C.O. and not of the larger Organisation, acts in discordance with the general principles of the larger Organisation, I do not see why the larger Organisation could not ask U.N.E.S.C.O. to suspend it ; but I agree that it ought, perhaps, to be mentioned in the Constitution how to proceed in this case. I should like, however, to have the advice of other members of the Conference upon that point.

The PRESIDENT : Does that satisfy the delegate of Iran ?

Dr. Gholam Ali RAADI (Iran) (translation) : Yes. I have a text which I would suggest to the Conference. unless the Chairman of Commission II has another text to suggest ?

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT (Norway) : I have not, but I should like to hear the opinions of some of the other members of the Commission 'if it is thought necessary to insert anything here.

The PRESIDENT : If no one has anything to say, I will ask you to pronounce on the question of adding a text providing for the expulsion or suspension of a member of the Organisation who was not also a member of the United Nations.

Mr. G. G. FITZMAURICE (United Kingdom) : May I, on behalf of the Drafting Committee,

explain the point involved here ? We have not made any provision for expelling members of the Organisation independently of their being expelled from the United Nations Organisation itself ; that is to say, even in the case of a member of our Organisation who is also a Member of the United Nations Organisation, we have made no provision for expelling them, unless they are expelled from the United Nations Organisation itself. The thing is purely consequential. Therefore, if we have a member of this Organisation who is not a member of the United Nations Organisation, the question of expulsion cannot arise.

Dr. Alf SOMMERFELT (Norway) : I think it is better to foresee such a case and to find a text for it.

H.E. Sheikh Hafiz WAHBA (Saudi Arabia) : I have been anticipated in what I am going to say. We understand perfectly that the question does not arise of expelling a non-member of the United Nations who is a member of the Organisation ; but that simply puts such a member in a more advantageous position than a member of the United Nations who is a member of this Organisation : such a member would enjoy almost autonomy.

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (United States): Far be it from me to put words in the mouth of a lawyer as skilful as Mr. Fitzmaurice, but it does seem to me he might have carried his argument one sentence further and made the situation clearer. The Constitution is silent on the question of withdrawal. So is the Charter of the United Nations. The Constitution is silent on the question of suspension or expulsion, with one exception, that when the United Nations Organisation thinks it is a case for suspension or expulsion, this Organisation as a related Organisation will have to take corresponding action. Now, it seems to us that the situation is much better as it is ---that it is much better to leave it alone. If you try to spell out the conditions under which you yourself of your own motion may expel from an Organisation set up in the field of education and culture and for the exchange of information you may find yourselves in difficulties.

The PRESIDENT : I think we had better- vote on the matter of principle. You will appreciate that the principle on which we are voting is whether U.N.E.S.C.O. shall expel, on its own, apart from the United Nations Organisation. Will the heads of delegations which are in favour of that principle please stand to indicate that you are in favour of the principle put forward by the Iranian delegate, that U.N.E.S.C.O. should have power to expel apart from what is done by the United Nations Organisation ? There are two voting in favour of that.

We will now deal with the French text. We have the agreement of the French delegation that they will accept for general purposes the English text, with the proviso that the French text is to be brought into conformity, owing to inaccuracies in trans-

lating. May I take it that the Conference agree ?  
(*Carried by acclamation.*)

Now, it is quite understood, is it not, that we have adopted the whole text. All the Commissions have reported and their sections of the text have been voted on separately. It will, however, be necessary to have all the texts brought together into what is known as a Final Act. We want to have a Meeting of the Executive Committee tomorrow at midday in Committee Room A, to go through the Final Act. That is the text of both the English and French. Then what will be put before you in the afternoon will be the final agreed text, and in the afternoon we shall be engaged in the very solemn ceremony of signing that text. There will be one or two statements to be made and we are hoping that M. Léon Blum will be with us to make one of them personally.

**21. PROPOSAL FILED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION CONCERNING THE CIRCULATION OF DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE TO THOSE UNITED NATIONS NOT REPRESENTED.** (E.C.O./Conf./20).

We have just had another Resolution from the French delegation which says :

“ It has been decided, upon the conclusion of the Conference, to send all documents relating to its work to those of the United Nations who have not been represented at the Conference.”

Dr. D. PROTITCH (Yugoslavia) : Madame President, in the name of the Yugoslav delegation I want to second that proposal of the French delegation.

The PRESIDENT : Yugoslavia seconds the French Resolution. Is that agreed ? (*Carried by acclamation.*)

There are two other points. I am going to ask Mr. MacLeish to make a statement. As I said, we hope to finish the work of this Conference tomorrow afternoon. But the Executive Committee feel that it would produce a most desirable effect on world opinion if we could begin to translate our resolution into action at the earliest possible moment. Nothing would better express our sense of the urgency of the task that lies before the Organisation. The Executive Committee therefore propose that the Preparatory Commission, consisting of the heads of the delegations represented at this Conference, or their alternates, should hold its first meeting tomorrow afternoon immediately after the signing of the Constitution. In doing that we shall be following the excellent precedent set at San Francisco when the Preparatory Commission, consisting of heads of delegations represented at the Conference, met exactly half an hour after the signing of the Charter. We propose to do that tomorrow.

The next question refers to the meeting tomorrow

morning. If we had got through our work more quickly this afternoon, we were proposing, on the initiative of the American delegation, to have speeches. I think we have now time to do this tomorrow morning, and I am going to ask Mr. MacLeish to explain to the Conference exactly what the purpose of these speeches will be.

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (U.S.A.) : The President is very kind to say this was a suggestion of the American delegation. Actually, if you think well of it, as I hope you will, I should say it was a suggestion which came from many of us together. Very briefly, it was this : a great many of the delegates at this Conference have felt that we were only a Conference of representatives of our Governments gathered here to create a constitution. We are also men and women, all of us being interested in, having spent our lives in it, in the world of the mind—the world of the human spirit. Many will have come from countries in which the life of the mind—the life of the human spirit—has suffered more grievously in the last four or five years than ever before in human history, and out of your suffering changes have come. It seems to us highly desirable that we should perhaps for fifty minutes or an hour turn ourselves into a gathering of men and women and not a Conference of representatives of Governments, and that in that gathering some of those who have suffered most from the tyranny of force over the free spirit should report to us, and through us to the whole of mankind, on the crisis of the intellect in which we now live, and, as far as possible, report to us upon the effect of this war and the sufferings of their country, upon the sense of responsibility of the intellect towards mankind. For myself I can only say that it seems to me to be most important that such statements should be made. I think some of us have felt that we have been holding our Conference seven or eight miles underground in dark night and that no one cares very much what we say. Well, I think those of us who feel that should remember Mr. Lincoln's words at Gettysburg when he said : “ The world will little note nor long remember what we say here.” The world has very much noted and will very long remember what he said. There is the opportunity to speak, and it seemed to some of us—and our President has generously and graciously agreed—that it would be a very happy thing if five or six, speaking not for their nations but speaking as men of the mind and men of the human spirit, should speak for us all to the conscience of mankind.

The PRESIDENT : Does the Conference agree, then, that we shall have this special sitting tomorrow morning ? (*Agreed.*) Then we shall meet at 11 o'clock. That concludes the business for today.

# EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETING

Friday, November 16th, 1945, at 11 a.m.

*President* : H.E. M. J. J. MONIZ DE ARAGAO (*Vice-President of the Conference*)

The PRESIDENT : The Minister of Education, the Rt. Hon. Ellen Wilkinson, is very sorry that she is unable to be present this morning ; she has been called away on urgent business. The Conference will recall the very important statement made yesterday by Mr. MacLeish, and I want to call attention to that for a moment. I will call upon His Excellency M. Aghnides, Ambassador and delegate of Greece.

H.E. M. AGHNIDES (Greece) : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : I have risen to speak not as representative of my country, but as a free man who has spent the best part of his life in the service of an international organisation aiming at the maintenance of peace and security. Through the courtesy of our President, I wish to give you my impressions, as also some fears and hopes.

Two destructive wars in one generation are no fortuitous event. We have, no doubt, witnessed one of the greatest crises of civilisation. Our values seem to have been warped or upset. Our faith seems to have been gravely undermined. We may produce the fastest cars or 'planes, or we may succeed in releasing atomic energy ; we may harness the forces of nature to useful ends, and we may feel proud of our achievements in the industrial and mechanical domains. But, with all that we remain unsatisfied, perhaps because of the lack of harmony between these wonderful achievements in the material domains and a corresponding impoverishment in the spiritual and intellectual fields. Human happiness seems to dwindle with the same speed that mechanical progress advances.

Thus we all feel that the equilibrium which has been upset must be restored if we wish to regain sanity. We have nearly lost our souls as our aim has become more and more materialistic. We are bound to ask ourselves why and how we have drifted so dangerously from the path to happiness.

The confusion of ideas prevailing on the eve of the Second World War cannot merely be the outcome of political or economic and financial maladies. Have the intellectuals, the writers, the men of science and members of the learned professions adequately discharged their duty to society ? Have they not contented themselves with a passive attitude ? Have they set themselves a higher aim than just acquiring knowledge, dry knowledge, in the realms of science, philosophy and art?

It is permissible to think that the moral crisis preceded the political and economic upheaval. It is even likely that the latter is largely the effect

of the former. The thinker had no longer any goal to attain beyond mere learning. Our world has shrunk to such modest dimensions, distance is no consideration ; yet our ignorance of our neighbours has never been greater. We fly fast and our cars travel with speed and comfort ; perhaps with such speed that we perceive nothing of the landscape. We have no time to focus our attention on anything. It is the age of high specialisation, of speed and of expert knowledge—a fleeting and barren knowledge ; as Lord Cecil once humorously put it, " The expert knows more and more about less and less. " It is time to assess the present crisis and to attempt a remedy. We have come here to discharge that most necessary and urgent task. I think we have succeeded, and the pediment of the temple we have built is full of promise. It gives learning an object. It is humanistic in inspiration ; the aim of our Convention is not to secure more and more barren learning. We harness our efforts to the highest possible pursuit—the happiness of man.

As a Greek, I cannot help evoking here the first paragraph of the Politics of Aristotle, which ends with the same lesson, that is, the pursuit of the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Our Conference has done a great work, and the Preamble, along with Article I of the Convention, set for the world a rule of conduct and an aim worthy of all endeavour. May the professor, the teacher, the writer and the academician find inspiration in this Preamble ; may they guide the younger generations in accordance with the principles we inscribed in the commencing paragraphs, and give a high, moral and social significance to the pursuits of the coming generations ; may they succeed in giving a saner outlook to them, so that they may, at last, give to this forlorn planet a sense of happiness it had almost irretrievably lost.

Thanks to this Convention they can now do so. They have the tools for working both on the national and the international plane. What is the position today ? Watertight compartments between the various activities—no interpenetration between man and the arts ; hypertrophy of certain faculties and atrophy of others ; no harmonious blending of the main faculties, as was the case in ancient Greece : games (for the body), science (for the brain) and arts (for wholesome emotional outlets).

Yet we have the best concert halls, the richest museums, the finest libraries. But our museums play the part of a storehouse, and things that ought to be in us, within us, are relegated to storehouses.

Has the modern state organisation a conscious and deliberate programme for the all-round up-

bringing of the citizens ? Some two thousand four hundred years ago a great Greek philosopher defined in simple and masterly fashion what is the duty of the State : to bring about the greatest sum of happiness to the greatest number of citizens.

A striking inconsistency of our times is that, while nowadays our tools are marvellous, we hardly make adequate use of them. Distances have been abolished, yet we know less and less of our neighbours. Schools and academies are better equipped than ever, yet there is a general agnosticism and doubt in our hearts.

Again the fault is with our system of watertight compartments : art and life seem to have been divorced. Let us remember that according to Greek standards the tool is a secondary factor. The primary factor is man, and his pre-eminence over his tools has been unmistakably proclaimed by the thinkers of my country.

It is here that unavoidably a doubt creeps into our minds : have the intellectuals played their part in averting the spiritual and intellectual crisis of our times ? Have they not been too passive ? Our Convention gives them a fresh opportunity to make good and to help the world revert to sound and time-honoured principles.

It is a good omen that this Conference was summoned in London, which has become a symbol of courage, fortitude and heroic decision. The Londoners have done great deeds, with great simplicity. In drafting our Convention we have derived inspiration from their behaviour. Our Preamble is perhaps a reflection of our emotions in that connection. We set ourselves a goal : to create a new type of manhood and womanhood. They are our goal, and not the tools. May we succeed in our endeavours and create afresh the man of virtue and of courage.

My message to you all, ladies and gentlemen, is that this instrument we have created is not perhaps an ideal convention, but it is good enough to make it possible to initiate a new start in our respective countries.

This is one of the happiest conferences I have ever attended. Reciprocal goodwill has throughout been the order of the day. We have perhaps deserved in some measure the qualification dear to Mr. MacLeish's heart ; yes, we will deserve to be " les hommes de bonne volonté, " if we vigorously implement this our convention in our respective countries and beyond.

The PRESIDENT : I now call on M. Buisseret, Belgian Minister of Education.

M. BUISSERET (Belgium) (*translation*) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : We are on the point of completing from a technical point of view a task which may have seemed difficult, but which has been accomplished with a speed and accuracy on which we may all congratulate ourselves. Tomorrow there will exist on the international plane a piece of mechanism which is, I think,

sufficiently perfect to admit of carrying out those tasks which were assigned to us by the United Nations.

But, to breathe life into this mechanism, something powerful, something durable, is needed—" the breath of the spirit." Something more than a mere instrument, however perfect the mechanism; something dynamic is needed ; what is needed, I have no hesitation in saying, is something new, something particularly generous in character. And that is why I have nothing but praise for those to whom we owe the suggestion of this exchange of freer ideas. For we are not speaking in the name of our Governments, we are not bound by instructions, we are not obliged of necessity to keep to a text which has been studied in advance and framed in detail with an eye to political repercussions. Over and above those political repercussions there are moral repercussions which must constitute our objective.

It is, I think, in this spirit that we, the members of this Conference, have been invited to meet here freely today. But there is one thing at this meeting which should no longer be here—I mean all these national nameplates. These we should like to sweep away so that we might have here only men belonging to the whole earth and the whole world.

We owe a debt of gratitude to those who were responsible for summoning us here. What is it they ask of us ? They are asking us for a testimony, a testimony from us who have lived under the regime of enemy occupation, who have on occasion had the privilege, after a certain lapse of time—in my case after some three years—of coming into contact with the free world at war, and who have had an opportunity of drawing comparisons. Those comparisons, from the point of view of moral comfort, were in favour of the world outside the world of tyranny, but they still made it possible to lay before the nations which remained continually free a few suggestions which are the result of experience.

What did we see in our occupied countries ? Now I feel I can generalise. I should have liked first to speak from the point of view of my country, because I should have preferred to speak only of things which came within my experience, and indeed, running like a thread through what I am saying, you will find our Belgian experience. But the conversations we have had, the comparison of our experiences, make it fair to say that in all the countries which were subject to totalitarian tyranny, the reactions were in point of fact very much the same, notwithstanding the appearances created by this or that puppet government or by this or that administrative band of puppets in the hands of the enemy.

Practically everywhere we had the same reaction, and that is why I venture to generalise. I think that I shall not risk contradiction by any of those who dwelt on the outskirts of the old continent in the Far East or in the Far West who have suffered from tyranny.

I do not think I shall be contradicted by any one of them as regards what I am going to give you in the way of general indications, from the point of view of the internal psychology of the martyred countries, from the point of view of their reactions and from the point of view of the spontaneous exchanges which occurred in those countries between intellectuals on the one hand and individuals belonging to the people on the other.

What did we find ? We found traitors and collaborators, it is true, and that was what was most readily seen, for the enemy took advantage of their slightest gestures. But side by side with them, opposing them, an immense majority of people and of intellectuals who did not betray their country. "The treason of the intellectuals," a well-known phrase-and deservedly so-yes, that did exist. It existed in thought before the invasion of our countries. It existed later in some during the period of enemy oppression. But I repeat there was the resistance of the country as a whole, including the resistance of the other intellectuals. A very large number of intellectuals in the invaded countries adopted the attitude which was called for in the circumstances, and they adopted it the more readily because they were restrained by no prejudices ; they allowed no barrier to stand in the way in the midst of a trial that was common to all, and it is to that contribution that I wish to bear witness this morning.

It is only one stone in the whole edifice, and it would take me hours and hours to reconstitute the whole psychological evolution of a country that was invaded. Let me sum up briefly :

The initial shock : suddenly, a country collapses, as a result of the mechanical means of modern warfare, and then all that remains is its moral forces, the suppressed fury, the mute protest of the right. For weeks, for months, resistance is purely passive. And it is during that time that there is created the co-operation of which I should now like to speak, that intellectual co-operation which means something different from the meeting of a few international personages, real intellectual co-operation between all classes of the population.

That real intellectual co-operation came about because, under the pressure of misfortune, men who met in the street got into contact, ignoring the distinction between rich and poor, between intellectuals and common people. First they exchanged news, then little circles were formed, spontaneously, within those circles or organisations already existing, whatever their theoretical objectives. Within those groups certain subjects took shape ; the topics dealt with were undoubtedly the war and military events and the liberty that had been lost and which was to be won back. Gradually, moreover, those circles extended ever wider and by some process of mental contagion rather than by any didactic formula served for the communication of thoughts and of knowledge ; I was witness on numerous occasions in unexpected circles, such as trade unions or social organisations or mutual friendly societies, of that kind of vast

spontaneous didactic movement which was created under the impact of war. Then, in circles which would have been indefinitely impermeable or where some knowledge might have been got through only on the occasion of rare meetings, we saw, by what one might call a process of osmosis, people belonging to every kind of circle taking up what was essential in the knowledge of men belonging to other circles. We were the witnesses of something hitherto unheard of in the history of our civilisation. We are still, too often, too closely hedged in by our considerations of caste and by our prejudices. Over and above all that we found that innumerable circles were being created, very scattered at first-where an interchange of moral considerations was proceeding and where gradually knowledge was being spread.

I drew up a list of these various circles in a note which I have prepared but which I prefer to leave on one side. I will confine myself to dealing with the particular circle of education, because it is one with which I am well acquainted and one which in most countries, in any case in mine, has proved one of the best instruments of resistance and of diffusion, out of school. For even in choosing the title of an essay to be given to the pupils, attention was paid to the reaction among the population, which is not always the case in ordinary life. And the enemy was not in a position to obtain possession of that powerful instrument because, more particularly in Europe-and I feel sure that it was the same in the Far East-he had not the personnel necessary to take over the machinery of education. That machinery has remained practically what it was before. There were a few selected victims, glorious heroes who succumbed. But all the rest remain : the immense mass are still there and perhaps one day, paradoxically, I shall find myself singing the praises of the weak and lukewarm because they, it must be admitted, were really the great mass. But their hearts were sound, their intentions were pure, and it was that great mass which, continuing to exist and escaping enemy persecution, finally formed the intellectual barrier that was needed during the period of oppression.

We have other circles, for instance, the religious organisations. The clergy in many places behaved admirably and once again exceeded the limits of ordinary proselytising. We also found masonic associations reforming in little groups. We found democratic political parties which had been formally dissolved, reconstituting themselves in terms of fact, sometimes in semi-obscurity, sometimes in completely clandestine form, and those parties were no longer mere parties ; they became organs of moral and intellectual diffusion. That is very important and perhaps we may be able to retain something of this in the future.

We found the same phenomenon in youth organisations, to which forces not generally attracted began to gravitate, because gradually the spirit of resistance, of proselytism, the idea of the defence of democracy and liberty, took possession of each individual.

I spoke just now of the social welfare and assistance organisations, of the mutual friendly societies. I could tell you of associations of all kinds, even of recreational associations. They, by some miracle out of the ordinary, became moral centres and often to some extent intellectual centres.

After that we saw the birth of real resistance movements, which were at first still passive resistance movements, but very carefully organised, from which sprang the clandestine press. There, again, how many intellectuals there were who had not been able to remain at their posts ; some, indeed, had been driven out and others were prevented from remaining for practical reasons. Then we found them joining those spontaneously formed groups, and so, gradually, the general movement of ideological resistance was created. And if there had not been resistance and ideology, there would not have been any movement, just as no peace will be created in the world by material means, unless we have created—as we have so often found and as we cannot repeat too often—a spirit of peace among men.

Next, ladies and gentlemen, we found organised groups of active resistance, groups engaged in printing, forging food coupons, and requisitioning goods. I use simple ordinary words to describe those who practised sabotage and later, military action itself.

There, again, there developed the highest degree of fraternity. Countless intellectuals, men who had never thought to quit their Chair or their laboratory, mingled with all classes of people, making up what will be mankind of tomorrow. And what does all that mean ? It means the gradual growth of a fellowship in misfortune. There was also a fellowship in suffering, and if so far I have said nothing of the torture of the camps, it is because I did not myself experience it, being so lucky as to pass only a very short time in prison, first under the Gestapo, and afterwards, in 1943, in Franco's Spain.

But I know that, alongside the early brotherhood in misfortune, there was a brotherhood of suffering, the brotherhood of common people, of the military camps, of prisons, and even of the death camps. Yes, even in the foulest camps you would find men fraternising without distinction between intellectuals and common people. They were to be found grouped with no distinction between wealth that had become useless to them, and their poverty. On the very edge of the crematorium you would find moral and intellectual influences at work.

Brotherhood in misfortune, brotherhood in suffering, brotherhood of resistance and, lastly, that brotherhood of heroism among the groups of saboteurs and national resisters—such is the splendid orchestra which played its symphonies. That orchestra must not now be thrust into the background and forgotten. It is the instrument which we, along lines of practical action, must make use of in the future.

One last word. Above the immense machinery of resistance there floated the almost immaterial

plane of the ether. Let us never forget the enormous part played by the B.B.C. in London and afterwards by the splendid American network. It was found that with the tact which characterised the men in charge of these organisations, men who knew what they wanted and gave their orders week by week, concerted action could be arranged on an international scale—action direct in its form and trenchant in its substance. This is the lesson we must never forget. In those days the radio upheld **US** all as every evening, within the family circle or in the little groups I have talked of, men gathered together to listen to the voice of the free world issuing its carefully veiled instructions. In the world now liberated the instructions of Peace must similarly travel along waves put at the disposal of U.N.E.S.C.O.

Ladies and gentlemen, you may say that this great lesson in brotherhood is nothing new. I know that, but it has only too often been forgotten. It is important that we should relearn that great lesson and teach it to others. After all it is linked with the dreams of early man, the dreams of those who tried to deliver us from primitive barbarism ; the underlying thoughts are those of the Chinese moralists cited to you yesterday evening in a private meeting ; the thoughts of the sages of India, that marvellous country so magnificently represented here today. The thoughts are those of the seers of the Near East. They are the ideas of the Greek philosophers. That great lesson of yesterday, the lesson of brotherhood through misfortune, suffering, resistance, heroism, is the great lesson also of all that counts in the civilisations of all of us, of all who are striving to form a civilised community of all free men.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is a task worth working for. The lessons of which I have reminded you are worth the learning and I will conclude by telling you this : the works of death, which were at the same time works of liberation, found mutual aid. Therefore, on the spiritual plane, within our own countries and in the international field, I appeal to the mutual aid of Brotherhood and Peace.

The PRESIDENT (*translation*) : I now call on Professor van der Leeuw, of the Dutch delegation.

Professor G van der LEEUW (Netherlands) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : When you travel by air, it may happen that you start in the rain ; but then you go up through the clouds and leave them beneath you, and you discover that up there the sun is shining, though you had forgotten its very existence those last few days on the ground. You have pierced the clouds and reached the clear sky, and it seems to be God's own heaven. This is what we in the Netherlands felt when Liberation came. On that memorable day when I saw the first blessed Canadian enter a burning house on the other side of my street, it was as though we had pierced the clouds at last. The dark oppressive sky we left behind. We discovered that the sun was still there, though

during five years of thralldom we had doubted its existence. Later we discovered that we had gone up above the clouds but that the clouds were still there as surely as the sun was. They had not lifted. We had only for a few glorious moments surmounted and forgotten them.

This, ladies and gentlemen, is our plight. Perhaps it is the plight of the whole world, for not even the most inveterate optimist can deny its present days are somewhat cloudy, though it has seen the sun. I fear that our experiences in the Netherlands are not widely different from the experiences of the other occupied countries, but I very much appreciate the opportunity to say a few words about our moral and spiritual needs. I will not dwell too long on the hardships of the body ; I prefer to emphasise that five years of oppression, of dodging and deceiving, and one year of acute hunger, have not improved the moral situation. Certainly it is reason for great thankfulness that 97 per cent. of our people have been true to our standards of liberty, independence of judgment, tolerance and religion. Those who have strayed from our national highway were either adventurers or, for by far the greatest part, martyrs to the old inferiority complex ; but I cannot deny that there were among them also idealists, though few and far between. But the Dutch people as a whole never for a moment fell victims to Nazi propaganda. Our schools shut on account of the cold or for military purposes. Our universities closed because students went underground or did forced labour in Germany. Our scientists lost laboratories and instruments. Our authors could not publish their books. But Dutch education, science and culture, as a whole, have come unscathed out of the ordeal, though it is, alas, impossible to say the same of the men and women who served in them. What is more, as I already had the pleasure of telling you in my address of a fortnight ago, the enemy has forced us to regain our former selves and to read in our national traditions a new significance. Of course, in this informal part of our Conference, where no words are chosen well when they are not outspoken, I must add that this discovery of our old selves has been also in some measure a discovery of our old fears. It is certainly tragic when every word or action is liable to lead to prison or to death ; to have always to speak guardedly and in a low voice and to look over your shoulder to see if doubtful elements are present. There have been many heroes in Holland, but even the most undaunted have sometimes been afraid ; the people as a whole found that they could be heroes, but also that they could be cowards. There are very few who never felt the coward in them gain possession of their soul, but some of us went too far and showed that we were very good administrators or even famous artists or university professors, but that we had no right sense of our responsibility as educators of the people. This necessitates the bitter and thankless task of purging, and that is one

of the clouds which hang more densely and oppressively over us every day.

There are, however, blue patches in our clouded sky. One is that during nearly the whole of the occupation the Christian churches courageously spoke what, they considered to be their message. They did so in nearly all cases where Christian standards were endangered. They spoke for the Jews—now nearly disappeared from among us—for the students, for the labourers, for the children, and against all forms of tyranny and enemy propaganda. Many clergymen of all confessions paid for this testimony with their lives. Now the churches are reaping a reward in a new sense of dignity, a new preparedness to do their bit in all domains of life and we may bid a definite farewell to those cherished convictions according to which a churchman is a tedious, well-meaning and unrealistic person, with a conservative bias. On the contrary, there is a marked rapprochement between the churches and the progressive and socialistic parties.

The second blue patch in our sky is our young people. Not only did they bear the heaviest weight of oppression, but they did so with a courage and faith which are our greatest hope for the future. Not only did they do so in a spirit of firm resistance, but also they built up new ideals or found their way to old ones. A large part of the Resistance movement and of the underground press was managed by people under 40, 30 or even 20 years of age ; and not only did they give their work and, many of them, their lives ; they also gave their ideals and their thoughts.

However, this blue patch of sky threatens to be overclouded again. With liberation some of the old ways of thinking are creeping back ; many of the old school have returned, and with the intention to remain. It is one thing to run an underground paper and another to run a newspaper in peace-time. It is one thing to discuss politics in a prison cell, with a possible execution as a final argument, another, to do so in Parliament. It is one thing to endorse a big responsibility as leader of the K.P., who forced German prisons and fought with the Allies in the Battle of Arnhem ; another, to be a schoolmaster or an administrator in peace-time. And here is our darkest cloud, our direst need. Reaction has set in, certainly not a social or political reaction, but that reversion to type which is perhaps unavoidable, but none the less dangerous. There is a general sense of the uselessness and frustration of those ideals we fought for. The old people are returning and with them the old standards. Our glorious national unity against the enemy has given place to old dissensions of creed and class. Idealism is giving way to the old greed and covetousness. I am happy to say it is not as bad as all that, but there are symptoms and there is a mortal danger of the young generation's fire being quenched, their goodwill frustrated by deception. They had soared above the clouds. They have been able to do so in the concentration camp and behind



prison walls. Now they are falling back amongst the clouds and coming back to earth after their great adventure, to find themselves in the rain. This is a deadly danger, because German propaganda was right in one thing : that this war was no unfortunate accident, but a spiritual crisis, a revolution of the human spirit. It has not worked out as the Germans thought. The revolution. is there and we cannot set back the clock. There is no way back to the old outworn standards, and, if we try to restore the ways of living and thinking of before 1939, there is a deadly danger of youth disgustedly turning away from all standards and all values. Should this be so the sorrows of peace will be far greater than the sorrows of war, as the perils of cynicism are far greater even than those of the atomic bomb.

Should our civilisation be destroyed, it will not be by technical inventions, but by lack of faith and vision. This is a grave situation, and well worth the thought of those responsible for education and culture. How can we prevent young men and women growing up with a sense that nothing has been gained by this war in which we have lost our souls, and that it could as well have been lost ? I am quite certain that one main condition of our being able to rebuild our world is the co-operation of all nations, but it should be co-operation in the spirit of humility. Somewhere in Galsworthy's " Forsyte Saga " mankind is divided into people who want to have something and people who want to give something. Only if the spirit of giving prevails over that of taking and having will there be a future for my people as well as for the rest of the world.

The machinery we have invented, the civilisation we have created, have acquired an existence separate from our will, an independent life. We are afraid of our own devices, of our own handiwork, and helpless before the great issues of world politics which loom so large that we do not know how to tackle them. Only by education in a spirit of humility, by having to give the world something, as during the war lives were given freely, can we hope for a life truly human and dignified. During the year of the great hunger in Holland a poem was written about the miracle of the prophet Elijah and of the woman whose oil and corn never diminished, though used freely and unsparingly. " He who gives," it was said, " has always . . . abundance for his daily wants. " Only by unsparingly using ourselves up for the good of others, as a nation as well as every man and woman personally, can we win the peace, educate our young people and make this world a place fit for human beings to live in.

The PRESIDENT : I call upon Dr. Ellen Gleditsch, of Norway.

Dr. Ellen GLEDITSCH (Norway) : The old conception of a scholar and a scientist is of a man working in his laboratory or his library. His door is shut to the outside world ; the walls of his room keep out disturbing sounds, his mind is shut

also to outside influences and to all outside interests ; he is moved neither by human suffering nor the problems of life. His mind is open only to the inspiration of his work. It is an extraordinary fact that this image of the intellectually outstanding man has been true, or nearly true, right up to the present day. I know that in some countries the World War, 1914-1918, did bring about a change and led scholars and scientists to give up their secluded life, because they felt their responsibility towards humanity. My own teacher, Mme. Curie, a few years after the war, consented to become a member of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. Before this she had lived a very secluded scientist's life, but every evening afterwards she went to the Sessions of this Committee and gave her time and her interest to the work, although she certainly found it difficult to leave her laboratory and her research work. But in most countries the old ideas lived on. In my own country, in Norway, the intellectuals did not understand, or did not wholly understand, the danger to the freedom of research and to humanity, that the development in the totalitarian States was soon to bring, and very few tried to rouse public opinion. But now I believe we have learned our lesson, learned it during five hard years of occupation. We have seen, felt, and understood the necessity of uniting all good forces of the nation. The older scholars have, perhaps, not followed this call. It is not due to ill-will-perhaps not even to the century-old idea about the proper sphere for a thinker and a scientist. It is, I believe, due to a certain lack of adaptability. But the younger scientists, scholars and intellectuals in Norway understand. They know that lasting peace can be acquired only by educating mankind, by renewing in every man and woman the old truths of brotherhood, kindness and goodwill, and by giving to each child the chance to be the best that he or she has it in them to be. The younger scientists and the younger intellectuals have minds open to new ideas ; they are willing to bring their knowledge, learning and science to the use of humanity, and the youth of the country is turning to them. The young men and women from the education institutions, the students from the university have been splendid during these years of occupation. They have set aside their studies, their chances in future life ; they have given all their time, all their energy, even their health and their lives for their country.

Now this youth is coming back to the universities, matured beyond their years. They will set the standards high ; they will not be merciful to those who shut their door and want to continue their secluded life. This youth will be working with open-minded scholars, thinkers and scientists, preparing themselves in their turn to take over the intellectual burden ; but they will know for the rest of their lives that the great outside world cannot and must not be forgotten. I hope and trust that through this army of younger scientists and intellectuals, men and women, progress will

be made towards the understanding of world problems, the will to collaborate with other groups of open-minded men and women ; and you delegates, from so many countries, who have met here, who have felt during these weeks the inspiration of the work outlined, do not forget when you go home to enlist your scholars and scientists and intellectuals ; try to get them with you in your efforts at collaboration and co-operation in the intellectual field. Remember that once enlisted, they will be the best help in the work we are beginning, because they represent the best your country has to offer to its children, of learning, of culture, of national characteristics. Appeal to them, and let us endeavour to create the new type of scientist and scholar, the man that both hears and is aware of the whisper of his genius and of the call from humanity.

The PRESIDENT : I will now call upon Professor Odlozilik, of Czechoslovakia.

Prof. O. ODLOZILIK (Czechoslovakia) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : It was with some hesitation that I accepted your invitation to speak this morning at the Plenary Meeting of the Conference. Like some of my colleagues present this morning in this Hall, I have had the privilege of living in the free world during the war and have enjoyed for six years the hospitality of both the United States and of this country. I feel, therefore, not competent to draw a picture of life in Czechoslovakia under the German occupation and to describe in particular the plight of Czechoslovak men of letters, educators and scholars, as experienced during the past six years. But perhaps there is something which gives me the right to speak on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation. The absence and the long separation from my colleagues and students made it easier for me to perceive, upon returning to my country, the changes which have taken place in the Czechoslovak educational system, as well as the problems of reconstruction with which we are confronted.

Though it is tempting to put before you, in these November days, details of the closing of the Czech University six years ago, and of the closing of other Institutions of high learning, I prefer not to dwell on past events, but to tell you briefly with what hopes and plans we look into the future. We stand, ladies and gentlemen, not only in Czechoslovakia, but in Central Europe generally, and indeed in any country which has been liberated from the foreign yoke, at the crossroads, with ways pointing and leading in four directions. One way appeals to instincts and to human sentiments, and above all, to the natural desire of every individual for relaxation after the prolonged strain, privation and even suffering. It would be no wonder if some of us, those especially who were victims of persecution or ill-treatment, looked in that direction and retreated from the arena into a peaceful corner of their garden or of their private library. But do we not feel that such a decision, though natural, would be hardly pardonable under the

present circumstances, with so many urgent tasks in front of us ?

