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REPORT
OF THE
UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE
18th SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE
OF UNESCO
Paris, France
October 18 - November 24, 1974

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

Submitted to the Secretary of State

by
Dr. R. Miller Upton
Chairman of the Delegation
April 2, 1975

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I. Introduction

The 18th session of the UNESCO General Conference opened at UNESCO Headquarters October 18 (Thursday), 1974, and ended at 10 p.m. November 23 (Saturday), 1974. The Conference was to have ended November 22, but was prolonged to complete consideration of an unusually heavy agenda containing many controversial political issues. The main purpose of the Conference was to review the Organization's draft detailed program and budget for 1975-76 (Document 18 C/5) and to establish the guidelines for the medium-term (1977-1982) program. To this end, the delegates approved an agenda (Appendix A) of 66 items, an increase of nine over that of the 17th session. We took the initiative in amending the Soviet-inspired item 12.1 to include the promotion of human rights in the language of the topic on "UNESCO's Contribution to Peace and its Tasks with Respect to the Promotion of Human Rights and the Elimination of Colonialism and Racism." The General Conference also took action on 486 draft resolutions. An additional 31 sessions were required to complete the work -- a record for a UNESCO General Conference!

134 member states (Appendix B) participated in the General Conference with the admission at this session of the Republic of San Marino and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (i.e. North Korea). Namibia (Southwest Africa) and Papua New Guinea were also admitted as associate member states. The Democratic People's Republic of Germany, manned by a youthful and well-trained team, participated for the first time. Portugal participated in this session for the first time since 1968 when it withdrew from UNESCO because of a sanction suspending all cooperation with Portugal in the fields of education, science, and culture because of its colonialist policies in Africa.

The U.S. Delegation consisted of 22 members, eight fewer than at the 17th session. Only eight out of the 22 were present throughout the duration of the Conference. Two other members had been appointed but were unable to attend. It was one of the smallest delegations sent to a UNESCO General Conference since 1964. It ranked 14th in size by comparison to other delegations as follows: France (63), Belgium (48), Italy (41), West Germany (35), Netherlands (33), Soviet Union (31), United Kingdom (31), Canada (30), Venezuela (26), Czechoslovakia (25), Sweden (24), Japan (24), Tunisia (23), and Kenya (23). Four other delegations had 20-22 members: Spain (22), Egypt (21), Poland (21), and Hungary (20).



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The Honorable Stephen H. Hess, Senior Fellow,
The Brookings Institution

The Honorable J. Roger Porter
Chairman, Microbiology Department
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U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable William E. Minshall
U.S. House of Representatives

**Senior
Advisers:** The Honorable Arthur Ross
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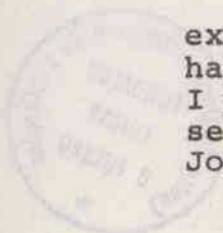
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What we lacked in size, however, we made up for in experience. Of the eight delegates and alternates, two had previous experience at a UNESCO General Conference. I myself served as an alternate delegate to the 16th session and Vice-Chairman at the 17th session. Mr. William Jones, served as Chairman to the 17th session. Four others,



by virtue of their positions on the National Commission for UNESCO or in professional organizations active in UNESCO's work, had previous exposure to UNESCO's business. I am gratified that so many delegates and alternates were selected from within the ranks of the National Commission. I strongly recommend the continuance of this policy in the future. The Delegation was particularly strong at the advisory level. Of the 11 advisers present, three had attended four previous General Conference sessions, and the others averaged two to five years of experience with UNESCO or other international organizations of the United Nations system. I would strongly urge that in the future, when reductions in the size of delegations are necessary, they not be made in the advisory level where the experience is necessary. On a number of occasions, especially during the discussion of controversial issues when it becomes necessary to team up, we were barely able to provide coverage of all the committees.

Finally, while I am honored to have served as Chairman of the Delegation, I question the wisdom of appointing private citizens in this capacity regardless of their familiarity with the subject matter at hand. In my judgment, the head delegate should be a government official, preferably one who is thoroughly familiar with the broad scope and complexity of issues affecting U.S. policy interests throughout the United Nations system. Even with the best of briefings and guidance, it is difficult for a private citizen to comprehend all the factors that enter into the formulation of specific policy, and, hence, to be able to negotiate from a position of strength with other countries. On a number of occasions, I felt obliged in good conscience to delegate my authority to others, while at the same time assuming ultimate responsibility. This places a delegation in a position of weakness vis-a-vis other delegations. I would urge that this matter be carefully studied prior to the next session of the General Conference.



II. Delegation's Approach to Assignment

In retrospect, I believe that the U.S. Delegation to the 18th session of the UNESCO General Conference was one of the best prepared in years. Months in advance of the session, a large number of National Commission members had participated in the preparation and formulation of a wide-range of position papers on both UNESCO's short and long-term programs. I am indeed indebted to them for their excellent contributions. I cannot emphasize too strongly the need for advance circulation of position papers to public members of the delegation, especially those concerning program matters.

We also received a full-day, substantive briefing by the State Department prior to our departure for Paris. It consisted of two parts: a review by senior Departmental officials of the major political, budgetary, and administrative problems before the conference, especially as these relate to other similar issues throughout the United Nations system; and private discussions with appropriate officers at the working level on items of particular concern to individual delegates. These sessions provided us with a general overview and instructive insight into the complexity of issues confronting U.S. delegations at international conferences. Our briefing in Washington was supplemented by a full-day presentation in Paris by the Secretary of the Delegation on the organization and workings of the General Conference. A briefing of this kind is absolutely indispensable, especially for the public members of the delegation; this one contributed much to the furtherance of our objectives. Finally, so as to put this knowledge into perspective, each member of the delegation was provided a copy of UNESCO and the U.S. National Interest, a statement by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO describing U.S. policy interests in UNESCO and the benefits derived from our membership therein over the past 27 years.

On the basis of these briefings, we were able to develop a general strategy. Although we strongly support the UNESCO ideal, we took the general view that our support is not for the Organization as an end in itself but rather as an instrument for achieving U.S. interests consistent with what Secretary of State Kissinger has



referred to as our commitment to the global community. This approach is premised on the belief that an altruistic goal incapable of practical achievement is merely a drain on limited resources. It means, inter alia, that we should continue to make our decisions about the increased use of UNESCO on the pragmatic basis of its relative effectiveness when compared with other instrumentalities available.

To this end, we attempted to take advantage of a turning point in UNESCO's history, the election of a new Director-General and the emergence of a new long-term planning concept, to stress the need for self-renewal and greater efficiency. As I said in my major policy speech before the assembly: "Every organization needs to undergo periodic self-examination and renewal if it is to remain faithful to its purpose. We feel it is necessary that the new Director-General and the new Executive Board institute such a process. Every program needs to be appraised on a careful cost-effectiveness basis. The work and the structure of the Organization need to be organized on the basis of the 18 C/4 or its equivalent. Planning, programming, and management by objective need to be vigorously pursued. The recommendations of the international team of professional management consultants need to be implemented more rapidly."

In our approach to the program (in the formulation of which the U.S. had played a major role) we followed guidelines set out in position papers in advance. Our comments were confined to those areas where we felt that programs were either ill-conceived and non-productive or with which we held strongly differing views. In so doing, we concentrated selectively on a limited number of program areas to which the U.S. attaches high priority -- social sciences, international women's year, free flow of information. We approached this task in the spirit that we had as much to offer as to gain from UNESCO. In this respect, we came prepared to announce a surprise offer of U.S. assistance in the field of cultural preservation as well as to identify specific UNESCO activities for implementation in the U.S. with UNESCO support.

We entered the conference on the assumption that the other 133 countries expected to derive something from it, and we were fully aware that what was a program priority for them might not necessarily be in accordance with U.S. views. We sought to gain respect for the U.S. for having an understanding ear as well as a persuasive voice and took the position that we were willing to consider any matter on its merits and to take the initiative, when there were differences of opinion, to seek constructive compromises in the interest of cooperation. However, we stood firm





on significant matters of principle and on matters where we perceived our interests to be at stake.

To the extent that we became involved in strictly political issues, it was as a response to initiatives of other delegations. Although program and politics are closely intertwined, we took the position that strictly political issues belong to the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council. On a number of occasions, I felt obliged, through my interventions and written communications to the Chairman of the conference, to emphasize that point. As I stated in my plenary address: "It is the conviction of our delegation that UNESCO, because of its distinctive constitutional mandate, is the most important of the agencies in the entire U.N. system in the quest for peace. For it is only through education and intellectual cooperation and development in the areas of science and culture that the evolutionary process of man can reach the stage of global development, world order, justice, and peace to which we are all dedicated. If, however, we are not faithful to our charge and fritter away our energies and resources on political matters extraneous to our basic purpose, competence, and influence, the future generations which we will have failed will have every right to hold us in contempt."

III. Organization of Conference

With the exception of an additional working group on the medium-term (1977-1982) plan, there were no major changes in the organization of the conference (Appendix C). The major organs thus were: the Plenary, five program commissions, one each for Education (Commission I), Natural Sciences (Commission II), Social Sciences, Humanities and Culture (Commission III), Mass Communications (Commission IV), Intersectorial Programs (Commission V), and the Administrative Commission; six committees (Credentials, Nominations, Legal, Resolutions, Headquarters, and General Committee of Plenary); and two permanent working groups on the general policy debate and on the medium-term plan. All in all, some 16 groups had to be monitored.

As the parent body of the General Conference, the plenary has a number of central functions:

(1) It certifies through the Credentials Committee the credentials of Member States. This often poses political problems because of challenges of credentials by delegations solely on political factors.

(2) It approves the slate of officers of the main organs listed above. This is done on the basis of a carefully established list drawn up at a session of the Executive Board (which is technically in session throughout the conference) immediately preceding the General Conference. Although the action in plenary is usually routine, the establishment of a politically balanced and professionally competent slate, which requires months of behind-the-scene negotiations, is of great importance in determining conference results. The officers of these commissions and committees, together with the President and 15 Vice-Presidents of the General Conference, constitute the General Committee of the Conference which meets regularly to organize and expedite the work of the General Conference. Although it is supposed to deal solely with procedural matters, it frequently discusses and decides substantive matters. As the Chairman of the U.S. Delegation, I served as one of the 15 Vice-Presidents.

