1947 NEW ZEALAND

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

REPORT OF THE NEW ZEALAND DELEGATION TO THE FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE HELD AT PARIS, 19 NOVEMBER – 10 DECEMBER, 1946

Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Leave

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The Right Honourable Peter Fraser, P.C., C.H., Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, Wellington, New Zealand.

SIR.—

We have the honour to submit the report of the New Zealand delegation to the First General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, held in Paris from 19 November to 10 December, 1946. Since no official report has been printed in New Zealand of the Conference in London in November, 1945, where the Constitution of UNESCO was framed, we have thought it wise, in our report, to give a brief outline of the Organization from the beginning, and to explain points which, while they are very familiar to you, are as yet unknown to many New-Zealanders. In this we have been greatly assisted by Mr. A. E. Campbell, who was one of New Zealand's delegates to the London Conference.

May we take this opportunity of thanking you for the honour you did us in appointing us delegates, and for the freedom you granted the delegation, and the reliance you placed in its independent judgment. We feel that this policy gave the New Zealand delegation a distinct advantage in negotiations, where many other countries were rigidly bound by instructions.

We have, &c.,

C. E. BEEBY, Chairman of Delegation.

R. A. FALLA, Delegate.

L. McPHEE,
Delegate.

THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is a permanent specialized agency of the United Nations. The Preamble to the Constitution declares—

"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 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 peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

The purpose of the Organization, in the words of Article I, 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, 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." To realize this purpose the Organization will—

"(a) Collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication, and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

"(b) Give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread

of culture:

"By collaborating with members, at their request, in the

development of educational activities;

"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 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."

The Organization came into official existence on 4 November, 1946, the date on which the twentieth country accepted the Constitution. The first country to join UNESCO was the United Kingdom, her membership dating from 20 February, 1946. New Zealand was the second member. Our acceptance was notified on 13 February, 1946, and the Instrument was deposited at the Foreign Office on 6 March, 1946.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER, 1945

The constitution of UNESCO was framed at a Conference convened by the Government of the United Kingdom in association with the Government of France, and held in London in November, 1945. In setting about this task the Conference was greatly helped by the preliminary work that had been done before the meeting actually took place. In particular, the members were able to build upon the work of another Conference, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, a body set up at the end of 1942 on the initiative of Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, at the time when many of the Allied Governments were in exile in London. At first the Conference was mainly European in character, but its membership was later widened, and in 1944 a strong delegation was sent from the United States, under the leadership of Representative, now Senator, Fulbright. In this way its focus of interest, which was at first sharply concentrated on reconstruction in Europe, was broadened to cover permanent international organization in the educational and cultural field. Very soon the Conference had produced a first draft of a Constitution for a United Nations educational and cultural organization. At San Francisco general approval was given to the idea of an educational organization of the United Nations, and a few weeks after the Charter was signed the draft proposals of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education were published and circulated to Governments. These proposals, together with an alternative set submitted by the French Government, formed the basis for discussion at the London Conference.

From the beginning, the London Conference showed a keen desire to bring its work to a successful conclusion, and the general atmosphere of the gathering was friendly and conciliatory. Delegates were very much aware of the great urgency of the task of repairing the educational ravages of the war years, and of the plight of the educationally backward countries. It was revealed, too, that many countries were not only ready and anxious to engage in cultural interchange on a scale not hitherto attempted, but were prepared also to co-operate actively in other schemes designed to foster international understanding. There was a much larger measure of initial agreement among the delegates than was commonly expected, and there was, too, a general willingness to make compromises on contentious questions. It is to be remembered that the Conference took place only three months after the demonstration of new forces of destruction at Hiroshima; there seemed all too little time to construct the defences of peace. Hence it proved possible to reach unanimity on all the details of the Constitution in the brief period of a fortnight.

Forty-four nations were represented at the Conference, and the delegates, observers, and technical advisers numbered about three hundred. The following international organizations were officially represented by observers—

International Labour Organization,

League of Nations Secretariat,

League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation,

International Institute of International Co-operation,

Pan-American Union,

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, International Bureau of Education

Of the larger countries the only one not represented was the U.S.S.R. There was general regret at the absence of a delegation from Russia, and when in due course the time came to elect an Executive Committee of the UNESCO Preparatory Commission, a seat was kept for this country in the hope that it would see its way to occupy, it.

New Zealand was represented by Dr R. M. Campbell, then Acting High Commissioner in London; Mr A. E. Campbell, Director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research; Miss Lorna McPhee, Information Officer, New Zealand Government Office, London; and Captain W. W. Mason, Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Alexander, and Tlight Lieutenant A. C. Arnesen, three former New Zealand teachers who were available in London.

MEMBERSHIP

The Constitution provides that membership of the United Nations shall carry with it the right of membership of UNESCO, although there is provision for membership of States that are not members of the United Nations. Membership was deliberately limited to States. The Conference considered a proposal that international educational, scientific, and cultural associations should be entitled to membership, but this was rejected, mainly because it would be hard to decide in particular instances whether or not the body were truly

international, and whether or not the character of its work warranted official recognition. Debates within UNESCO on the merits of this or that body could well stir up bad feeling and prejudice the work of the Organization. On the other hand, it was generally agreed that UNESCO should not be merely an inter-governmental agency, and the Constitution expressly provides for consultation and cooperation with non-governmental international bodies.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

There is provision for a General Conference, an Executive Board, and a permanent Secretariat.

The General Conference, which will meet annually, will consist of the representatives of the States members of the Organization. The Government of each State will appoint not more than five delegates, selected after consultation with a National Commission, if established, or with educational, scientific, and cultural bodies.

The question of National Commissions provoked a great deal of discussion. It was proposed on one side that it be mandatory for each member State to 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," and, further, that it be mandatory for delegates to be appointed in agreement with such Commissions. The Conference was, on the whole, sympathetic to the idea of broadly representative National Commissions—the success of UNESCO will depend on the active participation both of State and non-State bodies, and on the selection of delegations with a genuine claim to be representative of education, science, and culture in their respective countries. But discussion showed that it would be unwise to try to force one pattern on all States. The Constitution therefore, contents itself with a strong suggestion that National Commissions should, if possible, be established; there must, however, be consultation with non-State bodies.

The General Conference will determine the policies and main lines of work of the Organization; it may summon international conferences; it may adopt recommendations and suggestions and submit them to member States for approval; it will advise the United Nations on matters within its purview; it will receive and consider reports to be submitted to it periodically by member States; and it will elect the members of the Executive Board, and, on the recommendation of the Board, will appoint the Director-General.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Executive Board will consist of eighteen members elected by the General Conference from among the delegates, together with the President of the General Conference, who is to sit *ex officio* in an

advisory capacity. Not more than one national of any one State is to serve as an elected member of the Board at any one time. Members are to serve for a term of three years, and to be immediately eligible for a second term, but they are not permitted to serve for more than two terms consecutively. In this way, it is hoped, the Board will suffer neither from too frequent changes of membership, nor from too few infusions of new blood. Acting under the authority of the General Conference, the Executive Board, which is to meet in regular session at least twice a year, will be responsible for carrying out the programme adopted by the Conference. The members of the Board are to exercise the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the Conference, and not as representatives of their Governments. In electing the members of the Executive Board, the General Conference must 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 must also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution.

SECRETARIAT

Finally, the Constitution provides for a permanent Secretariat under a Director-General which will be responsible for the day-to-day work of the Organization. Here the Conference was emphatic on the need of securing the services of men and women of "the highest standards of integrity, efficiency, and technical competence."