There is another way which commends itself to many scholars and research students. The past war with its ramifications and repercussions exacted a heavy toll of the educated classes. Losses which the enslaved nations suffered were heavy and distressing. Few people were able to pursue their studies or receive training in subjects which were not in close connection with the war effort. Moreover, in the occupied countries few subjects, if any, were exempted from distortion and misrepresentation which the Germans and their satellites substituted for free and dispassionate scholarship. It would not be surprising if we decided to follow the second route which from the turmoil of public life leads into libraries, laboratories and scientific workshops. And it might be argued, with reason, that after all, it is the primary duty of a scholar to detach himself from the problems of current life and to search in the quiet atmosphere of his study for new methods, new ideas, and new results. But are we in a position to choose the second route without hesitation and consideration of other duties ?

For there are two more ways, two more fields to which we must turn our eyes. One of those roads leads us once more into the past. Before we can make a successful start and progress in any work that is before us, we must clear away the debris of the collapsed system, so that the progress of learning, of literary and scientific activities shall not be hampered or slowed down by recurrence of the disease, or by the reappearance of the totalitarian ideology in any form.

From this work the fourth way leads directly into the future. It was announced yesterday by Mr. MacLeish that our addresses this morning would not be formal contributions to the discussions, but, words of men to men and women, words of delegates from the liberated countries to fellow-delegates from those parts of the world which were spared foreign rule and occupation. I believe that this suggestion fully corresponds to the atmosphere that prevails in our schools, no matter whether elementary, secondary or the highest ones in the scale. After the first World War, when we returned from the fronts into classrooms and lecture halls, we did not revolt, but accepted the current type of scholar or educator as a matter of course. High priests of learning, omniscient and infallible, magicians in black robes, walking encyclopaedias, seemed to be the ideal inhabitants of the learned world, and we looked to them with respect for guidance in our special subjects.

If I have read well what an invisible hand has written in the faces and eyes of our present students, I discern a distinct demand for other qualities in an intellectual leader of today. The eyes, which twenty-seven years ago searched inquisitively for gaps in knowledge, today are sensitive to any flaw in character or in personality of an intellectual leader, be he schoolmaster or

professor. author. journalist or poet. Young people all over the liberated countries resolutely opposed everybody who had not shown enough firmness in resisting the enemy, and they will hardly be willing to listen to anybody who is not qualified for leadership by courage, by vision and by personal integrity. The losses caused by the enemy cannot be expressed in figures, and vary from territory to territory. An approximate estimate of material damage might be presented either to this Organisation or to any similar body, and help from abroad may alleviate the burden which has been put on the shoulders of the Governments of the liberated countries. But no Organisation could point the way from post-war chaos and confusion if it were not supported by the combined and genuine efforts of its members, be they grouped together or working individually.

Ladies and gentlemen, in making this plea for descent from the ivory tower, for increased participation of educators in public life, for a close co-operation with the people, I am following in the footsteps of a host of Czech and Slovak patriots, schoolmasters, teachers, professors, poets and novelists, for whom there was no knowledge, no learning, no art for its own sake, but primarily as a means to regain freedom, to support political and religious liberty, to pave the way for social justice, for democracy and for international co-operation.

The PRESIDENT : I call on M. Gilson of the French delegation.

M. GILSON (France) (translation) : Mr. President and fellow-delegates : On behalf of the French delegation and, with their permission, of all the delegations present, I should like to pay homage to the heroes of the common cause which we in our work have tried to serve.

During the past terrible years educationists, learned men, writers and artists without number have been arrested, imprisoned, tortured and killed. Persecuted out of hatred for what is good, true and beautiful, these men, for us, were and will remain the heroes and martyrs of the ideal we have all been working for. I should like in your name, before we separate, to pay a warm and unanimous tribute to our dead, a tribute offered from the bottom of our hearts.

But though our dead hold first place in our affections, they are not the only ones. In many countries of Europe and Asia, whose names I see indicated in front of me, how many teachers and students, some of the latter mere children, how many scholars and learned men and artists have bravely and wittingly risked the fate that befell so many others ? In France and in all countries occupied by our common enemy, intellectuals have been the vanguard of Resistance. Perhaps we do not all know what those simple words mean, and I may be allowed to evoke my personal recollection. I have in mind the appalling yellow and black poster affixed to the walls of my village in France, stating that every act of resistance would

involve not only the immediate execution of the guilty, but also, far worse, that of his father, mother, wife and children. Even when not all were accepted, these sacrifices were offered. It is fitting that we should remember this today and that we should unite the living and the dead in the same act of homage.

It is not perhaps enough to honour these living and dead victims ; we should associate them in our labours and thus carry on their work. The San Francisco Charter created the United Nations as a body ; the Charter of our Organisation will give that body a soul. Nothing of what has been done elsewhere will survive, unless we establish all over the world the spirit of co-operation and brotherhood among nations, which is the spirit of the United Nations themselves. When the noble voice of President Roosevelt was heard in occupied countries, in the darkest hours of the war, proclaiming liberty, justice and fraternal peace among men, he spoke not only for his own country but for the whole world. By maintaining here, now that peace is restored, that resistance to evil which we conducted through the war, we have sought to prove to all that we are fully conscious of our responsibilities. Our enemies of yesterday have given a signal and tragic demonstration of the evil of error. It is for us now to manifest to the world the beneficent force of truth.

Mr. President and fellow-delegates. The French delegation hopes that, on leaving this great country, which only a few months ago was liberty's last rampart, we shall take back with us to the peoples who delegated us not merely the statutes of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, but the determination to make it a living thing by placing at its service all the resources both of our hearts and of our minds.

The PRESIDENT : I now call on Dr. Hu Shih, delegate of China.

Dr. Hu SHIH (China) : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen : I am not going to make a speech. When my good friend Mr. MacLeish made this proposal yesterday, I protested vehemently. I even threatened that, if he persisted in making me make a speech, I might join the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. (Laughter.) A Chinese statesman of the second century B.C. said to his Emperor that Government does not lie in many words, but in what is actually done. My protest against speech-making at this moment is serious. I do not wish this Conference to be recorded in history as beginning with four days of speeches and ending in seven days of speeches. We have a serious task at this most critical period of human history-in a sense more grave and more critical than the fourteen years of this second world war. So I am not going to make a speech.

You have read the great statement-a most important statement-of the Anglo-Saxon leaders regarding the atomic bomb this morning. From that statement I quote one sentence. These three great statemen of the Anglo-Saxon world

tell us : “ We are aware that the only complete protection for the civilised world from the destructive use of scientific knowledge lies “-not in words-“ in the prevention of war.” And they went on to say : “ No system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against the production of atomic weapons by a nation bent upon aggression. ” There is a note of pessimism-almost of despair.

Ladies and gentlemen, in a few hours we shall have signed a document which we in our complacency consider to be a perfect document—our Constitution. In the Preamble to our Constitution we almost offer a reply to the pessimistic note sounded in this great announcement made this morning. We say in our Preamble that the peace, if it is not to fail, must be founded upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. Do we intend this to be a real answer to the pessimistic note sounded by these three leaders of the Anglo-Saxon world who control the atomic bomb, or do we merely mean it as words, words, words ?

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to make more speeches. I would like to end in the spirit of mutual dedication. Our great philosopher, Confucius, will be 2,500 years old in the year 1949—, three or four years from now. In 1949 we hope the Conference of this Organisation will be held in China to celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of the birth of Confucius, who was born in the year 551 B.C. That is one of the great anniversaries.

Well, Confucius said this : a scholar must be stout-hearted and persevering, because our burden is heavy and our journey is long. He said : “ Humanity is the burden we impose upon ourselves.” Is not that a heavy burden ? And he said : “ That only adds to our toil. ” Is not that a long journey ?

Ladies and gentlemen, if we realise that we are going to create the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind as the only means of preventing war, and if we mean to do that by our work and not by words, then our burden is really heavy and our journey is long.

## TENTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, November 16th, 1945, at 3 p.m.

*President* : The Rt. Hon. ELLEN WILKINSON

The PRESIDENT : I call upon the Secretary-General to make some announcements.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I am asked to announce that, after the conclusion of the proceedings here, heads of delegations will meet in Committee Room B. That meeting will be the first meeting of the Preparatory Commission, consisting of heads of delegations.

The PRESIDENT : Perhaps I had better repeat what I said yesterday about the signing, because a number of delegates were not present when I made this statement. What we are doing immediately after the signing of the Document is to hold the meeting which will, in fact, be a meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the new Organisation which will be set up by the signing of the Act. We are determined to start our work immediately, and we shall not wait a month before we can get a Conference together again. That is why we are holding this meeting of the heads of delegations as a Preparatory Commission to get the work started. So will all heads of delegations (or, if the head is not present, the chief alternate delegate) be present at the meeting in Committee Room B which will follow the signing of the Act ?

I want to make clear now what I will again repeat before we start the signing, and that is that this solemn document, the Final Act, can only be signed by the accredited head of the delegation. If, for any reason, the head is not here, the document will be kept open at the Foreign Office and arrangements will be made for the head of the

delegation to sign it ; but the actual document cannot be signed by an alternate head.

May I here take this opportunity of saying how much we regret that it was impossible for Monsieur Blum to get from Paris, as he had hoped to do, for this solemn signing of our Final Act. A special aeroplane was kept in readiness for him, but the political situation in Paris is such that he feels that we shall understand why he is unable to be present, and he will take the earliest opportunity of coming to London to append his signature to the Final Act.

I now call upon the Chilean delegate to move the resolution in his name.

### **22. RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY THE CHILEAN DELEGATION** (Doc. E.C.O./Conf./21)

M. Francisco Walker LINARES (Chile) (*translated*) :

“ Whereas the International Institute of intellectual Co-operation of Paris has for a number of years efficiently pursued the promotion of cultural relations between the various peoples of the world ;

“ Whereas the Government of the Republic of Cuba in the tragic hour of the occupation of Paris generously offered to establish a Provisional Centre of Intellectual Co-operation in the City of Havana, in order to keep alive the sacred fire of intellectual co-operation in the American Continent ;

**“ THE CONFERENCE RESOLVES :**

“ To express its thanks both to the Inter-

national Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of Paris, and to the Government of the Republic of Cuba.”

The PRESIDENT : The Colombian delegate will now speak.

H. E. M. Jaime JARAMILLO-ARANGO (Colombia) (translation) : I want to say, Madame Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that the Colombian delegation whole-heartedly supports the resolution put forward by the Chilean delegation. I do not want to draw up a balance sheet. I just want to remind you of very excellent work done by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of Paris and to express our own gratitude for the generous gesture by which the Cuban Government has made it possible to maintain a Provisional Centre of Intellectual Co-operation in the City of Havana. I, therefore, most heartily support the resolution put forward by the delegate of Chile.

The PRESIDENT : May I take it that the Conference is in agreement ?

Dr. Jaime Torres BODET (Mexico) (translation) : I support the proposal put forward by the delegate of Chile. The intellectual world of Mexico has worked in close accord both with the Institute in Paris and the Provisional Centre in Cuba.

The PRESIDENT : In that way we give thanks to those who kept the flag flying.

Dr. Guy Perez CISNEROS (Cuba) : The Cuban delegation thanks the Conference for the kind words of appreciation which have just been spoken with regard to the effort by the Cuban Government in creating a temporary seat for intellectual co-operation during the war.

The Cuban delegation, however, would like to add a third paragraph to the resolution put forward by the delegate of Chile. It seems to the Cuban delegation that homage should be rendered to the Committee of seven members, who also did very useful work in that regard and, therefore, it proposes to add the following paragraph :-

“ Whereas the Committee of seven designated by the Second American Conference of National Commissions for Intellectual Co-operation, with a view to studying the possibility of carrying on in America during the war the indispensable work of intellectual co-operation, under the Chairmanship of Miguel Ozorio de Almeida (Brazil) and composed of: James T. Shotwell (U.S.A.) ; Cosme de la Torriente (Cuba) ; Julian Nogueira (Uruguay) ; Victor Lascano (Argentine) ; Francisco Walker Linares (Chile) ; Alphonso Reyes (Mexico) ; Malcolm Davis (U.S.A.) ; Henri Bonnet (as the Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation) (France) ; Antonio Castro Leal (Mexico) ; Mariano Brull and Herminio Rodriguez (Cuba), has spared no effort in order to accomplish the task assigned to it.”

The addition of that third paragraph would

slightly alter the text of our resolution, which would then read :-

“ The Conference decides to express its thanks to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, to the Government of Cuba, and to the Committee created for the study of the establishment in America of an international centre for intellectual co-operation, which, before and during the war, have made such wonderful efforts and obtained such important results in the field of international co-operation, of education and of culture.”

The PRESIDENT : I must make it clear to the Conference that this resolution or amendment has not been sent to the Drafting Committee, which must decide upon all Resolutions before they come to the Conference. On the other hand, I would not like Cuba to think that we were not grateful for the work that was done in the American Continent, both North and South. Shall we take it by acclamation that we thank all our American friends, whether in South or North America, who helped us during the difficult times of the war ?

(Carried by acclamation.)

### 23. ADOPTION OF FINAL ACT

The PRESIDENT : We now have to adopt (formally by vote and not by acclamation) the Final Act which you have in front of you.

On the question of actual ‘voting in this way, the alternate delegate may vote in place of the head of the delegation who may not be present. Therefore, I am going to ask the head of the delegation, or the chief alternate delegate, to stand in his place to adopt the resolution.

I will now read the Final Act (Document E.C.O./Conf./25).

“ The Conference for the Establishment of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations was convened by the Government of the United Kingdom in association with the Government of France. The invitations were sent out in accordance with the recommendation of the Conference of San Francisco and upon the request of the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education, in order to promote the aims set out in Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter of the United Nations. The Conference met in London from the 1st to the 16th November, 1945.

“ The Governments of the following countries were represented at the Conference by Delegates and Advisers :

|                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>ARGENTINE REPUBLIC</b> | <b>LIBERIA</b>          |
| <b>AUSTRALIA</b>          | <b>LUXEMBOURG</b>       |
| <b>BELGIUM</b>            | <b>MEXICO</b>           |
| <b>BOLIVIA</b>            | <b>NETHERLANDS, THE</b> |
| <b>BRAZIL</b>             | <b>NEW ZEALAND</b>      |
| <b>CANADA</b>             | <b>NICARAGUA</b>        |
| <b>CHILE</b>              | <b>NORWAY</b>           |
| <b>CHINA</b>              | <b>PANAMA</b>           |

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <b>COLOMBIA</b>           | <b>PERU</b>                                      |
| <b>CUBA</b>               | <b>PHILIPPINES, THE</b>                          |
| <b>CZECHOSLOVAKIA</b>     | <b>POLAND</b>                                    |
| <b>DENMARK</b>            | <b>SAUDI ARABIA</b>                              |
| <b>DOMINICAN REPUBLIC</b> | <b>SYRIA</b>                                     |
| <b>ECUADOR</b>            | <b>TURKEY</b>                                    |
| <b>EGYPT</b>              | <b>UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA</b>                     |
| <b>EL SALVADOR</b>        | <b>UNITED KINGDOM OF</b>                         |
| <b>FRANCE</b>             | <b>GREAT BRITAIN AND</b>                         |
| <b>GREECE</b>             | <b>NORTHERN IRELAND</b>                          |
| <b>GUATEMALA</b>          | <b>UNITED STATES OF</b>                          |
| <b>HAITI</b>              | <b>AMERICA</b>                                   |
| <b>INDIA</b>              | <b>URUGUAY</b>                                   |
| <b>IRAN</b>               | <b>VENEZUELA</b> (represented<br>by an Observer) |
| <b>IRAQ</b>               |  |
| <b>LEBANON</b>            | <b>YUGOSLAVIA</b>                                |

“ The following international organisations were also represented by Observers :

International Labour Organisation  
League of Nations Secretariat  
League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation  
International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation  
Pan-American Union  
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.)  
International Bureau of Education

“ The Conference had before it, and adopted as its basis of discussion a draft Constitution prepared by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education. It likewise had before it a draft Constitution prepared by the French Government. A number of proposals put forward by other Governments and by various bodies and organisations were also before the Conference.

“ After consideration of these drafts and proposals the Conference drew up a Constitution establishing an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and an Instrument establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission. The Conference also adopted the following Resolution :-

“ ‘The seat of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation shall be in Paris.

“ ‘This Resolution shall not in any way affect the right of the General Conference to take decisions in regard to this matter by a two-thirds majority.’

“ In faith whereof, the undersigned have signed this Final Act.

“ Done in London, the sixteenth day of November, 1945 in a single copy in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic. This copy shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom, by whom certified copies will be sent to all the United Nations.”

The PRESIDENT : The Conference understands that we have adopted the Constitution of this

Organisation in its separate parts in Reports of the various Commissions that have been put before you. What we are now adopting and signing is this Final Act which I have just read out. Will the heads of delegations or the chief alternate delegate please stand in their places ? (*A vote was taken.*)

That is a unanimous vote in favour of our Final Act which I now declare accepted. I did not ask for anyone to the contrary because I saw behind each national name the appropriate delegate standing.

#### 24. FINAL DECLARATIONS

We now have three short speeches before we proceed to sign at that short ceremony for which I hope all will remain. I first ask M. Drzewieski of the Polish delegation, who wants to make a statement.

Dr. Bernard DRZEWIESKI (Poland) : Madame President and fellow-delegates : Yesterday, when we were voting on the resolutions of the Drafting Committee, I was one of the delegates who abstained from voting. I felt lonely and rather miserable. It is now my duty to explain to the Conference why I did so. I am extremely grateful to you, Madame President, for giving me this opportunity. I could bring here a huge paper written by a specialist, worded in excellent English with a lot of diplomatic under-statements ; but I prefer to speak in my own poor English because I want to speak heart to heart.

But before I say why I abstained from voting, let me make this declaration on behalf of the chief of the Polish delegation, the Polish Minister of Education, who has had to leave your country and who has asked me to tell you, fellow-delegates, that the Polish delegation will sign the Constitution of this new Organisation because Poland, who fought all the battles of all nations for freedom, realises the importance of peaceful collaboration in the work of reconstruction and for the happiness of future generations.

One of my pleasantest experiences during this Conference was my work in the Drafting Committee on the Preamble. We were a mixed crowd. The Chairman was Mr. MacLeish. He says he is an American, but I think he would be more correctly described as a representative of world citizenship. Then we had an Indian, an English lady, a Mexican, a Pole and a Frenchman. We were people from different continents, of different denominations, different races, different nations, and probably different political opinions. During our work we did not argue on these matters. We all tried merely to find the best expression for our common feelings and our common longings ; and you, by your unanimous vote, have shown that mankind today is rich in constructive ideas, in love, mutual understanding and courage.

It is a pity that we have not had here a representative of the great people of the Soviet Union. I am very glad that the Executive Committee has sent a telegram signed by our President and

M. Blum to Russia, because, if we can combine the wisdom of China, the respect for law of Great Britain, the democratic way of life of America, the "esprit" and artistic genius of France and the creative forces of the builders in the Soviet Union—if all nations will contribute their best achievements to the common work, we shall accomplish something great; and, dear friends, we shall prove to the statesmen and political leaders how much can be done by friendly collaboration among the nations.

And now I come to explain my reservation. When you read this document E.C.O./Conf./Corn. V, P. V. 7 you will see an amendment by the Polish delegation which says: "Provide *without delay* for *immediate* action on *urgent needs* of educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries." As you have been told by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, the needs are immense. And the Working Committee preparing for the Conference said that the needs of liberated nations are dire. Article 6, however, postponed relief to the First Session of the Conference. That means roughly about a year. And the many "ifs" and "whens" may easily kill the baby before it grows up.

I am not a bit ashamed to tell you, friends, that we on the Continent are terribly poor. We are terribly poor and we are proud to be poor. The reason for our poverty is that we have been ruined and devastated because we refused to accept the rule of Fascism, because we fought, struggled, resisted. You can ask the Poles, the Yugoslavs or the Greeks and they will all tell you the same terrible story. Their present plight is the consequence of their struggle and their resistance. You have to help us not tomorrow or after tomorrow; you have to help us today, immediately, presently, without any delay.

As I have told you, friends, our needs are tremendous. Our schools are roofless. Our teachers faint because they are starving and exhausted. Of course, we are told: "Listen: we cannot get money." I myself am a teacher and I know that too many people who know nothing of education are discussing education. We teachers do not see enough people discussing with the same enthusiasm how to raise the teachers' salaries, how to raise the teachers' social position, how to build good schools for our children and to establish a democratic system of education.

But, believe me, you can get the money. Let me give you an example. English children—British sixth-formers—organised by the Council for Education in World Citizenship—have managed to collect within a year out of their pocket-money the sum of five thousand pounds for their friends on the Continent. We are told in the Constitution that we must educate the children in the spirit of freedom. I believe that what those British children did in that way will do more for education in world citizenship than all the preaching and teaching of teachers.

You can do much. English writers went to Poland. When they came back they appealed in *The Times* for books for the ruined library of Warsaw University, and now people are sending hundreds of books every day to help us. You have in the libraries of the rich countries thousands of copies of writers such as Shakespeare and Browning. Share them. Send them to Poland to Yugoslavia, to Greece. You have in your laboratories thousands of microscopes, thousands of epidiascopes. If you will share those things in a friendly human way with our Chinese' brothers, with our Belgian, our Norwegian brothers, then we shall do the job.

It was for that reason that I had to abstain from voting. We shall take part in the work of the Preparatory Commission, but if, as time goes on, we see that the Preparatory Commission is more a Research Institute or debating club than a Relief Organisation, we shall have to revise our attitude towards it.

The PRESIDENT: We thank M. Drzewieski for his statement; and, for his comfort, I can tell him, as I told him in the Executive Committee, that one reason why we are insisting on having our meeting of the Preparatory Commission fifteen minutes after the ending of this meeting this afternoon is in order that we may get down to discussing many of the problems that he has raised, in a severely practical manner.

We have two more speeches—one by Professor Cassin of the French delegation, and one by Mr. Archibald MacLeish of the American delegation.

M. René CASSIN (France) (*translation*): Madame President, our colleague, Mr. MacLeish, will express to you on behalf of all the delegations—including my own—our gratitude towards you and Great Britain. But in the absence of the head of our delegation, who is prevented from returning to London and thus deprived of the pleasure of addressing the Conference, I have a special duty to fulfil on behalf of the French delegation.

I desire to express our satisfaction at the results of the work that has been done in this City of London, one of the war capitals. Those countries which have suffered more than others are very much alive to the objects we have achieved and which have just been proclaimed in the Final Act. We are seeking to give to peace not only material arms and forces, but a soul, for spiritual force must ultimately win the victory.

The structure of the new Organisation is also a matter of satisfaction, for we are conscious of having built our house, as nearly as possible, in the likeness of the International Organisation of the United Nations, so that it may become the best possible instrument for consolidating and promoting the political aspects of peace. We should indeed, have liked to see a completer manifestation of perfect international association between the leading intellectuals. We believe that this unity of mankind, which age-long forces

are seeking to destroy, would be very much strengthened if the leaders of thought were permitted to associate their efforts very closely with those of government representatives. Those governments will, at all events, be able to associate, in every country, with their efforts the National Commissions representing intellectuals, persons interested in education and representing, it is only right to say, the opinion of the masses, which in the last resort hold in their hands the fate of liberty.

Finally, I should incur your displeasure if I failed to express to you once more my gratitude at your choice of the capital of France as the seat of your future labours, not only by reason of the services which France has rendered in the past to civilisation, not only by reason of her recent trials, but above all on account of the future. We are fully alive to the responsibilities which we are assuming and we are prepared to make the necessary efforts in the frank and ungrudging international spirit which the world demands of the United Nations.

Our duty will be more completely defined when our Charter has been adopted by all the United Nations, and when, on what I hope may not be a far distant day, we have the great Soviet Republic in our midst. That will be of particularly good augury for the success of the preparatory work in the first place, and for the final programme which we shall then have to draw up. But until that moment comes, you may count upon our delegation and on France as a whole, to do all they can to assist the Preparatory Commission while it is sitting in London, and to devote all their energies to the task. And we shall never lose sight of the fact, so adequately expressed at the opening of our deliberations, that it is not the sum of knowledge that is to be the distinguishing mark of the activities of our future Organisation, but the development of culture. One of our great authors has said : Science without conscience is but the ruin of the soul. We can say : Knowledge without morality can only result in barbarism. We who know that there can be no democracy without culture, will direct our efforts towards adding something else to knowledge : a great ideal, a clear vision of the great problems to be solved in the cause of international peace and, lastly, and perhaps most important of all, the mastery of self.

The PRESIDENT : I now call upon Mr. MacLeish, first delegate of the United States of America.

The Hon. Archibald MACLEISH (United States of America) : Madame President, my colleagues at this Conference : I have been asked to express, on your behalf, our common gratitude, because I also attempt to speak the English tongue. Our President has been kind enough to say that English is spoken better out of these islands than in, but she does not really mean it. Nevertheless, we do speak a common tongue, and, for all the witticisms of those who make the witticisms, we understand each other, and for that reason perhaps I may interpret for all of you.

This is no formal expression of thanks I wish to make. I think our President knows what we feel about her. It is a wonderful thing to find a fresh, new, vigorous figure in the world of the mind and in the world of the relations of men, and to have that figure as our President and Chairman was a great gift to all of us in our work ; and we thank you.

We thank deeply also our Secretary-General and his Associate, Mr. Chester Purves, who have, together with their staff, contributed so enormously to this difficult work. I think we all know (and I think our British friends will forgive us for saying that we know) what it cost them in effort to arrange a Conference of this kind in the world so soon after the war ; and I think perhaps they will forgive us for saying also that we are grateful to meet here in this particular place. The air of England has a curious quality. We all complain about it one way or another when we come to it-the physical air of England-but, oddly enough, we can all live in it, no matter where we come from. It is a mild air, it is a medial air, it has no extremes about it, and we can all live here. And what is true of men physically is true of men's ideas. This air has always been hospitable to ideas ; it has always been hospitable to freedom ; and we are men who love freedom. So that I think I can say to you, Madame Chairman, and to our British friends who sit here, that we are particularly proud to have met in England.

I have two words to say, and only two, about this Conference-well, three, perhaps, because of something in the morning newspapers. [ suppose you all saw that, after all the words that have been spoken here (and my dear Chinese friend is quite right in saying that words perhaps do not add up to much in themselves)-but, after all the words said here about the nature of the crisis in the world and the relation to that crisis of the work we are doing, you perhaps noticed that, when the three great leaders of the Anglo-Saxon world met, in the United States, and issued a statement on the subject of principal concern to peace-loving men, it was cast in the words with which we begin our Constitution, and their first proposal was one which might have been quoted from our purposes and functions.

Secondly, I think, speaking in all frankness, that some of us who came to this Conference came with narrower ideas of what this Organisation was going to be than the ideas with which we leave it. Some of us thought it was to be an international organisation for this or for that or the other piece of the whole objective ; but I think not one of us knew we should be constructing here a great and powerful instrument for the broadest possible purpose, which is the purpose of the common understanding of men for peace, and we will use every instrument we have to that end.

Finally-and this I say particularly to my dear friend who spoke here with such feeling, Dr. Drzewieski of Poland : this is not the end of a Conference. This moment is the beginning of our work.



## 25. SIGNATURE OF FINAL ACT

The PRESIDENT : Before we begin the task of signing these documents, which will constitute the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and which will, in the words of Mr. MacLeish, really begin the work that we have set ourselves to do (because this Conference, after all, has been a machinery Conference, a Conference to frame the instrument which is going to do the job), the Executive Committee feel that we would all like, for one solemn moment, to remember those who cannot be here and who can only be represented, but *are* represented, in spirit. Many men and women have died in this fight against Fascism and Nazism and the slavery of the human mind which it means. We honour them. Memorials will be raised-many of them--to the fighting men ; but there are others for whom there will be no memorials and whose names, in many cases, are unknown. They died in the grim fight for the freedom of the human mind. They died in concentration camps ; they died facing the firing squads ; for wherever the Fascist came it was the intellectuals, the teachers, the professor, the parson and the priest, the leaders, who first had to be exterminated. They died as students ; they died in the Resistance Movements. We who are carrying on their work and who are starting this night to carry on their work are doing it in the hope that we shall carry on the flame of their souls and spirits in the children and young people who are committed to our care. Also at this solemn moment we say to the teachers of the world that those who fight in the struggle against ignorance and illiteracy do not fight alone ; they fight with us behind them, with this great international Organisation for them to appeal to.

Let us stand now in silence together for one moment . . . Thank you.

I now have to ask the heads of delegations to come to the signing table, in the alphabetical order stated in the Final Act which you have in your hands. In addition to the Final Act, I am asked to say that the Instrument and Constitution will also be available for signing for those who are authorised to sign them.

*(The heads of delegations then proceeded to the signature of the Final Act, the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and the Instrument establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission.)*

*(During the signature, the President vacated the Chair and her place was taken by Dr. Francisco Walker Linares, the delegate of Chile. The President later resumed the Chair.)*

The PRESIDENT : I think those are all the signatures. Will delegates just take their seats for one moment ? We have thanked the Council for Intellectual Co-operation but I regret to say we have forgotten to thank the body that was responsible for all the details of this Conference,

and which started two years before the United Nations Organisation came into being. That is the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education convened by the Minister of Education in this country, which was initiated and carried through by my predecessor in the Ministry of Education in this country, Mr. Butler, (*The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.*)

It is a regrettable fact that there is not yet an anthem of the United Nations which we could at this moment sing as we end our Conference. I hope some genius in the Musicians' section of our educational international will provide us with one. In the absence of that anthem may I just simply draw this great Conference to a close by thanking you all for your attendance and wishing us all God speed in the work that we have to do. The Conference is now closed.

For Text of Final Act, see p. 89.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION

*London, 16th November, 1945*

THE Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare, 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 ; that 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, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races ;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern ;

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.

For these reasons, 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 ;

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation 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 Organisation was established and which its Charter proclaims.

## ARTICLE I

### PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS

1. The purpose of the Organisation 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 realise this purpose the Organisation 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 :

by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social ;

by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom ;

(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 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 Organisation, the Organisation is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

## ARTICLE II

### MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the United Nations Organisation shall carry with it the right to membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

2. Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation, approved pursuant to Article X of this Constitution, States not members of the United Nations Organisation may be admitted to membership of the Organisation, upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the General Conference.

3. Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United Nations Organisation shall, upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.

4. Members of the Organisation which are expelled from the United Nations Organisation shall automatically cease to be members of this Organisation.

## ARTICLE III

### ORGANS

The Organisation shall include a General Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat.

## ARTICLE IV

### THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

#### A.—*Composition.*

1. The General Conference shall consist of the representatives of the States Members of the Organisation. The Government of each Member State shall appoint not more than five delegates, who shall be selected after consultation with the National Commission, if established? or with educational, scientific and cultural bodies.

#### B.—*Functions.*

2. The General Conference shall determine the policies and the main lines of work of the Organisation. It shall take decisions on programmes drawn up by the Executive Board.

3. The General Conference shall, when it deems it desirable, summon international conferences on education, the sciences and humanities and the dissemination of knowledge.

4. The General Conference shall, in adopting proposals for submission to the Member States, distinguish between recommendations and international conventions submitted for their approval. In the former case a majority vote shall suffice ;

in the latter case a two-thirds majority shall be required. Each of the Member States shall submit recommendations or conventions 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.

5. The General Conference shall advise the United Nations Organisation on the educational, scientific and cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter, in accordance with the terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two Organisations.

6. The General Conference shall receive and consider the reports submitted periodically by Member States as provided by Article VIII.

7. The General Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board and, on the recommendation of the Board, shall appoint the Director-General.

#### C.— *Voting.*

1. Each Member State shall have one vote in the General Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority except in cases in which a two-thirds majority is required by the provisions of this Constitution. A majority shall be a majority of the Members present and voting.

#### D.— *Procedure.*

9. The General Conference shall meet annually in ordinary session ; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. At each session the location of its next session shall be designated by the General Conference and shall vary from year to year.

10. The General Conference shall, at each session, elect a President and other officers and adopt rules of procedure.

11. The General Conference shall set up special and technical committees and such other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for its purposes.

12. The General Conference shall cause arrangements to be made for public access to meetings, subject to such regulations as it shall prescribe.

#### E— *Observers.*

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 at specified sessions of the Conference or of its commissions representatives of international organisations, such as those referred to in Article XI, paragraph 4.

### ARTICLE V

#### EXECUTIVE BOARD

##### A.— *Composition.*

1. The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen members elected by the General Conference from among the delegates appointed by the Member States, together with the President of the Conference who shall sit *ex officio* in an advisory capacity.

2. In electing the members of the Executive Board the General Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas, and qualified by their experience and capacity to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any one time, the President of the Conference excepted.

3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall not serve consecutively for more than two terms. At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one-third shall retire at the end of the first year and one-third at the end of the second year, the order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots. Thereafter six members shall be elected each year.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Executive Board shall appoint, from among the delegates of the Member State concerned, a substitute, who shall serve until the next session of the General Conference which shall elect a member for the remainder of the term.

##### B.— *Functions.*

5. The Executive Board, acting under the authority of the General Conference, shall be responsible for the execution of the programme adopted by the Conference and shall prepare its agenda and programme of work.

6. The Executive Board shall recommend to the General Conference the admission of new Members to the Organisation.

7. Subject to decisions of the General Conference, the Executive Board shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its officers from among its members.

8. The Executive Board shall meet in regular session at least twice a year and may meet in special session if convoked by the Chairman on his own initiative or upon the request of six members of the Board.

9. The Chairman of the Executive Board shall present to the General Conference, with or without comment, the annual report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organisation, which shall have been previously submitted to the Board.

10. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organisations or qualified persons concerned with questions within its competence.

11. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the Conference as a whole and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

**ARTICLE VI**  
**SECRETARIAT**

1. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.
2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the General Conference for a period of six years, under such conditions as the Conference may approve, and shall be eligible for reappointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation.
3. The Director-General, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the General Conference, of the Executive Board, and of the committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.
4. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in accordance with staff regulations to be approved by the General Conference. Subject to the paramount consideration of securing the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and technical competence, appointment to the staff shall be on as wide a geographical basis as possible.
5. The responsibilities of the Director-General and of the staff shall be exclusively international in character. In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive instructions from any Government or from any authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their position as international officials. Each State Member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.
6. Nothing in this Article shall preclude the Organisation from entering into special arrangements within the United Nations Organisation for common services and staff and for the interchange of personnel.

**ARTICLE VII**  
**NATIONAL CO-OPERATING BODIES**

1. Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the Organisation, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and such bodies.
2. National Commissions or national co-operating bodies, where they exist, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organisation and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it.
3. The Organisation may, on the request of a Member State, delegate, either temporarily or permanently, a member of its Secretariat to serve on the National Commission of that State, in order to assist in the development of its work.