(3) It establishes the budget ceiling in the early stages of the conference and approves an appropriation resolution at the end. The budget ceiling is most important because it determines in advance of their work how much the program commissions can spend and because it represents the first opportunity for Member States to effect changes in the total budget. The presentation of a major speech is required. My very brief speech (Appendix D) this time indicating that I was authorized to vote in favor of this compromise provisional budget brought spontaneous and enthusiastic applause from the floor.

(4) It serves as a forum for an overall review of UNESCO's policies, the main lines of which are synthesized and put together in a resolution by a drafting committee to serve as guidance for the Director-General and the Executive Board in the development and formulation of the long-term program. This requires the presentation of a policy statement by the Chairman of each delegation (Appendix E) a draft of which should be prepared in advance of the Conference.

(5) It discusses program matters, often of a political character, which do not fall within the purview of the commissions mentioned earlier.

(6) It elects new Member States to the Executive Board.

(7) It approves the decisions of the other commissions and committees. This is usually a rubber-stamp operation, but the occasion offers Member States an opportunity to reopen issues, especially controversial ones.



(8) It serves in its concluding phase as a platform for major policy pronouncements by spokesmen of the various geographic areas. These are usually short, official statements of a political character describing the reactions of the groups to the work and policy orientations of the General Conference and are intended for the record. The U.S. has traditionally alternated with Canada (which spoke at this session) in the performance of this task.

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The program commissions are the principal organs of the Conference, and it is here where the main work is accomplished. They have the responsibility for reviewing in depth the biennial program and budget (Document C/5). Delegates and alternates in charge of these commissions need be present for a maximum of two weeks, but the advisers assisting them may have to stay on longer especially when working groups are established or when it appears that issues of importance to the United States might be reopened in plenary. The program commissions are aided in their work by the Resolutions Committee which screens and makes recommendations on resolutions presented by member states aimed at effecting changes in the program. As such, it is one of the more important organs, and its work requires careful monitoring. We should make every effort to be represented on this Committee each time.

The Administrative Commission reviews the technical aspects of the budget (i.e. how it is put together), personnel policy, methods of work of the Organization, and management problems. Its work is complex and important since it touches on matters relating to the administration and efficiency of the Organization. Participation of at least one full-time officer, preferably from the Permanent Mission which regularly follows the work of this body throughout the biennium, is required.

The Nominations Committee establishes slates of candidates to fill vacant seats on the Executive Board and to serve on a number of standing committees of the General Conference (e.g. Legal and Headquarters Committees and Executive Committee of the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia) and on other bodies of a programmatic character (e.g. International Bureau of Education Council, UNISIST Steering Committee, International Coordinating Council of the Program on Man and the Biosphere, and Intergovernmental Council of the International Hydrological Program). Careful attention to the formulation of these slates is necessary because some of these committees play a key role in supervising the implementation of the Organization's programs. The work of the Nominations Committee is difficult to supervise or influence because the Committee is active at a time when almost all other bodies are in session and because the regional groups themselves caucus privately to determine their candidates for the above-mentioned bodies. Systematic lobbying both with key Secretariat officials and other like-minded delegations can be helpful, however.



The Legal Committee handles constitutional and legal matters, usually dealing with standards and norms. Much of its work is cut and dried, but, on occasion, as was the case at this session with the Palestine Liberation Organization issue, it handles thorny political problems. Knowledge of the Organization's regulations, an ability to marshal legal arguments in justification of a political position, and common sense are what is needed to monitor the work of this particular body.

The Headquarters Committee, which did not meet at this session, usually handles highly technical issues relating to the construction or maintenance of plant and equipment and the amortization of loans. In view of the budgetary implications of its work, the U.S. position on the Committee should be manned by a government official preferably from the Permanent Mission which regularly follows the work of this body throughout the biennium.

In view of the wide and diversified range of subject matter, the detailed nature of the review, and the establishment of a prolific number of ad hoc working groups (e.g. peace and colonialism, documentation, archives, and libraries, and international women's year) to thrash out thorny issues, the operation of the Conference worked smoothly. The only serious disruptions were those introduced by extraneous political issues. What few organizational problems there were stemmed largely from the inability of certain chairmen to guide effectively the work of the program commissions. This again underscores the necessity of selecting chairmen with demonstrated parliamentary skills and a sense of the pragmatic. The innovation of a separate working group to discuss the medium-term plan (about which more anon) proved very useful and should definitely be continued at the next session.

The Resolutions Committee did a particularly superb job in facilitating the work of the program commissions. It reviewed a total of 483 draft resolutions (DRs) -- an increase of 38% over that of the 17th session! As a result of its work, the Commissions were spared the time involved in discussions that led (a) to the withdrawal of 53 DRs; (b) to an agreement between the sponsors and the Secretariat in the case of 57 DRs so that the commissions could note those DRs without discussion; and (c) to the clarification of more than 80 DRs before referral to the Commissions. Unfortunately, we were too short-staffed to follow closely the work of this important body and had to depend largely on the cooperation of the Chairman and friendly delegations to keep us





informed on the status of the more politically-inspired resolutions. In this regard, the Department of State should give careful study at its earliest convenience to the conclusions and recommendations of the Resolutions Committee (Document 18 C/129) which proposed a preparatory procedure for the presentation of draft resolutions for the 19th session of the UNESCO General Conference.

IV. Work of Conference

A. Program Matters

Education (Commission I)

The education program for the 1975-1976 period is basically a continuation of that of the preceding biennium. It is directed in the main to: (a) assisting Member States to undertake a critical appraisal of their educational systems with a view to adopting sound national education policies responsive to the developmental and humanistic needs of their societies; (b) effecting qualitative changes through the reorganization of educational structures and institutions, propagation of new methods, and the rational use of education technologies with a view to improving curriculum content; and (c) training teachers and updating the skills of professional personnel in all fields within UNESCO's competence.

The U.S. Delegation endorsed in principle the scope and general thrust of the education program. We believe that it addresses the basic problems and needs of Member States and indicates the readiness of UNESCO to incorporate in its own processes a healthy respect for the forces of change that are causing the rethinking and restructuring of education the world over. During the discussions, we identified certain areas of the proposed program wherein the UNESCO Secretariat and professionals in the U.S. might cooperate in the strengthening of UNESCO's resources to meet the burgeoning needs of Member States.

(a) Lifelong Learning

The Delegation reaffirmed the U.S. position that maintains life-long learning should form the basis of all of UNESCO's efforts to assist Member States in restructuring and reforming their education systems. This concept, of far-reaching implications, is being promoted also in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, the Council of Europe, and other influential international organizations.

(b) Vocational and Technical Education

UNESCO's efforts to promote reform and change in education include the promotion of recommendations and conventions concerning

standards for Member States. The unanimous adoption by the conference of a revised Recommendation Concerning Technical and Vocational Education, to which U.S. experts had contributed, was an initiative which the U.S. warmly supported as we have been encouraging UNESCO to enlarge its activities in the field of vocational and technical education for some time. In calling upon UNESCO to reflect more substantially both the spirit and principles advocated in the Recommendation, we pointed out that vocational and technical education should not be limited to persons of non-academic interests, nor used as a device for reinforcing the stratification of society, but rather become an indispensable part of general education.

We also expressed our willingness to explore with UNESCO the possibility of joint sponsorship of an international conference on vocational and technical education in 1975 which we hope will lead to some practical measures for the further development of this field in many parts of the world.

(c) International Understanding and Education

Another recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation, and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Document 18C/24), to which our Delegation attached considerable importance, contains a body of fundamental education principles which are to serve as an ethical standard for Member States' education officials, school and university administrators, and various organizations with non-formal educational programs for young people and adults. The U.S. participated in the drafting of this Recommendation with two experts on the international committee of experts that met in the spring of 1974.

Conference action on this Recommendation took an unfortunate turn when an amendment was introduced by Peru that contained ideological language, purposely provocative and abusive, which detracted from the text of the drafting committee of governmental experts. It stated, inter alia, that "education should emphasize the true interests of peoples and their incompatibility with the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power which practice exploitation and foment war."

Efforts to dissuade Peru from pressing the vote on its amendment were of no avail; it carried by a vote of 32 for, 8 (US) against and 32 abstentions. In the time that intervened between the original vote and the consideration of the Education Commission report in plenary, the Scandinavian countries advanced an alternative draft resolution in place of the Peruvian amendment. However, opposition of the East European countries, Peru,





and several of the more militant African countries led to the defeat of the Scandinavian draft resolution: 37 (US) for, 39 against, and 17 abstentions. The final vote on the Recommendation was 76 for, 5 against (US, West Germany, Australia, France, and Canada) and 15 abstentions.

The Delegation had been prepared to vote for the Recommendation but felt compelled, as a matter of principle, to register its strong disapproval of the Peruvian amendment which, in its view, was totally out of place as part of the Recommendation.

(d) Pre-School Education

As a follow-up to an April 1973 UNESCO experts' meeting hosted by the University of Illinois in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Commission, and other interested groups, the U.S. Delegation put forth two specific suggestions for an expanded program in this field: (a) the preparation of an international compendium which would describe what the U.N. Specialized Agencies and other international organizations are doing to educate children and parents and would also identify universities, government agencies, and private research foundations that are interested and have experience in studying the child; and (b) the preparation of a series of cross-cultural comparative studies that explore and analyze how children are raised in their formative years in different cultures. These proposals were noted by the Secretariat but should be incorporated in the U.S. submission of innovations for the 1977-1978 Draft Program and Budget. Several other delegations also attached importance to pre-school education as a starting point in the process of lifelong education.