SEAT OF THE ORGANIZATION

The Conference decided that the seat of the Organization should be in Paris. This decision may be altered by a two-thirds majority of the General Conference.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

The Constitution lays it down that UNESCO is to be brought into relation with the United Nations as one of the specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter. This ensures to UNESCO a greater degree of autonomy than is possessed by Commissions of the Economic and Social Council.

THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION

An Instrument establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was signed, together with the Final Act of the London Conference, on 16 November, 1945. The Commission consisted of one representative of each Government.

The Preparatory Commission completed its work in six meetings held between November, 1945, and November, 1946. At the earlier meetings, held between November and January, New Zealand was represented by A. E. Campbell, from February until October by Lorna McPhee, and at the final meeting held in Paris on 14–15 November by C. E. Beeby with Lorna McPhee as alternate delegate.

As its name implies, the principal function of the Commission was to prepare for the establishment of the Organization pending the coming into force of the Constitution on its acceptance by twenty nations. The Commission was charged with the duties of convoking the First General Conference, and drawing up the provisional agenda and making studies and preparing recommendations for the programme, budget, and secretariat of the Organization. An important duty was the negotiation of an agreement with the United Nations for approval by the First General Conference and arrangements for co-operation with other international agencies in UNESCO's field.

The Preparatory Commission was further charged with the duty of providing without delay for immediate action on urgent needs of educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction in devastated countries by the establishment of a special Technical Sub-committee, which was not, however, to be an operative relief agency. During 1946 it acted as a stimulating and co-ordinating agency in the provision of relief to devastated countries. An agreement with UNRRA was negotiated on 21 March, under which UNRRA undertook to act as a main operating agency for the distribution and international administration of special funds and supplies made available for educational relief, while UNESCO, with its experience of educational matters and contacts with experts in education, had the duty of evaluating needs. A joint UNRRA-UNESCO Committee was set up, and a special trust fund established for handling gifts of money. A co-ordinating committee of voluntary relief organizations was created and contacts established with public and private agencies in various donor countries, and, in particular, working plans developed between the sub-committee and the Inter-Allied Book Centre, the American Book Centre, and the United States Commission for International Educational Reconstruction. It must be admitted, however, that the work of the UNESCO Technical Sub-committee, and of other organizations working in this field since the end of hostilities, has only touched the surface of the problem. The need for relief and reconstruction continues to be crucial, and a report on this subject with recommendations for future action, was prepared for submission to the First General Conference.

The primary task of the Preparatory Commission was the workingout of a detailed programme of activities for the Organization for submission to the First General Conference. Governments were invited to submit recommendations on the programme, and at the Fifth Session of the Preparatory Commission, held in London from 5–12 July, the New Zealand Government presented general observations on the necessity of creating centralized information services; the provision of technical advisers, who could be attached for a period to National Commissions; the building-up of an international library of educational films, film strips, slides, charts, &c., of approved standard, the preparation of catalogues of such material, and the organization of schemes for supply or exchange; the investigation of economic and political obstacles to free trade in educational and cultural materials; the investigation of existing and projected arrangements for the exchange of personnel at all levels with a view to a wide extension of such arrangements; and the organization of circulating exhibitions of art, craft, and science.

In addition, New Zealand made more specific recommendations on three matters not already covered by other countries—

- (1) It suggested that UNESCO should publish a year-book on education to fill the serious gap created when the only existing year-books ceased publication at the beginning of the war.
- (2) It proposed a fairly detailed scheme for an international review of school text-books in order to discourage the publication of biased text-books in history, geography, and civics, without, however, attempting any form of international censorship. (A scheme closely resembling the New Zealand proposal was finally adopted by the General Conference, and will be mentioned again later in this report.)
- (3) It put forward a scheme "for the use of the cinema as an instrument of world understanding, while at the same time protecting and developing the best elements of national culture which are contained in each country's films." The details of this scheme are too lengthy for inclusion here, but the programme finally adopted by the Conference covers much of it.

THE NEW ZEALAND UNESCO INTERIM COMMITTEE

The Constitution of UNESCO makes provision for the setting-up in each Member State of a National Commission, which is to be broadly representative of the Government and of bodies interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters. You will recall that, in the opinion of the Government, it would have been unwise to have made binding decisions about the Constitution and functions of a National Commission for New Zealand before the first General Conference of UNESCO had taken place, or, indeed, before the reports of the New Zealand delegates to that Conference had been received and discussed. In September, 1946, however, the

Government set up a UNESCO Interim Committee with the following functions—

- (1) To disseminate information about UNESCO.
- (2) To study what New Zealand wants from UNESCO, and what New Zealand has to give to it, and to recommend appropriate Government action.
- (3) To act at the Government's request on any matters arising from the activities of UNESCO.
- (4) To study the need for a permanent National UNESCO Commission, and to report thereon to the Government.

The Committee consists of-

The Director of Education (Chairman),

One representative from each of the Departments of Internal Affairs, Broadcasting, and Scientific and Industrial Research, and the following persons—

Dr Gilbert Archey (Auckland),

Mr A. E. Campbell (Wellington),

Mr D. Forsyth (Dunedin),

Sir James Hight (Christchurch),

Mr M. H. Holcroft (Invercargill),

Miss E. E. Stephens (Palmerston North).

The Committee is now considering its report to the Government.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1946

Tasks of the Conference

The first General Conference, which opened in Paris on 19 November, 1946, was faced with a very heavy programme. Its main tasks were—

- (1) To appoint a Director-General. -
- (2) To pass a budget and set up the administrative mechanism of the Secretariat.
- (3) To determine the basis of the external relations of UNESCO with member States, the United Nations, and other international organizations,
 - (4) To determine the programme of UNESCO,
- (5) To determine the part to be played by UNESCO in the educational rehabilitation of war-devastated countries.

NEW ZEALAND DELEGATION TO CONFERENCE

C. E. Beeby (Chairman), Director of Education.

R. A. Falla, Curator, Canterbury Museum.

Lorna McPhee, Information Officer, High Commissioner's Office, London.

Membership of the Conference

There were representatives of forty-four countries at the Conference, but voting membership was confined to States which had formally adhered to the Constitution. They were 28 in number at the beginning of the Conference, 30 by the end. They are named in the order of their formal acceptance of the Constitution—

United Kingdom, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, Union of South Africa, Australia, India, Mexico, France, Dominican Republic, Turkey, Egypt, Norway, Canada, China, Denmark, United States of America, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, Lebanon, Greece, Poland, Bolivia, Syria, Haiti, Ecuador, Peru, Philippines, Venezuela, Belgium, Netherlands.

The following countries which had signed the Constitution, but had not formally accepted it, were entitled to be represented by observers with the right to speak but not to vote—

Argentine, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Panama, Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

Invitations to attend the Conference were sent to the following eight countries entitled by their membership of the United Nations to be represented by observers. Up to the final date of the Conference these countries had not signed or accepted the UNESCO Constitution—

U.S.S.R., Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Honduras, Paraguay, Salvador.

Special requests to the Conference for permission to be represented by observers were received from Sweden, Iceland, Switzerland, the Spanish Republican Government, and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The decision of the United Nations to admit Sweden and Iceland to membership ensured the acceptance of their observers, and the request of Switzerland, whose application for membership of UNESCO has since been approved by the Economic and Social Council, was granted by a special decision of the Conference. The Spanish Republican Government and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam were invited to send representatives in the capacity of guests, since on legal grounds it was impossible to grant observer status to their representatives.

The Soviet Union was not represented at the Conference, and this notable absence occasioned the public expression of regret by the leaders of many delegations.