**ARTICLE VIII**  
**REPORTS BY MEMBER STATES**

Each Member State shall report periodically to the Organisation, in a manner to be determined by the General Conference, on its laws, regulations and statistics relating to educational, scientific and cultural life and institutions, and on the action taken upon the recommendations and conventions referred to in Article IV, paragraph 4.

**ARTICLE IX**  
**BUDGET**

1. The budget shall be administered by the Organisation.
2. The General Conference shall approve and give final effect to the budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the States Members of the Organisation subject to such arrangement with the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article X.
3. 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.

**ARTICLE X**  
**RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION**

This Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation, as soon as practicable, as one of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under Article 63 of the Charter, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the General Conference of this Organisation. The agreement shall provide for effective co-operation between the two Organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognise the autonomy of this Organisation, within the fields of its competence as defined in this Constitution. Such agreement may, among other matters, provide for the approval and financing of the budget of the Organisation by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

**ARTICLE XI**  
**RELATIONS WITH OTHER SPECIALISED INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND AGENCIES**

1. This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations and agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relationships with such organisations and agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal

arrangements entered into with such organisations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

2. Whenever the General Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the competence of this Organisation, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.

3. This Organisation may make appropriate arrangements with other inter-governmental organisations for reciprocal representation at meetings.

4. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organisations on advisory committees set up by the General Conference.

## ARTICLE XII

### LEGAL STATUS OF THE ORGANISATION

The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation concerning the legal status of that Organisation, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Organisation.

## ARTICLE XIII

### AMENDMENTS

1. Proposals for amendments to this Constitution shall become effective upon receiving the approval of the General Conference by a two-thirds majority ; provided, however, that those amendments which involve fundamental alterations in the aims of the Organisation or new obligations for the Member States shall require subsequent acceptance on the part of two-thirds of the Member States before they come into force. The draft texts of proposed amendments shall be communicated by the Director-General to the Member States at least six months in advance of their consideration by the General Conference.

2. The General Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules of procedure for carrying out the provisions of this Article.

## ARTICLE XIV

### INTERPRETATION

1. The English and French texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authoritative.

2. Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this Constitution shall be referred for determination to the International Court of

Justice or to an arbitral tribunal, as the General Conference may determine under its rules of procedure.

## ARTICLE XV

### ENTRY INTO FORCE

1. This Constitution shall be subject to acceptance. The instruments of acceptance shall be deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom.

2. This Constitution shall remain open for signature in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom. Signature may take place either before or after the deposit of the instrument of acceptance. No acceptance shall be valid unless preceded or followed by signature.

3. This Constitution shall come into force when it has been accepted by twenty of its signatories. Subsequent acceptances shall take effect immediately.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom will inform all members of the United Nations of the receipt of all instruments of acceptance and of the date on which the Constitution comes into force in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

In faith whereof, the undersigned, duly authorised to that effect, have signed this Constitution in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Done in London the sixteenth day of November, 1945, in a single copy, in the English and French languages, of which certified copies will be communicated by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of all the Members of the United Nations.

## INSTRUMENT ESTABLISHING A PREPARATORY EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COMMISSION

*London, 16th November. 1945*

THE Governments represented at the United Nations Educational and Cultural Conference in London,

Having determined that an international organisation to be known as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation shall be established, and

Having formulated the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation,

Agree as follows :-

1. Pending the coming into force of the Constitution and the establishment of the Organisation provided for therein, there shall be established a Preparatory Commission to make arrangements for the first Session of the General Conference of the Organisation, and to take such other steps as are indicated below.

2. For this purpose the Commission shall :-

(a) Convoke the First Session of the General Conference.

- (b) Prepare the provisional agenda for the First Session of the General Conference and prepare documents and recommendations relating to all matters on the agenda including such matters as the possible transfer of functions, activities and assets of existing international agencies, the specific arrangements between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation, and arrangements for the Secretariat of the Organisation and the appointment of its Director-General.
- (c) Make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme and the budget of the Organisation for presentation to the General Conference at its First Session.
- (d) Provide without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries as indicated in Paragraphs 6 and 7.
3. The Commission shall consist of one representative of each of the Governments signatory to this Instrument.
4. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Committee composed of fifteen members to be selected at the first meeting of the Commission. The Executive Committee shall exercise any or all powers of the Commission as the Commission may determine.
5. The Commission shall establish its own rules of procedure and shall appoint such other committees and consult with such specialists as may be desirable to facilitate its work.
6. The Commission shall appoint a special technical sub-committee to examine the problems relating to the educational, scientific and cultural needs of the countries devastated by the war, having regard to the information already collected and the work being done by other international organisations, and to prepare as complete a conspectus as possible of the extent and nature of the problems for the information of the Organisation at the First Session of the Conference.
7. When the technical sub-committee is satisfied that any ameliorative measures are immediately practicable to meet any educational, scientific or cultural needs it shall report to the Commission accordingly and the Commission shall, if it approves, take steps to bring such needs to the attention of Governments, organisations, and persons wishing to assist by contributing money, supplies or services in order that co-ordinated relief may be given either directly by the donors to the countries requiring aid or indirectly through existing international relief organisations.
8. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Secretary who shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as the Commission may determine, with such international staff as may be

required. The staff shall be composed as far as possible of officials and specialists made available for this purpose by the participating Governments on the invitation of the Executive Secretary.

9. The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation concerning the legal status of that Organisation, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Commission.

10. The Commission shall hold its first meeting in London immediately after the conclusion of the present Conference and shall continue to sit in London until such time as the Constitution of the Organisation has come into force. The Commission shall then transfer to Paris where the permanent Organisation is to be located.

11. During such period as the Commission is in London, the expenses of its maintenance shall be met by the Government of the United Kingdom on the understanding :

- (1) that the amount of the expenses so incurred will be deducted from the contributions of that Government to the new Organisation until they have been recovered, and
- (2) that it will be open to the Commission, if circumstances so warrant, to seek contributions from other Governments.

When the Commission is transferred to Paris, the financial responsibility will pass to the French Government on the same terms.

12. The Commission shall cease to exist upon the assumption of office of the Director-General of the Organisation, at which time its property and records shall be transferred to the Organisation.

13. The Government of the United Kingdom shall be the temporary depositary and shall have custody of the original document embodying these interim arrangements in the English and French languages. The Government of the United Kingdom shall transfer the original to the Director-General on his assumption of office.

14. This Instrument shall be effective as from this date, and shall remain open for signature on behalf of the States entitled to be the original Members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, until the Commission is dissolved in accordance with paragraph 12.

In faith whereof, the undersigned representatives, having been duly authorised for that purpose, have signed this Instrument in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Done in London the Sixteenth day of November, 1945, in a single copy, in the English and French languages, of which certified copies will be communicated by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of all the States Members of the United Nations.

# FIRST COMMISSION

(Title, Preamble, Purposes and Principal Functions of the Organisation)

## SUMMARY REPORTS

### FIRST MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 12 noon*  
Chairman : M. Jaime Torres BODET (Mexico),  
Vice-President of the Conference

#### Election of the Bureau of the Commission

The Commission elected as Chairman Dr. R. C. WALLACE, C.M.G. (Canada), and as Vice-Chairman, Dr. BOLKESTEIN (Netherlands).

### SECOND MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*  
Chairman : Dr. R. C. WALLACE, C.M.G.  
(Canada)

#### General Discussion ; Title, Preamble, Purposes and Principal Functions of the Organisation

The Chairman reminded the Commission of the directive accepted by the Conference : that the draft put forward by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education should be the basis of the discussions, full consideration being given to the French draft and to all other drafts and proposals offered by other countries.

The United States delegate raised a question of procedure : was the Commission to address itself to questions of language or of substance ?

The delegate of India was in favour of proceeding with the draft line by line, taking ideas and language together.

The Chairman suggested stressing the substance in preference to the form, a suggestion which the Commission endorsed.

The delegate of France thought they should take the articles of the text one by one, discuss the underlying principles and get the general feeling of the Commission, and then if necessary appoint a drafting committee.

The Commission *agreed* to deal with the articles of the text as a whole, to consider their intent, to discuss alternative proposals, and, if necessary, to appoint a committee to work on a draft text.

#### *Title of Organisation.*

The United States delegate submitted a proposal that the Organisation be called the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

The delegate of China seconded the proposal.

The delegate of India submitted a proposal that the Organisation be called the Intellectual Organisation of the United Nations.

The Commission *agreed* to postpone its vote on the title of the Organisation.

#### *Preamble.*

The delegate of India gave notice of an amendment substituting for "The High Contracting Parties" the phrase "The Governments of the States Parties to this agreement on behalf of their respective peoples."

The United States delegate gave notice of an amendment replacing "The High Contracting Parties" by the phrase "The Nations Parties to this Constitution on behalf of their respective peoples." He was in favour of a short, clear statement of principles.

The Belgian delegate recalled an amendment submitted by the I.L.O., postulating equal chances in education.

The delegate of Canada said the Preamble should state as simply as possible what the over-all purpose was. He gave notice of an amendment.

The delegate of Poland suggested replacing the first paragraph of the Allied Ministers' text by the first three articles of the French draft, to set a spiritual seal upon the document about to be signed and supply an answer to the disappointment and anxiety of peoples on the continent of Europe and probably in China. A sense of responsibility towards the children of Russia and Poland, the teachers of Norway, the martyrs of the Maquis, the Lidice miners, demanded some expansion of the watertight educational Allied Ministers' text to take account of social and political factors. The I.L.O. amendment would further strengthen the democratic purpose.

The delegate of the United Kingdom did not regard the French and English texts as alternatives ; the former was largely a statement of the needs and urgency of the situation, while the Allied Ministers' text showed what the Allies proposed to do. Each had its place.

The Chairman observed that the French draft brought out the present position of Europe and its needs and showed how that affected the issue.

The delegate of Mexico supported the Polish delegate's views, and was prepared to go further. He gave notice of an amendment.

The delegate of India pointed out that reconstruction came specifically within the Fifth Commission's terms of reference ; it would be finished within a few years' and should not figure too prominently in the objectives of the Organisation. The First Commission should take a long view of the Organisation's functions and consider the position of countries where educational institutions had never existed.

The delegate of Yugoslavia agreed with the Polish and Mexican delegates. It was important

in the Preamble to create a proper background. The opening paragraphs should make it clear that the Organisation would contribute dynamically towards maintaining democratic ideas. The neutral text of the Allied Ministers must be supplemented by concrete facts as a basis for action. He would vote for the idea if not the text of the first three French paragraphs. He favoured a proper balance between the claims of devastated and educationally backward countries.

The United States delegate said that now, less than three months after the first use of atomic force, the present Conference was potentially the most important Conference that the United Nations could or would call. In the light of that new danger, the primary object must be the common understanding of man. He urged that no decisions should be taken on the discussion until further aspects had been debated.

The delegate of France said the Preamble must embody a statement of principles and give a proper place to spiritual values ; it must take account of the immediate aims of reconstruction and provide for backward countries. Other amendments would fall into place in the hands of a drafting committee.

The Commission *decided* to appoint a drafting committee, to be named by the Chairman.

(Proposals during the meeting (1) for a composite document as a basis for discussion, and (2) for adjournment of the discussion, were not endorsed by the Commission.)

### THIRD MEETING

*Held on Tuesday, November 6th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. R. C. WALLACE, C.M.G.  
(Canada)

#### **General Discussion ; Title, Preamble, Purposes and Principal Functions of the Organisation— (contd.)**

The Chairman announced the names of the members of the Committee appointed to draft the Preamble, namely :

M. Cassin (France ; M. Gilson alternate), Dr. Jha (India), Dr. Bodet (Mexico), Dr. Drzewieski (Poland), Miss Bosanquet (United Kingdom), Mr. MacLeish (U.S.A.) ; Secretary,

#### *Title.*

The Commission *decided* in favour of the title "United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation."

#### *Purposes and Principal Functions.*

The Commission discussed Article I (Purposes) and Article II (Principal Functions) of the Allied Ministers' draft and Article 1 (Functions and Purposes) of the French Government's draft.

The chief points covered by the debate were as follows :-

(1) The need for a clearer definition of purposes and functions.

- (2) The desirability of relating the purposes of the Organisation to the broad purpose of the United Nations, by including a reference to the Charter (in the Preamble or elsewhere).
- (3) The need for an annex indicating the Organisation's immediate aims.
- (4) The compilation of a list of problems, and of the bodies already dealing with them, for the Organisation's consideration.
- (5) The rights of intellectuals.
- (6) The right of every country to educational facilities of all kinds.
- (7) The promotion of inter-State agreements on educational exchanges.
- (8) International committees of experts- to deal with the question of text-books, etc.

The Commission *decided* to consolidate the purposes and functions of the Organisation within the framework of a single article.

*The discussion was adjourned.*

### FOURTH MEETING

*Held on Wednesday, November 7th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. R. C. WALLACE, C.M.G.  
(Canada)

#### **General Discussion ; Title, Preamble, Purposes and Principal Functions of the Organisation— (concluded)**

#### *Purposes and Principal Functions.*

The Commission concluded its general discussion on the purposes and principal functions of the Organisation.

The main points covered by the debate were as follows :-

- (1) The Constitution of the Organisation must postulate basic principles for education, including freedom of the mind and the expression thereof.
- (2) The inclusion of "scientific" in the title and elsewhere in the text implied the inclusion in the Organisation's activities of the philosophy of science, not its application (science as touching on military security would be dealt with by a disarmament conference). It was vitally important that scientists should be in touch with those who saw the world in "human" terms.
- (3) The Constitution should contain a specific reference to freedom from ignorance— a fundamental freedom in the sense of the charter-and included in the Organisation's aims should be the establishment of basic minimum standards of education, of universal application.
- (4) Further stress was laid on the principle of the democratisation of education and equality of opportunity, irrespective of race or sex (with a special reference to the education of women and its pacific influence on future generations).



- (5) Education must be considered within a framework of ethics : the moral and spiritual aspects were all-important.
- (6) Social justice admitted of a scientific approach; its non-political aspects might be studied by a special body.
- (7) The abrogation of the rule of law might be incorporated in the "warning" which formed the introduction to the French text. Professor Murray's amendment to the Preamble (E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/2) regarding "the deliberate abandonment of the pursuit of objective truth" should also find a place there.
- (8) More positive results might be achieved by adopting the Allied Ministers' draft, which had the merit of avoiding too much detail.
- (9) Every boy and girl, every man and woman should have an opportunity to develop their particular qualifications without let or hindrance and without reference to economic considerations.
- (10) Some co-ordination was needed between the work of the First Commission and that of the Fifth Commission, which was dealing with the functions of the Interim Commission.

Textual amendments were submitted by the United Kingdom delegate and by the delegate for India, who asked that the provisions of Article XV of the Allied Ministers' proposals and Article 55c of Chapter IX of the Charter should be incorporated in the functions of the Organisation and that a bureau should be set up for the translation of major classical works.

The Commission *decided* to entrust to the Committee appointed to draft the Preamble the further task of drafting a consolidated article embodying the purposes and principal functions of the Organisation.

The Chairman of the Drafting Committee asked that any amendments and suggestions for the consideration of the Drafting Committee might be sent in promptly.

## FIFTH MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 12th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman : Dr. R. C. WALLACE, C.M.G.  
(Canada)*

### **Report of the Drafting Committee on the Preamble and Article I (E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/18)**

The Commission discussed the report of the Drafting Committee on the Preamble and Article I (a consolidated article). The Chairman of the Drafting Committee, in moving the adoption of the report, a motion which was seconded by the delegate of France, explained that it was the Drafting Committee's intention to condense and amend certain portions of the text—more particularly of Article I—in the light of suggestions and textual amendments that might be put forward by the Commission. He said that these would be dealt with in consultation with the Drafting Committee of the Conference.

A proposal submitted by the delegate of the Union of South Africa and seconded by the delegate of Greece that paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Preamble be deleted was not endorsed by the Commission. The delegate of the Union of South Africa said that the "negative" character of paragraphs 2 and 3 constituted a weakness in the text, which would, on the contrary, gain from the immediate linking up of paragraphs 1 and 4. It was a mistake to give undue prominence to one only among the many causes of war.

A proposal submitted by the delegate of Panama (E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/15) and seconded by the delegate of Colombia, to include in the Preamble a specific reference to a belief—or non-belief—in God and a reference to the moral law was not endorsed by the Commission. (See Annexes.)

The Commission unanimously adopted the text of the Preamble and of Article I on the understanding that the framing of the final text would be left to the Drafting Committee.

*Vote of thanks to the Chairman.*

The Commission passed a unanimous and hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The Commission concluded its discussion on its terms of reference.

## ANNEXES

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/1.

### TITLE, PREAMBLE, PURPOSE AND PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS OF THE ORGANISATION

Document Presented  
by the  
Working Committee of the Conference

The title adopted by the Conference of Allied Ministers is—

Educational and Cultural Organisation of the United Nations (E.C.O.)

The French Government's draft proposes, as the French title—

“ Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation ”  
(Organisation de Cooperation Intellectuelle)  
whilst maintaining the terms “ Culture ” and “ Education ” in some form in the English title.

The International Federation of Secondary Teachers proposes the omission of “ cultural ” on the ground that it implies that an educational organisation is not cultural.

Amongst the proposals received by the Ministry of Education from British societies was one from the Society of Visiting Scientists to the effect that Science should figure in the title in the following form—

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (U.N.E.S.C.O.).

This proposal had already been put forward by the Science Commission of the Conference of Allied Ministers.

#### *Preamble.*

The Draft Constitution of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education contains a preamble composed of four paragraphs, of which the last formally sets up the Organisation.

Paragraph 1 stresses security, peace and welfare.

Paragraph 2 stresses co-operation and cultural interchange as promoting understanding and security.

Paragraph 3 stresses education and exchange of ideas with the same objective.

The French draft contains a preamble composed of five paragraphs, excluding the final formal clause.

Paragraph 1 stresses the ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality contrasted with ideologies of violence and racial inequality.

Paragraph 2 stresses the value of the interchange of persons and ideas as a remedy against prejudice and misunderstanding.

Paragraph 3 stresses the importance of mutual aid in education as a reinforcement of human dignity.

Paragraph- 4 stresses the importance of co-ordination in the field of learning in view of the increase of specialisation.

Paragraph 5 stresses the need for concerted action for reconstruction in view of the ravages caused by the war.

A further suggestion in regard to the Preamble has been received from the I.L.O. which suggests that a specific reference be inserted there to the need for equality of educational opportunity.

#### *Purposes and Functions.*

These are contained in Articles I and II of the C.A.M.E. draft, whilst the French draft contains them in a single Article. The C.A.M.E. draft defines Purposes in two paragraphs.

Paragraph 1 stresses mutual understanding.

Paragraph 2 stresses co-operation.

The C.A.M.E. then proceeds to Functions. These are defined in six paragraphs.

Paragraph 1 stresses consultation amongst leaders.

Paragraph 2 stresses the free flow of ideas and information.

Paragraph 3 stresses programmes supporting peace and security.

Paragraph 4 stresses the making of educational and cultural plans.

Paragraph 5 stresses research related to peace and welfare.

Paragraph 6 stresses assistance to countries which need and request it.

The French draft consists of four paragraphs.

Paragraph 1 stresses the value of the Organisation for the exchange of persons and ideas, and pledges the Organisation to draw up the necessary agreements for this object.

Paragraph 2 stresses the need for a fresh impulse for popular education and pledges the Organisation to draft agreements for this purpose.

Paragraph 3 stresses the value of the Organisation in the task of co-ordination in the field of learning referred to in the Preamble.

Paragraph 4 defines the task of the Organisation in the field of intellectual rights and pledges it to draw up conventions in this field.

The Head of the International Museums Office, writing also on behalf of the International Commission for Art and Folklore, proposes—

1. The insertion of the word “ museums ” in the C.A.M.E. draft, following the word “ libraries ” (Article I, paragraph 2).

2. The insertion of the words, “ theatrical and musical entertainment and the interchange of performers ” following the words “ motion pictures. ”

3. The addition, after “ advances in scientific knowledge, ” of the words “ and the development of the aesthetic sensitivity (*sic*) of the masses.”

4. The addition of a further paragraph (5a or 6a), as follows :

“ Promote ethnological studies with a view to stressing still further the common cultural heritage of mankind. ”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/2.

**PREAMBLE**

Amendment proposed by Dr. Gilbert Murray,  
observer

I venture to suggest an amendment to the French preamble which in principle applies both to the French document and to that of the Allied Ministers. As the texts stand they suggest that the Germans pursued one form of political propaganda and we intend to push the opposite propaganda. The real fundamental vice of German education was "the deliberate abandonment of the pursuit of objective truth, the rejection of democratic ideas, etc." We intend to learn and pursue the truth.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/5.

The delegation of the United States of America proposes amendments to the Draft of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education as follows, and reserves other suggestions and proposals for consideration in the discussions of the appropriate Commissions :

1. *Title.*

To amend the Title by substituting therefor, wherever it may occur, the following :

**UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION**

It is understood that the adoption of this amendment will serve as instruction to the Sub-Committee on Drafting of the Executive Committee to insert the word *scientific* in the text of the Constitution, wherever such insertion is indicated in order to describe the scope of the activities of the Organisation.

2. *Preamble.*

To amend the Preamble by substituting for the introductory phrase the following :

The Nations parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples.

3. *Article II. Principal Functions.*

To amend by adding after the last paragraph a concluding paragraph as follows :

Nothing contained in this present Constitution shall authorise the Organisation to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/6.

**DRAFTING AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION SUBMITTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ZOOLOGICAL NOMENCLATURE**

**ARTICLE I**

Preamble. This is a provision of fundamental importance for it governs almost all the rest of the document. Elsewhere in the document the purposes of the Organisation are referred to as "Educational and Cultural." These epithets are much narrower than the definition in Article I and it is most desirable that words should be

inserted in that Article to make it clear that the expression "Educational and Cultural" as used elsewhere in the document covers all the purposes specified in Article I. This might be done by the insertion of some such words as "hereinafter referred to as educational and cultural purposes" after the word "Nations" as line 2 of the preamble of this Article.

Sub-paragraphs (1) and (2). The arrangement of the purposes in these two paragraphs is illogical. In sub-paragraph (1) the educational and strictly cultural purposes precede the scientific purposes, whereas in sub-paragraph (2) "knowledge" is put in front of "culture." One or other of these sub-paragraphs should be re-arranged for the sake of consistency.

**ARTICLE II**

Paragraph (1) speaks of "educational and cultural life"; paragraph (3) speaks of "educational and cultural programmes"; paragraph (4) speaks of "educational and cultural plans"; paragraph (5) speaks of "educational and cultural problems"; and paragraph (6) speaks of "educational and cultural activities." On the other hand, paragraph (2) speaks of "educational and cultural developments, including advances in scientific knowledge." The effect, though clearly not the intention, of the addition of the explanatory words in paragraph (2) is to exclude "advances in scientific knowledge" from the meaning to be attached to the expression "educational and cultural" as used in paragraphs (1), (3), (4) (5) and (6). The words "including advances in scientific knowledge" should be deleted from paragraph (2), thereby giving to the expression "educational and cultural" the same meaning in each of the five paragraphs of Article II. The result will be that, if Article I is amended in the way already suggested, the words "educational and cultural" as used in each of the paragraphs of Article II will have the same meaning as though the word "scientific" was in each place expressly inserted.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/7.

**AMENDMENT TO THE PREAMBLE**

Presented by Dr. **AMARNATH JHA** (India)

That the words "the High Contracting Parties" be changed to "The Governments of the States parties to the Agreement on behalf of their respective peoples."

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/8.

**AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT PROPOSALS OF THE ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND TO ARTICLE 1 OF THE FRENCH DRAFT PROPOSALS**

**PROPOSALS BY THE MEXICAN DELEGATION**

Add to Article II of the Allied Ministers of Education Draft Proposals and to Article 1 of the French Draft Proposals the following :—

“ . . . by means of an International Commission of experts to look after the problem of school texts and especially, those books assigned to the learning of history in order to eliminate all statements tending to create a false feeling of racial superiority or national imperialism which may be contrary to the development of a spirit of human brotherhood and universal solidarity.”

. . . to undertake the necessary studies in order to submit to the member Nations the negotiation of conventions dealing with the protection of the historic and artistic patrimony of each Nation against destruction by violence, occupation by force, and exportation or traffic with commercial purposes, so that the official agencies will be the only ones entitled to organise their inter-change by barter or by donations or for temporary exhibitions.

. . . will take the necessary measures to elaborate a project of a uniform law regarding author's copyrights in order to unify the present system without detriment to the interests that justly correspond to the intellectuals, and to foster the benefits of culture in a broader social scope. ”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/9.

**PROPOSALS OF THE MEXICAN DELEGATION FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE PREAMBLE SUBMITTED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT**

A. To the first paragraph add the following considerations :

“ Whereas the promulgation of these doctrines was made possible above all by the inequality of education, since difficulties, mainly economic, have unfortunately kept large masses of people in poverty and ignorance ; and whereas this poverty and ignorance are in manifest contradiction with the spirit of the new peace and represent a constant threat to the collective security of nations ;

“ Whereas the safeguarding of a just and lasting peace will more and more require the free exchange of ideas and knowledge between the nations as well as the adoption of measures to correct that inequality of education which lay at the root of most misunderstandings and disputes ; ”

B. In place of the words in the third paragraph : “ and it is impossible to create the conditions for true progress without uplifting mankind to a higher moral and intellectual standard ; and whereas popular education has now become a sacred duty which all democratic nations should fulfil through mutual assistance with all their resources ; ” substitute the following :

“ and it is necessary to raise the standard of intellectual knowledge and moral generosity of mankind by education for peace, liberty and social justice-an education which is a sacred duty to be fulfilled by all democratic nations through mutual assistance in proportion to their resources. ”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/10.

**PROPOSALS OF THE DELEGATE OF DENMARK REGARDING THE PURPOSES OF THE ORGANISATION**

When we compare the proposals by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education with those of the French Government concerning the purposes of our Organisation, one essential difference at once strikes us. The original proposals confine themselves to general ideas, whereas the French proposals furnish a number of detailed and precise indications. Let us turn to Article I. The advantages of the British proposal are obvious : a programme intended to be applied over a long period of time is bound to confine itself to general ideas, and to deal with details, even by way of example, is to run the risk of unduly circumscribing the future work of the Organisation. All the same I am afraid if we simply adopt the British proposals, we shall escape the Scylla of over-vague formulas only to encounter the Charybdis of over-vague generalities. I would therefore suggest a method which, I think, combines the advantages of the two sets of proposals I suggest that we adopt for the Statute of our Organisation the British formula, with a few alterations, but at the same time we add to the statute a kind of annex or corollary which will relate to the present purposes of our Organisation.

I would like to adduce in this connection three general arguments :—

1. The danger of over-vague generalities is a very real one. When we return to our countries, it is essential that we should be able to convince our Governments that the Conference has seriously tackled precise and practical problems. If we are to be frank and face the facts, we must admit that even here, during the Conference, any discussion which is confined to general ideas and legislative formulas may well lapse into general indifference. Three weeks have been set aside for our Conference but if in that time we fail to deal with definite matters of present importance it is certain that after a while many of the delegates will grow weary and will fall off in their attendance at meetings. Only the day before yesterday, the second day of the Conference many empty seats were to be seen and there were other signs which indicated that speeches consisting of general ideas failed to maintain an interest for everyone. This is natural, for this Conference is not one of a few diplomats and specialists in international law, experts in the field of legislative technique. It is a gathering of a large number of men and women concerned with the practical problems of education and intellectual co-operation. This brings me to my second argument.

2. This Conference has brought together many experts in every branch of education and intellectual co-operation. It numbers experts in school teaching, university education, broadcasting, international libraries, etc., etc. Clearly we must benefit by this unique opportunity :

the Conference has to deal directly with practical questions and not concern itself exclusively with drawing up the Statute, which, as I have already said, must be restricted to general ideas.

3. And now for my third argument. As we know, the problems confronting us are also the concern of many other institutions and organisations. For example, the Commission of Books and Periodicals has dealt in questions concerning the exchange of periodicals and books and has already achieved important results. We know that this country is engaged in preparing a manual of universal history for use in all European countries. We also know that in the Scandinavian States friendly collaboration has attained success in the same direction. U.N.R.R.A. is preoccupied with the grave problems due to the destruction of school and university institutions in the countries laid waste by the enemy. No doubt many other examples would be added to this list. It seems obvious to me that before this Conference ends we must establish as complete a list as possible of these problems and of the institutions which deal with them. I feel sure that there is a sufficient number of experts at this meeting to be capable of furnishing us with a reliable and full compilation. And it is extremely important to do all we can to avoid two international organisations, or more, dealing unknowingly with the same question. Any waste of time and money is a crime when universal disaster is so real a menace. If we go back to our homes and ask for the support of our Governments, we must be in the position to give them full and accurate information. Let me quote an example. Just now I mentioned the efforts to prepare a text-book of European history. I only heard of it yesterday, quite by chance. When we get back to Copenhagen we shall of course have to submit to our Government a report on the Conference and answer their questions. But supposing that in the meantime our Government has heard through some other international organisation of a proposal concerning school history books and supposing that we ourselves know nothing definite about it, it will look as if our Organisation is up in the clouds and that it is better to turn to organisations with more precise and restricted purposes, if concrete results are to be obtained. Which would be very unfortunate.

I would therefore propose that this Commission draws up a provisional list of the current problems with which our Organisation will deal and that, at a Plenary meeting we ask all delegates to furnish brief and precise particulars concerning their problems and especially to give information regarding work already done, or in the doing, in the domain in question. On the basis of such information we could frame an annex to the Statutes containing information on the present draft of our Organisation, drawing attention to the

efforts made in this field by other institutions. That annex will constitute as it were the working programme of the interim Commission and it may tell the Governments of the Allied Nations what our Conference has been trying to do.

I am sure that in this way we can secure very valuable results, while at the same time preserving the general character of the Organisation's Statute.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/12.

**OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS OFFERED BY THE CANADIAN DELEGATION WITH REGARD TO THE DRAFT PROPOSALS ; PREAMBLE**

It is the view of the Canadian delegation that the Preamble of the Constitution enunciate clearly and briefly the fundamental aim of the Organisation, and the following is suggested for consideration.

Members of the United Nations Organisation having pledged themselves to take joint action to promote international cultural and educational co-operation under the Economic and Social Council of the Organisation in order to create peaceful and friendly relations among nations.

It is desirable that all peace-loving nations combine their efforts to extend and make accessible to all peoples the world's heritage and store of knowledge and culture, in the belief that by the mutual understanding and appreciation of the achievements of man's mind and creative spirit everywhere the basis of international organisation for world peace, economic stability, political security and the freedom and well-being of all will be further broadened and fortified.

It is also desirable that an international agency be established under the United Nations Organisation Charter to achieve these ends.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/13.

**AMENDMENT SUBMITTED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION TO ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT PROPOSALS BY THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND TO ARTICLE 1 OF THE FRENCH PROPOSALS**

French proposals, Article 1, paragraph 3.

Replace the opening lines down to "it will give . . ." by the following :

" In order to promote the advancement of knowledge-in particular of science and of technology-and the expansion of culture, the Organisation will establish through Committees of experts, regular co-operation between the representatives of the various intellectual activities.

" One of these Committees, made up of persons best qualified, will be entrusted to act as an advisory body in the field of investigations which affect both world security and the development of new resources which science places at man's disposal.

"The Organisation will also give pride of place . . . etc."

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/14.

**PROPOSALS OF THE CANADIAN DELEGATION FOR  
ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT PROPOSALS**

It is considered that the statement of functions should be as precise and compact as possible, the object not being to specify in detail all or even nearly all the possible functions, but to employ language sufficiently comprehensive to give the Organisation the utmost latitude in its operations.

**PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS**

The work of the Organisation shall be conducted equally in the three great fields of Science, Culture and Education and shall include :-

- (a) Assisting countries that need and request help in sustaining and developing their activities in these fields at all times, but particularly in the present emergency.
- (b) Assisting the free flow of ideas and information among the peoples of the world through :
  - (i) schools, universities and other educational and research institutions ;
  - (ii) libraries, publications and the Press ;
  - (iii) the radio and the motion pictures and all other appropriate media, and the
  - (iv) interchange of students, teachers, research workers and all other representatives of scientific, cultural and educational life.
- (c) Convening and encouraging the calling of international conferences and arranging individual or group visits between countries of representatives of science, culture and education.
- (d) Conducting and encouraging research and studies on scientific, cultural and educational problems for the general information of all and for such consideration and use as each country may deem appropriate.
- (e) Promoting the exchange between countries of all available information on scientific, cultural and educational programmes, plans and projects.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/15.

*Translation from the Spanish.*

**AMENDMENTS TO THE PREAMBLE, ARTICLE I AND  
ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT PROPOSALS ; PROPOSED  
BY THE ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE PANAMANIAN  
DELEGATION, DR. RAMON E. ARANGO**

*Preamble.*

Determined that all possible steps shall be taken to further the attainment of goodwill and contentment through education and knowledge, to ensure peace and international security under the Moral Law ; and to advance the welfare of the peoples of the world, for their own happiness,

<sup>1</sup> NOTE.-The delegation of Panama has requested the Secretariat to add the following explanatory text :

*Declaration of the Five Fundamental Human Rights to Freedom.*

- I. FREEDOM of movement, without visas, into and out of other countries, and freedom to sojourn in other countries for any length of time whatsoever.
- II. FREEDOM of worship of Almighty God.
- III. FREEDOM of critical expression by man's developed critical faculties-hence the right to a

and for the greater glory of God, the Creator of all things ;

Convinced that the Moral Law should be the foundation of ethics and of the laws of each nation, because it recognises man's fundamental right to—

- FREEDOM of movement throughout the world and of sojourn in all countries,
- FREEDOM of worship of Almighty God,
- FREEDOM of critical expression by the development of his critical faculties,
- FREEDOM and protection from molestation in his *person*, and to
- FREEDOM and protection from denial of his *right to work*, wherever he may be, that he may not be in want of food, clothing, shelter and education,

The United Nations, recognising these truths and affirming these fundamental liberties, <sup>1</sup> hereby establish this United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

*Article I. Purposes of the Organisation.*

1. Seeing that education is a process of development of the inherent qualities and faculties of each individual, and that these are grouped in physical, intellectual, moral and social components, the purpose of the Organisation shall be to assume responsibility in the name of the United Nations, by means of educational, scientific and cultural missions of inspection, to the end that these branches of education be represented in the teaching of the schools of the whole world.

