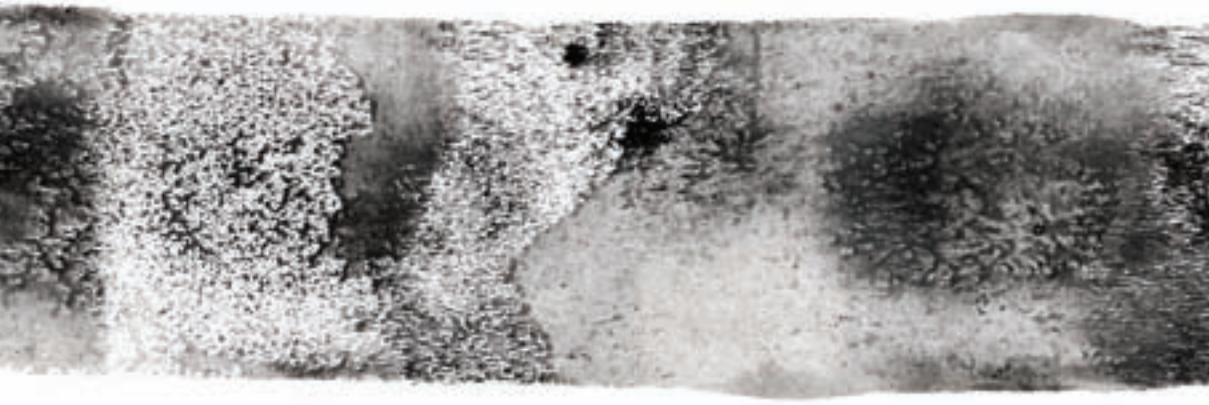
What UNESCO for the Future



Forum of Reflexion

The Forum of Reflexion 'What UNESCO for the Future?' was launched by the Social and Human Sciences Sector on 18 November 2004, the third annual UNESCO Philosophy Day. It was conceived as a cycle of debates for which the primary goal was to stimulate creative and audacious thinking among Permanent Delegations, National Commissions and the Secretariat on the future orientations of the Organization. This publication presents the addresses given in the course of this forum.

We wish to warmly thank the authors for their generous contributions, without which this publication would not have been possible.

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René Zapata/ Detail from fresco project
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What UNESCO for the Future?

Preface by Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO

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Preface

Thinking ahead, setting the stage, building the future. At the time of its sixtieth birthday, UNESCO is engaged in a reflexion about its future, its direction: a collective endeavour that we want to be transparent, dynamic and candid.

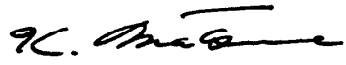
This reflexion on our future, made necessary by the Secretary-General's call for the reform of the United Nations system, must take into account the new ways of sharing knowledge and the new forms of scientific and international co-operation that are emerging at the world level.

We all know that the relationships among the different sectors of the Organization – education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, culture, communication and information – have been transfigured over the two last decades through the emergence of a global information society, the process of globalization, and the acceleration of social transformations. These disciplines have all developed new approaches and new groupings of activities, which in turn have prompted restructurings, interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral approaches, and new functions and responsibilities. In this context, and to honour the principles set forth in its Constitution, a specialized agency such

as UNESCO is obliged to formulate and to set in motion new methods of action and co-operation.

It is in this spirit that I gave my wholehearted support to the Forum of Reflexion on 'What UNESCO for the Future?' on the occasion of the Third Philosophy Day, 18 November 2004. Proposed by the Social and Human Sciences Sector, debates and meetings were held on this subject throughout the year 2004–2005. The contributions of sixteen internationally recognized personalities from a broad range of different backgrounds have been brought together in this publication, to be made available to the Member States, the National Commissions for UNESCO, and UNESCO's many partners.

I am hopeful that these various avenues for thought, which give voice to the most pressing concerns of the moment – What world governance? What forms of international standard-setting action? How is responsibility to be allocated across the different United Nations agencies? What is the relationship between local action and a global mandate? – enrich our debates and open new horizons to us all. At a time when the world is confronted with challenges of an unprecedented scale, let us draw the most we possibly can from these opportunities for reform and renewal that are offered to us.