International organizations which sent official observers to the Conference included—

The United Nations, the International Labour Organization, the International Bureau of Education, the International Institute

of Intellectual Co-operation, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

One of the most encouraging features of the Conference was the calibre of the delegates sent by most of the member States. If the interest of the nations in the future of UNESCO may be gauged by the quality of the delegates they sent to the first General Conference, there need be little fear that the Organization will die through lack of support. Most of the countries had obviously sent some of the best people they could find in the fields of education, science, and the arts.

It was no doubt due to the careful selection of delegates that the tone of the Conference in general was so very friendly and reasonable. There was, in all truth, no lack of discussion on the means towards the ends, but on the ends themselves, the goals towards which UNESCO should work, there was complete and substantial agreement. The most cynical attender of international conferences could scarcely fail to be impressed by the under-current of goodwill that made even lengthy and vigorous arguments entirely friendly in tone.

OPENING SESSIONS

After its formal opening at the Sorbonne the Conference met for four days in plenary session, during which the leaders of all delegations made their introductory speeches. In his opening speech the leader of the New Zealand delegation expressed New Zealand's faith in the objectives for which UNESCO stands, but stated that the New Zealand delegation felt some concern that the Organization might be tempted to undertake more than it could effectively carry out, at least in these early years. "The whole world," he said, "is admittedly our province, but not all the problems of the world are UNESCO's problems . . . As each project comes before us on the programme we should ask ourselves not only, 'Is this good?' but also two other questions, 'Is it a project that some national body or bodies could undertake?' and 'Would it interfere with the small solid core of tasks which no one else can do and which are essential if UNESCO is to justify its existence to the world?"" He urged the Conference not to forget that the main purpose of UNESCO is, in the terms of its Constitution, "to contribute to peace and security," and to give priority to those projects that give promise of contributing most directly. "In pressing for the limiting of UNESCO's immediate programme," he said, "I do not want to be misunderstood. The New Zealand delegation sees no bounds to the ultimate activities of UNESCO and its derivatives. We know it brings new hope to scholars, scientists, and artists, and we believe that, as it proves itself, it will bring the same hope to the common people of the world. To them we must, I think, admit

it still has to prove itself. We believe it will do so best by concentrating all its energies on the solid core of tasks that are ours alone, and that the world expects of us."

In all subsequent committee work the New Zealand delegation held firmly to this point of view.

MECHANISM OF THE CONFERENCE

To carry through its heavy programme, the Conference split quite early into Commissions and Committees. The first Committees were concerned with the mechanism of the Conference itself—

Credentials Committee.—A select committee of ten members, on which New Zealand was represented by Lorna McPhee.

Committee on Procedure.—A Committee of the whole Conference, on which R. A. Falla served.

Nominations Committee.—This consisted of the leaders of all delegations, and had to nominate all the officers of the Conference. C. E. Beeby was elected Chairman. The recommendations of the Nominations Committee were adopted by the Conference, and the following officers were elected—

President: Monsieur Léon Blum (France).

Executive Board: It was decided by lot which members of the Board should remain in office for one, two, and three years respectively—

One-year term: Dr E. R. Walker (Australia), M. Chen Yuan (China), Dr Martinez Baez (Mexico), Professor Kruyt (Netherlands), Dr Falski (Poland), Sir John Maud (United Kingdom).

Two-year term: M. Verniers (Belgium), Hon. Dr Dore (Canada), Dr Opocensky (Czechoslovakia), H. E. Shafik Ghorbal Bey (Egypt), Professor Photiades (Greece), Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan (India).

Three-year term: Professor Paulo Carneiro (Brazil), Professor Pierre Auger (France), Professor A. Sommerfelt (Norway), M. R. M. Guntekin (Turkey), Hon. Archibald MacLeish (United States of America), Dr Parra-Perez (Venezuela).

The most important function of the Executive Board during the Conference was the nomination to the plenary session of the Director-General.

The major Commissions were—

- A. Programme Commission, which split into working Sub-Commissions on—
 - (1) Education.
 - (2) Mass Communication.

- (3) Libraries and Museums.
- (4) Natural Sciences.
- (5) Social Sciences, Philosophy, and Humanistic Studies.
- (6) Creative Arts.

All the delegation acted at one time or another on this Commission, but, since circumstances compelled two of them to sit on the Sub-Commission on Administration and Finance, the main burden of representing New Zealand on the Programme Commission fell on R. A. Falla.

- B. Relief and Reconstruction Commission.—New Zealand was represented by Lorna McPhee.
- C. Administrative, Financial, Legal, and External Relations Commission, which immediately split into two working Sub-Commissions—
 - (1) Administrative and Financial Sub-Commission: C. E. Beeby was elected Chairman of this Sub-Commission. In this capacity it was found desirable that he should not exercise a deliberative vote, and, since the delegation regarded this Sub-Commission as the most important one of the Conference, Lorna McPhee sat on it to speak and vote for New Zealand.
- (2) Legal and External Relations Sub-Commission: Owing to lack of delegates, New Zealand was unable to be represented here.

REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONS

In the description that follows of the work of these Commissions and Sub-Commissions we have thought it best to emphasize the broad end-results rather than the detailed methods of arriving at them. The New Zealand delegation took a full part in the discussions, and was represented on the Co-ordinating Committee that met each day to relate the work of all the Commissions, but we shall refer to New Zealand's specific contributions only where points of major principle were involved.

A. Programme Commission

(Chairman: Dr Martinez Baez (Mexico))

The Programme Commission found itself faced with a tentative programme involving over two hundred separate projects. These were embodied in the printed "Report on the Programme of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization," which had been prepared by the Secretariat of the Preparatory Commission on the basis of the suggestions sent in by the various countries. The New Zealand delegation considered this projected programme far too diffuse and ambitious for an infant Organization, and strongly favoured a resolution, moved by the United States of

America and passed by the full Commission, instructing Sub-Commissions to apply five criteria to all suggested projects put before them. It was agreed that proposals approved should—

- (1) Serve to advance the purpose of the Organization "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture";
 - (2) Constitute a coherent whole;
 - (3) Be practically feasible in terms of staff and finance:
 - (4) Be few in number; and
 - (5) Relate to matters of self-evident importance and usefulness.

It must be admitted that the sub-commissions did not always pay full regard to these criteria in their deliberations. The programme as finally decided upon by the Programme Commission and passed by the General Conference is still, in our opinion, too wide for the Organization in its formative years. In so far as this is a measure of the faith and enthusiasm of the member States it is, perhaps, an encouraging sign, but an undisciplined and all-embracing enthusiasm at the administrative level might prove ruinous in the next few years.

It is, admittedly, not easy to draw the line between those projects that will directly "contribute to peace and security" and those that will not. There is a sense in which any group activity involving men and women of different nations assists the cause of peace by developing mutual respect and understanding. In the long run, UNESCO's most valuable contribution to the cause of peace may consist in bringing together people of all nations in all walks of life to work on common tasks that have in themselves little or no direct relationship to the maintenance of peace or the increasing of mutual understanding between nations. International understanding, that is to say, may, like salvation, come to those who do not directly seek it, but who settle down with co-workers from other countries to do an honest job in fields that are internationally inert. research on a specific technical problem unrelated directly to world peace would typify the kind of activity of which we are thinking.

We cannot but feel, however, that to accept such a broad interpretation of UNESCO's function at this juncture would be dangerous. If the Organization is not to break down under the weight of its own good intentions, it must make a rigid selection from a host of competing goods, and we are so impressed with the rapid degeneration of international understanding at the high political level that we believe no other activity should be allowed to interfere with UNESCO's prime task of directly improving mutual understanding amongst the common peoples of the world. When the most urgent needs in this field have been met, the Secretariat may have time and energy to devote to stimulating and encouraging closer co-operation of groups whose immediate purpose is something other than international understanding. We believe that the most obvious and

pressing of UNESCO's problems lie in the spheres of education and communications.