(e) Drug Education

As a follow-up to a major U.S. initiative at the 17th session of the General Conference calling upon UNESCO to formulate an expanded program in the field of drug abuse and education, the U.S. Delegation supported UNESCO's role in assisting Member States in the formulation of general principles of an educational policy conducive to the solution of problems connected with the use of drugs. We cautioned UNESCO to refrain from engaging in worldwide promotion and circulation of didactic materials (a policy which has proven ineffective and even counter-productive in the U.S.) and urged that it promote instead the development of interdisciplinary drug education programs focused on personal growth, increase in social competence, inter-personal communications, and self-esteem. Only a small number of developing countries spoke to this matter as UNESCO's proposed regional and sub-regional meetings for these areas have not yet taken place.



(f) Civic Education

As a follow-up to a National Commission initiative on civic education for community participation, the U.S. Delegation urged that UNESCO undertake as soon as possible the preparation of specific guidelines for a comparative study on civic and moral education in cooperation with the International Social Science Research Council. The Secretariat's response during 1975-1976 may depend on the availability of resources. Interventions by other delegations indicated an increasing interest by a number of countries. An Asian delegate, for example, announced the intention of his country to organize a series of regional seminars on moral and civic education in Asia beginning in 1975 in cooperation with the Asian Center of Educational Innovation for Development in Bangkok.

(g) Adult Education

There was extended debate on this topic and its place vis-a-vis lifelong education. The Scandinavian countries made a strong argument for preserving an independent status for adult education. Others thought it should be viewed in the total continuum of education. The Assistant Director-General favored an integrated approach which he suggested should be tried in the coming Biennium so that it might be evaluated and reviewed for the next General Conference. This idea prevailed.

(h) Youth

UNESCO's youth program gave rise to sharp expressions of dissatisfaction particularly by the delegations of Poland, Algeria, Ukraine and some Scandinavian countries, all of whom sought more militant types of activities for youth. The present program reflects a U.S. policy proposal advanced at the 17th Session which recommended a redirection of UNESCO's youth activities in order to intergrate them into the mainstream of all human development programs.

(i) United Nations University

The Under Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. C.V. Narasimhan, thanked UNESCO for its assistance in the establishment of the UNU. Most discussion revolved around a proposal submitted by India, Afghanistan, and Jamaica which urged that the UNESCO Director-General establish a special intersectoral unit to promote, coordinate, and execute programs and activities of common concern to UNESCO and the UNU. After extended debate, during which several delegations expressed their concern about insuring the autonomy of the University, the Assistant Director-General for Education urged that the Director-General's flexibility in dealing with the UNU should be preserved and the proposal was tabled.



Natural Sciences (Commission II)

The Natural Sciences program, which is the second largest in UNESCO after that of education, includes a number of long-standing activities of international scientific cooperation that have their own governing bodies. As such, they have a higher degree of focus than do many of UNESCO's other programs. The principal activities are: (a) the International Geological Correlation Program aimed at increasing mankind's knowledge about the geological composition and structure of each of the world's regions with a view to assessing new resources of minerals and energy required to support economic development; (b) the International Hydrological Program aimed at enriching man's knowledge about better management and utilization of the world's existing water supplies; (c) the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission aimed at fostering international cooperation and research on matters of common oceanographic concern to all nations; (d) a program, called UNISIST, aimed at facilitating the exchange of the world's rapidly expanding scientific and technological information; and (e) the Man and the Biosphere program aimed at developing within natural and social sciences the basis for man's rational use of the biosphere. UNESCO has also initiated a new activity on the human implications of scientific advance aimed at improving the dialogue among natural scientists, social scientists, and humanists concerning the moral and ethical questions associated with scientific advances in the contemporary world.

The U.S. serves as an active member on all the intergovernmental bodies which supervise UNESCO science programs. American citizens are also quite influential in the international non-governmental scientific organizations that continuously provide guidance and direction to the programs mentioned above. Initiatives desired by the U.S. are generally introduced through these bodies. Therefore we had no major initiatives to introduce in the science commission at this session of the General Conference. Our principal objectives were to support the decisions of the governing bodies, minimize the intrusion of political issues, and discourage expansion of existing programs. We essentially achieved these objectives.

Together with the united support of other donor countries, we succeeded in postponing the implementation of a new project to establish a central processing group for the exchange of world literature relating to science and technology policies (SPINES) pending the outcome of an intergovernmental experts meeting in 1975-1976. In our view and that of some 13 other delegations, the SPINES system appears too costly and complex in relation to its proposed objectives which we believe can be better achieved through existing communication channels at the bilateral and multilateral levels.



A Draft Recommendation Concerning the Status of Scientific Researchers, exhorting Member States to take the necessary measures to improve working and salary conditions for scientists, was approved with only editorial changes. It is oriented towards the problems of researchers in developing countries which suffer from inadequate financial and administrative support. The recommendation also contains principles pertaining to the civic and ethical aspects of scientific and technical research.

The science commission approved the new International Hydrological Program (IHP) as a successor program to the International Hydrological Decade which was the result of a U.S. initiative 10 years ago.

The program decisions of the Third Session of the International Coordinating Council of the Man and the Biosphere program were unanimously approved by the delegates. This session was held in Washington, D.C. in September 1974 under the co-hostship of the State Department and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.

Except for a Peruvian resolution concerning the rights of coastal states, issues pertaining to the Law of the Sea Conference were kept out of the discussions on the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission.

Although the Chinese Delegation raised the question of continuing Taiwan representation in the International Council of Scientific Unions, it did not press, as we feared it might, for the suspension of UNESCO subvention (\$560,000 a biennium) to this prestigious scientific non-governmental organization.

One troublesome issue was the long-standing dispute between two parts of the UNESCO Secretariat vying for control over assistance to developing countries in the field of scientific documentation. From the U.S. viewpoint, the more important issue is the organization of UNESCO's information program such as UNISIST, DARE, (a computer-based data retrieval system) and activities in the Department of Documentation, Libraries and Archives (DBA). After protracted and often emotional discussions, further obfuscated by certain members of the UNESCO Secretariat, it was agreed to refer the organization of information programs to a group of external experts who will report during the 1975-1976 biennium. This decision is one we had wanted from the outset. Pending resolution of this matter, DBA projects assisting developing countries in science information were transferred to UNISIST. Proper resolution of this problem deserves the close attention of the U.S. Mission to UNESCO.

Although we achieved by and large our main objectives, the U.S. representatives on this Commission were handicapped by the lack of a science adviser from the U.S. Permanent Mission -- a position which had previously existed but which was abolished in January 1974 because of economy measures. I would strongly urge the State Department to consider appointing a science attaché to this post. The American scientific community has an important stake in what UNESCO does in the field of international science, and we need to monitor its activities more closely.

Social Sciences (Commission III)

In contrast to our low-profile approach on the natural science program, we adopted a leadership position on the social sciences program. Since the early 1960s, when the United States made a major push to involve UNESCO more heavily in the international promotion and development of the social sciences, we have been an active partner in the formulation and execution of the department's programs. Indeed, until recently, American scholars have served as directors of the Department of Social Sciences, and, in so doing, have provided distinguished leadership and direction.

The proposed program, with some modification, is largely a reflection of their handiwork and contains three main thrusts. The first aims to build up social science facilities, especially in Asia and Africa, within a system of international cooperation. The second thrust is focused on strengthening the role of research as a more effective instrument of planning. In this connection, special emphasis will be placed on organizing work on program evaluation in cooperation with the other sectors of the UNESCO program and on extending research on socio-economic indicators of development. The third thrust is directed towards increased emphasis of the applied social sciences as they relate to the world's problems of population, human rights and peace, environment, drug abuse, and development.

In view of the foregoing, our main objective was to sustain the momentum of previous years in achieving for the social sciences a more central function within all of UNESCO's programs. To this end, we submitted our own resolution (DR-224) requesting the General Conference to assign a high priority to the social sciences for the next decade and authorizing the Director-General to consider ways and means of integrating the social sciences both thematically and organically into the Organization's medium-term plan. The motion carried in Commission III by a substantial vote of 57-1-2, with Cuba casting the lone vote against. The outcome reflects in large measure the increasing importance UNESCO's





Member States attach to the role of the social sciences in the socio-economic development process.

One of the main themes emerging from the discussion in which some 34 countries took part was the need for greater concentration of activities in the social sciences. In our view, shared by the delegations of the Philippines, Canada, and France, UNESCO has yet to sort out those programs most susceptible to investigation by the social sciences that can best be handled by an international organization with its unique advantages, from those that can be undertaken by other types of organizations such as the International Council of Social Sciences (which now groups under one entity all the social science non-governmental organizations formerly affiliated with UNESCO independently), universities, and research centers. This is a problem which the American social science community might wish to investigate. So long as projects in the applied social science section of the UNESCO program remain inadequately funded, there is little realistic expectancy that UNESCO can make a meaningful contribution either to the advancement of knowledge or to the solutions of large-scale perplexing social problems.

The Social Science program for 1975-76 contains one new item on "Man in his Environment - Human Settlements". This program is aimed at encouraging and promoting policies and practices designed to preserve and enhance the quality of the human environment as an essential element of the quality of life. It will emphasize work on population and environmental interaction, intensify efforts to make the World Heritage Convention more operational, and focus on urbanism and on the proper ways to harmonize historic city centers with modern urban settings. We share the concerns underlying these objectives and activities, but expressed our misgiving lest the program develop a life of its own independent of the more firmly established UNESCO Man and the Biosphere program. For this reason, we submitted another resolution (DR-225, adopted by a vote of 36-3-16) aimed at relating the activities above more closely to the social science and cultural components of the MAB program.

Culture (Commission III)

During the past two years the United States has taken an active interest in UNESCO's cultural work and contributed substantially to the formulation of the proposed cultural program for 1975-76. This is due primarily to efforts of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO to involve the American cultural community more directly in UNESCO's cultural programs. On the basis of these preparations, the U.S. Delegation was able to

stake out those portions of the proposed program of interest to non-governmental organizations and federal agencies alike and to identify potential troublesome spots.