Koïchiro Matsuura
Director-General

Introduction

The Forum 'What UNESCO for the future?' was launched on 18 November 2004 on the occasion of the Third Philosophy Day. It continued throughout 2005 as a cycle of open debates whose main objective was to stimulate unbridled reflexion on the future direction of UNESCO. In inviting thinkers, philosophers, political leaders and experts from diverse parts of the world, the Forum aimed above all to stimulate our common reflexion and to provide food for thought through insightful, out-of-the box perspectives, at a time when the Organization was looking towards celebrating its sixtieth anniversary and preparing its Mid-Term Strategy for 2008–2013.

The order of the question put to these speakers was of no little consequence. The question to be answered was 'What UNESCO for the future?' and not 'What future for UNESCO?' – for the Forum was not seeking predictions about the future of UNESCO. A reflexion on the future of UNESCO would be grounded in the Organization such as it exists today. It would call for us to analyze the major issues in each of its fields of competence and to evaluate the political engagement of its Member States. From these it would consider a series of challenges that the institution would need to address to assure its future. But 'What UNESCO for the future?' proceeds above all from a reflexion on current and future trends and potential gaps that must be filled, on future scenarios and on 'What UNESCO?' in terms of its role today as a participant that could influence the processes of global transformation. 'What UNESCO for the future?' reflects on UNESCO's possible responses to the rising global challenges it faces today. In other words, what role could our Organization

have within the United Nations system, and what contribution could it make towards resolving the main challenges and threats of the twenty-first century? If, as some think, we have effectively arrived at a crossroads – that we are reaching a point of no return in a number of fields (water, energy, climate change, pollution, terrorism, nuclear power) – what UNESCO will allow us to face this future? What relationship to foster between the Organization's fields of competence and its functions? What methods to use to reach the world's most vulnerable populations if we are to build intellectual co-operation worthy of the name? For, whatever the future brings, we have to structure an organization that can respond not only to the increasing threats that many of the world's people face, but also to the hopes and aspirations of the most vulnerable among us. Because UNESCO must also contribute to building the future that these hopes and aspirations represent.

There exists, I believe, a generally widespread feeling within the United Nations family of organizations of a need to restructure the system, a sense that it has become inadequate or less well adapted to the world as it is today and, especially, as it could become tomorrow. How are we to rethink, from this perspective, the great UN structure and UNESCO's place within it? When UNESCO was created in 1945, it brought together nations that sought intellectual cooperation and whose level of development was of the same order, which made it possible to envisage cooperating on an equal footing once the post-war reconstruction was complete – thanks to massive efforts, especially in the field of education. From 1947, with the independence of India, two connected processes emerged as imperative concerns: decolonization, which extended in the nineteen-sixties to countries in Africa and Asia; and the introduction within the United Nations system of the question of development, to address the needs of newly-formed states. In 1989, the end of the Cold War that had weighed so heavily on our destiny for four decades represented a new opportunity for the United Nations system – the chance for the world to finally look forward together, in one direction, as the Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth century had called for. Despite the importance of these historic changes, did the international institutions attempt to remodel themselves radically in

response to their changed context? Adjustments were made, certainly, but it would be an exaggeration to say that they gave rise to any ground-shaking reforms, especially not equal to the new challenges. But from 1945 to 2006, the world in fact changed profoundly. Indeed, the world today is so different from that of 1945 that one could almost imagine we had changed planet. What will the world be like in sixty years, in 2066? What will it be like in 2100? It would be imprudent to attempt a categorical answer to these questions, but unforgivable not to ask ourselves what actions we should take today so that the world of 2066 approaches our ideals. This is the subject of this debate.

This role and these actions will, of course, be conditioned by how we resolve tensions derived from the Organization's history and its context as it has developed through shifts in international relations. Some of these tensions have, in my opinion, been inherent to UNESCO since its creation. The first tension could be formulated in this way: is an intergovernmental institution compatible with missions such as the impartial promotion of democracy, the universal defence of human rights, or the fostering of fair and lasting peace? As we know, one of UNESCO's forebears, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIIC), was a non-governmental structure based in Paris that brought together intellectuals, scientists, artists and philosophers. While UNESCO's Constitution was being formulated in London, there was opposition between those who proposed an intergovernmental structure and those who supported a return to a non-governmental form, inspired by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation – feeling an intergovernmental organization would not be easily reconcilable with the promotion of certain values. A compromise was then set up, with the Executive Board composed of members designated by their governments but sitting on a purely individual basis, and the General Conference composed of formal representatives of each Member State. This tension continued until the intergovernmental form emerged as essential, creating the UNESCO we know today.