The Programme Commission would seem to have some such point in mind when it said in its final report, "UNESCO will contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations in the *preservation* of men's knowledge of themselves, their world, and each other; in the *increase* of that knowledge through learning, science, and the arts; and in the *dissemination* of that knowledge through education and through communications generally. This last function, given the present distressed and critical state of the world, would seem to be the most important, though not necessarily the most urgent." We have dealt with this issue at length because we are of the opinion that the whole success or future of UNESCO may depend upon the policy adopted in this respect.

Set out below are what we consider to be the most important projects finally adopted by the Conference. This list is by no means exhaustive, and, since there was considerable overlapping between the reports of the different Sub-Commissions, we have ignored the division of the projects into the various fields assigned to the Sub-Commissions. We begin, however, with those projects in the dissemination of knowledge through education and mass communication that appear to be the most appropriate for immediate action. We often follow closely the Preamble to the Programme Commission's report to Conference, and for the sake of simplicity do not always insert quotation marks.

I. Fundamental Education

It is proposed to launch a world-wide attack on illiteracy in the broadest sense of the term. Comparative figures are hard to get, but it is estimated that between 50 and 60 per cent. of the population of the world is illiterate in the simple sense of being unable to read and write at all. In Northern Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand the percentage of illiteracy is practically negligible, but in some countries of Southern Europe it exceeds 50 per cent. In parts of South America it is even higher, whilst Asia as a whole is 80 to 90 per cent. illiterate, and amongst the coloured population of Africa there are only from 2 to 10 per cent. able to read and write in the various countries. In such circumstances it was pointed out, to talk of international understanding amongst the peoples of the world is little more than mockery. In the words of the Preparatory Commission, "The present educational inequality between nations represents a danger to the peace of the world which cannot become one if half of it remains illiterate." As one speaker said, "It is easy to start a panic in the dark." Delegates were all agreed that the time has come to recognize that the world owes a duty to its less-favoured peoples not only in their interest, but in its own.

There was general recognition, of course, that it would be dangerous to assume that all that is necessary to make men love one another is to teach them to read and write. The example of Japan, which has by far the highest literacy rate in the whole of Asia, is sufficient to refute such easy optimism. Because this truth is obvious, UNESCO has labelled the project "Fundamental Education" and not "Attack on Illiteracy." Fundamental education involves not only teaching to read and write, but also simple education, particularly for adults, in agriculture, handicrafts, health, citizenship, and some understanding of world problems.

The Conference realized that UNESCO could not hope to make any noticeable impression on illiteracy by itself setting up to teach half the world. But it was held that there is still a very important place for an international agency not only in stimulating and encouraging countries to start fundamental education programmes, but also in working out techniques, providing expert advice, and training key workers for the field. The first step proposed is the appointment of a panel of experts, most of whom will not be permanent members of the UNESCO staff. On invitation, they will assist in the development of programmes of education, making contact with workers in the field. The central staff of UNESCO will assist in providing suitable materials, in clarifying language difficulties, and in utilizing all forms of instruction—books, pictures, films, and radio—that may serve the purposes of the programme. Pilot projects in mass education are to be begun this year in Haiti, China, and Africa.

This is a project in which New Zealand, with her high literacy rate and her successful education of the Maori, may have more to offer than to receive, though the accumulated knowledge of UNESCO's panel of experts may well be of great value to her in the education of the peoples of the Pacific Islands.

II. Education for International Understanding

UNESCO proposes to attack this problem simultaneously from several different angles. The approach is, first of all, to eliminate education for misunderstanding. All speakers agreed that cases are by no means unknown of countries deliberately distorting the teaching in their schools in order to bolster up their own prestige or policies at the expense of their neighbours, and that there are many more instances of ignorance, carelessness, or unconscious bias in text-books and teaching causing generations of children to grow up with quite false ideas of other countries. UNESCO intends to make a survey of the main social studies text-books of the world.

The technique to be adopted is the one proposed by New Zealand. Countries will be invited to send in to UNESCO copies of their most commonly used text-books in history, geography, civics, and related subjects. This will, admittedly, be easier for those countries that have fixed official text-books than for those that allow freer

choice, but even a fair sampling of the more common books will give some indication of national attitudes, and, it was pointed out. the danger of widespread distortion is greatest in just those countries that have set official texts. The Secretariat, with the assistance of National Commissions, will make a study of the books submitted, and will at the same time invite member States to study their own text-books from the point of view of their effect on international understanding. The Secretariat will, in consultation with qualified experts, draw up a set of principles or code of ethics by which each member State may, as it sees fit, analyse its own text-books. UNESCO will also draw up model agreements that will help countries to make bilateral and regional agreements concerning text-books, and will, on request, prepare materials on international affairs to be placed at the disposal of text-book writers. UNESCO will have no power to censor text-books or to compel countries to conform to any code laid down, but it will be the duty of the Secretariat to report to the General Conference, and through it to the United Nations and the world at large, any instances of the misuse of textbooks that might be considered to constitute a danger to peace. It was felt that merely to let each country see what other countries say about it in their text-books will of itself be a salutary check on their misuse. In making their own surveys of their own text-books many countries will no doubt voluntarily eliminate much undesirable material

As a more positive contribution to the problem, UNESCO will during 1947 begin a systematic study of education for international understanding in the schools and universities of the member States. Experts admitted that we do not as yet know very much about the techniques of education in this field, and a study by the Secretariat, in consultation with a panel of experts, and in close collaboration with member States, of methods used throughout the world should yield information that will be immediately useful to all countries. There are also plans for holding in Paris this year a "workshop" or seminar for representative teachers from member States on methods of educating for international understanding. This, it is hoped, will lead to regional seminars on the same lines.

Rather indirectly related to this group of projects is another for the drawing-up, in consultation with interested groups in member States, of a Teachers' Charter. So important is the part of the teacher in the programme of educating for peace, that it was felt that UNESCO should do all it can to help to improve the status of teachers throughout the world.

III. Communications

It is obvious that mutual understanding between peoples depends upon communications in the widest sense of the term. The basic faith of UNESCO is that if peoples know each other better they will, in general, like each other better, and if they can understand and share the cultures of other peoples they will be the less ready to wreck the world's common heritage by war. It was admitted that it is a faith that has yet to be tested, but the representatives of the nations gathered in Paris had no doubts that, if this faith fails, there is little for the common people of the world to hold on to in international relations. So the freeing of lines of communication between peoples necessarily becomes one of UNESCO's most urgent tasks.

The most direct form of communication between peoples is, of course, through travel, and it was to this that the Conference first gave its attention. On the negative side, UNESCO will begin a world-wide survey of existing barriers to travel—visas, travel permits, exchange regulations, and the like. It hopes to be able to suggest means of making it easier to cross national boundaries. This applies particularly to such important groups as scholars, teachers, scientists, and artists whose work is international in character, but it is of great significance also to the ordinary men and women of the world. More particularly, UNESCO will stimulate and encourage, and in some cases itself organize, international conferences in the fields of education, science, and culture.