2. Seeing that culture is a further development of education in adults, the Organisation shall encourage such development by means of cultural reunions and by facilitating the interchange of what is known of human culture in all the fields of knowledge, scientific and artistic.

*Article II. Principal Functions.*

To achieve the above purposes of promoting education and culture, the Organisation shall, by means of missions of educational, scientific and cultural inspection to be established in every country :

1. Ascertain where, and how much, education in all its branches (physical, intellectual, moral and social) is being neglected.

2. Bring to the notice of the countries in question such neglect and recommend available material facilities or practical methods of remedying it.

3. Be prepared to give advice to all nations, by the competent staff of the technical sections of the Secretariat, on effective methods for the development of education as a whole.

complete and comprehensive education of his inherent faculties and qualities.

IV. FREEDOM from molestation in his person, and the *right* to the respect of his person, family and property.

V. FREEDOM from-denial of his right to work, wherever he may be, whether he be in his own country or in another, that he may not be in want of food, of clothing, of shelter, and of education.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/16.

**AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY THE DELEGATION OF YUGOSLAVIA TO THE PREAMBLE OF THE DRAFT OF THE CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION**

1. To amend paragraph 1 of the preamble by combining it with paragraph 1 of the French draft as follows :-

“ Determined that all possible steps shall be taken to further the attainment of international security and peace, to advance the welfare of the peoples of the world and to strengthen democratic ideas by combating doctrines glorifying violence and proclaiming the inequality of races.”

It is strongly felt that without clearer reference to democracy, as opposed to the Nazi-Fascist doctrines the preamble would be too vague and would not record the fact that the United Nations are setting up this Organisation for the chief purpose of eliminating educational and cultural systems which have directly contributed to the present World War.

2. To amend paragraph 3 of the preamble as follows :-

“ Dedicated to the proposition that the free and unrestricted exchange of ideas and knowledge between the nations and education for peace, liberty and social justice are essential to the advancement of human welfare, mutual understanding and to the preservation of security and peace. ”

It is felt that the idea of “ free and unrestricted education,” as proposed in the draft of the Ministers of Education, is too wide and could lead to abuse, and allow the appearance of those anti-democratic educational and cultural systems which it is the purpose of the future Organisation to banish.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/17.

**PROPOSALS OF THE DELEGATION OF GUATEMALA WITH REFERENCE TO ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT PROPOSALS OF THE ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND ARTICLE 1 OF THE FRENCH PROPOSALS**

The delegation of Guatemala records its full agreement with the three paragraphs proposed by the Mexican delegation concerning study of the problem of school texts and especially those which relate to history, to the protection of the historic and artistic patrimony of each nation and to authors' copyrights. These paragraphs should be added to Article II of the Draft Proposals of the Allied Ministers of Education and to Article 1 of the French proposals.

At the same time the delegation of Guatemala proposes that the following paragraph be inserted between the second and third paragraphs of the Mexican amendment :

“ To secure restoration of historic and artistic (archaeological, paleographic, pictorial) treasures to the countries to which they belong. ”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/18.

**REPORT OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE**

**THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES PARTIES TO THIS CONSTITUTION ON BEHALF OF THEIR PEOPLES DECLARE**

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 the common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of the suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war ;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of democratic principles of the dignity and equality and mutual respect of men and by the propagation, in their place, of ignorance and prejudice and the doctrine of the inequality of men and races ;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern ;

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.

For these reasons, the nations signatory 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 ;

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation 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 Organisation was established and which its Charter proclaims.

*Article I.*

1. In order to advance the purposes of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, the Organisation will promote, on the widest basis, the contacts between nations and the exchanges of ideas and persons best calculated to promote the spread of knowledge and mutual understanding. The Organisation will endeavour to assist all the media of mass communication, and all other media in any country which contribute to the dissemination of knowledge and information

internationally, to accomplish their task of informing the peoples of the world about each other with truth and justice and understanding. To this end the Organisation will draw up and propose such international agreements as may be necessary to insure the greatest possible freedom of the instruments of international information from censorship, discriminatory competitive practices, and other obstacles to the free movement of ideas by word and image among the peoples of the world.

2. In order to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, and religion, and in order, further, to combat, throughout the world, the ignorance and prejudice on which fear and suspicion feed, and to give fresh impulse to popular education and the spread of culture among the peoples, the Organisation will

(a) Collaborate with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities, including collaboration in the study of such matters as methods of teaching, co-ordination of curricula and equivalence of degrees ; drawing up to these ends agreements calculated to insure that every nation shall benefit by the experience and progress of others ;

(b) Institute collaboration among the nations of the world to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to origin or economic condition, or any other distinction of any kind whatever ;

(c) Define goals of educational practice in order that the children of the world may be well and truly educated for the responsibilities of freedom.

3. In order to encourage and promote the development of the sciences and the arts and to increase the world's body of knowledge, the Organisation will encourage scientific research and humane studies and will establish definitions of intellectual rights including rights of literary property, drawing up and recommending international conventions for their protection.

4. In order to make available to all peoples for the service of common human needs the world's full body of culture and of knowledge, the Organisation will--

(a) Conduct and encourage the study of cultural problems related to the maintenance of peace and the advancement of human welfare, giving pride of place to studies bearing on the peaceful progress and mutual understanding of the nations, including the interchange among them of knowledge of their several cultures and of the rural and urban life of their peoples ;

(b) Encourage co-operation between the nations in all fields of intellectual activity and organise the international exchange of scholars, scientists, artists, writers, teachers, students, technicians, workers, and representatives of other

callings, together with exchanges of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest, and other materials of information ;

(c) Encourage and promote co-operative arrangements among the nations through central bibliographical and indexing services and through international inter-library loan, to give to all the peoples of the world the readiest possible access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

5. In order to assure the preservation and protection of the world's inheritance of works of art and monuments of history, the Organisation will draw up and recommend the necessary international conventions to the nations concerned.

6. In order to preserve the independence, integrity, and necessary differences of the cultures and educational systems of the nations members of this Organisation, the Organisation is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

*Letter, dated November 16th, 1945, from the delegate of Colombia to the President of the Conference.*

“ Madame President,

“ I would like to convey to you my deep concern about the fact that in the declaration which is going to serve as preamble to the CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS' ORGANISATION ON EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL CO-OPERATION-and which is intended to be as high in its aims as clear, simple and convincing in its text, so that it may be read in every school and understood by all children---no mention, even the most discreet, has been made of the existence of a Supreme Being and that teaching should conform itself everywhere to ethics and morals.

“ Furthermore, an amendment presented at Commission No. 1 laying down that that Supreme Being in one or another form should be discreetly alluded to in the project and expressly mentioning that the collaboration on educational, scientific and cultural grounds between nations should be carried out under the scope of ethics and moral law, was defeated, some delegates sincerely believing that without this reference the Charter would reflect in a more open manner the freedom of mind, one of the Five Freedoms your people are championing for the New World.

“ I really do not see clearly how either of the parts of the proposed amendment, and particularly that which indicates that collaboration between nations on educational, scientific and cultural grounds should conform within the realm of ethics and morals could impair the freedom of mind. Moreover, I feel sure that to my countrymen that exclusion of a similar reference is going to come as a great surprise. I fear they will interpret it as though we were going to give to the new generations



of children the impression that Man is the Supreme Power and that law should be made by him, that is to say, to inculcate in their minds a purely materialistic conception of life.

“ May I ask you if it is possible to have the

contents of this letter put in the records of the Conference.

“ I avail myself of this opportunity of renewing to you the assurance of my highest consideration.

“ (Signed) Jaime JARAMILLO-ARANGO.”

## SECOND COMMISSION (General Structure of the Organisation)

### SUMMARY REPORTS

#### FIRST MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 12 noon*

##### Election of the Bureau of the Commission

The Commission elected as Chairman, Dr. A. SOMMERFELT (Norway), and as Vice-Chairman, Dr. E. R. WALKER (Australia).

#### SECOND MEETING

*Held on Tuesday, November 6th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT (Norway)

The Second Commission's terms of reference were read by the Secretary, and the Commission proceeded to discuss Article III of the draft proposals of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, in conjunction with the French Government's draft, Chapter II, Articles 2 and 3 (E.C.O./Conf./6).

Further amendments relevant to Article III were submitted by the United States delegation (E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/5, page 1).

It was *agreed* that Article III, paragraph 1 (C.A.M.E. draft) should read :

“ 1. Membership of any nation in the United Nations shall automatically entitle that nation to membership in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

“ Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organisation and the United Nations, approved pursuant to Article XIII of this Constitution, nations not members of the United Nations may be admitted to membership in the Organisation upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the Conference of the Organisation.”

It was proposed by the United Kingdom delegation that Article III, paragraph 2 (C.A.M.E. draft) should be deleted. A short discussion on the practicability of this article took place and it was agreed that decision on this proposal should be deferred until the next meeting, so that delegates could consult other members of their delegations.

It was *agreed* that Article III, paragraph 3, should be referred to a Drafting Committee to be brought into line with the decision taken on this subject by the Fourth Commission.

It was *agreed* that Article III, paragraph 4 (C.A.M.E. draft) should provide not only for the

suspension of members, but for their expulsion. The United States amendment to this paragraph (E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/5) was *accepted*, and in Article III, paragraph 4 (C.A.M.E. draft) expulsion was substituted for suspension.

The Commission proceeded to consider the role of world organisations in the Constitution and heard a statement from the French delegate, M. Henri Bonnet. M. Bonnet said that one of the most difficult problems before the Conference was the reconciliation of the interests of Governments with the interests of free individuals. It was appropriate that those organisations that had been working in the field of culture and education for many years should be represented in the proposed Organisation. There would be difficulties, but it was the task of the Conference to overcome them.

#### THIRD MEETING

*Held on Wednesday, November 7th, 1945,  
at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT (Norway)

The Chairman announced that a Drafting Committee would be appointed to study questions of overlapping and drafting. On his proposal, the Commission decided to refer to this Committee the amendment to Article III submitted by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature (E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/2).

*Discussion of Article III, paragraph 2, of the  
C.A.M.E. draft.*

The Commission *agreed* that this paragraph, which deals with the procedure of withdrawal, should be deleted from the draft, but it was understood, following a suggestion of the Colombian and Mexican delegations, that some agreement on the method of withdrawal should be reached outside the Constitution in agreement with the United Nations Organisation.

*Role of World Organisations in the Constitution.*

In continuation of the discussion initiated at the previous meeting, the Commission *agreed* that this was a matter to be dealt with by the Fourth Commission, but *decided* that it also wished to discuss it after the latter had reported on the subject. It was decided to inform the Fourth Commission of this intention.

*Discussion of Article IV of the C.A.M.E. text (Organs).*

The Chairman pointed out that one of the organs mentioned in this article, namely the Secretariat, would be discussed in the Third Commission.

The Commission had before it an amendment submitted by the Cuban delegation, which proposed that in addition to a Central Organisation and a Council of Ministers of Education, there should be a Conference of delegates of the National Commissions of Intellectual Co-operation and an Assembly of representatives of scientific and learned associations (E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/3). The Cuban delegate said that in making this proposal his Government had been inspired by the desire to give a very important role in the Organisation to cultural bodies, as well as to Governments. The peoples of the various countries, as represented in those bodies, must feel that they were playing a part in the Organisation, and the various cultural associations must take a full share in its work. The proposed Conference and Assembly would receive directives from the inter-governmental Organisation and would make recommendations to it. Mutual understanding between peoples was just as necessary for the maintenance of peace as agreement between Governments.

The Cuban amendment not having been seconded, it was not adopted, but the Commission *agreed* that it should be borne in mind in discussing Article V.

It was pointed out that the Conference would be the authoritative voice of the Organisation, but as there would be many other Conferences, this might lead to confusion. It was suggested that the term "General Conference" or "Convocation" should be used, but not the word "Assembly," to avoid confusion with the United Nations Assembly. The Commission *agreed* to refer this question to the Drafting Committee.

*Discussion of Article V A (Composition of the Conference).*

On the Chairman's proposal, the Commission agreed to discuss this article in conjunction with Article VIII A. (Composition of the National Commissions or Co-operating Bodies). The Commission opened a discussion of the various alternatives contained in the C.A.M.E. draft and in Articles 5, 25 and 36 of the French draft.

FOURTH MEETING

*Held on Thursday, November 8th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT (Norway)*

*Discussion of Article V A, of the C.A.M.E. Text (Composition of the Conference) (contd.).*

From the debate on this subject it emerged that the majority of delegations were in favour of Alternative *d* of the C.A.M.E. text, to the effect that the Conference should consist of the representatives of the members of the Organisation

and that the Government of each Member State should appoint not more than five delegates to be selected after consultation with educational and cultural bodies.

The French delegate, while not wishing to oppose the wishes of the majority, strongly urged that some mention should be made of the National Commissions on Intellectual Co-operation. Such National Commissions would certainly be appointed in consultation with Governments and would not be in opposition to them. He considered that the National Commissions should be entitled to nominate delegates, but those delegates would, of course, have to be accredited by their Governments. He proposed that a sub-committee should be appointed to reconcile Alternative *d* with those desiderata. His proposal was seconded by the Argentine delegate, but on being put to the vote was rejected by eighteen votes to six.

The Lebanese delegate proposed the addition of the word "national" before the words "educational and cultural bodies." This proposal was not adopted.

A proposal was made by the United States delegation, seconded by the Chinese delegation, to add at the end of Alternative *d* the words "or the National Commissions." The Chairman put Alternative *d*, with this addition, to the vote. Twenty-two delegations voted in favour, the French and Chilean delegations abstaining.

*Adoption of Article 36 of the French Draft.*

Article 36 of the French draft, stipulating that membership of the General Conference, Executive Committee and all posts in the Secretariat should be open to all without distinction of sex, race or religion, which was seconded by the Colombian delegation, was adopted without opposition.

*Appointment of Drafting Committee.*

On the proposal of the Chairman, a Drafting Committee of the Second Commission was appointed, consisting of the delegates of Belgium, France, Mexico, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Chairman.

FIFTH MEETING

*Held on Friday, November 9th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT (Norway)*

The Commission decided to refer to the Drafting Committee the suggestions from a number of international organisations contained in Document E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/6.

*Composition of National Commissions. (Article VIII A of C.A.M.E. Draft and Articles 25, 26, 27 of the French Proposals.)*

The Commission unanimously adopted an amended text of Alternative *c*, embodying part of Alternative *a*, and reading as follows :

"Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions, preferably by the formation of a National Commission

broadly representative of the Government and the principal groups devoted to educational, scientific and cultural matters, for the purpose of associating bodies of educational and cultural opinion with the work of the Organisation."

*Functions and Powers of the Conference. (Article V B of the C.A.M.E. Draft, Articles 6 to 10, 34 and 35 of the French Proposals, and United States amendments contained in Documents E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/5 and E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/7.)*

The Commission decided to reserve the question of the budget for a later discussion.

A general discussion then took place.

The Commission unanimously adopted paragraphs 1 and 2 of the C.A.M.E. draft, together with Article 6, paragraph 3 of the French Proposals, with the following amendments to the latter :

- (i) In (6) the word " ratified " to be replaced by the word " approved."
- (ii) In the following sentence the word " delegates " to be replaced by the word " members ".
- (iii) The last sentence to be omitted.

It was left to the Drafting Committee to decide on the final form to be given to these proposals.

The Chairman affirmed that acceptance of the above proposals and amendments was without prejudice to later discussions on the subject of voting.

A suggestion was made by the delegate of Panama that, because of less advanced cultural development in some countries, it would be desirable for the Organisation to send, on the one hand, missions of inspection and information to report to the Conference and, on the other hand, missions of advice and information to help the countries concerned (see document E.C.O./Conf./Com.I/15). The Commission *decided* that this proposal should be considered in connection with Article 27 of the French Government's Proposals.

## SIXTH MEETING

*Held on Saturday, November 10th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT (Norway)*

The Commission appointed the delegates of Chile, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Chairman, to serve on a joint committee with the Third Commission to discuss the election of the members of the Executive Board.

*Discussion of Article V B (C.A.M.E. Draft) (contd.).*

It was *agreed* that Article 6, paragraph 3 of the French proposals should be incorporated in Article V B, C.A.M.E. Draft, without the words " so that they may pass it into law or take all measures appropriate to assure their application. "

Article V B, paragraph 4 (C.A.M.E. draft) was *approved*.

It was decided to refer the first sentence of paragraph 5 to the joint committee with the Third Commission. The remainder of paragraph 5 was accepted.

The Commission *decided* to refer paragraphs 6 and 7 (C.A.M.E. draft) and a new and more precise text submitted by the French delegation to replace Articles 10, 34 and 35 of the French proposals, to the Drafting Committee.

*Article V C, Voting.*

A discussion took place on proposals to provide for a quorum as suggested in Article 11 of the French Government's text. It was proposed by the United States delegation, seconded by the Canadian delegation, that the Commission should adopt the C.A.M.E. text and ask the Executive Committee of the Conference to reconcile the views expressed in the various Commissions regarding the question of a quorum. The proposal was *adopted* by twenty votes to five.

*Article V D, Procedure.*

After a discussion of the question of the location of sessions of the Conference, the Commission unanimously *adopted* the United States amendment stating that the place of the annual meeting should be designated by the Conference and the location should vary from year to year.

An amendment was proposed by the delegation of Panama to paragraph 2 of the C.A.M.E. text, consisting in the insertion, after the words " The Conference shall set up," of the words " missions of educational and cultural inspection, composed of delegates, to all nations for informative purposes and . . ." This amendment not having been seconded, it was not adopted.

The remainder of Article V D was referred to the Drafting Committee, the French delegation expressing the wish that the words " technical committees " should be used instead of merely " committees."

*Article VIII B (C.A.M.E. Text).*

Paragraph 1 of the C.A.M.E. text was *adopted* with the addition of the words " if any " after " National Commissions," as well as Article 26, paragraph 1, of the French proposals.

It was *agreed* that paragraph 2 of the C.A.M.E. text should be deleted, as the subject had already been sufficiently dealt with in connection with Article V A.

It was *agreed* that paragraph 3 of the C.A.M.E. text should also be deleted, as it was considered that the setting up of National Commissions might be discouraged if too specific rules were laid down in this connection.

It was *agreed* that Article 27 of the French proposals should be incorporated, with the following changes : insert the words " on request " after the words " may delegate, " delete the words " either temporarily or permanently " and replace the words " to follow their work " by the words "to assist in their work. "

## SEVENTH MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 12th, 1945, at  
10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT  
(Norway)

*Article V C (C.A.M.E. Draft), Voting.*

The Chairman announced that the Executive Committee of the Conference, to which the Second Commission had referred the question of a quorum, had decided that this was a question to be considered by the Second Commission. After a discussion, the French Government's proposal in Article 11 (French draft) was withdrawn and the Commission *decided* unanimously that it was undesirable to provide any rules for a quorum.

The Commission agreed that in Article V C, the words "except where otherwise specified in this instrument" should be replaced by the words "unless a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is specified elsewhere in this instrument."

*Role of World Organisations. (See Summary Report of the Third Meeting.)*

The Chairman announced that this question had been dealt with by the Fourth Commission, which had adopted a text in this connection. A discussion followed in which considerable opposition was expressed to giving world organisations too great a part in the discussions of the Conference. In response to an enquiry by the representative of the I.L.O., it was made clear that the world organisations under discussion were private organisations and not inter-governmental organisations, which were being dealt with elsewhere. Taking into account the views expressed, the Committee *adopted* the following text, proposed by the United States delegation :

"The General Conference, on the recommendation of the Executive Body, and subject to rules of procedure to be laid down, may by a two-thirds majority invite the attendance, as observers, of representatives of international organisations whose activities are in harmony with its own, at specific sessions of Conferences or Commissions."

It was understood that, as meetings would normally be public, there would be nothing to prevent such representatives from attending in an unofficial capacity.

*Election of Members of the Executive Board.*

The Chairman reported that at the meeting of the joint committee with the Third Commission to discuss the election of members of the Executive Board, it had been agreed that this was a matter for the Third Commission. For the information of the Second Commission, he stated that the joint committee had agreed that the members of the Executive Board should be selected from among the five delegates of Member States, even if the delegate selected was not present when the election took place.

*Regional Bodies : Proposal for a new Article submitted by the Cuban delegation. (Document E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/18.)*

The Cuban delegation's proposal to insert a new article dealing with regional bodies after Article VIII, which was seconded by the Mexican delegation, was put to the vote. The motion was rejected by nineteen votes to five.

## EIGHTH MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 12th, 1945, at  
3 p.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT  
(Norway)

*Article IX, Reports by Members.*

The Commission considered this article in conjunction with Article 29 of the French Government's proposals. The French delegation agreed to withdraw its text, on the understanding that the Conference would be entitled to specify the subjects on which members should be asked to make reports, although, of course, the Conference would have no powers of compulsion. A proposal was made for an addition at the end of Article IX, paragraph 1, the text to read : "and on the action taken on the Conference's recommendations and on any agreement submitted to the members by the Conference for their approval." An alternative proposal was made to insert the word "conventions" before "recommendations." The Commission *decided* to refer the article to the Drafting Committee.

*Article X, Juridical Status of the Organisation and its Personnel.*

The Commission considered this article in conjunction with Article 37 of the French Government's proposals and the United States amendment contained in document E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/5. After a statement by the I.L.O. representative and a short discussion, the Commission decided to adopt the text proposed by the French delegation, subject to drafting.

*Article XI, Amendments.*

The Commission considered this article in conjunction with Article 33 of the French Government's proposals and the United Kingdom amendment contained in document E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/6 (revised), suggesting that amendments to the Constitution of U.N.E.S.C.O. should be approved by the Assembly of the United Nations Organisation. This latter amendment requiring further consideration by delegations, it was decided to adjourn the discussion of this article and of Article XV and the Final Act (document E.C.O./Conf./8), which were also affected, to the next meeting.

*Article XII, Interpretation.*

The Commission considered this article in conjunction with Article 39 of the French Government's proposals and the United States amend-

ment contained in document E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/5. There being no fundamental difference between these proposals, the matter was referred to the Drafting Committee.

### NINTH MEETING

*Held on Tuesday, November 13th, 1945, at 10.45 a.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT  
(Norway)

#### *Budget.*

The Chairman announced that the joint committee of the Second and Fourth Commissions had held a meeting to discuss budgetary arrangements. The committee had agreed that the question was one for decision by the Fourth Commission, and the members of the Fourth Commission on the committee had drafted a text which was now submitted to the Second Commission. A discussion ensued as to the desirability of deleting or retaining the last sentence of this text, providing that contributions made by governments during the initial period should be deducted from the contribution for which they would become liable under the eventual agreement. On this question being put to the vote, seven delegations voted in favour of retaining this clause and eleven against it, with four abstentions. The Secretary of the Fourth Commission having stated that the question of the budget was to be further discussed by that Commission, the Second Commission *decided* that the vote just taken should be recorded as an expression of opinion to the Fourth Commission and that the Second Commission would abide by any decision on the subject taken by the Fourth Commission.

#### *Articles XI and XV.*

The Commission discussed the amendments proposed by the United Kingdom delegation to these articles, stipulating that both the Constitution and amendments thereto should not need ratification by the Member States but only approval by the General Assembly of the United Nations. On the question being put to the vote nineteen delegations voted in favour of ratification by individual members and seven in favour of approval by the United Nations Organisation.

Notwithstanding the above vote, it was recognised that, while it was necessary, in creating this new structure, to provide for ratification by states, the method of having all amendments to the Constitution submitted for ratification by individual members was a difficult and dilatory one, and it was hoped that some progress might be made in future towards modifying it. Meanwhile, it would be desirable to make distinction between amendments of substance, which would require ratification, and adjustments of form, which could be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the Conference. A distinction between those two forms of modification might be based on Article XIII, paragraph 2, of the C.A.M.E. text. It was *decided* to refer a new text, submitted by the United States delega-

lion, for Article XV, together with the existing text of Article XI, to the Drafting Committee, with the addition submitted by the delegate of Czechoslovakia. It was proposed that the text should specify which were the articles for which amendments would require ratification and which were those which would not, but it was *agreed* that this point could only be decided by the General Conference.

*Future Status of the League of Nations Library.*  
(E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/4.)

The Commission had before it a resolution submitted by the Danish delegation suggesting that, if the League of Nations Library were taken over by the United Nations Organisation, U.N.E.S.C.O. should be responsible for its administration. It was pointed out, however, that the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations had already recommended the transfer of the library as a part of its permanent Secretariat. On the resolution being put to the vote, it was rejected by twenty-five votes to one, but it was *decided* to draw the attention of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations to the question.

### TENTH MEETING

*Held on Tuesday, November 13th, 1945, at 3.15 p.m.*

*Chairman* : Dr. A. SOMMERFELT  
(Norway)

#### **Adoption of Final Draft of Articles referred by the Conference to the Second Commission**

The Commission discussed the final draft of Articles III, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XV, which will be found in document E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/10.

The Commission *decided* in Article III, paragraph 3, to insert the words " public or private " before the words " international organisations " and to replace the word " members " by the word " representatives."

The Commission, on the recommendation of the I.L.O. representative, *decided* to delete the word " draft " before the words " international conventions " in Article V B, paragraph 3.

The Commission *decided* to re-draft the second sentence of Article V D, paragraph 1, as follows : " The place of the next meeting shall be designated by the General Conference at each session "

The Commission *decided* that in Article XI, first line, the word " require " should be replaced by the words " become effective upon receiving, " and that in the fifth line, after the word " require, " should be inserted the word " subsequent." It was *agreed* that the Conference should decide whether an amendment involved a fundamental alteration or new obligations.

In order to avoid the constitutional difficulties which might be created in certain states by the use of the word " ratification." the

Commission *decided* to omit this word throughout Article XV, it being understood that the word "acceptance" used in that article was adequate.

Subject to a number of other minor changes of wording, the text submitted was approved and referred to the Central Drafting Committee.

#### *Final Act.*

The Commission *decided* that there should be a Final Act, which should be drawn up by the Central Drafting Committee.

#### *Report of the Second Commission.*

The Commission *decided* to entrust the drafting of its report to the Chairman and Secretariat, who would submit it to the Conference on behalf of the Commission.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Secretariat was passed by acclamation.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/1.

#### **RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION ON OCTOBER 3RD, 1945, COMMUNICATED TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE AT ITS MEETING ON NOVEMBER 1ST, 1945**

"That in the opinion of this Conference periodic meetings of the Ministers of Education of the United Nations are desirable and should be provided for in the plans for the Educational and Cultural Organisation."

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/2.

#### **DRAFTING AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION, SUBMITTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ZOOLOGICAL NOMENCLATURE**

#### *Article III.*

As at present drafted Article III is very awkward as it introduces references both to the "Conference" and to "Executive Board" neither of which bodies have up till that point been defined or otherwise mentioned in the document. My view is that Articles III and IV should be transposed, thereby avoiding the difficulties involved in including in one Article (Article III) a forward reference to institutions which are first established in later Articles (Articles IV and V).

Paragraph 3, first sentence. This is obscure. The constitutional procedure of a country cannot affect the liability of that country to pay its contribution; what it may affect is the date on which that country may be in a position to make the necessary payment. Presumably what is intended is that: "Each member undertakes to contribute to the Organisation its share of the expenses and, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to make the required payments on such dates as may be specified."

Paragraph 3, last sentence. It might be desired to permit the national of a defaulting member State to be elected to the Executive Board but not to allow that member to vote in the Conference.

The present wording of the proviso is such that either both are barred or both are permitted. To overcome this difficulty, it would be wise to add some such words as "either in whole or in part" at the end of the sentence after the words "waive such suspension."

The second of the disqualifications specified in this sentence relates to the eligibility of the nationals of defaulting Member States "to be elected to the Executive Board." Is it intended that the nationals of such a State, if already elected to the Executive Board, should in the circumstances contemplated be disqualified from further service thereon? If so, the words "to be members of" should be substituted for the words "to be elected to" in line 4 of paragraph 3.

#### *Article V.*

Section B, paragraph 1. Substitute "policy" for "policies." An Organisation cannot have more than one general policy at a time.

Section B, paragraph 2, second sentence. Expressions such as "by a two-thirds majority" are exceedingly difficult to interpret. For example, does the expression as here used mean a two-thirds majority (1) of all the members, or (2) of all the members represented at the meeting at which the vote is taken, or (3) of the members actually voting (i.e. exclusive of members who may decide to abstain)? If as (by analogy) Section C indicates as likely, the last of these alternatives is the meaning intended, I suggest that the sentence should be re-drafted by deleting the words "by a two-thirds majority" in line 2 and by adding at the end of the sentence some such words as "where, on a vote being taken, more than two-thirds of the members taking part therein are in favour of such action being taken."

Section B, paragraph 3. I assume that it is contemplated that the "terms and procedure" referred to in line 3 will vary according to the circumstances of the case and that it is not intended to lay down once and for all what are the "terms and procedure" to be adopted in such cases. If this is the meaning intended the words "such terms and procedure as may from time to time be agreed upon (etc.)" should be substituted for "terms and procedure agreed upon" at the end of the sentence.

This paragraph speaks of the "Cultural and Educational Organisation" and the "United Nations" as being "two organisations." The expression "United Nations" should be defined to show what organ of the United Nations is so referred to.

Section B, paragraph 6. Does the second part of the sentence mean that the Conference is to settle the contributions to be paid by members? If so, this meaning could be clearer if the words "and shall determine the amount of the contributions to be paid by members" were substituted for the words "the allocation of financial responsibility to the members."

Section B, paragraph 7. In line 2, insert the word " that " between the word " provided " and the word " the." In line 3, substitute the words " general policy " for " policies, " thereby bringing the paragraph into line with paragraph 1 of Section B.

Section D, paragraph 1. Is it proposed that the Executive Board should be able to call an Extraordinary Meeting of the Conference by a majority vote or must such a vote be unanimous ? It would be well to make this clear.

Section D, paragraph 2. The use of the word " shall " in this paragraph is misconceived. What is no doubt intended is : " The Conference is empowered to (or ' may ' ) set up such Committees . . . as it may deem necessary . . . "

#### *Article VIII.*

Section A, Alternative *a*, second sentence. In order to convey the desired meaning, this sentence should be amended to read : " The delegates to the Conference of each Member shall, during their period of service, be included in the National Commission of the Member concerned. "

Section B, paragraphs 1 and 2. The introduction in these paragraphs of the word " Government " is awkward, since elsewhere in the document (e.g. in the last sentence of paragraph 4 of Article VII) Governments are referred to as " members. " It would be more consistent and more accurate to use the expression " member " in place of the expression " Government " in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article VIII.

#### *Article IX.*

Paragraph 2. In order to complete the sense, some such words as " within its territory " are needed to qualify the obligation imposed on members by this article.

There is a risk that members (or some of them) may confine their reports to laws, etc., adopted for their metropolitan territory and omit to furnish corresponding reports as respects their colonies and dependencies (if any). It would be well therefore to add at the end of this paragraph the words " within its metropolitan territories and the territories of any colony or other dependency."

#### *Article X.*

Paragraph 2. This paragraph raises a very important but difficult administrative problem but one for which there is probably no satisfactory solution. The grant of immunity from taxation of the country in which the headquarters of the Organisation are situated to members of the staff, other than nationals of that country means that, where there are (say) two officers of equal rank, one a national of the country in which the headquarters are situated and the other a national of some other country, the latter is exempt from taxation in the country in which he works but the former is not. It is true that the official who is exempted may remain liable for taxation in his own country but the rates of taxation differ so much from one country to another that pro-

visions of this kind produce most inequitable results and are responsible for a great deal of heartburning among the members of an international staff.

#### *Article XII.*

The provision that there shall be two texts, equally authentic, will certainly lead to trouble, since (as is well known) it is impossible to produce texts of a single document in two languages, having an absolutely identical meaning. This provision would give ample opportunity for dilatory tactics for any member of the Organisation which might for any reason wish to cause trouble.

#### *Article XIII.*

Paragraph 2. The word " limitations " in the last line is awkward, especially as it is used as the object of the verb " to modify. " The meaning would be clearer if the final proviso were amended to read : " provided that no such agreement shall modify the purposes specified in Article I or expand or restrict the functions of the Organisation specified in Article II."

#### *Article XV.*

Last line. The words " put the Organisation into operation " are restrictive and it would be better to substitute for them the words " bring the provisions of this Instrument into operation."

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/3.

### **ORGANS OF THE ORGANISATION**

#### **AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED BY THE CUBAN DELEGATION**

Whereas an inter-governmental Organisation which did not concede a measure of participation in its activities to non-governmental agencies would prove an imperfect instrument for the accomplishment of the purposes for which this Conference has been convened :

The Cuban delegation submits the following amendments to the Draft Proposals of the Conference of Allied Ministers and to the French proposals with regard to the organs of the Organisation.

The Cuban delegation is, however, in favour of the name in the French proposals, that is " United Nations Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation."

#### *Organs of the Organisation.*

The organs of the Organisation shall be :

1. A United Nations Central Organisation of Intellectual Co-operation, consisting of representatives designated by each one of the Governments of the Member States of the Organisation.

2. A United Nations Council of Ministers of Education, consisting of the chief Minister of Education of each Member State of the Organisation or his deputy, and of such other principal officials of Education, and of universities and colleges, as each Government may wish to appoint.

3. A United Nations Conference of Delegates of the National Commissions of Intellectual Co-operation constituted in each Member State.

4. A United Nations Assembly of Representatives of Scientific and Learned Societies.

*Functions of the Central Organisation.*

The functions of the Central Organisation shall be : (1) to co-ordinate the policies and activities of the other organs of the Organisation mentioned above ; (2) to make recommendations to them in regard to their particular tasks ; (3) to give effect to their recommendations and resolutions, in so far as the Central Organisation deems it advisable and feasible to do so ; and (4) to represent said organs in all relationships with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

*Functions of the Council of Ministers.*

The functions of the Council of Ministers shall be to promote by international co-operation the greatest possible extension of education, both general and specialised, among the peoples of the United Nations, and improve the standards of education among them. The Council shall, however, keep in mind the fact that it is primarily the responsibility of each nation to provide adequate education for its own people, and that national, racial and other factors make it inadvisable to place too great emphasis on uniformity in the methods or character of educational systems.

The Council shall give special attention to the needs of adult education, including methods of promoting a better understanding and common sympathies between the peoples of the world in the interests of human welfare.

*Functions of the Conference of National Commissions of Intellectual Co-operation.*

The functions of the Conference of National Commissions of intellectual Co-operation shall be to promote friendly relations, mutual understanding and confidence between the peoples of the United Nations, and to promote likewise the interchange of ideas and the establishment of common intellectual and cultural bonds between them, for the purpose of advancing their common welfare and social progress.