(a) Cultural Studies

This section of the cultural program, one of the oldest in UNESCO, is aimed at improving man's understanding of contemporary social phenomena and problems in various regions of the world. The interdisciplinary and cross cultural studies are focused on mutual appreciation of cultures in their diversity as a basis for international understanding and cultural cooperation and on recognition of cultural identity as a strong factor in independence and regional solidarity. A number of projects are earmarked for implementation in the United States in 1975-76 including a symposium on "Cultural Innovation in Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies"; a colloquium on "Revisiting America with Tocqueville"; and the preparation of an international exhibition with the Guggenheim Museum depicting current trends in artistic creation in a highly industrialized society.

The proposed study on cultural innovations was the subject of special criticism by the delegations of West Germany and Denmark (speaking on behalf of the other Scandinavian countries) which sought to reduce UNESCO's financial assistance and to restrict its role to providing only the international framework for the project. In the ensuing discussions, it appeared that our Scandinavian friends were laboring under an erroneous assumption that the study in question was intended as a national monograph depicting contemporary cultural life in America. The U.S. Delegation explained in a forceful intervention that the subject of investigation was rather the impact of technology on cultural development and innovation, that the US, as a highly industrialized country, had been selected for initial survey, and that the intention was to internationalize the project during the coming biennium. In light of these explanations and as a result of the strong support received from the delegations of France, Yugoslavia, Japan, German Democratic Republic, and the Soviet Union, Denmark withdrew (DR-210).

(b) Cultural Development

This section deals in the main with problems relating to research into the economic and administrative aspects of national cultural policies, training of cultural administrators, artistic creation and cultural communication, the promotion of financing cultural development on a global scale, and to increased popular





participation in the cultural life of nations through the preparation and promulgation of international standards. We expressed our willingness to cooperate with UNESCO in its program on training cultural administrators of vision and artistic sensibilities who can deal constructively with such critical challenges as that of cultural heritage and modernization, cultural pluralism, and the impact of technology and industrial development. The UNESCO Secretariat assured us that it would welcome a more active U.S. involvement in this area. We also offered to host a UNESCO symposium on "The Role of the Arts in Life-Long Education" which the National Commission intends to organize.

The establishment of an international Cultural Fund posed us problems, however. The basic idea behind the project, originated by the Jamaican Government at the intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative, and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies in Venice in September 1970, is the creation of an international mechanism which would enable countries to obtain capital at low interest rates for the promotion of artistic creation and cultural development much in the same manner as is presently done for the development of economic projects. As a testimony to the interest which many countries attach to this potential funding source, the delegate of Togo called for a vote by acclamation, and the Chairman (Colombian) acquiesced before giving other delegates an opportunity to respond to the Togolese motion. This generated a lengthy debate on parliamentary procedure resulting in a recount and the subsequent approval of the establishment of the fund within UNESCO by a vote of 63-0-11 (US, UK, Sweden, Thailand, Egypt, Australia, Poland, New Zealand, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR). Although we are sympathetic with the concerns underlying its establishment, we abstained on the grounds that its aims and objectives are not sufficiently clear and that a favorable vote might be interpreted by others as a financial commitment on the part of the U.S. Government which we are unable to make.

The U.S. Delegation also expressed its opposition to the preparation of a Draft Recommendation on Democratic Access to Culture which carried by a vote of 64-5-15. The discussions in which some 20 delegations participated reflected agreement on the importance of the subject, but considerable differences of opinion on the effectiveness of such an instrument. In view



of the foregoing, it is questionable whether the recommendation (which was vigorously pursued by the USSR and the East European countries) should be prepared at all. This project deserves close attention by the US Permanent Delegation. It represents an excellent example of the way rhetoric ("democratic access", etc.) was often used throughout the Conference to obfuscate an issue for political gain. Voting on the merits of an issue is complicated by the danger of seeming to endorse authoritarian or imperialistic designs.

(c) Cultural Heritage

This section, which places particular emphasis on the development of museums and the preservation of cultural monuments, is one in which the U.S. has long had a continuing interest. The U.S. Delegation took the initiative in the opening discussions to announce the contribution of \$1,000,000 in US-owned Egyptian pounds to the international Campaign to save the Monuments of Nubia. This is the second contribution of equal amount the US Government has made to the preservation of Philae since June 1974. We also expressed our interest in hosting a UNESCO-sponsored inter-governmental meeting to prepare a draft recommendation on the preservation of historic quarters, towns and sites in a modern environment. This activity is of particular interest to the US Department of Housing and Urban Development, the National Historic Trust Council, the Smithsonian Institution, and the National Commission for UNESCO.

The Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, a US-originated proposal which was endorsed by the UN Stockholm Conference on the Environment in June 1972 and is now being carried out by UNESCO, was the subject of considerable attention. Ecuador, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia announced their government's decision to ratify the Convention, and the Delegations of France, Jordan, and Tanzania indicated the intention of their governments to do the same in the near future. This now brings the total ratifications to 12 (Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Egypt, Iraq, Nigeria, Sudan, USA, and Zaire). Eight more accessions are needed to make the Convention operative. The Convention provides essentially for the establishment by a World Heritage Committee of lists of two kinds of properties: those belonging to the natural or cultural heritage which the Committee considers as having outstanding universal value (i.e. World Heritage List) and those comprising properties in the World Heritage List threatened by serious or specific dangers (i.e. List of World Heritage in Danger). The purpose of the two lists is to preserve the Convention's balance between natural and cultural areas.





Communications (Commission IV)

The communications program, which is essentially service oriented, embraces activities on the free flow of information, communications research, book development, public information, statistics, and the development of libraries, archives, and documentation services. Throughout the years the United States has actively contributed to the work of this program.

The key issue in this forum is UNESCO's role in the promotion of free flow of information. The traditional Western concept has come under increasing attack by the developing nations since the adoption in 1972 of the UNESCO's Declaration of Guiding Principles for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education, and Greater Cultural Exchange. The development of sophisticated and more powerful forms of communications technology has produced fears among many countries that the new media will be used as tools of "cultural imperialism." Moreover, as they see it, there is an imbalance in the flow of news and information owing to the lack of access to the means of communication. Underlying this view, which is skillfully manipulated by the Soviet Union and East European countries, is a feeling of national pride and cultural identity. Their response has been to place UNESCO at variance with its own constitutional objectives on free flow by pressing for the adoption of international standards designed to impose restrictions on the uses of the media.

While we recognize that there is a disproportionate flow of news and information between the more developed and less developed countries, we took the position that the way to redress the situation is not through the adoption of international covenants restricting the free flow of information but rather through the planning and design of appropriate communication systems and the training of qualified personnel. As an indication of our willingness to be of assistance, we described at some length the practical uses of the experimental Applications Technology Satellite (ATS - 6 launched on May 30, 1974) and indicated the readiness of the U.S. Government to share with all governments the information as it becomes available through the lifetime of the project. Further, to the extent that they fell within the proposed budget ceiling, we supported all draft resolutions from the developing countries calling for additional assistance to build up their communications structures.



We were only partially successful in these efforts. Unfortunately, a good portion of the funds originally intended for the projects mentioned above will be used to finance an intergovernmental meeting of experts in 1975-76 to prepare a Draft Declaration on Fundamental Principles on the Role of the Mass Media in Strengthening Peace and International Understanding and in Combating War, Propaganda, Racism, and Apartheid -- a project submitted by the Soviets at the 1972 General Conference. Although we attempted to delete this project as well, we sided with our European allies in stalling for time so as to allow government experts an opportunity to study the draft declaration in more detail. In retrospect, this was a wise decision since the Soviets and East Europeans had tabled some ten amendments and had initially favored establishment of a working group to approve the draft at this session. The Commission also approved by a close vote a project calling for the formulation of international guidelines for national codes of ethics for the mass media (originally submitted by India) despite the objections of several countries including the U.S. and a motion to delete it. However the project was partly crippled by the decision of the Secretariat to postpone the holding of an experts meeting until the 1977-78 biennium to prepare the guidelines.

Related to the issue of imbalance in access to the means of communication was the Indian draft resolution (18 C/DR 152 Rev. 2) calling for the launching of a UNESCO appeal for remedial action in the form of efforts to give preferential treatment to countries most affected by the lack of newsprint. The Indian Minister of Information had made a special trip to Paris to introduce the item. At the heart of the resolution was a provision to establish a world paper bank to meet urgent educational and cultural needs particularly of the developing countries. While we conceded the importance and urgency of the problem, the U.S. and other countries took the position that the Food and Agricultural Organization was a more appropriate forum for a discussion of this issue. Following several abortive attempts to modify the resolution to minimize UNESCO's role, it carried by a vote of 38-0-22 (US). The Indian delegate explained his concept of a world paper bank as a monitoring operation for the world supply of paper bulk and newsprint and not as an allocations operation, and the Secretariat announced it would contribute \$20,000 to implement the resolution. In retrospect, it would appear that our position on this issue was overly defensive and unconstructive. The matter is clearly of priority concern to UNESCO, which has an important mandate in education (e.g. production of textbooks) and communication (e.g. promotion of free flow of information and ideas), and we should have been in a position to make some positive suggestions as to what might be done within



the UN system to ameliorate the problem. The Department should give this matter further study; the concern will not abate -- not should it.

The U.S. Delegation also focused its attention on two other areas of the mass communications program: book development and public information. In our view, the book program which seeks to establish national and regional book centers in the developing countries to help foster the promotion of the reading habit is a model of excellence. Other countries, led by Egypt, shared this view too and, as evidence of their enthusiastic support, completely revamped the proposed resolution in the draft program and budget to reflect more accurately the accomplishments of this program to date. The U.S. Delegation indicated the interest of the American private sector in organizing an international symposium on the "Right to Read".

We also took the position that the time had come to examine the structure and functions of UNESCO's information services which have undergone few changes since 1948 despite the expansion of UNESCO's membership and the innovations that have taken place in the media field. For this reason, we initiated DR-361, co-sponsored by France, Belgium, New Zealand, and Finland designed to give the public information functions a more central place within the Organization's structure. The resolution encountered some initial resistance from the Assistant Director-General for Mass Communications, but the outcome is entirely satisfactory to the United States since the Director-General is obliged to study the matter and submit a report to the 98th session of the Executive Board.