A similar investigation is being made into the obstacles that prevent the free flow of cultural materials between countries. Postagerates on books and periodicals, cable and wireless rates, quotas on films, tariffs and exchange restrictions, Customs formalities, censorship, copyright laws—all, it was pointed out by speakers, have been devised to protect some national or sectional interest, and no survey has ever been made of their infinitely more important effects upon international understanding. The citizens of one country, it was maintained, cannot begin to understand another country if they cannot even get access to its books and magazines. Seen from this global point of view, UNESCO believes the complicated system of barriers to the free flow of ideas may look very different even to the men who have set them up. However that may be, it cannot begin to reduce the barriers until it knows exactly what they are throughout the world. Hence the survey as a first step. UNESCO will co-operate in this work with the United Nations, which has itself direct interests in some parts of the field.

The removal of barriers, it was held, is not enough, and UNESCO plans to establish certain services that will improve the cultural contacts between nations. It will, for instance, establish a central international inter-library loan system by which readers in any part of the world may, given the co-operation of the world's librarians, have access, either in original or copy, to the printed materials contained in any library in any country. It will assist libraries and schools to obtain books, periodicals, works of art, and museum objects from

all the countries of the world, matching needs with available supplies. The use of photographic reproduction, both for protecting printed materials, and for making them more readily available, is conceived on a completely new scale. An unspectacular but very necessary part of this work will be the preparation and publication of international bibliographies, union catalogues, indexes, abstracts, and the like.

Similarly, UNESCO will, in conjunction with the United Nations and other special agencies, act as a clearing-house for information about films, film strips, and other visual media, particularly in the fields of health, food, agriculture, social and economic problems, science, and the arts. There is, throughout the world, an immense amount of material of this type which is losing most of its effect because there is no administrative mechanism for making it known and having it distributed on an international scale.

The Organization will also establish a clearing-house of radio information with the object of encouraging countries to reflect in their national broadcasting systems the culture and achievements of other countries. A committee is to be set up to see if it is possible to establish, in conjunction with United Nations, a world-wide network for radio broadcasting and reception. Another group is making a survey of the existing press and film services from the point of view of their adequacy for the task of improving international understanding. It was thought that proposals can be made, in the light of such a study, for the elimination of inadequacies where they are to be found, and for the encouragement of such supplementary services as will best fulfil UNESCO's purposes.

Language differences offer a serious obstacle to international understanding at the level of the man-in-the-street, and translation services are almost completely unorganized and haphazard. UNESCO intends to create a translation office to prepare a bibliography of translations, to compile a list of first-rate translators, and to compile and keep up to date a list of works suitable for translation.

IV. The Increase of Knowledge

All the projects so far mentioned are concerned with the preservation and dissemination of knowledge. There remains a whole group of projects approved by the Conference which have for their immediate aim the increase of knowledge. For our part, we would give priority to those whose subject-matter is most closely related to the maintenance of peace. One of the most interesting and at the same time most difficult of these is a study of the tensions conducive to war. This will include studies of nationalism and internationalism and of the effects of technological progress upon the well-being of peoples. It will also include detailed investigation of

population problems, such as the effects of excessive population increase or decrease, the migration of peoples, tensions created by minority groups, the cultural status of displaced populations, and the conflicts arising from varying customs and standards and from political restrictions. The whole study will call for a new type of co-operation among social scientists, anthropologists, geographers, and psychologists. In such an elaborate undertaking full recourse will be had to the National Commissions of member States and to the related groups working within the United Nations.

Another major scientific project is a study of the problem of satisfactory living in the equatorial forest zone. As a concrete beginning it is proposed that UNESCO should take over the coordination of the various researches by many nations on the resources and conditions of life in the great Amazonian forest, with a view to establishing later an Equatorial Survey Institute. A similar proposal relates to the study, in collaboration with other United Nations organizations, of the urgent scientific problems arising in those regions of the world where the majority of the population is under-nourished. As a first stage, UNESCO will recruit teams of specialists expert in nutritional science and food technology to attack the problem in three sample regions—the Amazon Forest, India, and China. We must confess that these last projects seem to us to bear a different relation to the maintenance of peace than do the projects mentioned earlier.

In addition to these specific scientific projects, UNESCO's programme makes provision for a more general type of service to scientists. As in other cultural fields, there is a plan for the interchange of scientists at all grades. UNESCO will administer fellowship grants made available to it, and will establish a limited number of fellowships from its own funds. It will also stimulate, and to some extent subsidize, meetings of international scientific and other learned organizations, and will co-operate with international scientific unions. Travelling panels of scientists will be sent to various countries on invitation. In regions remote from the main centres of scientific research and technology experience has shown that a small mobile team can have an effect out of all proportion to its size.

Lest it should appear that UNESCO is planning in any part of its programme to interfere with strictly national rights and responsibilities, it may be well to quote the final sentences of the report of the Programme Commission:—

"It is sufficient, we think, to state here that, although these various proposals are advanced as proposals for action by UNESCO, they are, in the last analysis, proposals advanced for action by the peoples of the world. Without the collaboration of the member Nations the undertakings of UNESCO—undertakings which touch most nearly the lives of peoples everywhere—can have no reality and no true meaning. In presenting, therefore,

this report, and in proposing that the programmes which it outlines should be adopted, we are speaking not to the General Conference of UNESCO alone, but to the peoples of the world."

"Here, in our opinion, is a programme for common action to construct in the minds of men such defences as the minds of men can maintain. If it is possible in the present dark and lowering atmosphere of cynicism, suspicion, and despair for men to agree upon a common programme, they should, we think, be able to agree on this. In the final count, in the last determination, we must trust our power to be men. As men—as men who think, believe, and have the will to act—we can agree together on the end of peace. Agreeing on that end, we should be able to agree that there are steps by which the end can be approached. In the high confidence that the projects here proposed are projects which can bring us nearer to the hoped-for goal, we put this programme in your hands."

B. Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Commission

(Chairman: Dr M. B. Drzewieski (Poland))

This Commission was required to recommend to the Conference the ways in which UNESCO could best help the war-devastated countries to rehabilitate themselves educationally, scientifically, and culturally. Obviously this task could not be separated from the general programme, and all the Programme Sub-Commission's reports contained sections on relief and rehabilitation. The report of the Commission was adopted unanimously by the General Conference, and almost every speaker stressed that no other activity must be allowed to interfere with UNESCO's most urgent duty of helping the war-devastated countries to reconstruct at least the rudiments of their educational and cultural life.

In the course of the discussion pitiable stories were told of the conditions under which education is being carried on in eastern and southern Europe, in China, and the Philippines, and even in portions of France and the Low Countries. Buildings destroyed, teachers killed and scattered, libraries and laboratories devastated, and in some cases even the barest minimum of equipment, pencils, paper, chalk entirely lacking—it is under conditions such as these that a whole generation of school-children are being brought up to build a new world. If no help is given, to the evil of ignorance will be added the bitterness and resentment of peoples who have had education themselves but cannot get it for their children. The Cenference felt that educational rehabilitation is not just humanitarianism: it is an essential for a reasonable and peaceful world.

In spite of its deep feeling on this matter, the Conference realized that UNESCO could not itself set up as a direct relief agency in the field, although the UNESCO National Commissions in the various member States may be expected to play an active part in

both the collection and the distribution of money and materials. The summary of the Commission's report sets out very briefly what are considered to be the main functions of UNESCO in the domain of rehabilitation:—

"Chief emphasis has been placed on an extensive and intensive campaign to stimulate the flow of materials, money, and services to areas needing urgent help in the rebuilding of educational, scientific, and cultural resources. . . . Among the duties of the National Commissions or voluntary organizations, at all events in the more fortunate countries, is the stimulation of the production of books, scientific equipment, and other educational materials of which at present there is a world shortage. Assuming the effectiveness of this campaign, it has been suggested that UNESCO should publish certain materials justifiable in the light of UNESCO's permanent interests and useful for immediate rehabilitation; should exercise leadership in arranging fellowships for study abroad by selected leaders from devastated areas; should send teams of practical consultants for short periods of work in damaged areas; and should aid in the establishment and co-ordination of youth service camps. . . ."