Another great tension that underlies the Organization arises from its two missions: improving international intellectual co-operation and reinforcing capacities on various levels. In the beginning, UNESCO was an

intergovernmental organization of intellectual co-operation, intended to help repair the damage caused by World War II. It was a question of rebuilding a world of peace from the ashes and the ruins of war, through intellectual, cultural and scientific co-operation. The decolonizations of the nineteen-sixties were to underscore the difficulty of participating fully and fairly in intellectual and scientific co-operation when intellectual and scientific capacities were not developed to an equivalent level in many countries. For this reason, UNESCO began to direct a good part of its resources towards capacity development. Yet, were we perhaps under the illusion that capacity development was to be the work of one generation only? This was not the case. Moreover, demographic growth suggests that it is likely to take a long time. In the meanwhile, it is intellectual co-operation that suffers at the international level.

Intellectual co-operation has been held back in two ways: because of inequality between nations – an inequality that is growing instead of being reduced – and because of the intergovernmental structure itself, which creates political tensions around debates on subjects such as democracy, human rights, peace and security. These are challenges that the Organization must necessarily take up, day after day, if we want to participate in constructing the future, and to have a future ourselves.

A more recent tension, part of the new configuration of international relations, comes from the increasing power of regionalism and of organizations of regional integration and co-operation. Whether we speak of the European Union, the African Union, MERCOSUR or ASEAN, the tendency taking shape is towards an increase and an intensification of scientific and intellectual co-operation with these blocs, accompanied by a common institutional approach with respect to external partners. The implications of this new regional multilateralism have not yet been fully integrated into reflexions on the future of the United Nations and UNESCO, although they could have a great impact on them in the long term.

Can the aspirations, the hopes and the analyses that presided over the birth of the United Nations and UNESCO help us to answer the challenges of the twenty-first century? The United Nations was established to guarantee peace among nations, and not to prevent the mass of internal

conflicts we see today. This fundamental modification of the international context has of course been analyzed, but one can wonder whether this analysis has induced, in turn, any wide-ranging reform. Is an organization such as UNESCO, designed and developed on the ruins of a worldwide inter-state war, adapted to answer the challenges posed by the new intra-state wars in the great variety of forms they take today? How are we to defend the 'fruitful diversity of cultures' liberated by the end of the colonial era, at the same time as the necessary universalism of the values on which our modern world order was founded in 1945? Similarly, is such an organization ready to answer the challenge posed by the most violent and most fatal of wars, one that silently kills 35,000 children per day throughout the world: the war of extreme poverty? Admittedly, UNESCO once provided Member States a channel to resolve tensions resulting from the Cold War, but this mission is complete today, not only because the nations who were yesterday in a state of 'cold war' now share common interests, but especially because wars have changed in nature, raising new challenges each time and requiring completely different answers.

All this is happening as if we had not collectively measured the change of tempo in a world whose pulse is increasingly fast. We still propose reforms on the basis of static analyses of a reality that already belongs to the past by the time the changes take place – a little like a grammar that seeks to encapsulate a language that is too alive and is changing too fast, creating a body of rules that are already anachronistic. This delay exceeds the natural time-lag between change, perception of the change, and reaction to it, and becomes tragic because it can result in millions of people living in famine or poverty, and perhaps create new levels of illiteracy for tomorrow.

The issue of development raises many questions. Little by little development has become human and sustainable, but just when it is comfortably installed in our house, has it already become obsolete? How is one even to speak about development in the context of a globalized world without fearing it is meaningless? Development cannot but be built on a national basis, yet globalization is blurring our borders. How will we resolve this contradiction?

These contradictions and many others certainly did not escape the learned speakers who contributed to our series of discussions. Let me briefly outline some of the lines of thought that came out of the various presentations.

Several speakers brought up the question of world governance. For Hisashi Owada, Judge at the International Court of Justice of The Hague, the traditional vision of sovereign nation-states is hardly supported by reality any more, as we are in a phase of transition towards a truly global community. The great dilemma for UNESCO, then, comes from its being an intellectual institution dedicated to dealing with problems that relate to the global community, but which draws its mandate and its capacity from the traditional international system, inevitably limited, in which it was created.