Intersectoral Programs (Commission V)

(a) Human Rights and Peace

The proposed program on human rights and peace consists of a variety of activities designed inter alia to: increase UNESCO's participation in the UN Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; contribute to the planning and promotion of International Women's Year; further the advancement of the teaching of international law; stimulate research to further realization of human rights in new or neglected fields (e.g. science and technology); and conduct research investigations into the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

While the United States has long been a strong supporter of UNESCO's human rights activities, we believe the proposed program lacks vitality and impact and offered a number of



suggestions aimed at reshaping its future orientation. First, greater emphasis should be given to applied human rights research, the aim of which would be to study the obstacles encountered by and the effectiveness of various educational programs and promotional techniques being used in the human rights field. As an illustration, we cited the need to study the effectiveness of certain educational techniques for combatting racial, sexist, religious, and ethnic discrimination. Second, greater emphasis should be given to curriculum reform and to the teaching of human rights, particularly at the primary and secondary school levels where the student body is proportionately larger. This would involve the preparation and promotion of new instructional manuals containing pedagogical materials to enable teachers to implement the pertinent provisions of the myriad number of already existing UN Agency covenants in the human rights field. Thirdly, we proposed the view that the new United Nations University give consideration to the establishment of a human rights documentation center to gather and publicize information relating to national and international measures, programs, and projects having as their aim the eradication of racial discrimination. The resources of such a center might be utilized to draft model anti-discrimination legislation, to serve as a clearinghouse for human rights research data, and possibly also to train human rights specialists.

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

The U.S. Delegation was one of the few to offer constructive suggestions which were well received by the Secretariat. In the main, most delegations, while giving credence to the importance of human rights and peace, chose to raise narrow political concerns stressing the need for greater UNESCO action in the fields of: liberation movements (Guinea, Namibia, Algeria); multinational corporations (Algeria, Peru and Senegal); migrant workers (Italy, West Germany, Congo, Ethiopia); and colonialism and "peaceful co-existence" (USSR and Eastern Europe). The Soviet Union, supported by Eastern Europe continues to use human rights for propaganda purposes. Much of the Commission's time was spent trying to emasculate a Soviet resolution (18 C/DR 356) the content of which was so propagandistic that the Secretariat will be unable to interpret or implement it. It is precisely because of the nature of these interventions that we had seeded into the proposed program a provision for the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Human Rights consisting of outside experts. However, even this was dropped in favor of an in-house intersectoral committee, despite support for our proposal from Tanzania, Congo, Niger, Switzerland, and Senegal. Our efforts failed largely as a result of opposition from the USSR and Eastern Europe and criticism by the delegates of France, Sweden and Finland.





One decision which requires careful follow-up by the Department is the proposal by Algeria to have UNESCO transfer sufficient funds from other areas of the program to convene a working group to discuss the implications and relevance of a UN report on multinational corporations for UNESCO's work. Whatever recommendations appear will be the subject of debate at the 19th session of the General Conference.

(b) International Women's Year

One of the major U.S. contributions to the work of this session was the submission of an omnibus resolution (DR/C/Plen/DR 4 Rev 2) and an illustrative plan of action aimed at strengthening UNESCO's role to improve the status of women. The initiative reflects the U.S. Government's growing concern about the need to improve the status of women at home and abroad and is supportive of our foreign policy interests, particularly the Percy amendment (named for its sponsor, Senator Percy of Illinois) to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, which requires that all U.S. bilateral development assistance programs of the Agency for International Development give particular attention to integrating women into the national economies of foreign countries. A total of three months of planning by a task force of the National Commission, which was advised by some 30 different officials and representatives from Government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and academia, went into the preparation of the action plan and resolution for presentation to the General Conference in five foreign languages.

Underlying the moral and humanistic concerns of the resolution is our conviction that the integration of women into the development process like the planning and implementation of the development process itself, requires a unified, interdisciplinary, and multilateral approach which UNESCO by virtue of its mandate can and should provide within its fields of competence. The resolution is a commitment by governments to act themselves to promote participation of women on an equal basis with men into social and economic development, as well as a call upon UNESCO to do so. To this end, the resolution invites governments to prepare programs designed to integrate women into development, drawing, if they wish, in the design of such programs, upon UNESCO's consultative services in its fields of competence.

In addition, the resolution calls upon the Director-General of UNESCO to, among other things, (1) establish standards in collaboration with other UN organizations for the collection and reporting of data on the role and situation of women in UNESCO's fields of competence and to make provision in UNESCO's



long-term program for the collection of such information; (2) assist member states, upon request, in preparing national strategies, programs and projects in UNESCO's fields of competence for the participation of women in the economic, social, and cultural fabric of national life, directed toward the achievement of maximum human potential; and (3) provide in the comprehensive UNESCO personnel plan including the specification of goals, strategies and timetables, for the equitable participation of women in the program staff, decision-making and administrative functions of the UNESCO Secretariat, taking into account UNESCO's requirements for highly qualified personnel and appropriate geographical distribution.

Over a three-week period, the U.S. Delegation in cooperation with the Colombian delegation, arranged on their own initiative five informal working group sessions involving representation from some 35 countries to ready the resolution for discussion in plenary. In the process, we acquired 25 co-sponsors (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dahomey, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Jamaica, Lebanon, Liberia, New Zealand, Philippines, Poland, USSR, Yugoslavia, Ghana, Venezuela, India, and Japan). The resolution as anticipated, underwent many modifications during the group sessions, but the final resolution basically bears the American imprint. Because the interests and sensitivities of almost a quarter of UNESCO's membership had been accommodated by the time the item reached the plenary, the resolution passed unanimously with only one abstention (Saudi Arabia). The performance was an illustration of American democratic practice at its best, and our leadership role was commended by the Secretariat and other delegates. In our view, the resolution provides a solid basis upon which to build programs, but its implementation requires persistent follow-up.

(c) Medium-Term Planning

One of the most important items at this session was UNESCO's approach to medium-term planning. Document 18 C/4 "Analysis of Problems and Table of Objectives to be Used as a Basis for Medium-Term Planning (1977-1982)" is a culmination of almost two years of work by the Secretariat. It is a response to the growing concern throughout the governing bodies and secretariats of the UN system for the need for the clear definition of objectives, a better selection of priorities, the evaluation of results achieved, and a better match between the calls for action by the organizations and the paucity of financial resources available to them. UNESCO was one of the first UN organizations to adopt





a biennial program and budget growth and programs beyond the immediate two-year biennial budget period.

Following four sessions and comments by 42 Member States on methodology and substance in Commission V, a twenty-five member working group consisting of a serious collection of experienced people was established to study Document 18 C/4 and to define objectives, methodology, and processes which should lead to a better UNESCO. After a great deal of mutual accommodation, the working group was able to find common ground to reach a unanimous decision regarding draft language to propose to the Program Commission and subsequently to the plenary. Other than early US-USSR arguments over the relative priority of human rights or peace, rights of individuals or human rights, and over cultural and moral pollution, there were remarkably few differences of opinion.

The most active members of the working group, commenting and making recommendations on almost every methodological and substantive point, were Canada, Egypt, France, Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, and the United States. Members which tended to make forceful interventions in a few selected points were Brazil, on better management and programming; Colombia on rural development; Ethiopia on role of women, rural development and human rights; Jamaica and Iran on a new economic and social order; the Philippines on problems of human motivation in relation to development and on population; and the USSR on cultural pollution and preference for rights of peoples and for peace between nations rather than human rights.

The countries which seemed to have the most comprehensive and best thought-out positions were Canada, France, Netherlands, Scandinavians, USSR, and the United Kingdom. In most of these cases their national commissions had been instrumental in following and analyzing the work of the Secretariat as it prepared and presented the 18 C/4 document. In some instances, the national commissions of these countries (Canada, France, and the U.K., for example) went through the exercise of doing their own analysis of world problems in UNESCO's areas of competence and laying out objectives as they saw them, reaching accommodations between their own compelling special interest groups in the various sectors, in much the same way that UNESCO has had to do itself. This permitted them to speak eloquently and pointedly to the document, even though their results tended not to be too different from those of UNESCO.



In the case of the U.S., the guidance given to the Delegation was to improvise positions drawing on past U.S. concerns with the substantive proposals and on a continuing desire for better planning, programming, and management in UNESCO. The Delegation also had access to the unprocessed and undifferentiated but thoughtful views and suggestions from various U.S. Government agencies and individual members of the National Commission. The guidelines which the Delegation drew up for itself for these discussions were to: (a) concentrate future activities in a limited number of actionable areas; (b) select well defined criteria for choosing objectives and activities and for setting priorities; (c) strengthen the planning, programming, and execution functions of the Secretariat through a more effective assessment approach and a timely management information system; (d) strengthen the role of the governing council and establish a process for a meaningful dialogue with the Director-General in preparing future planning and programming documents; (e) include objectives of special interest to the U.S. such as status of women, rural development, population, and environment; and (f) avoid objectives not in U.S. interests such as the Soviet emphasis on peace themes taking precedence over human rights of individuals under the rubric of human rights; the addition of moral and cultural pollution as new problems; and restrictions to free flow of information.

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

Almost every point which the Delegation wanted was included and most issues not in the U.S. interests were either avoided or worded in such a way to make them acceptable. This was an example of the U.N. functioning at its best -- no rhetoric, no diversion into extraneous political issues, and consensus through mutual and meaningful agreement. The following four U.S. programmatic themes found particular response from developing and developed countries alike: (a) integrated rural development (Colombia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, and Tanzania); (b) special needs of the 25 least developed countries (Burundi, Dahomey, Ethiopia, and Tanzania); (c) integration of women into the development process (Canada, Ethiopia, Jamaica, Norway, and the Philippines); and (d) improved management, planning and program effectiveness (Brazil, Canada, Ethiopia, Italy and Norway). On this last point, there was some support as well from the delegates of France, Netherlands, Switzerland, and the UK, but these four countries were very cautious in expressing strong views about better management to the new Director-General.