The goal set is the contribution of at least one hundred million dollars for needed materials or services to devastated areas of Europe and Asia in 1947. UNESCO's budget for its work on rehabilitation is quite small, some \$434,000. This in itself is a measure of the extent to which UNESCO intends to work through other agencies.

C. Administrative, Financial, Legal, and External Relations Commission

I. Legal and External Relations Sub-Commission (Chairman: Mr L. A. Sanchez (Peru))

This Sub-Commission held five meetings. Agreements with various external agencies had been prepared by the Secretariat as a basis for discussion. The report of the Sub-Commission was adopted by the General Conference in the plenary session on 6 December, 1946, the following being the more important points in the various proposed agreements:—

1. Draft Agreement with the United Nations.—Under this Agreement, the United Nations recognizes UNESCO as a specialized agency. The Agreement gives the Economic and Social Council power to reject if it sees fit, any application for membership of UNESCO by any State which is not a member of the United Nations. It makes provision for the exchange of representatives and information and documents between the two Organizations, and for close co-operation in such matters as staff, salaries and conditions, administrative, statistical and technical services, and budgeting and financial arrangements. UNESCO agrees to give such assistance as may be required of it to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the International Court of Justice. UNESCO is given direct access to the Court.

(The draft Agreement was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its sixty-fifth plenary meeting on 14 December, 1946.)

- 2. Privileges and Immunities.—It was considered by the Sub-Commission, and subsequently by the General Conference, that the adoption of a convention between member States and of the Agreement with the Government of the French Republic on privileges and immunities was premature. Action was limited to a request to member States to grant suitable facilities to officials and representatives of UNESCO, and the decision that the Provisional Agreement between the Preparatory Commission and the Government of the French Republic should remain in force (with an amendment to Article XV) until such time as the General Convention on Privileges and Immunities should be adopted.
- 3. Relations with International Non-governmental Organizations.—The Director-General was empowered to enter into formal agreements and working agreements with non-governmental international organizations subject to certain definite limitations. To be admitted in this way an Organization must—

(a) Be truly international in its structure and of recognized

standing.

sentatives.

(b) Be concerned primarily with matters falling within the competence of UNESCO.

 (\hat{c}) Have aims and purposes in uniformity with the general principles embodied in the Constitution of UNESCO.

(d) Have a permanent directing body and authorized repre-

4. Agreement with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.—An Agreement between UNESCO and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was approved. The liquidation of the League of Nations involved the liquidation of the International Organization of Intellectual Co-operation, to be followed on 31 December, 1946, by that of the Institute. On 19 November, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution recommending that UNESCO should take over those functions and activities of the Institute that might be performed within the scope of its own programme, and also recommended that the assets of the Institute be utilized by UNESCO. It further recommended that an Agreement be concluded between UNESCO and the Institute before 31 December. The Agreement approved by the Conference embodied the recommendations of the United Nations.

The French delegation made a declaration to the Sub-Commission concerning the International Act of 1938, and notified its intention to enter into contact with Member States which ratified the Act in order to obtain agreement to its cancellation.

5. Provisional Agreement with the International Bureau of Education.—An Agreement between UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education was approved. It recognizes the International Bureau of Education as an inter-Governmental Organization carrying out an essentially technical task in the field of education, and that its interests and activities are related to the progress of UNESCO. The Agreement was concluded for one year only, and came into force on 28 February, 1947. It is

provisional in character and concerns co-operation on specific projects such as the International Conference on Public Education, the exhibition of public instruction, and the publication of year-books. It also provides for exchange of representatives and personnel necessary to ensure full co-operation between the two Organizations.

- 6. Agreement with International Council of Scientific Unions.— This Agreement was also approved. It provides for mutual consultation, reciprocal representation, and exchange of information. It empowers UNESCO to invite the International Council to undertake specific tasks on its behalf. When requested by the Council, UNESCO will consider the granting of financial support and special facilities in order to enable the Council to develop its programme adequately. The Agreement will be re-examined in December, 1947.
- 7. Relations between UNESCO and Member States.—The basic relations between the Organization and member States are laid down in the Constitution. The Conference agreed upon certain additional conditions—
 - (a) The General Conference will request those States members which have not yet established national commissions or any national co-operating body to take the required steps for implementing Article VII of the Constitution of UNESCO.

(b) The Director-General will be requested to grant to States members all the assistance—other than financial assistance—which they may require in order to establish national commissions or

national co-operating bodies.

(c) UNESCO will keep each National Commission informed of its connections in the country of that Commission, and will come to an agreement with the Commission on all general questions.

(d) The Executive Board will make a full examination of the question of National Commissions and will communicate its

findings to the States members.

- (e) The General Conference will request States members to communicate to UNESCO, two months before the second session of the General Conference, a report containing the following information—
 - (i) Information with regard to institutions and associations concerned with education, science, culture, and mass media, which are of national importance.
 - (ii) Information on relevant national laws and regulations.

(iii) Statistics in these domains.

(iv) Reports on recent progress in education, science, and culture, with special reference to matters contained in the programme of UNESCO.

(v) Information on action taken in relation to recommendations or conventions adopted by the General Conference.

8. Relations between UNESCO and other Specialized Agencies.—The Conference approved the text of a model Agreement between UNESCO and other specialized agencies of the United Nations, and instructed the Director-General to enter into negotiations with the specialized agencies in order to have formal Agreements concluded with the approval of the Executive Board.

II. Administrative and Financial Sub-Commission (Chairman: C. E. Beeby (New Zealand))

The main tasks of this Sub-Commission were to consider and report to the General Conference on staff regulations, financial regulations, the organization of the Secretariat, and such controversial matters as the scale of contributions of member States and currencies in which contributions should be calculated and collected. It also had to recommend the amount to be budgeted for 1947. As a basis for discussion it had before it draft recommendations prepared by the Secretariat on the instructions of the Preparatory Commission. The Sub-Commission sat for ten days, and its recommendations were finally accepted by the full Conference with only one or two alterations.

1. Staff Regulations.—An attempt was made to model these as closely as circumstances permitted on the staff regulations for the United Nations. The general aim of the regulations is to develop a civil service truly international in character and owing its first allegiance to the Organization rather than to the member States. In the recruitment of staff due attention is to be paid both to personal merit and to the wide geographical and national distribution of the Secretariat as a whole. A lengthy and heated discussion took place as to the part to be played by Governments and by national commissions in the selection of staff. A group of delegates wanted a regulation making it obligatory for the Director-General to secure a report on each applicant from the Government of his country. This was felt by other delegates, including those from New Zealand, to have dangerous implications as a mandatory principle, although they agreed that in most cases the Director-General would be wise to seek information about each applicant in his own country. The proposed regulation was finally deleted.

In the case of the Deputy Director-General, the Directors of Divisions, and the Heads of Services, the Director-General is required to consult with the Executive Board before making appointments: in all other cases he appoints entirely on his own authority. Another marked division occurred between those delegates who wished to curb the powers of the Director-General in his dealings with staff and those who thought he should be left as free as possible with proper safeguards in the way of rights of appeal. The New Zealand delegates were in the latter group, and considered that in an Organization so young and fluid it would be dangerous to restrict the executive officer very closely unless

events proved it necessary.