Each Member State shall set up a National Commission of intellectual Co-operation which shall adequately represent the cultural and intellectual life of the nation in the arts, humanities and the social sciences.

*Functions of the Assembly of Representatives of Scientific and Learned Societies.*

The functions of the Assembly of Representatives of Scientific and Learned Societies shall be to promote the inter-change of ideas and knowledge in the fields of science, technology and other branches of learning, and to bring into contact the members of the various scientific and learned bodies throughout the United Nations, with the object of promoting friendly relations, mutual understanding, confidence and co-operation between

them and thereby closer cultural, intellectual and moral ties between the peoples of the United Nations.

The Assembly shall be composed of representatives from each Member State designated by such Scientific and Learned Societies as are recognised for the purpose by the Member State from which they come.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/4.

**AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT PROPOSALS OF THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND TO ARTICLE 1 OF THE FRENCH PROPOSALS**

**SUBMITTED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION**

*French Proposals, Article 1, paragraph 3.*

Replace the first lines down to " It will give pride etc . . ." by :

" In order to promote the advancement of knowledge-in particular of science and of technology-and the expansion of culture, the Organisation will establish, through Committees of Experts, regular co-operation between the representatives of the various fields of intellectual activity.

" One of these Committees, consisting of the persons best qualified, will be entrusted to act as an advisory body in the matter of investigation affecting both world security and the development of new resources which science places at man's disposal.

" The Organisation will also give pride of place . . . etc. "

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/5.

The delegation of the United States of America proposes amendments to the Draft of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education as follows, and reserves other suggestions and proposals for consideration in the discussions of the appropriate Commissions :

*Article III.*

Amend Article III, paragraph 1, by revising and dividing into two paragraphs as follows :

" 1. Membership of any nation in the United Nations shall automatically entitle that nation to membership in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

" Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organisation and the United Nations, approved pursuant to Article XIII of this Constitution, nations not members of the United Nations may be admitted to membership in the Organisation upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the Conference of the Organisation. "

Amend Article III, paragraph 4, by striking out " automatically " and inserting " upon request



of the United Nations Organisation.” The amended paragraph would read :

“ Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership in the United Nations shall, upon request of the United Nations Organisation, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation. ”

#### *Article V.*

Amend Article V, Section B, paragraph 2, by deleting in the second sentence “ by a two-thirds majority ” and “ by the appropriate constitutional procedure ” and inserting, after the word “ educational ” the word “ scientific.” The amended paragraph would read :

“ The Conference is empowered to make recommendations to the members. The Conference may adopt for submission to the members, with a view to their acceptance, agreements on educational, scientific and cultural programmes, designed to accomplish the purposes of the Organisation. ”

Amend Article V, Section D, paragraph 1, by deleting the second sentence reading “ The sessions shall be held from time to time within the territories of different members,” and substituting the sentence “ The place of the annual meeting shall be designated by the Conference and the location shall vary from year to year.” The amended paragraph would read :

“ The Conference shall meet annually in regular session ; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. The place of the annual meeting shall be designated by the Conference and the location shall vary from year to year. ”

Amend Article V, Section D, paragraph 3, by adding at the end of the sentence “ including rules governing the presence of invited observers at its sessions and arrangements for public access to its deliberations. ” The amended paragraph would read :

“ The Conference shall elect its own officers and adopt its own rules of procedure, including rules governing the presence of invited observers at its sessions and arrangements for public access to its deliberations. ”

#### *Article X.*

Amend Article X by deleting both paragraphs and substituting the following paragraph :

“ Each member of the Organisation agrees to accord to the Organisation, and to its officials and representatives, the legal status, privileges and immunities which they accord under similar circumstances to other public international organisations, officials and representatives which exercise their functions within its territory. ”

#### *Article XII.*

Amend Article XII by deleting “ be regarded as authoritative ” and substituting “ govern ”, and by adding at the beginning of the sentence

“ In the event of any question of interpretation of this Constitution. ” The amended paragraph would read :

“ 1. In the event of any question of interpretation of this Constitution, the English and French texts shall govern. ”

Amend Article XII by deleting paragraph 2 and substituting for it the following paragraph :

“ 2. Questions or disputes concerning the interpretation of this Constitution may be submitted to either the International Court of Justice or an arbitral tribunal. Procedures for settlement by arbitration shall be formulated by the Conference. Arrangements shall be made with the appropriate organs of the United Nations Organisation for the submission of disputes or requests for advisory opinions to the International Court.”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/7.

#### **AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE V**

#### **PROPOSED BY UNITED STATES DELEGATION**

#### *Article V.*

Amend Article V, Section B, paragraph 6, by adding the following :

“ The Conference may enter into agreement with the United Nations in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations and make such budgetary and financial arrangements as may be mutually satisfactory.”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/8.

#### **PROPOSAL BY THE CUBAN DELEGATION**

The Cuban delegation has the honour to propose to the Conference the insertion, after Article VIII of the Draft put forward by the Allied Ministers, of a new Article framed as follows :

#### **ARTICLE**

“ 1. No provision of the present instrument shall prevent the creation of regional bodies, composed by National Commissions of a group of countries united by natural geographical and historical circumstances, whose objects would be to study educational and cultural questions peculiar to them and at the same time admitting of regional solutions. It is understood that these bodies and their activities must always be compatible with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Cultural and Educational Organisation.

“ 2. These regional bodies will establish their own Constitution, with due reference to the specific methods and particular aspects of the regions they represent, by means of a convention which will also require the approval of the General Conference.

“ 3. The regional bodies will be required to submit every year to the General Conference, a detailed report on all their activities.”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/9.

**PROPOSED RESOLUTION TO BE LAID BEFORE A PLENARY SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE BY THE SECOND COMMISSION**

In the event of the United Nations taking over the League of Nations Library in Geneva and its assets, this Conference recommends that in view of the nature of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and its projected activities in the field of library interchanges it should be vested with responsibility for the Library from the date of its transfer to the United Nations.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.II/10.

**FINAL DRAFT OF ARTICLES III, IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XV, TO BE SUBMITTED BY THE SECOND COMMISSION TO THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE**

*Article III.*

1. Membership of any nation in the United Nations shall automatically entitle that nation to membership in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

2. Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organisation and the United Nations, approved pursuant to Article XIII of this Constitution, nations not members of the United Nations may be admitted to membership of the Organisation upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the General Conference of the Organisation.

3. The General Conference, on the recommendation of the Executive Board, and by a two-thirds majority, and subject to rules of procedure, may invite as observers at specified sessions of the General Conference or its Commissions representatives of public or private international organisations. Arrangements shall be made for public access to deliberations subject to rules of procedure.

4. Members of the Organisation which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership in the United Nations shall, upon request of the United Nations Organisation, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organisation.

Members of the Organisation which are expelled from the United Nations Organisation shall automatically forfeit the rights and privileges of this Organisation.

*Article IV.*

The Organisation shall include a General Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat.

*Article V A.*

The General Conference shall consist of the representatives of the members of the Organisation. The Government of each Member State shall appoint not more than five delegates, who shall be selected after consultation with the National Commission, if established, or with educational, scientific and cultural bodies.

*Article V B.*

1. The General Conference shall determine the policies and the main lines of work of the Organisation. It shall take decisions on programmes as drawn up by the Executive Board.

2. The General Conference will summon when deemed desirable international conferences on education, the sciences and humanities and the dissemination of knowledge.

3. In adopting proposals for submission to the members, the General Conference shall distinguish between recommendations and international conventions for approval by Member States. In the former case a majority vote shall suffice, in the latter case a two-thirds majority shall be required. Each of the members shall submit within a period of one year, dating from the close of the session of the General Conference, the recommendations or draft conventions to the competent national authorities.

4. The General Conference shall advise the United Nations on the educational, scientific and cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter in accordance with terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two Organisations.

5. The General Conference shall receive and consider reports submitted periodically by members of educational, scientific and cultural developments within their respective territories and on the effect given to the recommendations of the Organisation.

6. The General Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board. On the recommendation of the Executive Board, it shall admit new members to the Organisation and elect the Director-General.

*Article V C.*

Each member shall have one vote in the General Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority unless a two-thirds majority is specified elsewhere in this instrument. A majority shall mean a majority of those present and voting.

*Article V D.*

1. The General Conference shall meet annually in regular session ; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. The place of the next meeting shall be designated by the General Conference at each session and the location shall vary from year to year.

2. The General Conference shall set up special and technical Committees and such other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for its purpose.

3. The General Conference shall elect a President and other Officers and adopt rules of procedure for each session.

*Article VIII A.*

Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and the principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and

cultural matters, for the purpose of associating these bodies with the work of the Organisation.

*Article VIII B.*

1. National Commissions (where they exist) or national co-operating bodies shall act in an advisory capacity to the national delegate to the General Conference and to the Government in matters relating to the Organisation. They shall function as an organ of liaison on educational, scientific and cultural matters of interest to the Organisation.

2. The Organisation may, on request, delegate either temporarily or permanently a member of its Secretariat to serve on National Commissions in order to assist in the development of their work.

*Article IX.*

Each member shall report periodically to the Organisation, in a manner to be determined by the General Conference, on its laws, regulations and statistics relating to educational, scientific and cultural life and institutions, and on the action taken upon conventions and recommendations as defined in Article V, paragraph 3.

*Article X.*

The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations concerning the legal status of that Organisation, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Organisation.

*Article XI.*

Proposals for amendments to this Instrument shall become effective upon receiving the approval of the General Conference by a two-thirds majority; provided, however, that those amendments which involve fundamental alterations in the aims of the Organisation or new obligations for the members shall require subsequent acceptance on the part of

two-thirds of the Member States before they come into force. The draft texts of proposed amendments shall be communicated by the Director-General to the members at least six months in advance of their consideration by the General Conference.

The General Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules of procedure to carry out the provisions of this article.

*Article XII.*

The English and French texts of the Constitution shall both be regarded as authoritative.

Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this Instrument shall be referred for determination to the International Court of Justice or to an arbitral tribunal, as the General Conference may determine under its rules of procedure.

*Article XV.*

1. This Constitution shall be subject to acceptance. The Instruments of acceptance shall be deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom.

2. This Constitution shall remain open for signature in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom. The signatures may be affixed either before or after the deposit of their instrument of acceptance. No acceptance shall be valid unless preceded or followed by signature.

3. This Constitution shall come into force when it has been accepted by twenty of its signatories. Subsequent acceptances shall take effect immediately.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom will inform all members of the United Nations of the receipt of all instruments of acceptance and of the date on which the Constitution comes into force in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

## THIRD COMMISSION

### (The Executive Board and Secretariat)

### SUMMARY REPORTS

#### FIRST MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 11.45 a.m.*

*Chairman : M. Leon BLUM (France)*  
*Associate-President of the Conference*

#### **Election of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman**

Monsieur **DE VISSCHER** (Belgium) was elected Chairman, and Mr. A. E. **CAMPBELL** (New Zealand) was elected Vice-Chairman.

#### SECOND MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)*

The Chairman opened the discussion on the

text of the C.A.M.E. draft, Article VI A. After drawing the attention of the Commission to the points in which the French Government's proposals differed from the C.A.M.E. draft, he called on the delegates to express their views.

A general debate ensued, in which the delegates of China, Egypt, France, Greece, India, the Lebanon, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, Union of South Africa and the United Kingdom took part.

Five main points were discussed :

(a) Size of the Executive Board (15 or 17 Members).

It was generally agreed that this was not a matter of vital importance. One delegate expressed a preference for fifteen members, while another

pointed out that a slightly larger Board would allow for the inclusion of important personalities of the cultural world.

(b) Tenure of office.

Three speakers emphasised the necessity for securing continuity of policy, particularly in the early years of the Organisation, and consequently thought that the French Government's proposal (five years' tenure) or something similar, would be desirable. One delegate, on the other hand, expressed the view that a five years' tenure of office might well lead to stagnation, and another pointed out that in the long run it would restrict the number either of eminent men or of smaller States, represented on the Board.

(c) Re-eligibility of Members of the Executive Board.

Much the same considerations were felt to apply to re-eligibility as in (b) above. The danger was particularly stressed, however, of excluding from re-election persons who might be of particular eminence in the cultural world and whose experience and co-operation might have proved of special value to the Board.

(d) Delegates to be elected to the Executive Board as representatives of national States or as individuals ?

Though the speakers appeared to agree that, once elected, the members of the Board should owe allegiance to the Conference only, there was considerable divergence of opinion as to whether they should stand for election as representatives of their respective States or as individuals eminent in the educational and cultural world. Effective speeches were, made in support of both views, but it was ultimately suggested that this question lay within the competence of the Second Commission, who had expressly to decide whether " each Member State " (C.A.M.E. draft, V C), or " every delegate present " (French Government's draft, Article 11), was to be considered as voting at the Conference. The Chairman agreed and expressed the opinion that the question did not lie within the competence of the Third Commission.

(e) Difficulty of ensuring that at an open election at the Conference members of the Executive Board would in fact be elected as stipulated in the C.A.M.E. draft and in the French Government's proposals, with due regard both to geographical distribution and cultural eminence.

The first speaker on this point emphasised that no electoral machinery was provided which would ensure the election of candidates with these dual qualifications ; difficulties, he said were bound to arise. To this two replies were made. (a) It was suggested that, though such difficulties might exist in principle, it was extremely unlikely that the Conference, with such a wealth of distinguished men from a variety of countries before them, would not be able to find the requisite number having both the desirable geographical and cultural qualifications ; (b) the attention of the Commission

was drawn to the fact that, in the text of the C.A.M.E. draft as it stood, priority was given to competence in the educational and cultural fields, and that the question of geographical distribution took a second place. No conflict of interests was, therefore, likely.

The Chairman finally expressed the opinion that the question did not lie within the competence of the Third Commission.

The Chairman proposed the 'appointment of a committee to examine the specific points raised in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) above.

The delegates of France, India, Mexico, Turkey and the United Kingdom were unanimously elected to serve with the Chairman on this committee.

### THIRD MEETING

*Held on Tuesday, November 6th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*  
Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)

The Chairman submitted both the committee's Working Document (E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/4) and the amendments proposed by the United States delegation (E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/8). Discussion centred on three main points :

- (a) Size of the Executive Board.
- (b) Tenure of office.
- (c) Re-eligibility of members ;

and a number of views were put forward. The American delegate in particular drew attention to the fact that the United States draft included the President of the Conference as an " ex officio " member of the Executive Board. There appeared to be very general support in the Commission for such an inclusion.

The following textual alterations were suggested :  
In the text of the committee-

(a) In paragraph 1 " elected by the Conference " to be replaced by " elected by the Conference from among the delegates."

(b) In paragraph 1 for " secure a fair and suitable representation " read " assure an equitable distribution of persons competent in " (as in the United States drafting amendment).

(c) In paragraph 1 for " of the diffusion of ideas " read " of agencies for the diffusion of ideas." It was also suggested that this clause should be expanded to make specific reference to the press, radio, cinema and libraries.

(d) In paragraph 3 " resigning members " should be replaced by " retiring members. "

(e) In paragraph 3 for " immediately eligible for re-election " read " eligible for re-election for no more than two consecutive terms."

In the text of the American amendment-

(a) For " serve as an elected member of the Board " read " serve as a member of the Board. "

At the end of the discussion the Chairman proposed that a vote should be taken. The Commission expressed itself in favour of (N) an

Executive Board of eighteen persons ; (b) the " ex officio " membership of the President of the Conference on the Board ; and (c) the limitation of re-eligibility to two consecutive terms of office.

On the proposal of the Chairman, the Commission *decided* to refer the final drafting of Article VI (A), so as to incorporate suggested amendments, to the committee. The Chairman then proposed that the United States delegate should serve on the committee, and this was unanimously *approved*.

#### FOURTH MEETING

*Held on November 7th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)*  
*Composition of the Executive Board (Article VI A, of C.A.M.E. draft).*

The Commission based its discussion on a working document submitted by its committee, containing a draft text for a new Article VI A. embodying the amendments and suggestions put forward at the third meeting (E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/9).

As regards the position of the President of the Conference at the Executive Board, it emerged from the discussion that he should serve solely in his capacity as President of the Conference and not as one of the members of the Executive Board. Consequently, he would not be entitled to vote and would not be President also of the Executive Board. He would be acting purely in a consultative capacity. Hence it was quite permissible that one of the members of the Board should be of the same nationality as the President of the Conference.

In paragraph 2 a suggestion was made, but not adopted, to replace the words " to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas " by the words " to include persons competent in the different branches of culture."

In paragraph 2 a suggestion was made and adopted to add after the words " diffusion of ideas " the words " and by their experience and capacity qualified to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board."

In connection with the second part of paragraph 3, it was suggested that, instead of determining the year of retirement of members by lot, they should, in the first instance, be elected for one, two or three years respectively. This suggestion was not adopted.

As regards paragraph 4, it was *decided* to delete the last sentence referring to the appointment of a substitute when a member was prevented from attending a meeting, and the Commission *agreed* that this question should be dealt with in the Rules of Procedure.

On a vote being taken paragraph by paragraph, twenty-one votes were cast in favour of paragraphs 1 and 2 (amended) and twenty-two votes in favour of paragraphs 3 and 4 (amended) of the draft for a new Article VI A.

#### FIFTH MEETING

*Held on November 8th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)*  
*Functions and Powers of the Executive Board (Article VI, B, of the C.A.M.E. draft)*

The Commission based its discussion on a working document submitted by its committee containing a draft text for a new Article VI B. embodying the amendments proposed by the French and United States delegations (E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/11).

Paragraph 1 was *approved*, subject to drafting amendments in the English text to bring it into line with the French text.

Paragraph 2 was *approved* without discussion.

As regards paragraph 3, second sentence, a discussion arose as to whether the Chairman of the Executive Board should report to the Conference on the working of the Organisation as a whole, as proposed in the draft, or whether this report should be made by the Director-General or, again, whether the Chairman of the Executive Board should make one report on the main principles of the Organisation's work, and the Director-General another, either to the Board or to the Conference, on the details of the work. No agreement having been reached on the subject, it was proposed that this sentence should be reserved until the next meeting and should meanwhile be discussed by the existing committee with the addition of the delegates of the Lebanon and the Union of South Africa. The Chairman emphasised that the two main points to be borne in mind in this connection were the necessity of maintaining a good understanding between the Executive Board and the Director-General and the importance of giving the Chairman of the Board a sufficiently influential position without weakening the position of the Director-General.

On the proposal of the United States delegation, the Commission *decided* to delete the last sentence of paragraph 3 with regard to the setting up of a small committee to secure continuity of work, on the understanding that this point should be dealt with in the rules of procedure.

Paragraphs 4 and 5 of the draft were *adopted* without discussion.

The Chairman announced that a vote would be taken at the next meeting on the article as a whole, when a decision had been reached with regard to the reserved sentence in paragraph 3.

The United States delegation, supported by the Chinese delegation, suggested the inclusion in paragraph 3 of a clause to the effect that the Executive Board should meet in regular session twice a year, and in special session on the proposal of the Chairman of the Executive Board, the Director-General or five members. The Commission *decided* that this proposal should be referred to its committee.

*Discussion on the Secretariat.*

The French delegate drew attention to the fact

that Articles 20 and 22 of the French Government's proposals referred to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. This did not mean that the French delegation wished to link the question of the fate of the Institute with the debate on the Secretariat. The former was in any case being dealt with by the Fourth Commission. While the French delegation desired that the new Organisation should profit by the experience and documentation of the Institute, it wished to make it clear that in its view the Third Commission should discuss the Secretariat without reference to the question of the Institute or to Articles 20 or 22 of the French Government's proposals,

#### SIXTH MEETING

*Held on Friday, November 9th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)*  
*Functions and Powers of the Executive Board (contd.).*

The Commission had before it a working document submitted by its committee, containing a re-draft of Article VI B, of the C.A.M.E. text taking into account the views expressed at the previous meeting (E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/14). The Chairman pointed out that paragraph 4 provided a way out of the *impasse* which had been reached as regards whether the report should be presented to the Conference by the Director-General or by the Chairman of the Executive Board. This re-draft was *accepted* by twenty-two votes to nil, subject to one correction in the French text and one in the English text.

*Discussion on the Secretariat (Article VII of the C.A.M.E. text).*

As regards paragraph 1, a proposal to insert a stipulation that the Director-General should be assisted by two Deputy Directors-General was not accepted by the Commission, which took the view that it would be preferable to leave the Director-General entirely free to decide what his staff should be.

As regards paragraph 2, the Commission had before it a new text submitted by its committee (E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/15). A discussion arose on the question of the responsibility of the Director-General to the Conference or to the Executive Board. A proposal was made that the Director-General should be responsible "ultimately to the Conference and in between sessions to the Executive Board" and another that he should be responsible "to the Executive Board and ultimately to the Conference," but these proposals were not pressed in view of the opposition of a number of delegations. A third proposal that he should be "ultimately responsible to the Conference," no express mention being made of the Executive Board, was put to the vote and sixteen votes were cast in favour, but as this did not constitute a sufficient majority, it was *decided* to refer paragraph 2 to the committee, on which the delegate of Greece was also asked to serve.

As regards paragraph 3, the United States delegation suggested that the Director-General

should appoint the staff of the Secretariat under regulations adopted by the Conference instead of by the Executive Board and that the Board's approval should not be necessary for appointments in the higher administrative grades, but it was objected that the Executive Board's powers were being whittled down.

As regards the same paragraph, the question was raised as to whether the staff of the Educational and Cultural Organisation should or should not be independent of the General Secretariat of the United Nations Organisation, and one delegation announced that it would have a text to propose on this subject when Article XIII had been examined by the Fourth Commission.

On the Chairman's proposal it was agreed that paragraph 3 should be examined by the committee in the light of the observations made.

#### SEVENTH MEETING

*Held on Saturday, November 10th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)*

The Commission appointed the delegates of Greece, Mexico, New Zealand and Norway, together with the Chairman, to serve on a joint committee with the Second Commission.

*Article VII, the Secretariat.*

The Commission had before it a new draft text for Article VII, 2, submitted by its committee in document E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/15(1). This text did not specify whether the Director-General was to be responsible to the Executive Board or to the Conference, as it was considered that the first sentence stipulating that he should be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the Conference sufficiently showed his responsibility to both bodies.

The Commission had before it a new text for paragraph 3 submitted to it by its committee in document E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/18. A discussion took place on the United States amendment for the deletion of the provision that appointments in the higher administrative grades should be subject to the approval of the Executive Board. It was urged that the appointment of a staff was an administrative matter, which for practical reasons should be left to the Director-General as the chief administrative officer responsible to the Conference, and that he should not be subject to any outside influence. To this it was objected that the standing of these higher officers would be enhanced by the approval of their appointments by the Executive Board, and concern was expressed at the suggestion that the Executive Board, which would be composed of non-political personalities, might exercise an undesirable influence on the Director-General's choice. On the amendment being put to the vote, nine votes were cast in favour of the deletion of the provision requiring the Executive Board's approval for higher appointments and eleven votes for maintaining the provision.

The Commission having thus reached a deadlock, further discussion ensued and eventually the

Greek delegation, supported by the United Kingdom delegation, proposed that the text should read "The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in accordance with staff regulations to be submitted for the approval of the Conference." It was not considered desirable to specify that the regulations should be drawn up by the Director-General, as this might be done by the Interim Commission as in the case of the United Nations Organisation. It was understood that the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference's attention should be drawn to the fact that the Third Commission had been unable to decide whether appointments should or should not require the approval of the Executive Board, and that this was a question which would have to be settled in the regulations mentioned in the text. On this sentence being put to the vote, nineteen votes were cast in its favour.

The second sentence of paragraph 3 was *adopted* by twenty-one votes, with the following wording introduced to conform to the text of Article 101, paragraph 3, of the Charter: "Subject to the paramount importance of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity, the staff shall be recruited on as wide a geographical basis as possible."

A vote was also taken on Article VII (I) in the C.A.M.E. text and Article VII (2) in the wording contained in document E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/15(1), twenty-three affirmative votes being cast in each case.

#### EIGHTH MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 12th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*  
Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)

*Consideration of Final Draft Texts of Article VII  
4, 5, 6 and 7 (E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/18).  
Paragraphs 4 and 5.*

It was *decided* that paragraphs 4 and 5 should form a single paragraph. As such the text was unanimously *approved*.

*Paragraph 6.*

It was *decided* to delete paragraph 6 but to record in the Summary Report of the deliberations of the Third Commission that the Commission thought it necessary ultimately to create an administrative tribunal to deal with disputes relating to the terms and conditions of appointment of members of the staff. It was also *decided* that the Summary Report should draw the attention of the Conference to the view of the Commission that a single administrative tribunal should be constituted, which should cover the various branches of the United Nations Organisation. This was thought to be desirable on account of the small amount of work which it was anticipated an administrative tribunal would have to deal with.

*Paragraph 7 (now paragraph 5).*

This paragraph was *approved* by twenty-three votes, subject to the substitution of the word "within" for the word "with" immediately before "the United Nations Organisation."

*Consideration of text of Article VI A, 1.*

The Commission -unanimously *adopted* the amendment proposed by the Joint Committee of the Second and Third Commissions, which read as follows: "Eighteen persons elected by the Conference from among the five delegates appointed by each Member State."

*Article VI A, 4.*

After some discussion it was *decided* to qualify the word "substitute" by the phrase "from among the delegates of the Member State concerned." The amended text was *approved* by twenty-two votes.

#### NINTH MEETING

*Held on Tuesday, November 13th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

Chairman : H.E. M. DE VISSCHER (Belgium)

*Consideration of Final Texts of Articles VI and VII  
and of the Report of the work of the Commission  
(Documents E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/20 and  
E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/21).*

The texts of Articles VI and VII and the report on the work of the Commission were read, and after the inclusion of minor amendments, affecting questions of form and phraseology, were *approved* for transmission to the Drafting Committee of the Conference, the articles by twenty-six votes, and the draft report by twenty-four votes.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/2.

#### **DRAFTING AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION, SUBMITTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ZOOLOGICAL NOMENCLATURE**

*Article VI.*

*Section A, paragraph 1, last line.* Presumably it is intended that a member elected to the Executive Board for a partial term shall, on completing that partial term, be *immediately* eligible for re-election. If so, the word "immediately" should be inserted before the word "eligible."

*Section B, paragraph 1.* The words "within the competence of the Organisation" do not convey any definite meaning, and should be deleted. Clearly it is for the Conference to decide whether a particular policy is within its competence and when the Conference has so decided, it is for the Executive Board to give effect to that policy. It would be highly anomalous to give to the Board the right to question the validity of a decision taken by the Conference. The sentence would be improved if the words "to the Conference" were inserted after the word "responsible."

*Section B, paragraph 3.* The word "shall" is inappropriate in this context. Either the expression "is empowered to" or "may" would convey the desired meaning.

*Section B, paragraph 4.* In view of the way in which the previous paragraphs of this Section are drafted, it is anomalous to start this paragraph with the word "It." For the sake of consistency

this paragraph should start with the words " The Executive Board. "

*Article VII.*

*Paragraph 2, last sentence.* This sentence might be re-drafted on the following lines in order to make it clear that the proposals to be formulated by the Director-General are to be submitted in all cases to the Board, whether the action proposed can be taken by the Executive Board on its own responsibility or whether it must first be submitted by the Board to the Conference for approval :-

" It shall be the duty of the Director-General to formulate for submission to the Board proposals for action either by the Board or by the Conference."

*Paragraph 4, first sentence.* This sentence is inconsistent with the second sentence of paragraph 2 as respects both the Director-General (who is there stated to be immediately responsible to the Executive Board) and the Staff (who are there stated to be responsible to the Director-General). The object designed to be secured by paragraph 4 could be obtained by omitting the first sentence and starting with the present second sentence, modified as follows :-

" The responsibilities of the Director-General and of the Staff as respectively defined in paragraph 2 above, shall be exclusively international ..."

*Paragraph 5.* In view of the well-known disinclination of international bodies to deal with delicate subjects, there is a risk that the action proposed in this paragraph may be unduly delayed. It would be prudent therefore to insert at the beginning of this paragraph some such words as " within ' x ' months of the establishment of the Organisation . . . "

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/4.

**WORKING DOCUMENT SUBMITTED BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD COMMISSION**

The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen persons elected by the Conference. In electing the members of the Executive Board, the Conference shall try to secure a fair and suitable representation of the arts, of letters, the sciences, technology, education and of the diffusion of ideas. It shall have regard to the diversity of cultures and to a balanced geographical distribution.

Not more than one member of each nationality shall serve on the Executive Board at any one time.

One-third of the members of the Board shall be elected each year for a three-year term ; resigning members are immediately eligible for re-election.

At the first election eighteen members shall be elected, one-third for a three-year term, one-third for two years, one-third for one year, the period of office being determined by the drawing of lots.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/5.

**AMENDMENT TO THE DRAFT PROPOSALS OF THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS SUGGESTED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION**

*Article VI, paragraph 4.*

If a member is prevented from attending a meeting, he shall propose a substitute, with the consent of the Board. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Board shall appoint a substitute, whose powers shall expire at the next meeting of the Conference, which shall elect a representative for the remainder of the month.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/8.

**DRAFTING AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT PROPOSALS OF THE CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OFFERED BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION**

**ARTICLE VI—THE EXECUTIVE BOARD**

*Article VI A.*

Amend this paragraph by adding the President to the membership of the Executive Board and by eliminating the second sentence which is more appropriate for rules of procedure. Minor additional clarifications are made. The revised paragraph would read as follows :

" A. *Composition.*

" The Executive Board shall consist of the President of the Conference *ex officio* and fifteen persons elected by the Conference from among the delegates. In electing the members of the Executive Board, the Conference shall endeavour to assure an equitable distribution of persons, competent in the arts, humanities, the sciences, technics, education, and the diffusion of ideas. It shall bear in mind the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographic distribution. Not more than one national of any Member shall serve as an elected member of the Board at any one time. The elected members of the Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term. At the first election, five persons shall be elected for a three-year term, five for two years, and five for one year. Thereafter, five persons shall be elected each year. "

*Article VI B, 1.*

Amend this paragraph to define the role of the Board as a responsible body functioning on behalf of the Conference between sessions, rather than as a somewhat separate chamber. The revised paragraph would read as follows :

" The Executive Board shall be the governing body of the Organisation between sessions of the Conference."

*Article VI B, 2.*

Eliminate this paragraph. The revision of paragraph B 1 makes the first part unnecessary. Moreover, as presently phrased, the paragraph



appears to conflict in part with the administrative responsibility of the Director-General. The method of determining what items shall be placed on the agenda will require considerable elaboration, and accordingly should be left to rules of procedure to be adopted by the Conference.

*Article VI B, 3.*

This paragraph is unnecessary. It duplicates the provisions of Articles III, 1 and V B, 5.

*Article VI C.*

An additional paragraph under this section to provide for meetings of the Board is proposed as follows :

“ 2. The Executive Board shall meet in regular sessions at least twice a year, and may meet in special sessions at the call of the Director-General, at the request of the Chairman, or of any five members of the Board.”

#### **ARTICLE VII—THE SECRETARIAT**

*Article VII, 2.*

Amend this paragraph to provide for a six-year term of office for the Director-General and to make the Director-General responsible to the Conference. The paragraph would read as follows :

“ The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and elected by the Conference for a six-year term, with such compensation as the Conference may approve. He shall be eligible for re-election. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation. He shall be responsible to the Conference for the performance of his duties, and the staff in turn shall be responsible to him. He, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the Conference, the Board “and all committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.”

*Article VII, 3.*

Amend this paragraph by the elimination of the requirement that appointments by the Director-General in the higher administrative grades be formally approved by the Executive Board. Also provide for approval of the staff regulations by the Conference instead of the Board, in view of the interest of all members in this subject. The revised paragraph would read as follows :

“ The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat under regulations adopted by the Conference. Subject to the requirements of efficiency and technical competence, the staff shall be recruited on a wide geographical basis. ”

*Article VII, 4.*

Amend this paragraph to follow the language of the United Nations Charter as follows :

“ In the performance of their duties, the Director-General and the staff shall not seek or

receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to this Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to this Organisation.”

*Article VII, 5.*

Eliminate this paragraph since it is a procedural matter and not appropriate of inclusion in the Constitution. The staff regulations to be adopted will provide for this among other personnel matters.

*New Article VII, 5.*

Add the following paragraph which is identical to language in the United Nations Charter :

“ Each member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.”

E.C.O./Conf./Com./III/9.

#### **WORKING DOCUMENT SUBMITTED BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD COMMISSION**

##### **DRAFT TEXT OF NEW ARTICLE VI A, EMBODYING THE AMENDMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION, SUGGESTIONS PUT FORWARD IN THE COURSE OF THE THIRD MEETING OF COMMISSION III and E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/5**

1. The Executive Board shall consist of the President of the Conference as an “ ex officio ” member and eighteen persons elected by the Conference (from among the delegates).<sup>1</sup>

2. In electing the members of the Executive Board the Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Excepting the President of the Conference, not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any one time.

3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall in no circumstances serve consecutively for more than two terms.

At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one-third shall retire at the end of the first and second years, their order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots.

Thereafter six persons shall be elected each year.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members the Board shall appoint a substitute, whose powers shall expire at the next meeting of the Conference, which shall elect a representative for the remainder of the term. If a member is prevented from attending a meeting, he shall propose a substitute, with the consent of the Board.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/11.

**WORKING DOCUMENT SUBMITTED BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD COMMISSION**

**DRAFT OF A NEW ARTICLE VI B, CONTAINING THE AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY THE FRENCH AND UNITED STATES DELEGATIONS**

1. The Executive Board shall direct the work of the Organisation in the interval between meetings of the Conference. It shall be responsible to the Conference for this duty. It shall prepare the documentation and agenda of the Conference meetings and, especially, the programme of work submitted to the latter. It shall be instructed to secure completion of the programme drawn up by the Conference.

2. The Executive Board shall recommend to the Conference the admission of new members to the Organisation.

3. The Executive Board shall elect its officers from among its members. The Chairman of the Executive Board, whose powers shall be determined by the Board's rules of procedure, shall report to the Conference on the work of the Organisation between sessions.

Subject to decisions of the Conference, the Executive Board shall fix its own rules of procedure.

It shall meet at least twice a year between sessions of the Conference.

It may set up a small Committee for the purpose of securing continuity of work.

4. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organisations or qualified persons concerned with questions within its competence.

5. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the Conference on behalf of the whole Conference and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/13.

**FINAL DRAFT OF ARTICLE VI A, AS APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION ON NOVEMBER 7TH, 1945**

1. The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen persons elected by the Conference (from among the delegates),<sup>1</sup> and of the President of the Conference who shall sit *ex officio* but in a consultative capacity only.