Jacques Attali, today president of PlaNet Finance, was more radical when he insisted that UNESCO must tangle with 'the primary question' – that of 'a world government… [that] will not be a multilateral institution, but a supranational institution' – because the very survival of the Organization depends on it.

The question of UNESCO's independence, necessary to the realization of its intellectual and ethical mission, was brought up frequently, with speakers addressing the inherent conflict between this independence and UNESCO's status as an intergovernmental agency that takes its instructions from Member States.

Randolph Kent, who gained wide experience of humanitarian emergencies while at UNDP and is today director of the Humanitarian Futures programme at Kings College, London, sees UNESCO becoming an agency dedicated to anticipating the challenges of rapid and complex change and preparing responses to them: a little like being the 'third eye' of the United Nations system.

Others, in their own words more conservative, such as the philosopher Souleymane Bachir Diagne, believe that 'the world needs more UNESCO and more multilateralism, more of the kind of UNESCO that will crusade for scientific and educational reconstruction.'

This can be compared to the standpoint of philosopher Edgar Morin, for whom the mission that could be entrusted to UNESCO in the future is that of educating the world on 'the idea that there is a community of human destinies facing considerable peril', referring to the dangers of nuclear power, weapons of massive destruction, ecological degradation and even technoscience. He contends that UNESCO's fundamental task is to circulate as much knowledge as possible concerning 'these global, fundamental realities'.

After calling attention to an underlying shift towards 'the internationalization of the law', hard to imagine fifty years ago, Senator Robert Badinter of France, a former Minister of Justice, wondered how UNESCO could contribute to this. He suggests that the Organization could accompany this movement towards internationalizing law, 'while respecting our cultural differences', and could aid in translating the principles of law into 'quite different judicial cultures'. The dissemination of legal knowledge, in particular in the field of human rights, remains essential because 'to fight, though, requires knowledge'.

Ghassan Salamé, former Minister of Culture of Lebanon and professor at the Institute of Political Studies in Paris, called for UNESCO to return to its original mission; 'to be once again a laboratory of ideas. A laboratory of ideas for herself, for the domains for which she is responsible, but equally for the entire world structure.' He argued that UNESCO must reinforce its 'worldwide normative action' in producing 'this new international law', and should move away from 'operational activities' for which other international organizations are financially better equipped.

For Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, the major orientations of the Organization should be defined by its three core values – a culture of peace (pre and post-conflict), democracy, and cultural diversity. Democracy is indeed at the heart of the Organization's work and 'UNESCO is the only international organization to have mentioned from the start, from its creation in 1945, democracy and the indivisible connection between human rights and democracy. Even before the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.'

Not without having discreetly suggested relocating the seat of the United Nations to Jerusalem, a highly symbolic location more suited to the dialogue among religions and civilizations he sees as so necessary today, Albert Jacquard, humanist and scientist, identifies a key role for UNESCO in our dialogue with future generations: 'It could be UNESCO's role to be the spokesperson for those who cannot speak for themselves, because they are as yet unborn.' Jacquard points out that the humanity of today is stealing resources from the humanity of tomorrow, and asks why UNESCO was founded 'if not to contribute to building a humanity capable of managing its future?'

Achille Mbembe, a sociologist at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) in South Africa and former Executive Director of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), is even more radical in the sense that he sees our world moving towards a permanent state of war; 'By this I mean war that tends to become not something exceptional, but a condition, a long-term social and economic relationship'. He wonders about UNESCO's role in this framework: what is UNESCO's charter if not 'a project for humanity in the future' – for a future 'hybridization' of humanity? Perhaps it is time to relaunch the debate on 'the problem of race, or more precisely, the processes of defining race', by returning to UNESCO's report on this subject carried out more than thirty years ago and probing further into how racial prejudices are formed, going beyond rationality to where, eventually, it all takes place?

For Fatma Haddad-Chamakh, also a philosopher, we need a UNESCO that plays a twofold role; 'a UNESCO that maintains and reinforces its fundamental missions… and a UNESCO that innovates.' She contends that the 'visibility' of the Organization is of prime importance, because it alone can generate the indispensable synergy required to consolidate UNESCO's work for peace and 'the intellectual empowerment of all humanity'.

Ping Huang, sociologist and director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), did not hesitate to remind UNESCO of its original mission, to 'contribute to – or continue to contribute to – peace and

security… and humanity's common welfare', arguing that this is all the more important in 'today's world of seemingly runaway globalization'. Observing that 'ideas can change the world' he contends that the real added value of the Organization lies in 'providing an open platform for the exchange of ideas and for dialogue among civilizations' and in giving access to and sharing information and knowledge equally with all.