Provision is made in the regulations for permanent appointments and for temporary appointments of twelve months' duration or less. It was recommended to the Director-General that for the first year or two the fullest possible use should be made of temporary appointments, partly because the final staff needs of UNESCO cannot be clearly foreseen, and partly because it might be possible in that way to attract men and women in responsible positions in their own countries who would not be available for permanent employment. Salary scales will, in general, be those

for United Nations, less 15 per cent. Permanent officers will, in case of dismissal, have right of appeal to an independent tribunal. Men and women will be equally eligible for all appointments, and will be paid on a common scale.

- 2. Organization of the Secretariat.—Various alternative organizational charts were put forward by the Secretariat for the approval of the Sub-Commission and the Conference, but it was felt that the Conference, by adopting any fixed plan of organization, might impose on the Secretariat a form quite unfitted for the work it has to do. At the same time the Conference believed that the whole future of UNESCO might well depend upon the efficiency of the Secretariat in the early years, and so decided to call attention to certain facts, principles, and directions which must guide the Director-General in his organization of the Secretariat. It was agreed, in spite of some earlier divisions of opinion, that the Director-General must be directly responsible to the Executive Board and the General Conference for all administrative and financial matters as well as for the programme of UNESCO. He should, however, have a Deputy Director-General responsible to him for matters of administration, personnel and finance, and able to take over full responsibility for the Organization during the Director-General's frequent absences from headquarters. It was decided also that, in order to ensure a sound financial system, including control of expenditure from the outset, an official of high status must-be appointed as Chief Finance Officer at the earliest possible moment, and that a Personnel Officer of high status was also essential immediately. The Director-General was asked to adopt a flexible form of organization that would prevent the work of UNESCO from dropping into watertight compartments.
- 3. Financial Regulations.—The financial arrangements make provision for the Executive Board to appoint a Committee on Finance, to which the budget will be submitted before it is sent on to member States and to the United Nations. The budget is to show not only the usual detailed statements of income, appropriations, and expenditure for the previous year, and of estimated expenditure in the coming year, but also statements showing—
 - (a) The amounts to be contributed by each member State in accordance with the approved scale of contributions,
 - (b) Estimated income from other sources, and
 - (c) A list of the officials of the Organization, setting out their nationalities, duties, salaries, and allowances.

The regulations also lay down the method of keeping accounts, and the type of internal control of expenditure to be set up by the Director-General. External auditors are to be appointed by the Executive Board, and the bank or banks in which the funds of the Organization are to be kept is to be determined by the Director-General with the agreement of the Executive Board.

The Budget and the Revolving Fund (see subsection 4) are to be expressed in dollar currency, and the contributions from member States to the Budget and their deposits in the Revolving Fund are to be assessed in dollar currency. Contributions and deposits from member States, however, are to be actually made in a currency or currencies to be determined by the General Conference.

4. Other Financial and Related Matters.—Decisions were made by the Conference on other matters not directly covered by

regulations—

(a) The Director-General was empowered to follow the practice of the United Nations in reimbursing staff members for any taxes on salaries and wages they may be required to pay until such time as final arrangements can be made by member States for exempting them from national taxation.

(b) The Director-General was authorized to continue the employment of members of the staff of the Preparatory Com-

mission until 28 February, 1947.

- (c) The Director-General was instructed to issue instructions to provide proper channels of communication with member States.
- (d) The General Conference resolved that the scale of contributions to UNESCO for 1947 should be established as follows:—

(i) "The scale shall be that adopted by the United Nations for contributions to its administrative budget, subject to the

adjustment specified in (ii) below."

(ii) "Inasmuch as the membership of

(ii) "Inasmuch as the membership of the United Nations and UNESCO are not identical, the scale established under (i) above shall be adjusted to cover the Budget of the Organization:"

(iii) "The Executive Board, to whom the duty of making the adjustment is hereby entrusted, shall, before promulgating the scale, enter into such consultations with member States

as may be desirable."

(e) The General Conference resolved that—

(i) "There is established a Revolving Fund in the amount of \$3,000,000."

(ii) "Deposits to be made by member States to the Revolving Fund, which shall be interest-free and shall remain the property of the member States, shall be made in the same ratios as the contributions of member States to the Budget of the Organization of the year 1947."

(Note.—The Revolving Fund is made necessary by the fact that some member States are unable to make their annual contributions until quite late in the Organization's financial year, which begins on 1 January.)

5. The Budget.—The Secretariat had prepared a detailed budget showing the estimated expenditure for 1947, under each of many headings. The Sub-Commission, however, could not feel that the cost of the various items in the draft programme had been worked out with sufficient accuracy to justify it in trying to itemize the first budget. With one exception, moreover, none of the Programme Sub-Commissions submitted to the Administrative and Financial Sub-Commission any real estimates of the cost of the programmes they had aproved for the coming year. So the Sub-Commission recommended that the General Conference should pass the total amount of the budget for 1947, leaving the Executive Board to itemize it as soon as possible.

Very marked differences of opinion developed over the total amount of the budget. The Secretariat had proposed a sum of \$7,565,000, plus a further \$950,000 to cover the costs of the Preparatory Commission and all other expenditure up to 1 January, 1947. It asked, in addition, for a supplementary budget of \$434,000 for educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction during the year 1947. One group of delegates, led by the United Kingdom, pressed strongly for the adoption of this budget in full, on the grounds that the programme of UNESCO could not be carried out on less for 1947, and that any reduction in the budget would be taken by the world as an indication of a lack of faith in the purposes for which the Organization stands. group, amongst whom were the United States and the British Dominions, were equally strongly in favour of a reduction. The second group proved to have a slight majority in the Sub-Commission, and a more marked one in the General Conference, and the following budget resolution proposed by the Sub-Commission was adopted after a United Kingdom amendment proposing a figure of \$8,450,000 was rejected by 20 votes to 8, and a French amendment proposing a budget of \$7,500,000 was rejected by 18 votes to 10:—

"The General Conference hereby appropriates for the financial year 1947 the total amount of \$6,950,000 for all approved activities in 1947, and for all expenses prior to 1 January, 1947, and resolves that—

- "(1) At the earliest possible time, the Director-General shall submit to the Executive Board for its approval a suggested programme and budget within the \$6,950,000 total for 1947, it being understood that \$6,000,000 of the total must be allocated to UNESCO activities, including—
 - "(a) Educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction, and
 - "(b) A substantial contingent fund, at least at the beginning of the year,
- and an amount not exceeding \$950,000 must be allocated to paying costs incurred prior to 1 January, 1947.
- "(2) In view of the reduced budget for 1947, the Director-General and the Executive Board shall examine very carefully all activities which may involve grants-in-aid, awards, fellowships, and professorships."

In order to dispel any idea that the reduction of the Budget indicated a lack of faith in UNESCO, it would be well to state explicitly the motives that appeared to actuate the delegates voting for the lower amount. For our part we voted for a reduction on purely administrative grounds, which the leader of the delegation explained to the General Conference in speaking to the motion. We thought there was a real danger of UNESCO expanding too rapidly during its first year or two of life. The first task, in our opinion, was to evolve a satisfactory administrative mechanism, and to clarify ideas on the programme, which in many instances had been thought out

in terms of desirable ends without much consideration of the means to be adopted in achieving them.

For this task of hard, tight thinking, a big staff was not only unnecessary, but might even prove a hindrance. We urged that the Director-General devote his attention in the first few months to the recruiting of a small group of completely first-rate men and women for the key positions in the Secretariat. It would take time for these people to be found and start work, and over half the year would be gone before the programme in most divisions could be got properly under way. In the circumstances, we were of the opinion that a sum of \$6,000,000 would be adequate for the activities of what could be at best only an incomplete year. A bigger sum might only lead to the recruitment of a large and relatively inferior staff, and a consequent "soft" growth in a programme that in our opinion needed drastic pruning rather than forcing. We were, in addition, by no means convinced that there was at any time a very close relationship between the programme passed by the Conference and the budget proposed by the Secretariat, and we could not feel that the reduction would wreck any carefully thought-out scheme.