2. In electing the members of the Executive Board the Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas, and by their experience and capacity qualified to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any one time, the President of the Conference being the one exception to this provision.

3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall in no circumstances serve consecutively for more than two terms.

At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one-third shall retire at the end of the first and second years, their order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots.

Thereafter six persons shall be elected each year.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Board shall appoint a substitute, whose powers shall expire at the next meeting of the Conference, which shall elect a representative for the remainder of the term.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/14.

**WORKING DOCUMENT SUBMITTED BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD COMMISSION**

**RE-DRAFT OF ARTICLE VI B. BASED ON DOCUMENT E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/11**

1. The Executive Board, acting under the authority of the general Conference, shall be responsible for the execution of the programme adopted by the Conference. It shall prepare the agenda and programme of work of the Conference.

2. The Executive Board shall recommend to the Conference the appointment of new members to the Organisation.

3. Subject to decisions of the Conference, the Executive Board shall fix its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its officers from among its members.

The Executive Board shall meet in regular sessions twice a year and may meet in special sessions if convoked by the President on his initiative or upon request of six members of the Board.

4. The Chairman of the Executive Board shall present to the Conference, with or without comment, the annual report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organisation, which shall have been previously submitted to the Executive Board.

5. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organisations or qualified persons concerned with questions within its competence.

6. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the Conference on behalf of the whole Conference and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/15.

**WORKING DOCUMENT SUBMITTED BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD COMMISSION**

**DRAFT TEXT OF NEW ARTICLE VII, 2**

“ The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the Con-

ference for a six-year period, under such terms and conditions of service as the Conference may approve. He shall be eligible for re-appointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation. He shall be responsible to the Conference for the performance of his duties, and the staff in turn shall be responsible to him. He, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the Conference, the Board and all committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board. ”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/15(1).

**WORKING DOCUMENT SUBMITTED BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE THIRD COMMISSION**

**NEW DRAFT TEXT OF ARTICLE VII, 2**

“ The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the Conference for a six-year period, under such conditions of service as the Conference may approve. He shall be eligible for re-appointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation. The Director-General, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the Conference, the Board and committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/18.

**WORKING DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED BY SUB-COMMITTEE**

**I**

**TEXT FOR DISCUSSION :**

*Article VII, 3*

3. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat (under regulations adopted by the Executive Board which shall provide for the approval by the Board of appointments in the higher administrative grades). Subject to the requirements of efficiency and technical competence, the staff shall be recruited on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

**II**

*Final Draft Texts of Article VII, 4, 5, 6 and 7*

4. The responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff shall be exclusively international in character. They shall not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge thereof from any government or from any authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials.

5. Each member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

6. The Conference shall make provision for the determination by an administrative tribunal of disputes relating to the conditions and terms of appointment of members of the staff.

7. Nothing in this article shall preclude the Organisation from entering into special arrangements with the United Nations Organisation for common services and staffing and for the interchange of staffs.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/20(1).

**FINAL DRAFT OF ARTICLES VI AND VII AS APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION AT ITS NINTH MEETING ON NOVEMBER 13TH, 1945**

**ARTICLE VI-EXECUTIVE BOARD**

*VI A. Composition.*

1. The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen members elected by the Conference from among the five delegates appointed by each Member State, and of the President of the Conference who shall sit *ex officio* in an advisory capacity.

2. In electing the members of the Executive Board, the Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas, and by their experience and capacity qualified to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any one time, the President of the Conference excepted.

3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall in no circumstances serve consecutively for more than two terms.

At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one-third shall retire at the end of the first year and one-third at the end of the second year, the order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots.

Thereafter six persons shall be elected each year.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Board shall appoint, from among the delegates of the Member State concerned a substitute, who shall serve until the next meeting of the Conference which shall elect a member for the remainder of the term.

*VI B. Functions and Powers.*

1. The Executive Board, acting under the authority of the Conference, shall be responsible for the execution of the programme adopted by the Conference. It shall prepare the agenda and programme of work of the Conference.

2. The Executive Board shall recommend to the Conference the admission of new members to the Organisation.

3. Subject to decisions of the Conference, the Executive Board shall fix its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its officers from among its members.

The Executive Board shall meet in regular sessions at least twice a year and may meet in special sessions if convoked by the Chairman on his initiative or upon the request of six members of the Board.

4. The Chairman of the Executive Board shall present to the Conference, with or without comment, the annual report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organisation, which shall have been previously submitted to the Executive Board.

5. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organisations or qualified persons concerned with questions within its competence.

6. The members of the Executive Board shall exercise the powers delegated to them by the Conference on behalf of the whole Conference and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

#### ARTICLE VII—SECRETARIAT

1. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.

2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the Conference for a six-year period, under such conditions of service as the Conference may approve. He shall be eligible for re-appointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organisation.

The Director-General, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the Conference, the Board, and committees of the Organisation. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.

3. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in accordance with staff regulations to be approved by the Conference. Subject to the paramount consideration of securing the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and technical competence, the staff shall be recruited on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

4. The responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff shall be exclusively international in character. In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials.

Each member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

5. Nothing in this article shall preclude the Organisation from entering into special arrangements within the United Nations Organisation for common services and staffing and for the interchange of staffs.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.III/21 (revised).

#### REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMISSION, SUBMITTED TO THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE WITH THE FINAL TEXT OF ARTICLES VI AND VII— (EXECUTIVE BOARD AND SECRETARIAT)

The Commission, under the Presidency of M. de Visscher, held nine meetings. The task of drawing up an agreed text based on Articles VI and VII of the Allied Ministers' Draft presented few serious difficulties. Discussions, except on the points specified below, were brief, and the Commission reached its decisions with a gratifying unanimity.

#### ARTICLE VI

##### EXECUTIVE BOARD

##### Article VI A. Composition.

VI A, 1—A difference of opinion arose as to whether the members of the Executive Board should (a) be elected from among the delegates to the Conference ; (h) be elected as representatives of Member States or as individuals of eminence in the cultural, scientific, or educational fields.

The Commission, being of the opinion that these problems in some measure exceeded their terms of reference, suggested a Joint Committee meeting with Commission II. The Executive Committee approving the suggestion, the Joint Meeting was held on November 10th and the text as it stands at present (" elected by the Conference from among the five delegates appointed by each Member State ") was drafted with the unanimous approval of the Joint Committee. See E.C.O./Conf./Joint Corn. II and III/P.V.1. (annexed). It was subsequently approved by Commission III.

It was thought desirable that the President of the Conference should have the right of sitting on the Board *ex officio* without the right to vote.

A, 2.—The words " and by their experience and capacity qualified to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board " were inserted in the text to ensure that the persons of academic eminence elected to the Board should also possess capability for administration.

A, 3.—The principle was generally accepted that it was desirable to secure continuity and at the same time avoid any danger of stagnation, such as might arise if re-election were possible for an indefinite period. Re-eligibility for only a second consecutive term seemed to meet these requirements, without debarring persons of particular value to the Board from being re-elected for a third and- fourth term after standing down for a single year.

A, 4.—The only point which raised any discussion in this paragraph was whether the word " substitute " should be qualified by the phrase " from among the delegates of the Member State concerned. " This qualification was finally approved.

##### Article VI B. Functions and Powers.

B 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 did not raise any question of difficulty.

B, 4.—Divergence of opinion was initially expressed in the Commission as to whether the Chairman of the Executive Board should report to the Conference on the working of the Organisation as a whole, or whether the report should be made by the Director-General, or again whether the Chairman of the Executive Board should make one report on the main principles of the Organisation's work, and the Director-General another, either to the Board or the Conference, on the details of the work.

The wording ultimately adopted was unanimously accepted as a satisfactory compromise. While in no way weakening the position of the Director-General, it left the Chairman of the Board free to make any comments he might think necessary on the Director-General's report.

## ARTICLE VII

### SECRETARIAT

The work of the Commission relative to the terms of Article VII was made considerably easier by the preliminary statement of the French delegate. He said that although Articles 20 and 22 of the French draft referred to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, his delegation had no wish to link the fate of the Institute with the debate on the Secretariat. The French delegation merely desired that the new Organisation should be able to avail itself, if it so wished, of the contacts, the experience and the documentation of the Institute. Meanwhile as the question was being discussed by the Fourth Commission, the French delegate proposed that the composition of the Secretariat should be dealt with by the Third Commission without reference to Articles 20 and 22 of the French draft.

VII, 1. A proposal specifying that the Director-General should be assisted by two Deputy Directors-General was considered, but the Commission came to the conclusion that it would be preferable to leave the Director-General free to suggest the creation of such posts as might be considered necessary to meet the needs of the Organisation.

2. A long discussion arose as to whether the responsibility of the Director-General was to the Conference or to the Executive Board. Behind this lay the same division of opinion as revealed in the deliberations of the Commission in VI B, 4 above, and VII 3 below : that is the question of the relative position of the Executive Board and the Director-General in relation to the Conference.

The text as finally drafted omitted any direct reference to the point at issue, the Chairman drawing the attention of the Commission to the fact that previous clauses specifying the Director-General's nomination by the Executive Board and appointment by the Conference sufficiently showed his responsibility to both bodies. The text was unanimously approved.

3. A difference of opinion arose as to the drafting of the first sentence of this paragraph, and the issue behind the discussion proved not dissimilar to that raised by paragraph 2 above. The Commission was unable to decide by the necessary majority whether appointments to the higher grades of the Secretariat should, or should not, be subject to approval by the Executive Board. The text as it stands at present represents a compromise which is due to the sagacity of the Greek delegate. In the terms of this compromise the question is summed up in the two following points : (a) The Commission wishes to place on record that when a vote was taken on the deletion of the clause providing for the approval of the Executive Board, nine votes were recorded in favour of the deletion and eleven against it ; (b) the question of the Executive Board's approval shall be considered when formulating the staff regulations to be approved by the Conference.

4 and 5.—These paragraphs were unanimously approved.

It was decided, on the suggestion of the Greek delegate, that reference to the necessity of ultimately creating an administrative tribunal to deal with disputes relating to the terms and conditions of appointment of members of the staff should be made in this report ; and that, in view of the small amount of work such a tribunal would have to deal with, the desirability of setting up a single Administrative Tribunal to cover the various branches of the United Nations Organisation should be emphasised.

E.C.O./Conf./Joint Com.II and III/P.V.1

### Summary Report of Meeting held on Saturday, 10th November, 1945, at 5.15 p.m.

*Present* : Commission II.—

M. A. SOMMERFELT (President of Commission II) and delegates of Chile, France, United Kingdom, and United States.

Commission III.—

M. DE. VISSCHER (President of Commission III) and delegates of Greece, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway.

In attendance : MR. J. DAVISON, MR. H. R. FEDDEN.

M. DE. VISSCHER took the chair.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE MET TO DISCUSS WHETHER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD SHOULD BE ELECTED AS REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL STATES OR AS INDIVIDUAL PERSONS OF EMINENCE.

The Mexican delegate said that the Conference would have to elect an Executive Board of 18 members. He suggested that in the first place the Conference should elect 18 states, and that each of these states should then present to the suffrage of the conference, or to a nominating committee, a panel of five (or possibly more) persons of eminence in the cultural, scientific or educational world, who need not necessarily be delegates to the conference. The conference (or nominating board) would then select one name from each of the national panels.

The speaker emphasized that the type of person most useful as a conference delegate did not always possess the academic or scientific qualifications which it was generally felt members of the Executive Board should possess. Further, the type of person often selected as a conference delegate lacked the time which it was essential that members of the Executive Board should be able to devote to their duties.

The United Kingdom delegate stated that in the view of his delegation, since the Second Commission had already decided that states alone should send delegates to the conference, the question of whether these delegates should elect states or individuals to the Executive Board was a question for Commission III alone and lay outside the competence of Commission II.

A general discussion on the suggestions of the Mexican delegate then ensued, in the course of which it became clear that, in view of the decisions already taken in Commission II on the composition of the Conference, the Joint Committee favoured the election of an Executive Board from among the conference delegates. It was pointed out that, since the Executive Board represented the conference between sessions, a danger of friction would inevitably arise if a number of non-delegates were represented on the board. Little difficulty, it was thought, would arise in combining personal distinction with the limitation of election to con-

ference delegates, since it seemed certain that each state would ensure that men of eminence and of international repute in the cultural, educational, or scientific fields, were included in its delegation.

A compromise suggestion, put forward by the Chilean delegate, for a mixed Executive Board (nine state-delegate members, and nine individuals of eminence) appeared on discussion to be open to the same objections as the scheme outlined in paragraph 1 above.

The United States delegate ultimately suggested an amendment to Article VI.A. 1, as drafted by Commission III which it was hoped might prove acceptable to the Joint Committee as a whole. The amendment read as follows :—

“ The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen persons selected from among the five delegates appointed by each member state. . . .”

This amendment, the United States delegate added, would naturally mean that any one of the five delegates of any given state would be eligible for election even if unable to be present in person at the conference.

Both the Mexican and Chilean delegates expressed themselves ready to accept this amendment, and the latter stated that as far as he could judge, he thought it would be acceptable to the South American delegations.

The amendment was then approved.

## FOURTH COMMISSION

### (Relations' with **International Organisations, and Seat of the Organisation**)

#### SUMMARY REPORTS

##### FIRST MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 11.30 a.m.*

The meeting opened under the presidency of Dr. Opocensky, delegate of Czechoslovakia.

##### Election of the Bureau of the Commission

The Commission appointed as its Chairman Dr. Jan OPOCENSKY (Czechoslovakia) and, as Vice-Chairman, M. Walker LINARES (Chile).

##### SECOND MEETING

*Held on Thursday, November 8th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*  
*Chairman : M. OPOCENSKY (Czechoslovakia)*

##### CONSIDERATION OF THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE AS DEFINED IN DOCUMENT E.C.O./CONF./4

The Commission's discussions would turn on the following points :

- (a) relations between the proposed Organisation and big international associations ;
- (b) relations between the Organisation and the United Nations or specialised institutions or bodies thereof.

(c) study of financial questions ;

(d) fixing of the seat of the Organisation.

##### PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE ARTICLES IN THE DRAFT PROPOSALS OF THE CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND IN THE FRENCH PROPOSALS AND ALSO OF ANY AMENDMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS FORMULATED

The Chairman read a letter from the Danish delegation proposing to entrust to the new Organisation the League of Nations Library. This letter would be sent to the Secretariat for communication to delegations, after which it would come up for discussion by the Commission.

Discussion then began on the text of Article XIV of the C.A.M.E. draft and Articles 23 and 24 of the French proposals.

The American delegation submitted an amendment (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/3).

1. To amend text of Article XIV as follows :

“ This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the

Director-General may establish effective working relationships with such organisations and agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation.

“ Whenever the Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies, whose purposes and functions lie within the field of competence of this Organisation, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of the resources and activities of the latter to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.”

2. To add an Article XIV (a) as follows :

“ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may include the appointment by the Conference of advisory committees composed of representatives of such organisations. ”

After a debate, the Commission adopted the principle of this amendment with these reservations :

(a) that the last three lines of Article XIV be amended to read :

“ The Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board and subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose. Any formal arrangement entered into shall be submitted for approbation to the Executive Board.”

(b) that the word “ acceptance ” be substituted for the word “ appointment ” in the penultimate line of Article XIV (a).

In the course of the debate the Belgian delegate, supported by the delegates of Australia, Canada and Mexico, urged the need of establishing for purposes of their further work a clear distinction between *international* organisations and *inter-governmental* organisations. It was to be clearly understood that only the latter would be admitted to membership of the Organisation.

A drafting committee was then formed to frame a new Article XIV which would take account of the Commission's decisions.

The following were appointed to serve on this Committee :

|                |     |                 |
|----------------|-----|-----------------|
| Mr. Gerig      | ... | United States.  |
| M. Geeraerts   | ... | ... Belgium.    |
| Mr. Richardson |     | United Kingdom. |
| M. Febvre      | ... | ... France.     |
| M. Nervo       | ... | ... Mexico      |

### THIRD MEETING

*Held on Friday, November 9th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

Chairman : H.E. M. OPOCENSKY  
(Czechoslovakia)

*Article 28 of the French Government's proposals.*

The Commission first discussed Article 28 of the French proposals, having been asked to express an opinion on this article, the eventual adoption of which comes within the competence of the Second Commission.

The general impression was that, while the Commission as a whole was in favour of the principle of Article 28, some of the members could not accept the form and considered more particularly that there was definite incompatibility between the status of *private association* and that of *member of the Organisation*, as the latter could include, with the right to vote, only Governments and inter-governmental organisations and associations admitted under conditions which were clearly laid down. (As regards this last category of international organisations and associations, it was understood that the term *inter-governmental* applied to those established under an inter-governmental agreement.)

The French delegation was asked to re-draft Article 28 on these lines before referring it to the Drafting Committee.

*Seat of the Organisation.*

The delegate of the United Kingdom wished to revert to a point which was, no doubt, of great interest to members of the Conference : the seat of the future Organisation.

Before expressing an opinion on the subject, he wished to make two preliminary remarks. One school of thought was in favour of the centralisation of all the organs attached to the United Nations. There existed in favour of that view weighty arguments relating to questions of economy and also to questions of efficiency as affecting the work. Again, the concentration of all the organs coming under the United Nations in a single place would undoubtedly increase alike the prestige of that organisation and of each of the organisations attached to it. At the same time His Majesty's Government was inclined to the view that if an exception was to be made to that general rule—should it be adopted—that exception should be in favour of an intellectual and cultural organisation.

The second point he wished to stress was that it was hardly possible at that juncture to take any final or irrevocable decision of binding force. As Mr. Attlee had recently said, they were living in a changing world and the very system of change seemed to be gathering momentum. It was impossible, therefore, to adhere definitely to any such decision, and he would propose that it should be made capable of revision after a period of five years.

Having submitted these two preliminary observations, he desired to say that there could be no hesitation as to the choice of the place for which,

on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, he would ask the Commission to vote. They did not claim that the seat should be on their own national soil, and thus the country whose name occurred immediately to their mind was the country bound to them by so many historic memories and by so many links of other kinds : he meant, of course, France. He would propose to the Commission that Paris be selected, a city which had rendered unforgettable services to the cause of human culture.

That choice was intended not only to express their conviction in the rebirth and rapid reconstruction of France, but should be interpreted also, essentially, as a tribute to the work that France had accomplished in the past.

The United States delegate said that the United States delegation supported the proposal submitted by the United Kingdom delegation. It was convinced that Paris would offer the most suitable atmosphere, an atmosphere in which the work of the new Organisation could be pursued under ideal conditions.

They appreciated and wished to thank France for the invitation which had been extended and they were sure that the Organisation would find there a most favourable environment and would get to work without delay.

The delegate of China said that the Chinese delegation wished to associate itself with the United States and United Kingdom delegations concerning the seat of the Organisation.

French culture had always been characterised by a tendency towards universality, as M. Blum had said in his speech at the opening of the Conference. Paris had undoubtedly remained the intellectual centre of the universe. It was only right then that Paris should be chosen as the seat of the Organisation.

The delegate of Belgium said that the distinguished delegates of Great Britain, the United States and China had just expressed in a few words the feeling they all shared for France. Belgium had only two words to add : an expression of her delight and satisfaction that Paris should be chosen as the seat of the future Organisation.

The Colombian delegate said that his delegation had very little to add to the tribute which the representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Belgium had just paid to France. It did not wish, however, to remain silent on such an occasion. They cordially supported the proposal that Paris should be the seat of the future Organisation. They supported that proposal very readily, for they remembered that it was from France that democratic ideals had come. They knew the permanent contribution that France had always made towards education, science and culture.

He also supported the French proposal : that the international organisations, even though they might have no right to vote, should be allowed to speak in the Commissions.

The delegate of Brazil said that he was very happy, as delegate of Brazil, to pay a tribute to France, eternal France. The Brazilian people owed a great debt of gratitude to France. Paris was the great centre which had done so much for humanity. The feeling of his country should be given the fullest expression, for France was, in fact, the source of Brazilian culture. His country was, he felt sure, in full agreement with the proposal that Paris should be chosen as the seat of the future Organisation. No other place would ever be found which offered a scientific, cultural and educational environment more perfect or more exquisite than that great "ville lumière."

He desired then, on behalf of his Government cordially to support the proposal that Paris should become the seat of the future Organisation. He would venture to propose, in view of the agreement prevailing in that Assembly, that this suggestion should be not only passed, but passed by acclamation.

(This proposal was greeted by the Commission with unanimous applause.)

*Paris was chosen as the seat of the Organisation.*

Other members then addressed the Commission.

The delegate of the Lebanon said he was particularly glad that words springing from the heart should temper the rigorous logic of the arguments used by the various speakers in the recent debate.

Humanity owed much to France in the domain of culture. The debt was no less in the domain of the great principles of liberty, fraternity and equality, born in 1789 and proclaimed by the French Revolution.

The delegate of France said that he could not allow the Assembly to conclude its proceedings without expressing the grateful appreciation, the deep gratitude, of the French delegation, of the French Government and the whole people.

He wished also to convey their deep emotion on seeing the unanimity with which it had been proposed that the seat of Intellectual Co-operation in the domain of culture, education and science should be entrusted to their country, to France, who had suffered, who was still terribly prostrated, but who was steadily regaining her energy and emerging from the depths in which she had been plunged.

They were profoundly conscious of their responsibility. France would welcome the Organisation and do all that was materially and morally possible to assist its activities.

The fact that France was happy and grateful to receive the Organisation on French soil was entirely without prejudice to its structure ; the Organisation would be completely international in France, U.N.E.S.C.O. would be complete master of its premises and of the organs that might be set up in Paris. As regards the organisation and personnel of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, such steps could be taken as might seem most suited to the purpose in view :



the existing elements might be retained or those same elements might be called upon to dissolve and merge in U.N.E.S.C.O. like snow in a great river.

Once again he desired to express their thanks and deep gratification at the tribute which had been paid to the tenacious battle, the sanguinary fight, the passionate struggle of France for liberty, peace and international intellectual collaboration.

The delegate of Cuba said that the Cuban delegation could not remain silent on the occasion of the spontaneous and enthusiastic tribute which had just been paid to France. He recalled the words spoken by the delegate of Brazil some years back at Havana at the second American Conference on Intellectual Co-operation. The Brazilian delegate had painted a moving picture of what the world would be like without that body which was so necessary for intellectual co-operation between the countries. The Conference had on that occasion adopted a resolution providing for the temporary transfer of the Intellectual Co-operation Centre to Havana until the forces of evil could be repelled.

It had been agreed then that the Intellectual Co-operation Centre should return to Paris. That time had now come. The Cuban National Commission for Intellectual Co-operation had tried by every means to keep alive the sacred flame by setting up that provisional centre. Various obstacles, conditions arising from the war, and many other factors which they had not always understood had not prevented them from carrying out to the full the responsibility they had assumed.

They were particularly happy now to see that the desire expressed at the Havana Conference by all the delegates of the American countries was at last fulfilled.

The delegate of Mexico desired to say a few words on behalf of the Mexican delegation, which could not allow the occasion to pass without expressing its delight at the decision just passed by acclamation. During the discussion before that decision, France had expressed her desire that cultural and intellectual associations should be received within the great Association and now the Association itself was to find its home in the heart of France ; no more congenial atmosphere could be found for the accomplishment of the purposes they had in view.

The delegate of Turkey said that the Turkish delegation was delighted that Paris, the cradle and shrine of human rights, should be the seat of the Organisation.

The delegate of the Dominican Republic said that the Dominican delegation wished to associate the Dominican Government with the motion which had been put forward by the United Kingdom delegation.

The Dominican Republic was united to France by many cultural bonds. For many years past the greater part of the Dominican youth had pursued its studies and been in contact with the humanistic spirit of French culture. The choice decided on was thus particularly welcome.

The delegate of Uruguay said that his delegation, which was unfortunately not present at the beginning of the discussion, was happy to have arrived in time to add its tribute to France on the occasion of the decision to establish the seat of the Organisation in Paris. That implied not only an expression of gratitude towards world culture, and more particularly Latin culture, of which France had always been the standard-bearer, but a conviction that " la ville lumière " would prove the best environment for the promotion of culture and would ensure beyond a doubt the success of their labours.

The delegate of the Philippines said that, when the Philippines defended their independence against Spain, it was in Paris that their spirit had sought refuge. It was an additional reason for rejoicing in the choice of Paris which had just been made.

The delegate of Luxembourg said that the Luxembourg delegation congratulated France, their great friend, with all their heart on the magnificent proof of sympathy and confidence given by that assembly.

The Australian delegate said that, as the representative of a British country in the Antipodes, he desired to express the delight that country would feel at the choice which had just been made, in view of the firm and permanent links uniting the two countries.

The delegate of New Zealand said that the New Zealand delegation wished to associate itself with the tribute which had just been paid and to express the delight which would certainly be felt by the people of New Zealand when they learned of the collaboration now being established between Paris and New Zealand.

The delegate of the Netherlands said that the Netherlands delegation desired to associate itself with the tribute which had been paid to France, recalling the years of active collaboration between the two countries before the war.

The Chairman of the Commission said that as Chairman he had had to wait until the last to speak, but that, both as delegate of Czechoslovakia and as Chairman, he associated himself wholeheartedly with what had been said to the glory of France and in gratitude to that country, which had been throughout history the great disseminator of ideas.

#### FOURTH MEETING

*Held on Saturday, November 10th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman : M. OPOCENSKY (Czechoslovakia)*

The observer for the Pan-American Union made a statement offering forthwith the assistance of the Union in that domain of the Organisation's work which concerns it.

ARTICLES XIV AND XIV (a) (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/7).

*Article XIV.*

" 1. This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations

or agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relationships with such organisations or agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal arrangements entered into with such organisations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

“ 2. Whenever the Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the field of competence of this Organisation, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.”

*Article XIV (a).*

“ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake certain specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organisations on advisory committees set up by the Conference. ”

This text, which replaces Article XIV of the C.A.M.E. proposals and Articles 23 and 24 of the French proposals, and which was submitted to the Commission by its Drafting Committee, was *adopted* unanimously.

ARTICLE 28 OF THE FRENCH PROPOSALS.

The French delegation submitted a new draft of this text, which, after a small amendment by the British delegation, then took the following form :

“ The Conference, at the recommendation of the Executive Board and voting by a two-thirds majority, may invite international organisations with activities in harmony with its own, to send representatives as observers to its meetings and to those of its Commissions. Such representatives may be invited to take part in the discussions of the Conference or of its Commissions, in conformity with the rules of procedure which the Conference itself will have fixed. ”

The delegates of Australia, United States and Mexico pointed out that the American amendment, provisionally called Article XIV, already included provisions similar to those in this article, which was accepted by the other members of the Commission. It was decided to refer it to the Second Commission, drawing the latter's attention to the reservation made by the three delegates just mentioned.

*Budget.*

The British delegation pointed out that one of the advantages of the amendment it had submitted

(E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/6) would consist in ensuring permanent funds for the Organisation by means of a credit inserted automatically in the general budget of the Organisation of the United Nations.

The French delegation submitted the following amendment to Article 34 of the French proposals (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/8) :

“ The budget prepared by the General Conference shall be submitted for examination by the General Assembly of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 17, paragraph 3, of the Charter. It shall be administered by U.N.E.S.C.O.

“ The expenses of the Organisation shall be included in the total budget of the United Nations Organisation which furnishes the funds needed for its work.

“ The Organisation or its technical organs may also receive directly all gifts, bequests or subventions provided by governments, public or private institutions, associations or private persons, subject to approbation by its General Conference. ”

This question was evidently closely associated with that of relations between the Organisation and the United Nations Organisation. While the Commission was agreed on the need for the United Nations Organisation to co-ordinate the budgets of specialised institutions attached to it, it also thought that, subject to this qualification, the Organisation's budget should enjoy a large measure of autonomy.

The Drafting Committee was instructed to examine the question of the budget.

DANISH PROPOSAL (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/4) :

This was withdrawn by its author.

**FIFTH MEETING**

*Held on November 12th, 1945, at 3 p.m.*

*Chairman* : H.E. M. OPOCENSKY  
(Czechoslovakia)

RELATIONS WITH OTHER SPECIALISED INTER-GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS (Article XIV of the C.A.M.E. draft and Articles 23 and 24 of the French proposals)

The United States delegation submitted an amendment constituting paragraph 3 of the Article previously voted by the Commission.

This amendment, which was unanimously adopted, was framed as follows :

“ This Organisation may make appropriate arrangements with other inter-governmental organisations for reciprocal representation at meetings. ”

**RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION**

The text proposed by the Drafting Committee (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/10) was unanimously *adopted*.

### BUDGET OF THE ORGANISATION

The text of the Drafting Committee (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/11) gave rise to a discussion, in the course of which the Commission learned that the Second Commission had just adopted a text on the same subject.

It was then *decided* that the Drafting Committees of the Second and Fourth Commissions should hold a joint meeting to prepare new draft articles on the budget and on relations with the United Nations Organisation, the two problems being closely bound up with one another.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS PRESENTED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/9)

By a unanimous decision, this document was referred to the Conference, the Commission not having had time to examine it. The Commission recommended to the Conference that it should be transmitted, as a basis for study, to the Preparatory Commission.

### SIXTH MEETING

*Held on Wednesday, November 14th, 1945, at 3.45 p.m.*

*Chairman : H.E. M. OPOCENSKY  
(Czechoslovakia)*

The delegate of the United Kingdom said that the Commission had come to a decision a few days previously regarding the seat of the Organisation. He had wondered under what form the Commission should present that proposal to the Conference at a plenary meeting. He thought it should be in the form of a resolution. He proposed that the resolution should say that the Commission had decided on Paris as the seat of the Organisation, but that that decision might be subject to revision, if circumstances changed, after a period of five years.

The Chairman asked for the views of the Commission.

The New Zealand delegate supported the proposal.

The Chairman enquired if there were any objections.

The Secretary said that he thought the Secretariat would have to raise a purely formal objection, but one which was of some importance : the Commission had been given terms of reference on which a report would have to be made to the central Drafting Committee, and those terms of reference covered various questions mentioned specifically under articles referred to the Commission for examination. The draft of the Conference of Ministers contained no article concerning the question of the seat of the Organisation, but there was such an article in the French draft. Conference document No. 4 said very plainly : " French Government draft, Articles 23, 24, 28, 30-35 inclusive and 38." (Article 38 of the French Government draft, if he remembered rightly, spoke of the seat of the Organisation.) Again, the terms of reference read : " to arrive at an agreement as to the seat of the Organisation-including,

should the need arise, a statement on the divergencies of views within the Commission."

Obviously, when the minutes were drafted it had been understood that a vote was being taken on one of the points in the terms of reference on which the Commission was deliberating.

Accordingly, when, on the Brazilian delegate's proposal, the seat of the Organisation was fixed by acclamation in Paris, that was mentioned definitely in the minutes. The speaker could say quite frankly that he proposed to frame his report to the Drafting Committee in those terms. Of course, if there had been a divergency of views within the Commission, that must be brought out. At the same time he did not feel that the Commission could go back on a decision which had been taken by the Conference. It was the Conference that had given them their terms of reference and they were not entitled to alter or modify them in any way. They could not deal with questions referred to other Commissions, just as they could not allow other Commissions to deal with questions referred specifically to the Fourth Commission.

He felt, therefore, that the proper thing for him to do was to mention the matter in the minutes. In those minutes, drafted in French, he had framed a text, which all the members of the Commission had read, declaring : " The seat of the Organisation is fixed in Paris. " Now he wondered whether the Commission had the right to substitute for a text they had been asked for a resolution and no more, which would be sent to the Conference. That was his point of view as Secretary. It was, indeed, a matter of some importance as he would have to submit his texts to the Drafting Committee in a few minutes.

The Chairman said that two opinions had been expressed. On the one hand, the United Kingdom delegation proposed that the seat should only be mentioned in a resolution, On the other hand, the Secretary thought that the question of the seat should be settled in an article of the U.N.E.S.C.O. Agreement.

The Secretary apologised for intervening. He said that the Chairman had said the question " should be," settled ; the speaker had said " had been " settled.

The Chairman invited the Commission to discuss the question.

The delegate of the United Kingdom said that his view had been correctly rendered. The United Kingdom delegation was of opinion that the seat should not be mentioned in any article of the Constitution, but should appear simply in the form of a resolution to be submitted to the General Assembly.

The delegate of France said that the French delegation did not share that view. The Fourth Commission had been explicitly asked to settle the point under discussion. The point had been settled not only unanimously, but by acclamation, for which the French delegation had been extremely grateful to the Commission as a whole.

Accordingly, since they had all been in complete agreement on the question, he did not think that there was any objection to deciding that an article—quite a short one—should mention that the seat of the Organisation was fixed in Paris. It was understood that under the machinery of the Charter there was every possible facility for revising that decision in five years at the latest, since a two-thirds majority vote would enable the Assembly, which they were about to constitute, to amend any article of the Charter that might then have been established.

The delegate of the United States said that the United States delegation had also been of opinion that the point under discussion would not appear as an article in the Constitution, but would be in the form of a resolution.

The delegate of France said that it was the first time they had heard anyone suggest that a resolution would not be converted into an article in the Charter.

The delegate of Belgium wondered whether there could really be any fundamental objection to mentioning the seat of the Organisation in the text of the Constitution. It seemed only right that they should give the world some indication as to the place in which the Organisation was to be established at the start. At the same time, it was fully understood that if, for reasons which no one could foresee, it was felt that the seat should subsequently be transferred elsewhere, the Conference would always have the necessary powers and could take a decision to that effect. He did not see why, in the circumstances, a separate resolution was necessary, and his personal view was that there was no fundamental objection to inserting in the Constitution a text, fixing the seat of the Organisation in Paris.

The Mexican delegate said that he did not wish to go into the substance of the question, but simply to point out that he did not think that the decision should be mentioned in the actual body of the Charter, because that would involve saying that if an amendment had to be made in the Charter on that specific point, the amendment could only be made in accordance with the procedure which they themselves had established for amendments to any article of the Charter, whereas, when the proposal was made by the United Kingdom delegate, it had been mentioned that, if circumstances altered, the seat would also be changed, which would appear to imply a procedure different from that applicable to other amendments to other articles of the Charter.

The Commission would, of course, decide the matter as it thought fit.

The delegate of the United States said that the United States delegation had supported the United Kingdom proposal on the assumption of a resolution passed by that assembly. If the point was to be mentioned in the Charter and any amendment should be required, they would have to refer the matter to their Government for approval.