The outcome of these deliberations is a sharper delineation of four program areas, ten problems, and thirty-seven objectives (Appendix F) seventeen objectives were identified as having particular importance, thus making the decision on priorities which the General Conference had requested. The new order of



problem areas in terms of priority is human rights and peace, development of man and society, balance and harmony of man and nature, and communication between people and exchange of information. Although everyone agreed that human rights and peace should have top priority, the problem of development has clearly emerged as the dominant concern of the Organization in terms of magnitude of efforts and of concentration of resources. Of the seventeen particularly important objectives, fourteen are development-related

B. Budget and Administrative Matters

(a) Budget

The U.S. Delegation faced a difficult budgetary decision at the outset of the Conference. When the draft program and budget for 1975-1976 was first issued in April 1975, the cost of the total budget was \$155,000,000. This figure was based on a growth rate of 5.9%, a decrease of 2.1% from the eight percent which the 17th session had requested the Director-General to use as a working hypothesis. In July, Director-General Maheu raised his proposed earlier ceiling to \$169,664,000 ascribing the need for the increase to the depreciation in the value of the U.S. dollar vis-a-vis the French franc, the acceleration in the annual rate of inflation, and a consequent increase in salary adjustments for the General Service staff at Headquarters. In September and October, he proposed still another increase to \$173,517,000 owing to further depreciation and inflation and to provisions for the accelerated use of Arabic and Chinese (\$867,000) languages and for the establishment and operation of an international fund for the promotion of culture (\$84,000). Prior to the Conference, a working group of the Executive Board (i.e. UNESCO's governing council) had wrenched out of the developing country representatives a hard-fought consensus recommendation reducing the Director-General's proposal to \$169,992,000 -- a decrease of \$4,392,000. The reduction was arrived at largely by pruning the overall growth rate back to three percent. The General Conference thus had two proposals before it.

For years the U.S. has had a long-standing disagreement with the Director-General on budgetary and other matters. We have been tough on UNESCO's budget in the past because we consider the Organization's budgetary and management practices and actions have warranted this severe attitude particularly at a time when governments everywhere have had to undergo substantial cutbacks in domestic spending. Maheu, for his part, claims that he has been



financially and fiscally responsible. As evidence, he points (as he did at this session) to the fact that UNESCO's growth rate during the past 14 years has been lower than the total average of all the U.N. Specialized Agencies. Moreover, UNESCO's regular budget expenditures as a proportion of the total expenditures of all Specialized Agencies has decreased and, in the case of the total U.N. system expenditures, remained essentially stable.

In the last analysis, we had few options. We voted to support the compromise figure because it represented some economies, because we wanted to support the compromise budget and thereby give evidence of our support of the consensus effort, and because we wanted to strengthen the hand of the new Director-General for whom we were the first to declare support. As we stated in plenary, "We are also conscious that the Organization is about to embark upon a new period in its history and under a new leadership, both of which we feel require an exceptional effort and gesture of support from the United States. Because of these factors and despite our continuing concern with many fundamental elements of the Organization's budgetary and program management, we are pleased to announce that the United States is ready to support the budgetary ceiling of \$169.9 million."

(b) Assessments

Our inability to effect an even further reduction in the UNESCO budget is offset somewhat by the decision (71-0-11) to lower the maximum contribution of a Member State to 25%. The reduction from 29.41% means that our contribution to the UNESCO budget for the next biennium will be in the order of \$19.4 million per year. The difference of 4.41% is to be offset by contributions of newly admitted Member States and by higher contributions from other Member States, most notably those of Western Europe and Asia. This rankled the delegations of Japan, West Germany, and the Netherlands which heatedly disputed the Secretariat's pay scale assessment calculations in the Administrative Commission and even threatened to reopen the issue in plenary. The decision, which now brings UNESCO's scale of assessments into line with that of the U.N., came about as a result of U.S. congressional pressure to impose a 25% limitation in U.S. contributions to most of the international organizations (Public Law 92-554 of October 25, 1972).

(c) Arrearages

At the 17th session, the Soviet Union, in connection with the reduction of the Chinese assessment, pushed through a resolution calling for the suspension of Articles 4.3 and 4.4 of the Financial Regulations as they apply to apportionment and surrender of budgetary surpluses and for the establishment of a special account to which budgetary surpluses would be transferred until



the deficit had been payed. Their strategy was to avoid having to pay, as other countries had agreed to do voluntarily, an extra prorated assessment. The U.S. and other countries objected in principle to this position on grounds that a suspension of the Organizations's rules of procedure requires a vote by two-thirds of the members present and voting and not by a simple majority. At this session, the USSR, backed by Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Ukraine, proposed continuance of the special account (which still showed a deficit of \$944,270 as of October 31, 1974), and, this time, the decision was upheld by a two-thirds vote in plenary 56 (Soviets, Arabs, and Asians) - 12 (US, Argentina, Brazil, and other Latin American countries) - 36 (Western Europe and Africa). The outcome, although legal, means that countries (including the U.S.) that have paid up their extra assessments are being deprived of the benefit of UNESCO's surpluses which are normally apportioned among paid-up Member States but which are now being used to reduce the Soviet Arrearages of about \$1.7 million. The large number of abstentions on the matter of important principle appears to reflect the uneasiness of these Member States to oppose the USSR and the People's Republic of China and the more general feeling that this issue, with perceived political overtones, was best not reopened.

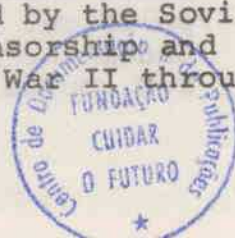
(d) Language Proliferation

The increasing proliferation in the use of foreign languages throughout the U.N. system threatens to bring about a financial collapse if not arrested in time. At this session, the Arab delegations pressed for implementation in 1975 of Arabic simultaneous interpretation and translation of documents in all UNESCO intergovernmental meetings in which there are Arab participants. Had such a resolution been adopted, it would have cost an additional estimated \$2.3 million over and above the cost already foreseen for the use of Arabic in meetings of the Executive Board and General Conference. Following a protracted and emotional debate in which the Arab delegations publicly and privately rejected our "pay-for-what-you-use" policy, a compromise was reached whereby Arabic will be given the same status as the other U.N. working languages as of January 1977. The Conference also adopted a resolution submitted by Spain and supported by Venezuela and other Latin American countries calling for the same treatment for Spanish as for Arabic. The Latin American and Arab interventions were characterized by stress on the sensitivities involved in gaining "dignity", "cultural identity", and "nondiscriminatory treatment." It was also clear from their reticence that the big donor countries, including the Soviets, are unwilling to pay the political price for opposing language proliferation in UNESCO. Under the circumstances, it appears highly doubtful that sole U.S. opposition can stem the tide,

C. Other Issues

Although politics has always intruded into the sessions of UNESCO General Conferences, this session, by admission of experienced delegates and Secretariat officials alike, was by far the most political in UNESCO's history. The politics were characterized by intemperate, often extraneous political diatribes of one Member State against another (such as the two and a half hour harangue of the Albanian delegation against the U.S., the USSR, and other countries which was so irresponsible that I deemed it unworthy of an official public response, although I did submit a letter of protest to the Chairwoman of the Conference); open and bitter rivalry between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China; violations of the Organization's rules and procedures (such as the Palestine Liberation Organization issue); and by what U.S. Ambassador Scali has called the growing tyranny of the Third World bloc in using their numerical majority to ram through controversial measures and programs.

The following examples, which were raised throughout the various commissions, illustrate the pervasiveness, coloration, and stridency of this politicization process, although they were by no means the main political issues before this session. These include: (a) PLEN/DR. 6 (57-2(US)-22) submitted by the People's Republic of China urging all international non-governmental organizations affiliated with UNESCO and maintaining links with professionals in Taiwan to expel them "immediately" from participation in these bodies; (b) DR. 355 submitted by the Soviet Union and East Europe, calling upon UNESCO, at the expense of its members, to circulate and publicize the activities of the International Committee for European Security (a Soviet-front organization formed largely for political rather than cultural or educational purposes); (c) DR. 180 Rev. submitted by Romania calling for a greater UNESCO role in East-West European cooperation within the context of global disarmament discussions currently in progress in Geneva; (d) PLEN/DR. 10 submitted by Cuba calling upon UNESCO to take measures within its fields of competence to secure "immediate cessation" of human rights violations in Chile; (e) PLEN/DR. 9 submitted by Cuba authorizing UNESCO to "demand" of the U.S. Government to recognize the inalienable right to Puerto Rico to "unrestricted independence and sovereignty" which was declared non-receivable by the General Committee by a close vote of 7 (US, France, Canada, Netherlands, West Germany, Spain, Japan) to 4 (Cuba, China, USSR, Czechoslovakia) with 13 abstentions (Mexico, Jamaica, Lebanon, Syria, Africans, Asians); and (f) PLEN/DR.7 submitted by the Soviet Union and East European countries seeking UNESCO sponsorship and support to commemorate the 30th anniversary of World War II through meetings, publications, and special ceremonies.





The excessive introduction of political attitudes and issues into a forum ostensibly dedicated to scientific, educational, and cultural purposes raises the question of whether we were adequately prepared ideologically to respond forcefully to the revolutionary ardor of the other countries. I had the feeling that, in reacting to the initiatives of the Soviet Union, Algeria, and even China, we gave the impression too often that we are apologetic for our positions and in a way gave tacit support to the radical and irresponsible charges of imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism, even though the name of the U.S. may not have been explicitly invoked. In saying this, I in no way wish to imply criticism of our positions or of the manner in which the Delegation members expressed them. I am merely saying that if UNESCO is to be turned over to ideological and political discussions of this sort, then it is critical that we show ourselves in the best light possible. We have nothing to be defensive about. As the French journalist Ravel indicates in his book "Without Marx or Jesus", the U.S. is the only country in the world that has reached the level of true liberalism which enables it to be the leader of the world. But liberalism, in this context, refers to respect for the dignity and creative potential of the free individual as opposed to the false concept of collectivism and authoritarianism too often associated with the term. The U.S. position needs to be more aggressive and assertive; we need to take the Organization more seriously and exercise more initiative.