A further reason put forward by the delegate of the United States of America for a reduction in the budget was the growing strain of so many international organizations upon the finances of some of the smaller States. He expressed the fear that, if the budget were too high, some of the small and poorer States might find it impossible to become members of UNESCO. All delegates who spoke were of the opinion that, whatever cuts might be made in the budget, the item for reconstruction should not be reduced.

Appointment of the Director-General

The Constitution says that the Director-General "shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the General Conference for a period of six years . . ." The Executive Board took nearly a fortnight to make its nomination, and the uncertainty caused at times some little tension throughout the Conference as a whole. The delegates of many of the smaller countries regretted that questions of national prestige should play any part whatever in the selection of the Director-General, since it is by his personal qualities rather than by his nationality that he can do so much to make or mar the Organization.

The Executive Board finally nominated the Secretary-General of the Preparatory Commission, Dr Julian Huxley, F.R.S., who stated in a letter to the President that he would be happy to be nominated, but must ask to be permitted to retire after two years instead of six. In the secret ballot that followed twenty-two votes were cast for Dr Huxley, three were cast against him, and there were two blank

voting-papers. Three delegations with the right to vote were absent on this occasion.

Dr Huxley, with the approval of the Executive Board, subsequently appointed as Deputy Director-General, Dr Walter Laves, of the United States Bureau of the Budget, who had done excellent work throughout the Conference as Rapporteur of the Administrative and Financial Sub-Commission.

UNESCO MONTH

It had been decided by the Preparatory Commission that, concurrently with the Conference, there should run in Paris a series of celebrations, open to the public, and illustrating aspects of the culture of the countries participating in the Conference. The purpose of this UNESCO month was to generate local interest in the Organization and to provide a fitting background to the Conference. The celebrations included:—

Lectures on a variety of subjects by authorities of international standing.

An International Exhibition of Modern Art.

An International Scientific Exhibition.

An International Exhibition of Education. (The Education Department, with the assistance of the Miramar Studios and the High Commissioner's Office in London, prepared an exhibit for this, which received high praise from the press.)

A Festival of documentary, scientific, and educational films. (New Zealand contributed two documentary films, "Education Strikes Back" and "Housing in New Zealand.")

Celebration of Music, Drama, and Ballet.

A resolution adopted by the Conference on the future observance of UNESCO month recognized the value of these celebrations as a means of acquainting the general public of every country with the aims and achievements of UNESCO, and favoured celebrations at the national level, and the limitation of the "month" that accompanied the Conference to celebrations "on a non-extravagant and non-competitive scale" for which the host country should assume administrative and financial responsibility. Approval in principle for strictly limited co-operation by the Secretariat was also given, but the Conference was emphatic that the staff and funds available to the organization should not be diverted from vastly more important programme activities.

EVALUATION

We have in the course of this report already indicated our attitude towards those aspects of UNESCO and its programme of which

we feel critical or uncertain. We were by no means satisfied with the administrative organization as it was when we last saw it in operation; we felt that the relationship between the programme and the budget as presented was most unsatisfactory; and we were strongly of the opinion that the programme adopted by the Conference was too ambitious for an infant organization, and had not been sufficiently thought out in terms of ways and means.

It must be admitted, however, that these faults are very much what one would expect to find in any organization that had the whole world for its province, and that had to grow as quickly as UNESCO. We understand that steps have already been taken to remedy some of the defects we mention.

In spite of our criticisms, we left Paris with a deepened faith not only in the basic aims for which UNESCO stands, but also in the ability of the Organization, under wise guidance, to achieve those ends. Its Constitution we feel to be fundamentally sound, and we are particularly happy at the full equality granted both in letter and spirit to the smaller nations. We were impressed with the fire and imagination of the Director-General, and with the calibre of the Executive Board to which he will be directly responsible. The programme, although too extensive, contains all the projects that we consider most urgent and essential.

Finally, we see real hope in the appeal which UNESCO makes to the common people of the world. Like all the United Nations organizations, it needs the friendly co-operation of national Governments, but, more than any other, it depends for its final success upon the understanding of men and women in all walks of life in every member State. It offers to every man some creative task, however small, in the building of the defences of peace.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We should like to express our appreciation of the generous hospitality shown us by the French Government and by the French delegation to the Conference. May we acknowledge also the courtesy and kindness shown to us, the delegates of a very small country, by the delegates of all the nations with whom we had dealings, and by Dr Huxley and his staff.

ANNEX

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

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 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 Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational, scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

ARTICLE I

Purposes and Functions

1. The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through

education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

- 2. To realize this purpose the Organization will—
- (a) Collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;
- (b) Give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture;

by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities;

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 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 Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

ARTICLE II

Membership

1. Membership of the United Nations Organization shall carry with it the right to membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

- 2. Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organization and the United Nations Organization, approved pursuant to Article X of this Constitution, States not members of the United Nations Organization may be admitted to membership of the Organization upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the General Conference.
- 3. Members of the Organization which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United

Nations Organization shall, upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organization.

4. Members of the Organization which are expelled from the United Nations Organization shall automatically cease to be members of this Organization.

ARTICLE III

Organs

The Organization 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 representatives of the States Members of the Organization. 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 Organization. It shall take decisions on programmes drawn up by the Executive Board.
- 3. The General Conference shall, when it deems 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 Organization 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 Organizations.
- 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 purposes.
- 12. The General Conference shall cause arrangements to be made for public access to meetings, subject to such regulations as it shall prescribe.

F. 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 organizations, 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 Organization.
- 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 Organization, which shall have been previously submitted to the Board.
- 10. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organizations 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 re-appointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.
- 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 Organization. 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 Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their position as international officials. Each Member State of the Organization undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

6. Nothing in this Article shall preclude the Organization from entering into special arrangements within the United Nations Organization 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 Organization, 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 Organization and shall function as agencies

of liaison in all matters of interest to it.

3. The Organization 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 Organization 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 Organization.

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 Organization 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, requests, and subventions directly from governments, public and private institutions, associations and private

persons.

ARTICLE X

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

This Organization shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organization, as soon as practicable, as one of the specialized 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 Organization under Article 63 of the Charter, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the General Conference of this Organization. The agreement shall provide for effective co-operation between the two Organizations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognize the autonomy of this Organization, 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 Organization by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XI

RELATIONS WITH OTHER SPECIALIZED INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

- 1. This Organization may co-operate with other specialized intergovernmental organizations 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 organizations and agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective co-operation. Any formal arrangements entered into with such organizations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.
- 2. Whenever the General Conference of this Organization and the competent authorities of any other specialized inter-governmental organizations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the competence of this Organization, deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organization, the Director-General, subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for its purpose.

3. This Organization may make appropriate arrangements with other inter-governmental organizations for reciprocal representation

at meetings.

4. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organizations 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 organizations on advisory committees set up by the General Conference.

ARTICLE XII

LEGAL STATUS OF THE ORGANIZATION

The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization concerning the legal status of that Organization, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Organization.

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 Organization 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 twothirds 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 authorized 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.

[Here follow the signatures of the heads of the delegations.]

Approximate Cost of Paper. - Preparation, not given; printing (550 copies), £50.

By Authority: E. V. Paul, Government Printer, Wellington.—1947. Price 1s.]