The delegate of Belgium suggested that if it was really impossible to find a way of inserting in the Constitution itself the decision as to the seat of the Organisation, they might at all events—in order to clothe the decision in some semblance of solemnity—provide for its insertion, on a proposal by the Fourth Commission, in the International Act, which, if he had understood a right, would be attached to the Constitution, the latter simply forming an annex. There would thus be in a document, signed by the representatives of the various States represented at the Conference, a recognition of the decision of the Conference to fix Paris as the seat, and that, in the event of a decision to transfer the seat of the Organisation, would make it unnecessary to amend the Constitution. But there would still be a formal document. He felt that, in view of its importance, the question should really be settled in a dignified way.

The Secretary said he simply wished to clarify one point as regards the question of a resolution. He had before him the provisional list of the Commissions and their exact terms of reference. Each Commission, as the Fourth Commission was aware, had been asked to examine a certain number of articles in the two principal drafts for establishing the Constitution of the Organisation. In no part of that document and for none of the Commissions was anything laid down save the framing of the articles of the Constitution, and the speaker was surprised that some delegations should say now that they thought they were voting on a resolution, when the Commission was voting on a point which was covered by its specific terms of reference and was intended to be embodied in an article. He had just mentioned it to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and told him that included in the five texts which the Fourth Commission had to submit to him there was one on the seat of the Organisation. The Chairman had not made any comment and had not said that it was outside the Commission's terms of reference or that it should be in the form of a resolution.

The delegate of France said there was obviously a misunderstanding. While the United Kingdom delegate had thought that they were discussing a resolution, the French delegation had certainly been justified in thinking that, so far as the seat of the Organisation was concerned, they were discussing the ideas set forth in Article 38, ideas which did not constitute an amendment but formed part of the draft.

If, however, there was any difficulty, could it not be suggested to the United Kingdom delegation that the question might be referred to the Executive Committee ?

The United Kingdom delegate said that he was not absolutely opposed to the seat of the Organisation being mentioned in the Constitution, but that, in that case, he would suggest drafting the text differently and saying, for instance, that the seat of the Organisation was provisionally fixed in Paris, and that after a period of five years the final seat would be fixed by a vote of the Conference.

He did not think it was absolutely necessary that the seat should be mentioned in the actual Constitution. Certain other organisations such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the Conference on Civil Aviation, and even the Charter of the United Nations, did not include in their statutes any article specifying the seat of the organisation.

The delegate of the United States agreed that some organisations had not mentioned their seat in their actual Constitution. He was prepared then to support the Belgian delegate's proposal that the name of the seat should appear in the Final Act, bearing the signatures, and that the text should be so framed as to admit of a revision of the decision after a period of five years.

The Chairman said that the position of delegations was becoming clearer. The Belgian delegate, supported by the United States delegation, proposed that the question of the seat should be incorporated in the Final Act, which the Conference was about to adopt and sign. The United Kingdom delegation had proposed that the article should be embodied, under certain conditions, in the Constitution.

The delegate of France said that he would be glad if he might have the text which the United Kingdom delegate had just read ; he would like to submit it quickly to the Chairman of the French delegation.

After a short adjournment the Chairman invited the French delegate to address the Commission.

The delegate of France said that in a spirit of conciliation they desired to consider the proposal of the United Kingdom delegate, which he would lay before the Commission in a slightly amended form.

The United Kingdom delegate submitted a text providing that the seat of the Organisation should be established in Paris for the first five years, after which it would be fixed by the Conference.

He said that they had not yet decided whether that text should form part of the Constitution. There were three possibilities : a resolution, inclusion in the Final Act, or inclusion in the Constitution of the Organisation.

The delegate of France said that there appeared to be a fresh misunderstanding. He thought it had already been decided that the text should be incorporated in the actual Constitution.

The delegate of the United Kingdom said that they were all in the hands of the Commission and that they asked the Commission to express an opinion on those three possible alternatives.

The French delegate said that, if the text was not to be incorporated in the actual Constitution, he thought that the question would have to be further examined.

The delegate of the Union of South Africa proposed that the text submitted by the United Kingdom delegate should be inserted in the Constitution.

The Chairman inquired if there were any objections.

The United States delegate thought that there was a proposal by the Belgian delegate asking that the question under discussion should be incorporated in the Final Act. That proposal should have priority over the proposal of the South African delegate. Moreover it was not clearly stated that it should be incorporated in the actual Constitution. He thought that the question ought to be submitted to the Executive Committee for a solution.

The Chairman said that the Commission had before it three proposals. The most comprehensive was the one submitted by the United States delegate asking that the Executive Committee should decide, on the basis of the documents, on the seat of the Organisation. The second was the Belgian delegate's proposal asking that there should be a provision in the Final Act. The third was the proposal of the delegate of the Union of South Africa asking that the question be incorporated in the Constitution.

He thought that the situation had now been clarified and that a vote could be taken without further discussion.

The delegate of France said that the French delegation had no objection to the matter being referred to the Executive Committee, subject to the proviso that the text could always be re-examined.

The Chairman said that, as the United States and French delegations had arrived at an agreement as regards referring the question to the Executive Committee and as that proposal was the most comprehensive, he would like to take a vote. He enquired if there was any objection.

The delegate of Panama said that his delegation wished to be enlightened on one point. Did the seat of the Organisation mean the place where the General Secretariat would be installed or simply the place where the Conferences would meet ?

The Secretary thought that the Second Commission had decided the previous day that the Conference should meet periodically in a town which would be designated periodically or annually. He thought that was the decision arrived at. The seat of the Organisation must therefore mean the location of the Secretariat and Director of the Organisation.

The Chairman asked whether the Fourth Commission was of opinion that the question under discussion should be sent to the Executive Committee.

The Colombian delegate said that the whole point was to decide whether the decision was to be incorporated in the Constitution or in the Final Act.

The delegate of France took it that, should the Executive Committee wish it to appear in the Final Act, they retained the right to go back on the text.

The delegate of the Union of South Africa spoke on a point of order. They had decided, he said, to refer the matter to the Executive Com-

mittee, but he did not know whether the latter would be meeting again before the Commission had to take the responsibility for its final Report. It might not have an opportunity to judge on the matter.

The Chairman thought that this question should be put to the Executive Committee.

The delegate of Luxembourg asked whether the decision they had taken fixing the seat in Paris was to be regarded as referred.

The delegate of Colombia pointed out that that decision had already been taken.

The Chinese delegate said that they were agreed on referring this question to the Executive Committee.

The Chairman proposed a vote on the Chinese delegate's suggestion, which was *adopted*.

The Secretary pointed out that the Executive Committee might possibly refer back a text to them, in which case the Commission might have to meet again.

The delegate of Luxembourg thought they would have to meet again, as there were too many absent that day from the meeting. Those who had voted for the proposal made the other day were not present to take a decision.

The Chairman said they could meet on the morrow except for the question they had referred to the Executive Committee.

The meeting was adjourned. On its resumption the Chairman announced agreement between the delegations. That agreement would be embodied in a resolution to be separately voted upon and added to the Final Act.

It ran as follows : " The Headquarters of the Organisation shall be in Paris. This decision may be made the subject of re-examination after a reasonable lapse of time. Any change must be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the general Conference. "

The delegate of France hoped that this agreement of theirs would be supported by their Governments. He would recommend it to his Government and would therefore vote for the separate Draft Resolution to be embodied in the Final Act *ad referendum*. It was understood that his Government, which had substantial interests at stake, could formulate its decision and, in the event of any other Governments or his own not approving the question, the text could be referred back to Plenary Conference.

The Mexican delegate expressed the wish of his delegation that the sentence to be inserted in a special Resolution annexed to the Final Act should end after the words : " The seat of the Organisation shall be in Paris." He thought that the words they were adding concerning the possibility of reviewing this decision meant little, since it would always lie within the powers of sovereign states to fix the seat elsewhere. The sentence added a mere hint which consorted ill with the enthusiasm accorded by the Conference to the

decision to fix Paris as the seat. It suggested that Paris was to be submitted to a probationary period, and that was nobody's intention. He for his part would be only too pleased if the headquarters of the Organisation were to remain in Paris for all time.

He repeated that, while having no occasion to intervene in this discussion, he had wished to give his opinion on that point.

Asked by the Chairman whether that was a formal proposal, the Mexican delegate disavowed any intention to submit a formal proposal, not wishing to waste the Commission's time. If the delegations were agreed, he would not insist on his point.

The Chairman thanked the delegate of Mexico on behalf of the Fourth Commission. He then put the matter to the vote.

The proposal was *adopted* unanimously amid applause.

### SEVENTH MEETING

*Held on Thursday, November 15th, 1945, at 10.15 a.m.*

*Chairman* : H.E. M. OPOCENSKY  
(Czechoslovakia)

The United Kingdom delegate explained to the Commission that his intervention on the previous evening indicated no intention whatever, either on his own part or on that of the British delegation, to go back on the decision taken to select Paris as the seat of the Organisation. He regretted that, owing to decisions taken by his Government and the situation of that Government, he had been compelled to remind the Commission that they regarded it as a possibility to reconsider the question of the new Organisation's seat at some quite unspecified future date. That did not alter in the least their belief in the merits of Paris as the headquarters of the Organisation. For that reason he asked the Commission to withdraw his proposal the day before and to replace it by a text he would read to them and which he hoped the French delegation could accept. It ran as follows :

" The seat of the U.N.E.S.C.O. shall be in Paris.

" This resolution shall not in any way affect the authority of the Organisation in this matter. "

The United Kingdom delegate asked for a formal vote on that motion.

The delegate of France thanked the British delegate for his statement. It was that delegation which had proposed to the Conference that the seat should be in Paris and that proposal, which had been unanimously accepted, was without doubt regarded as a basis for friendly discussion.

The French Government however, to whom the question had been referred the evening before, felt certain scruples about accepting in *toto* the text they had drafted the day before, because it thought it was important not to discourage the efforts of Parliaments who were asked to vote

credits for international institutions ; the French Government would like to find another formula which would respect the authority of the Conference. The French delegation never meant that the present decision should be irrevocable in a world where nothing was for eternity. He welcomed the proposal of his British colleague, which took some account of the French proposals of the day before. He only wondered if a rather fuller explanation of the precedents might not define the authority which had the right to alter the seat, namely the Conference, as well as the conditions in which it would vote. They might for example take the British text as a basis and merely say that the authority of the Conference could be operative at any time by a two-thirds majority, in accordance with the principles applying to important decisions. If that proposal could be agreed upon, he thought that they would all be of one mind.

The Chairman asked if the British delegation would accept the amendment proposed by the French delegation.

The delegate of the United Kingdom then proposed the following amended text :

“ This resolution shall not in any way affect the right of the Organisation to take decisions in regard to this matter by a two-thirds majority. ”

The delegate of France accepted the amendment in substance, but asked for a moment to consider its form in French.

After a short adjournment the Chairman took a vote on the text concerning the seat which had been agreed upon by the principal delegations. There were no objections and the text was *adopted* unanimously. (See E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/14)

The Secretary read his final report on the work of the Commission, which was *approved* unanimously.

#### E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/2.

DRAFTING AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR AN EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION, SUBMITTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ZOOLOGICAL NOMENCLATURE

#### Article XIV.

From the scientific point of view this is an important article but, as it now stands, the draft Constitution contains no provision for bringing to the attention of members (i.e. Governments) either the work of public or private specialised bodies. It is desirable that provision should be made for this by the addition of a new paragraph 4 to the following effect : “ The Executive Board shall present to the Conference periodical reports on the work of specialised international organisations, whether public or private, with which agreements or arrangements may have been made under paragraphs 2 and 3 above respectively.”

#### E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/3.

AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES XIII, XIV, PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION

#### Article XIII.

Amend Article XIII by substituting the following :—

“ This Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation as soon as practicable as one of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under the provisions of Article 63 of the Charter of the United Nations, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the Conference of the Organisation. The agreement entered into shall provide the means of effective co-operation between the two Organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognise the autonomy of this Organisation, within the special fields of its competence.”

#### Article XIV.

Amend paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article XIV by substituting the following :—

“ This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General may establish effective working relationships with such organisations and agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. ”

Amend Article XIV, paragraph 3, by striking out “ organisation ” in line 2 and inserting “ specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies. ” Also amend Article XIV, paragraph 3, by striking out “ the Executive Board ” and substituting “ the Director-General. ” Article XIV, paragraph 3, thus amended, would read :

“ Whenever the Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies, whose purposes and functions lie within the field of competence of this Organisation, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of the resources and activities of the latter to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose. ”

(Add a new article to be designated temporarily as Article XIV (a).)

#### New Article XIV (a).

It is proposed to incorporate a new article temporarily designated Article XIV (a), which should read as follows :

“ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation

with non-governmental international organisations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may include the appointment by the Conference of advisory committees composed of representatives of such organisations.”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/4.

PROPOSAL BY THE DANISH DELEGATION

FUTURE STATUS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS  
LIBRARY

At its second meeting, held on Thursday, November 8th, 1945, the Fourth Commission decided, at the request of the Danish delegation, to place on its agenda the subject-matter of the following letter to the Secretary-General from Mr. K. Schmidt-Phiseldeck, Librarian of the Royal Danish Library and alternate delegate of Denmark :

London, 6th November, 1945.

Will you allow me to state that it is fully clear to me that the question about the library of the former League of Nations is a very difficult one. But I think too that it may be an essential one, since it will be necessary to create an international centre for the international exchange of learned publications and of all official documents between the different members of the future Organisation.

I think therefore that this Organisation *must* be the Director of that Library (and not the Union of the United Nations itself) from the first day of its functioning-and that the problem must at least be mentioned in one form or another. But how ?

(Signed) K. SCHMIDT-PHISELDECK.

Danish Institute for International Exchanges  
of Scientific and Library Publications,  
Royal Library,  
Copenhagen.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/5.

EXPLANATORY NOTE SUBMITTED BY THE UNITED  
STATES DELEGATION IN RELATION TO THEIR PRO-  
POSED AMENDMENTS TO ARTICLES XIII AND XIV  
(Document E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/3)

Chief differences between the proposed United States amendment and the C.A.M.E. and French drafts :

1. Our proposed amendment separates into two paragraphs the relations which may be established with public and private international organisations. We think this will make for clarity of presentation and avoid possible confusion.

2. Our amendment enables the Director-General of the Organisation to establish effective working relationships with other organisations. We believe this will make it possible to establish, especially at the administrative level, fruitful types of co-operation between related agencies.

3. The C.A.M.E. draft, in paragraph 2,

requires that the Executive Board, instead of the Director-General, might enter into agreements with other agencies through the establishment of joint committees. Our proposal also envisages the establishment of joint committees as may be necessary to insure effective co-operation.

4. As regards paragraph 3 of Article XIV of the C.A.M.E. draft, our amendment makes two changes :

(a) It substitutes the words “specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies ” in line 2 for the word “organisation. ” We think this is more precise and will make it possible to include various agencies which have not become fully developed organisations.

(b) We also think it desirable to give the Director-General of U.N.E.S.C.O., instead of the Executive Board, the authority, subject to the approval of the Conference, to enter into mutually acceptable arrangements to effect any approved transfer of the resources and activities of other organisations or agencies to U.N.E.S.C.O.

5. By separating private international organisations from public or official organisations in our proposed amended paragraphs 1 and 2, we find it necessary to propose a new article dealing exclusively with relationships with private international or non-governmental organisations. We therefore propose a new Article XIV (a).

6. In our new Article XIV (a) we provide for “ consultation and co-operation ” with private organisations, but do not go as far as Article 28 of the French draft which would admit certain international associations to membership of U.N.E.S.C.O. We believe that membership of U.N.E.S.C.O. should be limited to states, while at the same time providing for all necessary and desirable co-operation of such private organisations through advisory committees and other forms of participation in the activities of U.N.E.S.C.O.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/6 (revised).

ARTICLES XI AND XV OF THE DRAFT STATUTE OF  
THE CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF  
EDUCATION

AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM  
DELEGATION

His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom propose that the new Organisation should be established by resolution of the United Nations Assembly instead of by independent ratification by each of the United Nations severally.

It is not the purpose of this amendment to diminish the status of U.N.E.S.C.O. which His Majesty’s Government believe should be a specialised agency with its own fully representative Conference, Executive Board and Director-General as provided for in the present Draft Proposals. It is not pro-



posed that U.N.E.S.C.O. should be merely a Commission of the U.N.O.

The advantages to be gained in creating the new Organisation by resolution of the United Nations Assembly are :

1. If the resolutions were appropriately worded, all members of the U.N.O. become members of U.N.E.S.C.O.
2. The funds of the new Organisation will be derived automatically from the budget of the U.N.O. thus avoiding the necessity of presenting each year to the sovereign legislatures of the United Nations a demand for a special appropriation for U.N.E.S.C.O. In this way a steady income should be assured, enabling U.N.E.S.C.O. to make its plans without the fear of fluctuations in its income from year to year which might otherwise occur.
3. A more flexible Constitution would be assured since amendments approved by the Conference of U.N.E.S.C.O. could be secured by Assembly resolution instead of by the more cumbersome method of ratification by sovereign legislatures.
4. The closer and more intimate relationship of the new Organisation to the U.N.O. achieved by the adoption of the method proposed by His Majesty's Government, would yield advantages in other ways by which the vitality and influence of U.N.E.S.C.O. would be increased. Sharing common central services and a common international Civil Service are among them. By requiring the Assembly of the United Nations Organisation to take a continuing interest in the work of U.N.E.S.C.O. in this way, it may also be expected that educational and cultural matters will be kept prominently before the nations of the world.

His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom accordingly propose the following amendments to the Draft Proposals submitted by the C.A.M.E. :—

#### *Article XI.*

After the first sentence of paragraph 1 of Article XI to read as follows :—

“Proposals for amendments to this Constitution shall require the approval of the Conference by a two-thirds majority and amendments shall be effective for all the members of the Organisation upon receiving the approval of the General Assembly of the United Nations.”

(The rest of paragraph 1, and paragraph 2 will remain as at present drafted.)

#### *Article XV.*

(1) This Constitution shall come into force upon the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of a resolution to that effect. Thereupon all the members of the United Nations covered by the resolution shall become members of the Organisation.

(2) Any member of the United Nations who

does not by this means acquire membership can subsequently do so upon making the necessary communication to the Director-General.

(3) Requests for membership from States not members of the United Nations shall be addressed to the Director-General.

(NOTE.—The provision for the convening of the first meeting of the Conference by the Chairman of the Interim Commission would be placed in the separate instrument setting up the Interim Commission.)

#### *Arrangements for Signature.*

Under Article XV as above drafted, the Constitution itself would not be signed. It would be annexed to a “Final Act” of the Conference and it would be this Final Act which would be signed by the delegates to the Conference.

The preparation of the Final Act should be entrusted to the Drafting Committee of the Conference, but the United Kingdom delegation will circulate a skeleton draft.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/7.

**NEW DRAFT OF ARTICLE XIV OF THE C.A.M.E. PROPOSALS AND OF ARTICLES 23 AND 24 OF THE FRENCH PROPOSALS, FRAMED IN THE LIGHT OF AMENDMENTS RECEIVED ON THIS MATTER, ESPECIALLY OF THE AMENDMENT BY THE UNITED STATES**

#### **DELEGATION**

**DRAFT SUBMITTED BY THE DRAFTING SUB-COMMITTEE**

#### *Article XIV.*

I. This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relationships with such organisations or agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal arrangements entered into with such organisations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

2. Whenever the Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the field of competence of this Organisation, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.

#### *Article XIV (a).*

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations con-

cerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake certain specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organisations on advisory committees set up by the Conference.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/8.

FRENCH PROPOSALS

AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 34 PROPOSED BY THE  
FRENCH DELEGATION

The budget prepared by the General Conference shall be submitted for examination by the General Assembly of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 17, paragraph 3 of the Charter. It shall be administered by U.N.E.S.C.O.

The expenses of the Organisation shall be included in the total budget of the United Nations Organisation which furnishes the funds needed for its work.

The Organisation or its technical organs may also receive directly all gifts, bequests or subventions provided by governments, public or private institutions, associations or private persons, subject to approbation by its General Conference.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/9.

RECOMMENDATIONS PRESENTED BY THE  
CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION

The Czechoslovak delegation has the honour to propose to the Fourth Commission the adoption of the following recommendations :

Whereas the terms of reference for the Fourth Commission instruct the Commission to prepare for submission to the Conference, a text to serve as a basis of discussion for the future negotiation of an agreement between the Social and Economic Council and the new Organisation as a specialised agency in accordance with Articles 57 and 63 of the Charter of the United Nations ;

Whereas the Interim Commission shall prepare recommendations concerning the specific arrangements between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation ;

Whereas the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission have agreed to a recommendation to transmit observations on the relationships with specialised agencies to the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Fourth Commission of the United Nations Conference for the Establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organisation propose that the negotiation of an agreement between the Social and Economic Council and this new Organisation as a specialised agency of the United Nations Organisation shall be based on the following principles :

1. U.N.E.S.C.O. shall be brought into relationship with the Social and Economic Council immediately upon the establishment of the two bodies concerned.

2. U.N.E.S.C.O. shall have reciprocal representation with the S.E.C. as provided in Article 70 of the Charter. U.N.E.S.C.O. shall be represented regularly at the meetings of the Council and at meetings of its Commissions and participate without vote in its deliberations. U.N.E.S.C.O. shall have also reciprocal representation with the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, on the understanding that the Trusteeship Council itself shall decide to which meetings and for the discussion of which items a representative of U.N.E.S.C.O. should be invited. U.N.E.S.C.O. shall include the right and duty to make special studies of any particular subject when requested to do so either by the S.E.C. or by the Trusteeship Council.

U.N.E.S.C.O. shall be represented also in the Co-ordination Commission of the S.E.C., if such a Commission would come into being (Article 63 and 68). U.N.E.S.C.O. shall be represented also in the Supervisory Committee for Administrative and Budgetary Questions, whenever its budget shall be under consideration (Article 15).

U.N.E.S.C.O. shall be invited to send representatives to the General Assembly and to the Committees of the General Assembly when matters of direct concern to U.N.E.S.C.O. are being discussed.

3. Permanent reciprocal liaison officers between U.N.E.S.C.O. and S.E.C. should be appointed to the headquarters of both Institutions.

4. Common code of rules of procedure shall be instituted in U.N.E.S.C.O. and in S.E.C., if possible.

5. There shall be a full exchange of information and documents between U.N.E.S.C.O., and S.E.C. and between U.N.E.S.C.O. and the Trusteeship Council on all relevant questions. (Article 69.)

The full exchange of information includes the undertaking on the part of U.N.E.S.C.O. to furnish regular reports as envisaged in Article 64 of the Charter. The frequency and character of such reports should be set forth in the agreement between U.N.E.S.C.O. and S.E.C.

U.N.E.S.C.O. shall undertake to inform S.E.C. about the nature and scope of any arrangements made by them under Article XIV and XIV (a) with inter-governmental organisations or agencies and with non-governmental international organisations.

6. Arrangements should be made for the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the S.E.C. of items proposed by U.N.E.S.C.O. U.N.E.S.C.O. should similarly include in its agenda items referred to it by the S.E.C.

7. In view of the Articles 58, 62 and 63 of the Charter U.N.E.S.C.O. shall undertake :

to place any recommendation made to it by the General Assembly or by the S.E.C.

before its governing bodies, or other appropriate organs as soon as possible.

to arrange for any necessary consultations on matters pertaining to such recommendations.

to report in due course on the steps taken to give effect to such recommendations. (Article 64.)

in general to co-operate with the United Nations for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

U.N.E.S.C.O. shall assist the Security Council upon its request in the application of measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter. (Article 48.)

U.N.E.S.C.O. shall undertake to render assistance to the Trusteeship Council when so requested. (Article 91.)

8. U.N.E.S.C.O. shall, by decision of the General Assembly, be given a general authorisation to enable it to make a request for advisory opinions directly to the International Court of Justice without recourse to the General Assembly in each instance. (Article 96.)

S.E.C. should be immediately informed whenever a request is made by U.N.E.S.C.O. for an advisory opinion.

U.N.E.S.C.O. shall undertake the obligation to furnish all information requested by the International Court of Justice. (Article 34 of the Statute of the Council.)

9. Certain common standards with regard to recruitment, conditions of service, classification, pensions and like matters, shall be agreed upon by U.N.E.S.C.O. and S.E.C. Arrangements should be made to permit interchanges of staff. It is recommended that staff regulations between U.N.E.S.C.O. and S.E.C. should be equalised, and that privileges and immunities shall be on the same level in U.N.E.S.C.O. and S.E.C. Disputes concerning the terms of employment of U.N.E.S.C.O.'s officials shall be settled and their complaints heard by an Administrative Tribunal established by United Nations Organisation.

U.N.E.S.C.O. shall enjoy as far as possible the use of technical services of the Secretariat of United Nations Organisation, and of its central statistical service.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/10.

#### **PROPOSALS OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF COMMISSION IV ON RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION**

The Drafting Committee of Commission IV recommends the following draft of the article concerning the relations of the Organisation with the United Nations Organisation (Article XIII of the C.A.M.E. proposals and Articles 30 and 32 of the French proposals) :

“The Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation as soon as practicable, as one of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter.

This relationship shall be effective through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under the provisions of Article 63 of the Charter of the United Nations, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the Conference of the Organisation.

“ The agreement entered into shall provide-

(a) for the submission of the budget of the Organisation to the General Assembly for consideration and approval ;

(b) for financing such budget by the United Nations in such manner as the General Assembly may decide ; and

(c) for the means of effective co-operation between the two organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes.

Such agreement shall at the same time recognise the autonomy of this Organisation within the fields of its competence as defined in the present Constitution.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/11.

#### **PROPOSALS OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF COMMISSION IV ON THE BUDGET OF THE ORGANISATION**

The Drafting Committee of Commission IV recommends the adoption of the following article on the budget (Article V.B. 6 and 7 of the C.A.M.E proposals and Articles 34 and 35 of the French proposals) :

*Budget.*

“The budget shall be administered by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

“Pending the conclusion of the agreement with the United Nations in accordance with Article . . . of this Constitution, the Conference shall approve the budget of the Organisation, giving final effect thereto and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among its members.

“The Director-General with the approval of the Conference may receive gifts, bequests and subventions directly from governments, public and private institutions, associations and private persons. ”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/12.

#### **AMENDMENT TO ARTICLES ON RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH AND UNITED STATES DELEGATIONS (Article XIII of the C.A.M.E. proposals and Articles 30 and 32 of the French proposals)**

A new article is proposed, to read as follows :

“This Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation as soon as practicable as one of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under the provisions of Article 63 of the Charter of the United Nations, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the Conference

of the Organisation. The agreement entered into shall provide the means of effective co-operation between the two Organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognise the autonomy of this Organisation, within the fields of its competence as defined in this Constitution. Such agreement may provide for approval and financing of the budget of the Organisation by the General Assembly of the United Nations."

Amendment proposed by French and United States delegations to articles on Budget (Articles V B, 6 and 7 of the C.A.M.E. proposals and Articles 34 and 35 of the French proposals) :

*The Budget.*

" The budget shall be administered by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Conference shall approve the budget of the Organisation ; and shall give final effect to such budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the members of the Organisation subject to such action by the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article XIII.

" The Director-General with the approval of the Conference may receive gifts, bequests, and subventions directly from governments, public and private institutions, associations, and private persons. "

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/12(1).

This document is a reproduction of E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/12, except for two amendments under the heading of " Budget. "

Amendment proposed by the French and United States delegations to articles on *budget* (Article V B, 6 and 7 of the C.A.M.E. proposals and Articles 34 and 35 of the French proposals) :

*The Budget.*

" The Budget shall be administered by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Conference shall approve the budget of the Organisation ; and shall give final effect to such budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the members of the Organisation subject to such action by the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article ( )."

" 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. "

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/13.

**ADDITION PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS SUBMITTED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/9)**

The Chairman of the Delegation of the United States of America to the United Nations Con-

ference for the Establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organisation presents his compliments to the Secretary General of the Conference and, with reference to the Recommendations presented by the Czechoslovak delegation in Commission IV on November 12 (E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/9), has the honour to suggest hereby the inclusion in these Recommendations of the following paragraph :

"U.N.E.S.C.O. shall hold itself available to act, within the scope of its functions, in regard to any matters referred to it by the Trusteeship Council under Article 91 of the Charter, and in regard to any matters arising out of Articles 73 and 74 of the Charter which may be referred to it by any member of the United Nations having responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government, or by any regional advisory commission like the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission having responsibility for such matters."

E.C.O./Conf./Com.IV/14.

**REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION**

*The Commission's Mandate.*

The Commission was instructed by the Conference to exchange views and draw up a text on each of the following questions :

- (1) Relations of the Organisation with the United Nations Organisation ;
- (2) Relations of the Organisation with other specialised inter-governmental institutions and organisations ;
- (3) Relations of the Organisation with private international agencies, organisations and associations ;
- (4) Seat of the Organisation ;
- (5) Budget of the Organisation.

*Working documents for the Commission.*

There were two basic documents : the C.A.M.E. proposals (Articles XIII and XIV) and the French proposals (Articles 23, 24, 28, 30-35 inclusive and 38) ; careful study was also given to amendments, proposals and suggestions submitted to the Commission and to others put forward in the course of discussion.

*Meetings of the Commission.*

The Commission held seven meetings, the first not being able to take place until November 8th, three days behind the other Commissions. It completed its work on November 15th, 1945.

The drafting sub-committee, appointed on November 8th, met five times, one of its meetings being held jointly with the drafting sub-committee of the Second Commission.

M. Opocensky (Czechoslovakia) was Chairman of the Commission, the Secretary being M. L. Gros (France), Assistant Secretary-General of the Conference.

*Texts drawn up by the Commission.*

Each of these texts, which corresponds to one or more articles of the proposals studied, is designated by a heading, giving more explanation than a number, but which it does not of course lie with the Commission to retain in the Final Act of the Convention. Beneath each heading is an indication of the corresponding articles in the main proposals.

All the texts were voted unanimously, except that relating to Article 28 of the French proposals on big international associations. Concerning this text reservations were made by the United States, Mexican and Australian delegates.

1. *Relations with the United Nations Organisation.*

(C.A.M.E. proposals, Article XIII ; French proposals, Articles 30 and 32.)

“ This Organisation shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organisation as soon as practicable as one of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organisation under Article 63 of the Charter, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the General Conference of this Organisation. The agreement shall provide for effective co-operation between the two Organisations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognise the autonomy of this Organisation, within the fields of its competence as defined in this Constitution. Such agreement may, among other matters, provide for the approval and financing of the budget of the Organisation by the General Assembly of the United Nations. ”

2. *Relations with other specialised international agencies and organisations.*

(C.A.M.E. proposals, Article XIV ; French proposals, Articles 23 and 24.)

“1. This Organisation may co-operate with other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relations with such organisations or agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal arrangements entered into with such organisations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

“2. Whenever the General, Conference of this Organisation and the competent authorities of any other specialised inter-governmental organisations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie

within the field of competence of this Organisation deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organisation, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purpose.

“3. This Organisation may make appropriate arrangements with other inter-governmental organisations for reciprocal representation at meetings.”

3. *Relations with private international agencies, organisations and associations.*

(C.A.M.E. proposals, Article XIV ; French proposals, Articles 23 and 24.)

“The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organisations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake certain specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organisations on advisory committees set up the Conference.”

4. *Seat of the Organisation.*

(French proposals, Article 38.)

“The seat of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation shall be in Paris.

“This resolution shall not in any way affect the right of the General Conference to take decisions in regard to this matter by a two-thirds majority.”

(Draft resolution to be submitted to the Conference and to appear in the Final Act of the latter.)

5. *Budget.*

(C.A.M.E. proposals, Article V B, 6 and 7 ; French proposals, Articles 34 and 35.)

“The Budget shall be ‘administered by the Organisation. The General Conference shall approve and give final effect to the budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the States Members of the Organisation subject to such arrangement with the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article — of the present 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.”

Done in London, 15th November, 1945.<sup>1</sup>  
Secretary of the Fourth Commission  
(Signed) LOUIS GROS.

<sup>1</sup> The Commission further adopted a text on the big international associations, its opinion on this matter having been asked for by the Second Commission. The Article below is based upon Article 28 of the French proposals. It was voted with reservations by the delegates of the United States, Mexico and Australia, because the Commission's third text seemed to them to give full expression to the considerations which inspired Article 25 of the French proposals :

“The Conference, at the recommendation of the Executive Board and voting by a two-thirds majority, may invite international organisations with activities in harmony with its own, to send representatives as observers to its meetings and to those of its Commissions. Such representatives may be invited to take part in the discussions of the Conference or of its Commissions, in conformity with the Rules of Procedure which the Conference itself will have fixed.”

# FIFTH COMMISSION

(The Interim Commission)

## SUMMARY REPORTS

### FIRST MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 5th, 1945, at 12 noon*

#### **Election of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman**

The following delegates were elected unanimously Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Commission :

Chairman : Lt.-Col. L.MARQUARD (Union of South Africa) ;

Vice-Chairman : M. Hasan Ali YUCEL (Turkey).

### SECOND MEETING

*Held on Tuesday, November 6th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

Chairman : Lt.-Col. MARQUARD  
(Union of South Africa)

The Chairman announced that twenty-two delegates constituted a majority of the Commission.

The Chairman read the terms of reference for the Fifth Commission, and pointed out that the two main functions of the Commission were :

1. To consider the appointment, functions and budget of the Interim Commission.
2. The scope of the Interim Commission's activities in relation to the question of reconstruction of education and culture in devastated areas.

The delegate of the United States suggested the desirability of calling in to confer with the Fifth Commission a representative of the United Nations Preparatory Commission. The Chairman said that relations with the United Nations Organisation were concerns for the Fourth Commission and not within the competence of the Fifth Commission.

The delegate of the United States introduced the United States proposals for the composition and functions of the Interim Commission. (E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/3.)

Various delegates objected to the presentation at that juncture of proposals so different from the official C.A.M.E. draft.

The United States adviser, at the request of his delegate, stated that the United States proposals were not amendments, but were suggestions on matters for which the Commission now had no proposals before it.

The delegate of the Philippines moved that the document be taken as a working document.

The delegate of Belgium objected to this motion on the ground that the United States proposals were at present in only one language and that the Commission had not yet had time to study them.

Other delegates took similar positions.

The delegate of the Lebanon objected to the

motion of the Philippine delegation on the grounds that the working directive of the Conference provided already that all proposals and amendments should be given full consideration as working documents.

The delegate of the Philippines, on the recommendation of the United States adviser, withdrew his motion.

The delegate of Belgium discussed the composition and size of the Interim Commission, and presented a document concerning the functions of the Interim Commission, as a proposal for discussion by the Commission. (E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/4.)