(a) Palestine Liberation Organization

The United States has long had reservations about the advisability of admitting national liberation movements or, for that matter, any political group which is not a Member State, to international conferences, particularly those devoted to non-political subjects. Nonetheless we have concurred on several occasions to the use of a formula under which an appropriate regional intergovernmental organization may designate such groups to attend international meetings under its sponsorship. This explains why the U.S. Delegation voted at this session for the participation of African Liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity to be involved in UNESCO's activities.

On the basis of the same principle we would not have opposed a similar amendment providing for the participation in UNESCO's activities of liberation movements recognized by the League of Arab States. However, the proposal of Algeria and ten other Arab countries to alter UNESCO's regulations to accommodate a specific organization such as the Palestine Liberation Organization into the work of UNESCO was, as we explained both in the Legal Committee

and in plenary, a flagrant violation of constitutional principle and a dangerous precedent which, if continued, could undermine the very foundations of UNESCO. With the exception of Israel, however, we were the only country to insist on this principle, and the proposal to admit the Palestine Liberation Organization as an observer to the General Conference was sanctioned by the Legal Committee by a vote of 11-1-7 and carried by a substantial vote in plenary of 86-2-7 (Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Australia, and several West European countries).

(b) Jerusalem Issue

Three important resolutions affecting Israel were adopted at this session concerning Jerusalem, regional groups, and the state of education and culture in the occupied territories.

Shortly after the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the Arabs, referring to the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (which UNESCO administers) appealed to the Organization for assistance in helping to protect the cultural treasures of Jerusalem. UNESCO has responded by sending a series of archaeological missions to Jerusalem to investigate allegations of changes, and the Arab states have counteracted by passing many resolutions at sessions of the General Conference and Executive Board calling upon Israel to preserve the historical and religious character of the city and to desist from any archaeological excavations. This time the die was cast. A September 1974 UNESCO experts mission (Document 18 C/106) revealed that excavations and changes to the city's character were still continuing although the specific religious and historic monuments were not endangered. The Arabs, angered by Israel's defiance of previous UNESCO decisions, responded, not with the usual condemnatory rhetoric, but with an omnibus resolution (18C/SHC/DR. 2) co-sponsored by some 34 Arab and Moslem states and the Soviet bloc, to "withhold assistance from Israel in the fields of education, science, and culture until such time as it scrupulously respects the aforementioned resolution and decisions."

From early November, when the issue first arose in Commission III in the context of UNESCO's program on cultural preservation of monuments and historic sites, until the time it was settled in plenary November 20, the U.S. Delegation enlisted the support and good offices of over thirty delegations and Director-General M'Bow himself to intervene with the Arabs and Moslem states to blunt the language of the operative portion of the resolution. In our intercessions with the Arabs and other delegations, we warned them of the adverse impact such a resolution would likely have on U.S. public and Congressional attitudes towards UNESCO.





and the UN System as a whole. We also pointed out to them that the resolution could only serve as an additional complicating factor in the present and fragile Middle East negotiations. Even our most compelling arguments, at least so far as the Arabs were concerned, namely, that the passage of the resolution would likely result in elimination of UNESCO's monitoring presence in Jerusalem and Israel and hence provide less protection for the integrity of the Moslem holy places and also jeopardize UNESCO education assistance to the millions of Palestinians on the left bank and in the Gaza Strip, were of no avail. The net effect of these efforts was to minimize and increase respectively the number of favorable and negative votes, and, in this regard, we were partly successful as judged by the outcome in Commission (54 in favor, 21 against, and 25 abstentions) as compared to the vote in plenary (59-34-24).

Under the circumstances, I believe the Delegation did all it could to prevent the passage of the sanction resolution. As we explained in our interventions, the real issue is not that of preservation of cultural and religious monuments in occupied territories but rather that of sovereignty over Jerusalem. The Israelis insist on continuing excavations as political proof they are in Jerusalem to stay. The Arabs, with equal resistance, want Israel to cease and desist from any and all excavations in old Jerusalem in order to stress the fact that that part of Jerusalem is and will remain Arab territory.

But there were other factors as well that precluded a more favorable outcome. The most important of these is the intense religious feeling of Arab/Moslem states towards the sanctity of Moslem holy places in Jerusalem. Also, Israel's reluctance to make any voluntary gesture to recognize or placate these sentiments further contributed to the adamant, uncompromising stand of the Arab/Moslem states. Finally, although it is difficult to assess or prove, the evidence of continued excavations in Jerusalem contained in the latest UNESCO survey probably raised doubts in the minds of a number of uninstructed delegates that Israel might indeed have been remiss in not complying with previous General Conference decisions.

In the final plenary debate, the delegates of Egypt and Algeria went on the record in some detail to reassure world opinion that the Arabs were not trying to force Israel's withdrawal from UNESCO and stressed that the resolution was "provisional, preventative, and conditional." For his part, Director-General M'Bow interpreted the resolution to mean that UNESCO will



suspend Participation Program assistance to Israel from the United Nations Development Program or other similar programs.

(c) Regional Groups

The resolution on regional groups (18 C/PRG/DR. 15 Rev.) concerned a total of 15 other countries (including Israel, U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand) which, prior to this session, had not formally been assigned to any of UNESCO's five regions (Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and Oceania, Africa, and the Arab States) as defined by a 1964 General Conference decision relating to Member State participation in UNESCO's regional groups for program purposes only. The issue was of importance to the U.S. because UNESCO has placed more emphasis in recent years on regional activities, especially intergovernmental conferences which all UNESCO Member States may attend automatically as observers but not as participants. The U.S., Canada, Israel, Australia and New Zealand thus had not had an opportunity over the years to participate fully in regional program activities of direct concern to them. For this reason, the Delegation accorded a high priority (as did Israel) to gaining admission into the European group with which we have strong cultural affinities.

Our principal opposition came from France which alone among the European countries has consistently opposed our entry and, at one stage, pressed for the postponement of a settlement of the issue until the 19th session of the General Conference. China's strong opposition to the Soviet Union's entry into the Asian region together with Byzantine parliamentary maneuvers further complicated the discussions.

In the last analysis, the issue was decided in Commission V by a separate vote on each country. The U.S. and Canada gained admission into the European region by votes of 57-12-11 and 59-5-11 respectively. In both instances, France abstained and the Soviet Union voted for. The Soviet Union gained entry into the Asian region by a vote of 44 (US) for, 4 against (China), and 27 abstentions (mainly Asians).

In the Commission, the vote on Israel was first tied with 30 (US) votes for, 30 against (Arabs, Soviet bloc, and China) and 8 abstentions. In a subsequent roll call vote, Israel lost 23-35-26 with 43 absent. Israel made an additional attempt in plenary to be admitted to the European region, but this effort also failed in a roll call vote of 33 (US) in favor, 48 against, and 31 abstentions with 22 absent. The outcome, however, leaves





the door ajar since the final resolution provides for further consideration of Member States not yet in a regional group (only Israel and San Marino) by the 19th session of the General Conference. Moreover, Israel can be invited by the Executive Board on a case by case basis to attend European group meetings as a full participant. What Israel has lost is the right to an automatic invitation.

(d) Occupied Territories

The third resolution (18 C/PLEN/DR. 5) affecting Israel arose in connection with plenary item 12.1 on UNESCO's Contribution to Peace and its Tasks with Respect to the Elimination of Colonialism and Racialism. It notes with "anxiety" that it was "apparent" from a recent report of the Director-General (Document 18 C/16) that the populations in the occupied territories were not enjoying their inalienable and inviolate rights to education and culture, and authorizes the Director-General to "exercise full supervision of the operation of educational institutions in the area and to cooperate with the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization with a view to providing the population there with every means to enjoy their rights to education and culture." In our view, the resolution contains sweeping allegations unsubstantiated by the Director-General's report and exceeds UNESCO's mandate. Despite our objections, it was steamrolled through the plenary intact. Moreover, should Israel refuse to cooperate with or withdraw from UNESCO (as Portugal and South Africa have done on past occasions), the Organization will be unable to provide millions of Palestinians educational assistance which it has been doing for the past 20 years in cooperation with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. Director-General M'Bow seems uncertain how to implement this resolution and indicated that he would request further guidance from the Executive Board.

(e) Peace, Colonialism, and Racialism

The 18th session also grappled with the problem of providing UNESCO guidance on the development of a long-term program on the subject of "peace, colonialism and racialism." This subject has been a perennial favorite of the Soviets, and at each session for the past six years, they have played upon the familiar themes of the need to strengthen international detente, to place international education and culture at the service of world peace, and to engage UNESCO's resources more directly in strengthening international cooperation and "peaceful coexistence."



(18 C/PLEN/DR. 2). These hortatory directives usually do not pose problems, but the general field of investigation does provide countries with divergent political outlooks a means to raise controversial political issues which are intended essentially for self-serving propaganda purposes. The resolution on occupied territories mentioned above is a case in point, but there were others as well, such as 18 C/PLEN/DR. 3 (USSR) on the problem of disarmament and the "Reduction of military budgets of Member States" and 18 C/PLEN/DR. 13 (Algeria, Senegal, Sudan and 21 other Arab/African cosponsors) on the need for a greater UNESCO involvement in problems relating to national liberation movements, multinational organizations, and the establishment of a new international economic order.

In response to these political intrusions, we have generally managed to edit and tone down the more blatant directives, although this is becoming increasingly difficult. For example, at this session, the Soviets managed, until we protested, to stack a working group consisting initially of only one western country to amalgamate these resolutions. Moreover, had it not been for a Dutch counter resolution and the sustained efforts of one of our Delegation's most experienced officers in handling this type of Soviet initiative, (18 C/PLEN/DR. 28), we would have had considerably more difficulty in moderating these resolutions. Since this subject comes up at each session, I would strongly urge that the Department come prepared next time with some program initiatives of its own in the fields of peace, colonialism, and racialism. As I said earlier, when we come to these particular political issues without our own initiatives, we give the impression of being on the defensive and unwittingly give credence to the hypocritical machinations of other delegations.

(f) Establishment of a New International Economic Order

Added to an already overburdened agenda were three items (Documents 18 C/103 and 108) submitted by Algeria and Mexico pertaining to (a) UNESCO's contribution to the establishment of a new international economic order; (b) UNESCO's role in the implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States; and (c) UNESCO's participation in the improvement of the workings of the UN system. All three items are interrelated and are an outgrowth of the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly in April-May 1974 to adopt a Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (UN Document A/9559). The General Conference also had before it four draft resolutions (18 C/PLEN/DRs. 13, 14, 15, and 16) submitted respectively by Algeria (on UNESCO's program contributions to the new economic order), the Philippines (on the need for structural reforms within UNESCO), Belgium (on the need for a strengthened UNESCO role in the UN Economic and



Social Council), and Niger (an amendment to the Philippine proposal). These draft resolutions were eventually amalgamated into an omnibus resolution (18 C/133) by a working group dominated by the developing countries and in which we deliberately chose not to be represented.

Underlying the new economic order is the frustration of the developing countries with present international economic arrangements which they feel benefit largely industrialized countries. They are seeking to use the instruments of the United Nations system to obtain a greater voice for their interests in international economic councils such as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The purpose in raising the issue in the UNESCO forum was to gain further acceptance of the principles of the Declaration and Program of Action. Although the 18 C/133 represents a confirmation of UNESCO's present and future program orientations, it also endorses the principles of the Declaration and Program of Action.

Our opposition to the resolution is based on detailed and precise reservations introduced into the record by the U.S. delegates and delegates of 19 other developed countries at the Spring General Assembly meeting. Because of the accumulated weight of these reservations on issues of substance, we do not feel that the Declaration and Program of Action were adopted by a true consensus of the international community. Moreover, we do not agree to the policy prescriptions they enunciate or that the industrialized countries are bound to carry them out. It is clear from the discussions on this issue, that the developing countries regard the Declaration and Program of Action as a kind of Magna Carta of the Third World and can be counted on in the UNESCO forum and elsewhere throughout the UN system to orient the Organization's programs toward its objectives. This is an urgent matter deserving of attention and study at the highest policy levels in the State Department.

(g) Election of a New Director-General

The General Conference elected Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal as the new Director-General on November 14, 1974 by secret ballot of 123 in favor, one against (country unknown), and no abstentions. Of the 133 countries eligible to vote, seven were absent and two ballots were invalid. Mr. M'Bow is a graduate of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris. Prior to his coming to UNESCO in 1970 as Assistant Director-General of Education, he served as Minister of Education and Culture in Senegal and as his country's representative on the UNESCO Executive Board.

The U.S. was the first non-African country to support his candidacy, and we have high hopes and confidence in his stewardship. As I said at his swearing-in ceremony, "Mr. Director-General M'Bow, I can assure you that the people and the Government of the United States fervently hope for you a highly successful administration, and we stand ready to cooperate with you and others in the evolutionary development of a global community in which individual freedom exists within social order, individuality exists within genuine community, and diversity is respected within a context of social quality. On the other hand, you know from experience that we do not believe in signing blank checks and despite our confidence in you, we shall be objective in holding you accountable for performance."

In his closing speech to the plenary November 23, which was later published in a pamphlet on UNESCO and the Future. Mr. M'Bow elaborated at some length on the themes of administrative reform, evaluation and improved management practices. He indicated that it is his "firm intention to study with my colleagues and, subsequently, with the Executive Board and Member States, the means whereby we might arrive at the establishment of new structures better adapted to present needs, achieve a rationalization of decision-making and a concentration of the program, and be able to offer alternatives with regard not only to activities but also to ways and means of carrying them out."

Mr. M'Bow also expressed his concern about the dissension which emerged from the General Conference and, in so doing, illustrated his statesman-like qualities. "We must", he said, "avoid in the General Conference clashes of opinion which take the form of systematic confrontations and may even lead to the adoption, by however large of majority, of resolutions which are liable to cause great bitterness in some quarters. What we need most is a constant willingness to engage in dialogue. May I therefore once again make an urgent appeal for tolerance and understanding. We should seek in the future, even if at first it seems impossible, to achieve through patient dialogue the consensus which should be the golden rule in an institution such as this. Admittedly, this calls for quiet, patient and unflagging efforts and for mutual concessions. It is by this means that the moral authority of our Organization can be strengthened."





V. Conclusions

Despite the heavy intrusion of political issues at this session, the 18th session of the UNESCO General Conference adopted a number of actions which are consistent with US short and long-term objectives. Essentially, these include: (a) the unanimous election of a new Director-General; (b) the admission of the United States into the European regional group; (c) the reduction of the US assessment to UNESCO to 25%; and (d) the reformulation of priorities upon which medium-term programs will be based.

All four developments, I believe, augur well for continued and even increased US participation in the Organization's work. We now have a new Director-General with whom we can work closely, who will try for a better dialogue between the developing and donor countries, and who will seek to carry out some of the administrative reforms we have argued for in the past. The Organization now has an opportunity to review and revamp its structure, working methods and procedures in the interest of greater efficiency. The US is also in a position to participate more actively in the regional activities of UNESCO as a result of its admission into the European group. Other countries will now have to bear a greater share of UNESCO's costs, thus reducing the need for dependency on the United States. The further step towards long-range programming should eventually contribute to an improved utilization of limited resources for specific objectives. Finally, as result of our interventions and conversations with Secretariat officials, UNESCO now has a clearer picture of the program interests of the American educational, scientific and cultural communities. I cannot emphasize this last point too strongly. All too often in the past, we have gone to General conferences without knowing what we wanted to get out of them in terms of program activity, which is, after all, the main business of General Conferences.

From a political viewpoint, however, this session was one of the most contentions and divisive I have ever attended. I do not know what can be done to minimize this abuse of the Organization. As an advanced and sophisticated political community, the US cannot be opposed to legitimate internal political activity in the development of organizational policy. But as a charter member of UNESCO, we must vigorously oppose the use of the organs of this Organization for the propaganda and political advantage of particular member states. If they can continue to use the Organization for self-serving political ends, they will eventually destroy UNESCO or convert it into an international agency completely at variance with its original charter.

In retrospect, I think the Delegation presented itself ably and courageously on issues of paramount importance and principle, and I do not see what additional measures we could have taken to prevent the unfortunate decisions against Israel. For, in the last analysis, what the Delegation confronted at this session is but a reflection of recent world developments in which the developing countries are seeking to restructure the machinery and programs of the UN system to better serve their political and economic objectives. In the UNESCO context, their aspirations are symbolized by the appointment of the first African to head a UN Agency and by the decision to hold the 19th session of the UNESCO General Conference in Nairobi, Kenya. To the extent that these decisions are supportive of this high principle of global development, they are to be applauded. But we must never lose sight of the fact that UNESCO was created to transcend narrow nationalism, not to promote it, and its promise for its future will always be directly proportional to the extent to which it is faithful to that charge.

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VI. Recommendations

1. Nominations

The Delegation, particularly Delegates and Alternates, should be nominated early enough so that all clearances can be obtained well in advance of the General Conference. Delays in clearances of some public members resulted in the last minute assignment of one potential alternate to the position of "senior adviser" and in the loss of the services of one potential delegate with long UNESCO experience. Timely nominations would also give the public members of the delegation more time to prepare themselves for the General Conference.

2. Briefing

The one-day Washington briefing, although an improvement over that offered the two preceding Delegations, was still too short and did not allow sufficient time for questions and answers. The briefing should be of a day and a half duration, should draw on the experience of past US participants (especially those in the Washington area), and should consist of the following components:

(a) Administrative arrangements.

(b) Presentation of general problems and issues (particularly political ones) especially as these relate to other UN Agencies.

(c) Sector-by-Sector review of UNESCO's programs with a statement of US objectives and problems so that all Delegation members may obtain a general picture of what is coming up before the various commissions.

(d) An introductory review by the Department of the General Conference's organization of work, rules of procedure, and methods for handling draft resolutions, to be followed in Paris by a more complete briefing by the US Mission to UNESCO. I cannot emphasize this last point too strongly. A knowledge of how the Conference functions is essential to the success of any Delegation.

(e) Individual appointments as desired or necessary.

3. Documentation

Prior to the briefing, Delegation members should have in hand certain background materials to build up their information base and thus make the briefing more meaningful. These should include:

(a) A short, scope paper outlining the Delegation's main program, political, and budgetary objectives.

(b) Key UNESCO documents (e.g. agenda, organization of work, and the fall issue of the Chronicle summarizing the Organization's proposed biennial program and budget).

(c) Copy of the previous Delegation's unclassified report.

(d) Copy of UNESCO and the US National Interest.

(e) Rules of Procedure of the General Conference.

4. Composition

If there are to be reductions in size of US Delegations to international conferences in the future, they should not be made at the expense of substantive advisers. As indicated in the report, we were unable to provide coverage of some of the key organs of the General Conference. With regard to the composition of US Delegations to UNESCO General Conferences:

(a) All members of the US Mission to UNESCO should be accredited as delegates, alternate delegates, or as advisers. Members of the US Mission not so accredited to the Delegation can legally be denied the right (although this has never been challenged) to participate in the work of any of the organs during the General Conference.

(b) The Delegation should consist, in the delegate and alternate categories, of distinguished scholars, scientists and other public members, familiar with UNESCO programs and work and knowledgeable in parliamentary debate, procedures, and the rough give-and-take of large conferences and conventions. To the extent possible, they should continue to be selected from the Commission's past or present membership. Representation of minority groups is highly desirable.

(c) At least one Washington representative of the Agency for International Development should continue to be accredited to the delegation in view of the growing importance of a development focus within UNESCO's regular program and the increasing magnitude of extrabudgetary assistance of an operational nature.





5. Science Attaché

The Department should reinstate as soon as possible a physical science officer position to the US Mission to UNESCO in Paris. The absence of such an officer hampered the work of the Delegation to the 18th session of the General Conference and makes it difficult for the American science community to keep abreast of UNESCO's work in the natural sciences field.

6. Program Activities

The Delegation to the 19th session of the General Conference should come prepared with program initiatives of its own in the fields of peace and colonialism and the new economic order, and other key issues under active debate and consideration in UN and other international fora.

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