The Chairman suggested that the task of the Fifth Commission was to make definite provisions for the Interim Commission and said that all ideas in that field were welcomed by himself and the Commission. He said further that the Commission would have to decide the three important questions of the composition, functions and budget of the Interim Commission. He mentioned the value of having a drafting committee to work on various proposals.

The Commission *agreed* that the chairman should be empowered to appoint such a drafting committee. The Chairman said that he would appoint the committee at the next meeting.

### THIRD MEETING

*Held on Wednesday, November 7th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

Chairman : Lt.-Col. MARQUARD  
(Union of South Africa)

The Chairman appointed the following members of the Drafting Committee :—

Sir Robert Wood (United Kingdom) (Convener) ;

M. Buisseret (Belgium) ;

M.. Lavergne (France) ;

Dr. Devik (Norway) ;

Dr. Kefauver (United States of America).

The United States delegate withdrew the original United States proposal for an Interim Commission of fifteen members and proposed the substitution of the following for Item 2 of E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/3 :

“2. The Commission shall consist of one representative of each government signatory to the Constitution. When the Commission is not in session the functions and powers of the Commission shall be exercised by an Executive Committee composed of representatives of fifteen governments, the governments to be represented on the Executive Committee being decided upon at the first meeting of the Commission.”

It was suggested that the Drafting Committee should consider changing the wording of this amendment to make sure that the Executive Committee of the Interim Commission did not have too wide powers, especially in financial matters. This suggestion was accepted by the United States delegation. The motion was seconded by the Philippine delegation and *carried unanimously*.

The Commission next considered the functions of the Interim Commission. The Chairman suggested that the Fifth Commission should leave aside for the time being consideration of the function of the Interim Commission relating to the reconstruction of educational and cultural facilities in devastated areas and should first determine the other operational functions of the Interim Commission.

After some discussion whether the Working Committee's proposals were to be considered as a basic document, the Chairman stated that they were to be so considered.

It was suggested that an annex to the description of the Interim Commission's functions should be provided, to give briefly and precisely a list of possible detailed activities of the Interim Commission.

There was discussion of the possibility of appointing a small committee of the Interim Commission to make a continuing study of reconstruction problems.

After some discussion of the need for speed in setting up the Interim Commission, it was moved by the United States delegation, and seconded by the delegate of Yugoslavia, that provisions for the Interim Commission should be embodied in an agreement to be signed separately from the Constitution of the Organisation. The motion was defeated by eighteen votes to eight.

Further discussion of this proposal indicated that some delegations favoured a later consideration of the possibility of a separate agreement for the Interim Commission.

#### FOURTH MEETING

*Held on Thursday, November 8th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman : Lt.-Col. L. MARQUARD  
(Union of South Africa)*

*The Interim Commission.*

The Commission discussed whether the Interim Commission should be set up under a separate instrument-distinct from the Constitution-not requiring ratification, to expedite the performance of its more urgent tasks. The vote was postponed.

*Budget of the Interim Commission.*

The Chairman invited the Commission to discuss the question of the "office expenses" of the Interim Commission ; it was not called upon to go into details of the financing of the Interim Commission's activities.

The United Kingdom delegate thought his Government would be prepared to find the money for the immediate requirements of the Interim Commission, meeting in London immediately after the Conference, on the understanding that any expenditure would be deducted later from the United Kingdom's contribution to the United Nations Organisation.

The Commission *agreed* to ask the United Kingdom delegate to approach his Government on the subject.

*Immediate Assistance to Liberated Countries.*

The Chairman invited the delegates of the liberated countries to state their views, so as to enable the Commission to form a picture of the situation and determine where immediate assistance could best be given.

The Chinese delegate said<sup>1</sup> that China was one of the nations who had suffered most in the second world war. For eight years the enemy had occupied vast areas and wrought wanton destruction in every sphere of education. China welcomed the promise of immediate assistance in the task of reconstruction.

The Netherlands delegate said that, in addition to the material destruction resulting from enemy occupation, the presence of Allied troops in school buildings had meant the dispersal of school children in premises unsuitable for teaching. The Netherlands Government appreciated the promise of outside help.

The delegate of Yugoslavia gave impressive figures of the number of elementary schools destroyed, the damage to universities and the loss of teaching personnel under enemy occupation. The Yugoslav Government was doing its best in a difficult situation and gratefully accepted the offer of assistance.

The delegate of Iran thought it essential to distinguish between the immediate and permanent needs of countries which had suffered from the enemy.

The delegate of Greece stressed the moral aspects of the problem and pointed out the injustice of permitting educational destitution in countries formerly occupied, while ex-enemy countries were well equipped.

The Czechoslovak delegate said the educational situation in Czechoslovakia was less serious than in other occupied countries, though Eastern Slovakia had suffered material damage.

The delegate of Poland referred to the material and cultural losses and the shortage of personnel ; he spoke of the structural phenomena emerging from the war, some good, some bad. The world had to face new problems of reconstruction and satisfy the universal craving for information. The Interim Commission should study uniform methods applicable to the countries requiring assistance, including the establishment of an international university and exchanges of students. For the

<sup>1</sup> This de&rati&n is reproduced in documentary form.

See E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/6.

vaster problems demanding attention, the Interim Commission should get into touch with other international organisations and mobilise all modern technical methods for the diffusion of knowledge.

The delegate of Belgium asked for a practical instrument, with machinery for immediate action. Reconstruction must not be interpreted in any narrow sense ; no problem must be shirked.

The Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation said that the Institute had not been idle. After liberation, the Institute had carried out an enquiry into the needs of the devastated countries and its plans covered local aid, non-localised aid and more widespread aid. The first of those questions concerned the requirements of primary and secondary education ; the second was concerned with an International University, employing the medium of radio and correspondence courses. By widespread aid was meant the opening of welcome departments, in the great universities of various countries, which would afford facilities for learning to students and also facilities for teaching to teachers from the stricken countries, on national and international lines.

The representative of the International Bureau of Education said that the Bureau had sent out a questionnaire to devastated and other countries concerning the material condition of school and university buildings, needs in the matter of books and laboratories, teaching personnel and organisation. It was hoped to confer with the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and place the results of the enquiry before the Conference.

The delegate of Greece pointed out that " immediate " action by the Interim Commission must be taken to cover at least one year. What was the position with regard to the financing of such activities ?

The United Kingdom delegate thought that was a matter for united effort, not for one country alone.

The United States delegate said that no one could remain unmoved by the clear need of certain countries for moral, material and other assistance. It would be helpful to ascertain what U.N.R.R.A. was prepared to do to assist immediate needs.

The Chairman, summing up, said that a Drafting Committee had been appointed to draft a text on the normal tasks of the interim body. The question of what should be done towards reconstruction in the educational field would be dealt with by the Committee which it was proposed should be set up by the Interim Commission.

#### **FIFTH MEETING**

*Held on Friday, November 9th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman : Lt.-Col. L. MARQUARD  
(Union of South Africa)*

#### **The Interim Commission**

*Statement by the Chairman of the United States Delegation.*

The Commission heard a statement by Mr. MacLeish, Chairman of the United States delega-

tion, on the subject of educational and cultural rehabilitation through the Interim Commission. He said there was no difference of opinion on any issue of substance. In the words of the draft Constitution, "the free and unrestricted education of the peoples of the world, and the free and unrestricted exchange among them of ideas and knowledge are essential to the advancement of human welfare and to the preservation of security and peace." There had been a suggestion that a U.N.E.S.C.O. fund should be put at the disposal of the Conference, which meant that the Interim Commission would have the function of supplying relief through loans of money. As Chairman of the Drafting Committee dealing with the functions of the Organisation, he could say that not one delegation had suggested that the Organisation should be a lending body. The proposal to establish a fund through the agency of the Interim Commission might be embarrassing to some governments, including his own. The United States Government had decided to centre and focus its activities for reconstruction and rehabilitation through U.N.R.R.A. No one doubted that nations would contribute according to their means. The present resources of U.N.R.R.A. appeared inadequate for the purposes of U.N.E.S.C.O., as there was little margin for education after demands for food had been met. The United States would continue to do its duty as it saw it, through U.N.R.R.A. Loans for educational reconstruction would qualify under the Bretton Woods agreements, and under the terms of the United States Export and Import Bank. There was also the project to restore library facilities in devastated countries by employing modern technical methods (photography, etc.). The assistance of specialists would be readily available to assist student exchanges and similar schemes. The Interim Commission must complete the work of the Conference. The Constitution was designed to create understanding between men, and one of the great problems was the problem of driving out fear. He hoped that the Interim Commission would get to work quickly and propose immediate action, in order that the new Organisation might function without delay.

#### *Budget of the Interim Commission.*

After expressing appreciation of the offer conveyed by the United Kingdom delegate, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to defray the initial expenses of the Interim Commission, if it sat in London immediately after the Conference, and a similar generous offer conveyed by the French delegate on behalf of the French Government, should the Interim Commission meet on French soil, the Commission *decided* to adopt a proposal submitted by the Belgian delegate and supported by the delegate of Yugoslavia, as follows :-

"The Commission shall sit in London until the Constitution shall have been ratified by the required majority of the Nations present at this Conference. From that moment on, the seat will be the one chosen for the United Nations



Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation."

The Commission further *decided* that the Interim Commission should be established under a separate agreement, distinct from the Constitution of U.N.E.S.C.O.

*Statement by the Representative of U.N.R.R.A.*

The Commission heard a statement by the representative of U.N.R.R.A., reiterating an earlier statement submitted to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education on October 1st, 1945, concerning educational reconstruction, as follows :

"The Administration does not contemplate the provision either of materials or services intended solely for the purpose of re-establishing the teaching process in the schools of the liberated areas.

"However, in countries receiving U.N.R.R.A.'s assistance and within the limits of U.N.R.R.A.'s resources :

"Reconstruction on an emergency basis of buildings and structures used for educational purposes can be considered U.N.R.R.A.'s responsibility.

"Supplies of scientific, technical and engineering equipment, which are designed for training or retraining to facilitate relief and rehabilitation projects, can also be considered U.N.R.R.A.'s responsibility.

"The Administration plans to assist in obtaining contributions of funds and supplies from private relief sources and also is prepared, upon request of Governments, to assist in procurement of supplies for the account of particular Governments.

"We trust that this information will be of value in guiding the activities of your Organisation. As regards submission of requirements falling within the categories mentioned, such submissions should in all cases be made to the U.N.R.R.A.'s Mission in the several countries."

The representative of U.N.R.R.A. added, with reference to the Administration's plan to get relief and supplies from private sources, that already the American Book Centre for War Devastated Libraries was at work collecting a million copies of various scholastic, economic, industrial and social rehabilitation publications for contribution to libraries, universities and schools in war areas. U.N.R.R.A. had been asked for and would be contributing storage, transport and handling services for the requesting Governments. The representative of U.N.R.R.A. hoped to make a further communication later.

The delegate of Greece welcomed the promise held out by the Chairman of the United States delegation that U.N.R.R.A. would be able to assist in educational reconstruction. But he feared that U.N.R.R.A. might come to suffer under the burden of its responsibilities. It was not within U.N.R.R.A.'s terms of reference to supply text-books for schools or actual school equipment, which was even more important. He hoped that the promises held out to the Conference

of Allied Ministers of Education by the United States representative would not be forgotten and that there was no change in the United States Government's attitude. There must be a true balance between the prostration so evident in the devastated countries and the healthy situation prevailing elsewhere.

The Chairman, speaking on behalf of the South African delegation, said that delegation considered the question of educational reconstruction of primary importance. The cultural, spiritual and material losses in devastated countries called for speedy action. The spiritual salvation of every country must depend on itself, but it could not recover in isolation, and the Organisation should serve as a source of advice and assistance, a bank, as it were, of international culture. The Interim Commission should be in a position during its five or six months of existence to undertake urgent tasks. But two difficulties had to be faced : the necessary educational material did not exist in sufficient quantities, and transport was a major problem. The Interim Commission should have from a quarter to half a million pounds to meet urgent needs, when material was obtainable. The Government of the Union of South Africa would pay a fair share towards any common fund. There existed in Europe equipment, such as army huts, etc., that could be utilised for educational purposes. The Fifth Commission might indicate that the Interim Commission should seek contact with U.N.R.R.A. and other international relief organisations and Army Disposal Boards. There must be co-operation, but no overlapping. Countries not devastated might be asked to adopt universities in devastated lands. The South African Government, like the South African people, was sympathetic to the cause of educational reconstruction in Europe.

The delegate of the Philippines gave graphic figures of the educational havoc wrought in the Philippines by the occupation and the battle for the liberation. Manila had been levelled to the ground, the majority of school buildings and libraries destroyed, thousands of teachers killed. The basic material needs were enormous. More still, the Philippine Government needed cultural understanding with other nations, which they hoped the Organisation would provide.

The delegate of India said that the Fifth Commission was forced to recognise the difficulties facing the Interim Commission ; the latter would not be in possession of any large sums or be able to get adequate educational material for the devastated countries. What could be done would be done with speed. The suggestion put forward concerning library facilities should be followed. Certain Governments were at present preparing schedules of war material, some of which could be adapted to the service of education. The Commission should forward a resolution demanding high priority for educational material. The Interim Commission might make an immediate approach to organisations, such as U.N.R.R.A., to help with the problem of transport.

The United States delegate said that her country took a deeper interest than ever in the problem of educational reconstruction in the devastated countries. Voluntary organisations would respond readily to an appeal, once the Conference's case was publicly presented. But the United States delegation was not in favour of using the Interim Commission as a gift or loan or distributing agency.

### SIXTH MEETING

*Held on Saturday, November 10th, 1945,  
at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman* : Lt.-Col. L. MARQUARD  
(Union of South Africa)

#### **The Interim Commission**

*Immediate Assistance to Liberated Countries ;  
Budget of the Interim Commission.*

The Commission discussed the measure of educational reconstruction to be undertaken by the Interim Commission and the source and disposal of funds to be devoted to that purpose.

It heard a statement by the delegate of Belgium, who asked for consideration to be given to the Belgian delegation's five-point proposal (E.C.O.: Conf./Com.V/4). Some immediate action was required, even within a restricted scope, to meet the plight of devastated countries, who were looking anxiously to the Conference for results. He thought the Interim Commission should institute educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction, in zones that had suffered from the war, and prepare relevant statistics. It should promote the re-education of young people and peoples subjected to a totalitarian regime, and assist in the organisation of educational, scientific and cultural travel and exchanges. It should make any necessary recommendations and proposals arising out of its own studies or those of its committees or of other international bodies.

The United Kingdom delegate pointed out that the Interim Commission must not be regarded as U.N.E.S.C.O. in miniature ; it was intended essentially as a preparatory body. The Interim, or, as he would prefer to call it, the Preparatory Commission could give effect to small reliefs costing little. That would be one means of restoring the hope of men in the comity of nations. His Majesty's Government would not wish to be left behind, if there was a general movement in favour of contributing towards a fund to be drawn on for immediate assistance.

The Commission heard a statement by the representative of U.N.R.R.A., who said that U.N.R.R.A. was prepared to administer funds for the Interim Commission, should the Commission and the Conference so desire. He would be happy to submit any concrete suggestion to his organisation.

The delegate of Yugoslavia urged the importance of at least a symbolic gesture by the Interim Commission.

The delegate of Greece said that funds would be readily available from the Greek communities in the United States.

The Polish delegate thought that the Interim Commission's functions as a gift-distributing agency should be purely incidental. Failure on its part to take real action would impair the dignity of the United Nations. He suggested that, in addition to U.N.R.R.A. and other international organisations, the Army could give assistance in the matter of transport and stock facilities for relief work.

The French delegate said that the task of the Interim Commission was to prepare the work of U.N.E.S.C.O., but it must render immediate aid so far as was materially in its power. He would recommend his Government to contribute to a small fund for the purpose, if the Commission decided on this course.

The United States delegate submitted tentative suggestions for the handling of funds by U.N.R.R.A. for educational reconstruction. Governments desiring to make a contribution for the purchase of educational supplies and equipment for war-devastated countries would give funds to U.N.R.R.A., for U.N.R.R.A. to make purchases and shipment in harmony with instructions from the donor country or organisation. The donor agency might designate the type of material to be purchased and the country or institution to receive it. Countries devastated by the war would present to the Interim Commission a statement of their most urgent needs in the educational and cultural field, for distribution to the Governments of the United Nations and to interested organisations for their use in reaching a decision as to the funds they would contribute and the instructions they would give to U.N.R.R.A. The Interim Commission would receive and distribute statements of need and, if requested by the Governments and organisations contributing funds, could arrange for a meeting of representatives to facilitate the adjustment and co-ordination of activities. The Interim Commission would receive no funds and exercise no control over the use of any funds contributed by Governments and organisations to U.N.R.R.A. for the purchase and shipping of educational supplies and equipment. U.N.R.R.A. would not exercise any control over what to purchase or as to who should receive materials handled by them. Their contribution would be to purchase and distribute the material according to the instructions of the country or organisation contributing the funds.

The Director of the International Education Bureau stated that the Bureau had been able to assist the Government of Luxembourg, whose stocks of school text-books had been destroyed, by supplying 20,000 copies of needed books in a very short time ; it was prepared to perform a similar service for other devastated countries.

The delegate of Denmark thought it should be possible to give practical as well as symbolic relief to devastated countries. He welcomed the Chairman's suggestion that universities in less

fortunate countries should be sponsored by those more happily placed. Denmark was already offering facilities for training to Norwegian students and hoped to extend that work. While not in a position to make a formal offer, he thought his country would also be able to offer printing facilities to devastated countries in need of them. Though suffering from a shortage of educational accommodation—due in large part to the influx of German refugees—and from a shortage of teachers (many of whom had perished in prison and concentration camps) Denmark was confident of solving her problems without outside help. She could indeed offer material help. Economic difficulties would, however, prevent her from making any substantial contribution to an international relief fund.

There was a consensus of opinion in the Commission that urgent measures of educational reconstruction should be undertaken by the Interim Commission, as an immediate gesture of encouragement to devastated countries, and that funds sufficient for the purpose would be forthcoming. The Commission endorsed the proposal of the Chairman that the Drafting Committee should be instructed (1) to set out in greater detail the preparatory work to be undertaken by the Interim Commission and the Committee which it was to set up, and (2) to establish a text relating to the administration of funds for the realisation of immediate tasks of educational reconstruction, to meet the views of countries prepared to make outright contributions and of countries where the situation was different. Special reference was made to the text submitted by the Belgian delegation (E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/4), to the United States' tentative suggestions and to the suggestion of the delegate of Greece that it might be convenient to utilise the machinery set up by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education for handling funds.

#### SEVENTH MEETING

*Held on Monday, November 12th, 1945, at 10.30 a.m.*

*Chairman* : Lt.-Col. L. MARQUARD  
(Union of South Africa)

#### **Drafting Committee's Final Report on the Interim Commission and the Agreement relating to the Constitution of that body.**

(E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/7(1))

The Commission discussed the Drafting Com-

mittee's final report on the Interim Commission and the agreement relating to the Constitution of that body.

An amended text,<sup>1</sup> submitted by the United States delegation, constituting paragraphs 6 and 7 and replacing paragraphs 6-8 of the original text, was *adopted* by the Commission by twenty-three votes to one.

An amendment<sup>2</sup> constituting a new subparagraph 2 (*d*), submitted by the Polish delegate and further amended by the United Kingdom delegate, was *adopted* by the Commission by twenty-four votes to nil.

Minor textual amendments were also *adopted* by the Commission.

A Polish amendment to substitute "Interim Commission" for "Preparatory Commission" throughout the text was defeated by nineteen votes to five.

The Commission unanimously *adopted* the text on the Interim Commission and the agreement relating to the Constitution of that body, as amended.

*Vote of thanks to the Chairman.*

The Commission passed by acclamation a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/1.

#### **DOCUMENT PRESENTED BY THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE**

#### **SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERIM COMMISSION**

The present Secretariat will have finished its work by the end of November and will then disappear. Assuming that the Conference agrees on a Constitution to be ratified in due course by Member States, the E.C.O. should hold its first conference in about May 1946. An Interim Commission will be necessary from December :

- (a) to consider a short-term policy for educational reconstruction in all or some of the liberated countries ;
- (b) to prepare a complete scheme for the consideration of the May Conference of the future work of the E.C.O. This will involve the whole question of organisation, staffing and budget.

<sup>1</sup> United States amendment constituting paragraphs 6 and 7:

"The Commission shall appoint a special technical sub-committee to examine the problems relating to the educational, scientific and cultural needs of the countries devastated by the war, having regard to the information already collected and the work being done by other international organisations, and to prepare as complete a conspectus as possible of the extent and nature of the problems for the information of the Organisation at its first Conference.

"When the technical sub-committee are satisfied that any ameliorative measures are immediately practicable

to meet any educational, scientific or cultural needs, they shall report to the Preparatory Commission accordingly and the Commission shall, if they approve, take steps to bring such needs to the attention of governments, organisations, and persons wishing to assist by contributing money, supplies or services, in order that co-ordinated relief may be given either directly by the donors to the countries requiring aid or indirectly through existing international relief organisations."

<sup>2</sup> Polish amendment constituting paragraph 2 (*d*) :

" (*d*) Provide without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries."

(A) The Interim Commission may either plan a policy for short-term educational reconstruction or endeavour to provide definite immediate assistance.

To plan a policy involves the collection and collation of data. This could be done either by correspondence or by visits, or perhaps by a combination of both methods. It also involves a decision as to whether all or only some of the liberated countries should be taken account of in this way, e.g. the Far East (China and the Netherlands Indies).

Planning of this sort involves the postponement of definite assistance for some time-i.e. at least for some months after the May Conference.

The alternative policy of attempting to provide definite assistance before the May Conference involves a different sort of consideration. To achieve anything in the near future it would be necessary to ask Governments to provide lists of their most urgent needs-their immediate requirements of pens, pencils, chalk, paper, textbooks, maps, hand-tools, materials for arts and crafts, etc. -as distinct from their requirements of laboratory equipment and other more elaborate material. These lists might be collated and priced. With such a claim it might be possible to obtain the shipping priorities and, if necessary, the funds, for such immediate and comparatively small requirements either from the Governments attending or from the Economic and Social Council or from benevolent foundations.

(B) To plan the future work of the E.C.O. including long-term reconstruction, the Interim Commission will require an adequate staff suitably housed either in London or elsewhere. The Commission would naturally consist of representatives of all the Governments concerned. The actual planning would be done by small committees of experts in the various branches. For example, the future activities of the E.C.O. in connection with formal education, the arts, libraries and museums, films and radio, the dissemination of knowledge both in the sciences and the humanities etc., would be elaborated by these small committees. Their recommendations would be collated and estimates made of the staff required by the E.C.O. Then it would be possible to gain some idea of the building needed and the future budget. Thus a comprehensive and detailed scheme could be presented to the May Conference.

It will therefore be the duty of Commission V of the November Conference to consider all these points under both (A) and (B) and make definite recommendations to the Plenary Sessions under the two headings, showing the cost of (A) and (B) separately, and making definite recommendations how these costs should be met.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/2.

**RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION ON OCTOBER 3RD, 1945, COMMUNICATED TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE AT ITS MEETING ON NOVEMBER 1ST, 1945**

**TRANSITORY PROVISIONS**

“The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, recalling its continuing study of the destruction of educational and cultural life of the countries attacked and occupied by the Axis powers, has taken note with gratitude of the offer made by U.N.R.R.A. to aid in the reconstruction, on an emergency basis, of buildings and structures used for educational purposes ; and to help in the supply of scientific, technical and engineering equipment designed to assist training or retraining and to facilitate relief and rehabilitation projects. The Conference of Allied Ministers, however, wish to express to the United Nations Conference their serious concern over the slow progress of educational and cultural reconstruction in the liberated countries. They desire to call attention to the urgent importance of the work of educational and cultural reconstruction in all its aspects, and to record their view that unless there is some prospect of an acceleration of this work, public opinion is likely to be seriously disturbed.”

E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/3.

**PROPOSAL BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION FOR INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS. SUBMITTED TO COMMISSION V ON NOVEMBER 6TH, 1945**

**ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ESTABLISHING OF THE INTERIM UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COMMISSION**

The Governments represented at the United Nations Educational and Cultural Conference in the city of London ;

Having determined that an international organisation to be known as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation shall be established ;

Having formulated the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and

Having decided that, pending the coming into force of the Constitution and the establishment of the Organisation as provided for in the Constitution, an Interim Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission of the United Nations should be established for the performance of certain functions and duties,

Agree as follows :

1. There is hereby established the Interim Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission of the United Nations for the purpose of making arrangements for the first session of the Conference.

2. The Commission shall consist of one representative from each of fifteen governments, the Governments to be represented being decided upon

at the London Conference. The Commission may invite not more than three additional Governments, to be chosen from among governments which later become signatories to this agreement, to be represented on the Commission.

3. The Commission shall establish its own rules of procedure, and appoint such committees and consult with such specialists as may be desirable to facilitate its work.

4. The Commission shall be assisted by an Executive Secretary, who shall exercise such power and perform such duties as the Commission may determine, and by such staff as may be required. The staff shall be composed so far as possible of officials appointed for this purpose by the participating Governments on the invitation of the Executive Secretary.

5. The Commission shall :

(a) Convoke the Conference in its first session.

(b) Prepare the provisional agenda for the first session of the Conference and prepare documents and recommendations relating to all matters on the agenda.

(c) Formulate recommendations for implementing the general policy agreed upon at the Constituent Conference concerning the possible transfer of functions, activities and assets of existing international agencies or the establishment of relationships with such agencies.

(d) Prepare recommendations concerning the specific arrangements between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation.

(e) Prepare recommendations concerning the arrangements for the Secretariat of the Organisation.

(f) Make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme and the budget of the Organisation for presentation to the Conference at its first meeting.

6. The expenses incurred by the Commission and the expenses incidental to the convening of the first meeting of the Conference shall be met by advances on the part of the signatory governments. All such advances from governments shall be deductible from their first contributions to the Organisation.

7. The Commission shall inform all the United Nations, including the signatory and non-signatory governments, concerning the progress in its work, and consult with them with the view to developing proposals for the programme of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation acceptable to all the United Nations.

8. The Commission shall be located at the seat of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation decided upon by the Constituent Conference. The Commission shall hold its first meeting in London immediately after the conclusion of the November Conference.

9. The Commission shall cease to exist upon the assumption of office by the Director-General of the Organisation, at which time its property and records shall be transferred to the Organisation.

10. The Government of Great Britain shall be the temporary depositary and shall have custody of the original document embodying these interim arrangements in the languages in which it is signed. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted to the Governments of the signatory States. The Government of Great Britain shall transfer the original to the Director-General on his assumption of office.

11. This document shall be effective as from this date, and shall remain open for signature by the States entitled to be the original members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, until the Commission is dissolved in accordance with paragraph 7.

In faith whereof, the undersigned representatives having been duly authorised for that purpose, sign this document in the languages, all texts being of equal authenticity.

Done in the city of London, this  
day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1945.  
United States Delegation.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/4.

#### DOCUMENT SUBMITTED BY THE BELGIAN DELEGATION

##### TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

1. Pending the meeting of the first session of the Conference, an Interim Committee, consisting of one representative of each of the signatory Governments, will be formed for the purpose of taking any interim or urgent steps falling within the scope of Article 1 and Article 2, and of concluding with the Economic and Social Council the agreements laid down in Articles 57 and 63 of the San Francisco Charter.

This Committee will convene the first session of the Conference and will embark upon the preliminary study necessary to the successful working of the Conference.

In particular the Committee, either itself or through special interim bodies, will take the necessary measures in order :

(1) to begin the educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction of zones afflicted by the war and to compile the statistics relating to them ;

(2) to examine the expediency and, if necessary, the means of controlling scientific research into atomic energy ;

(3) to re-educate the young and peoples who have been subjected to a totalitarian régime ;

(4) to organise scientific, educational and cultural travel and exchanges ;

(5) to prepare reports on the desirability of creating an international institute of educational cinematography, an international institute for the bibliography of learned publications and a joint institute of radiophony, and also to co-ordinate the teaching of history throughout the United Nations.

2. The Interim Committee shall be furnished with an Executive Bureau and an international Secretariat.

3. The expenses shall be met by contributions from the United Nations.

(In addition, the original Article II of the draft proposals of the Allied Ministers.)

E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/6.

**STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DR. TIEN-FONG CHENG,  
DELEGATE OF CHINA, ON NOVEMBER 8TH, 1945**

China is one of those nations who suffered most during the Second World War. Not only millions of lives were lost and property worth hundreds of billions of dollars was destroyed, but our educational, scientific and cultural institutions and achievements were most devastated. For eight long years our enemy occupied the great centres of learning in China, such as Nanking, Peiping, Tientsin, Hankow, Shanghai, Hangchow, Canton, etc. The Japanese militarists, aiming at the complete destruction of Chinese civilisation, purposely burned down or bombed university and school buildings, destroyed libraries and laboratories, took away valuable books, scientific equipment and objets d'art. Out of 142 institutions of higher learning in China, 112 or 80 per cent. of the total, suffered damage in war time. Some had to be closed, but most of them removed to interior places and continued their work under very hazardous conditions. Thousands of primary and secondary schools in the occupied provinces were either destroyed or forced to close and the younger generation in that vast area has largely missed its education. The material loss in the educational field has been estimated (the figure is yet incomplete) to amount to 257 million American dollars ; while the spiritual loss, sustained through the destruction of ancient buildings, rare books, manuscripts and famous drawings and paintings, and through the denial of research work to professors and college or school life to youth and children is simply incalculable.

Now the war is over, and we are determined to reconstruct our national education. Universities and schools will be rebuilt, libraries and laboratories will be restored, and books, scientific apparatus and objets d'art stolen by the Japanese will be taken back. But the total loss is so heavy and the task of reconstruction so enormous that outside assistance is practically a necessity. The Chinese delegation, therefore, heartily supports the resolution adopted by the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education on October 3rd, to the effect that immediate aid be given to the liberated countries in the construction of buildings for educational purposes and in the supply of scientific technical and engineering equipment. It also wants to express its appreciation to the Working Committee for mentioning China as one of the countries deserving definite assistance.

E.C.O./Conf./Com.V/7(2).

**DRAFTING COMMITTEE'S FINAL REPORT (AMENDED)  
ON INTERIM COMMISSION AND AGREEMENT  
SUBMITTED TO THE FIFTH COMMISSION ON  
NOVEMBER 12th, 1945**

The Drafting Committee appointed by the Fifth Commission have the honour to submit their Final Report. They submit for the consideration of their colleagues the following document which they suggest may be found to embody the agreement which it is desired to establish for the Constitution of an Interim Commission, determining the Constitution of the Interim Commission and defining its scope and purposes.

It will be understood that a document in this form, being separate and apart from the instrument which will set up the permanent Organisation will not require formal ratification by the several signatory Governments but will immediately become an agreement between the Governments who are signatories to this document.

Signed on behalf of the Drafting Committee  
R. S. WOOD

Convener.

The Governments represented at the United Nations Educational and Cultural Conference in the city of London,

Having determined that an international organisation to be known as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation shall be established, and

Having formulated the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation,

Agree as follows :

1. Pending the coming into force of the Constitution and the establishment of the Organisation provided for in the Constitution, there shall be established a Preparatory Commission to make arrangements for the first Session of the Conference of the Organisation, and to take such other steps as are indicated in subsequent paragraphs.

2. For this purpose the Commission shall :

(a) Convoke the First Session of the Conference.

(b) Prepare the Provisional Agenda for the First Session of the Conference and prepare documents and recommendations relating to all matters on the agenda including such matters as the possible transfer of functions, activities and assets of existing international agencies, the specific arrangements between this Organisation and the United Nations Organisation and arrangements for the Secretariat of the Organisation and the appointment of its Director-General.

(c) Make studies and prepare recommendations concerning the programme, and the budget of the Organisation for presentation to the Conference at its first meeting.

(d) Provide without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries as indicated in paragraphs 6 and 7.

3. The Commission shall consist of one representative of each of the Governments signatory to the Constitution.

4. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Committee, composed of fifteen members to be selected at the First Meeting of the Commission. The Executive Committee shall exercise any or all powers of the Commission as the Commission may determine.

5. The Commission shall establish its own rules of procedure and shall appoint such other committees and consult with such specialists as may be desirable to facilitate its work.

6. The Commission shall appoint a special technical sub-committee to examine the problems relating to the educational, scientific and cultural needs of the countries devastated by the war, having regard to the information already collected and the work being done by other international organisations, and to prepare as complete a conspectus as possible of the extent and nature of the problems for the information of the Organisation at its first Conference.

7. When the technical sub-committee is satisfied that any ameliorative measures are immediately practicable to meet any educational, scientific or cultural needs it shall, if it approves, take steps to bring such needs to the attention of governments, organisations, and persons wishing to assist by contributing money, supplies or services in order that co-ordinated relief may be given either directly by the donors to the countries requiring aid or indirectly through existing international relief organisations.

8. The Commission shall appoint to assist it an Executive Secretary who shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as the Commission may determine with such international staff as may be required. The staff shall be composed as far as possible of officials or specialists appointed for this purpose by the participating governments on the invitation of the Executive Secretary.

9. The members of the Commission and members of its staff shall be accorded the same diplomatic privileges and immunities as may be extended to the members and staff of the Organisation when in being.

10. The Commission shall hold its first meeting in London immediately after the conclusion of the present Conference and shall continue to sit in London until such time as the Constitution of the Organisation has been sufficiently accepted. The Commission shall then transfer to Paris where the permanent Organisation is to be located.

11. During such period as the Commission is in London, the necessary expenses of its maintenance shall be met by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on 'the understanding-

(1) that the amount of the expenses so incurred will be deducted from the contributions of that government to the new Organisation until they have been so recovered ; and

(2) that it will be open to the Preparatory Commission, if circumstances so warrant, to seek contributions from other governments.

When the Commission is transferred to Paris, this financial responsibility will pass to the French Government on the same terms.

12. The Commission shall cease to exist upon assumption of office of the Director-General of the Organisation at which time its property and records shall be transferred to the Organisation.

13. The Government of Great Britain shall be the temporary depository and shall have custody of the original document embodying these interim arrangements in the languages in which it is signed. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted to the Governments of the signatory States. The Government of Great Britain shall transfer the original to the Director-General on his assumption of office.

14. This document shall be effective as from this date, and shall remain open for signature by the States entitled to be the original members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, until the Commission is dissolved in accordance with paragraph 12.

In faith whereof, the undersigned representatives having been duly authorised for that purpose, sign this document in the languages, all texts being of equal authenticity.

Done in the city of London, this  
day of , 1945.

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