Tu Weiming, professor of Confucian studies and Chinese history and philosophy at Harvard University, and director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, placed great emphasis on individual spiritual maturity and knowledge of the inner self, particularly for those called to defend, more than ever before, dialogue among cultures, civilizations and religions. He called for 'an edifying conversation' of a philosophical nature, free of any desire to convince or persuade, arguing that 'civilizations themselves do not clash, only ignorance does.'

In his analysis, Yersu Kim, former Secretary-General of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, noted the emergence of a process transforming global civilization, which goes far beyond the narrow framework we inherited from the Enlightenment. He sees in this a great mission awaiting UNESCO: that of being 'the leader and facilitator of this process of civilizational transformation', in which nothing less is at stake than humanity's survival.

For Carolina Rossetti Gallardo, a journalist at the Catholic University of Chile and Executive Secretary of the Chilean National Commission for UNESCO, it is urgent and necessary we reassert the value of places of multilateral dialogue. The Organization 'must devote itself, within its areas of competence … to legitimizing and expanding on its essential role: to be an increasingly representative forum for cultural diversity and plurality, for thought and politics.' She echoed the sentiments of Miguel Rojas-Mix regarding the impact of market logic on education, and his questioning of the social and cultural roles of universities.

For Miguel Rojas-Mix, writer, historian and philosopher, a possible activity for UNESCO in the future is to promote a university of the twenty-first century, finally disengaged from the heritage of the nineteenth century

and firmly anchored in its original mission of providing 'public, universal and free education, the only education that can ensure equal opportunities.'

All these questions and others still, those broached in this publication or those that remain to be formulated, are at the heart of 'What UNESCO for the future?' A number of these questions had already been formulated at the time of its creation, as Frank Richard Cowell explains so well in his personal account of what took part during the work that lead to the inauguration of UNESCO, including the drafting of its Constitution on a 'cold November morning' of 1945. We have republished Cowell's account here, as much because of the insight his perspective provides in regard to understanding the creation of UNESCO, as for the contribution it makes to responding to the challenges of the future. At a time when UNESCO is addressing the historical development of the Organization in the context of its sixtieth anniversary celebrations, let us not forget the role played by the many individuals who have shaped it, including those who worked behind the curtains, even before its creation. This was the case, for example, for H. G. Wells, a true precursor in very many areas, including those of human rights and the 'knowledge society'.

More discussion is undoubtedly needed on this topic, because the issues involved are vast and complex and it is always illusory to imagine to have exhausted such an enthralling subject. But in the meantime, let us hope that this volume helps to nourish our most audacious thoughts, to revive the vision and the conviction of UNESCO's founders, and to imagine and prepare the ground for the future.

In this spirit I would like to thank all of the authors for their valued contributions to this volume. The loftiness of their ideas has shown itself equal to the hopes we placed in their vision not only of UNESCO faced with the future, but also of a future shaped by UNESCO.

Pierre Sané
Assistant Director-General
for Social and Human Sciences

18 November 2004
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Souleymane Bachir Diagne
(Senegal)

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Once again I salute the idea of 'constructing in the minds of men the defences of peace', and I don't see how when we're 120 years old we could formulate this idea any better than we do now, at 60.

Souleymane Bachir Diagne

In thinking about the question 'What UNESCO for tomorrow?' – and it's not every day that one is given an opportunity to shake a few coconuts out of the tree, as it were, and to change the world – I've been alarmed to discover that I am not the radical revolutionary I thought I was: in fact, I am deeply conservative. I almost want to answer 'What UNESCO for tomorrow?' with 'This UNESCO, and more of it!' But served up differently perhaps, to introduce an element of change.

What I mean by this – and René Zapata and Pierre Sané have already pointed out the changes that have taken place since UNESCO's creation at the end of the war – is that if we think about the philosophical idea that UNESCO embodies (UNESCO is first and foremost a philosophical idea, or so it seems to me, which is to say that philosophy is not just a division of UNESCO but is the spirit of the organization itself) – if we think about this philosophical idea, it appears to me that it is still, even today, striding ahead of reality (so to speak). Now, I understand that organizations need to breathe fresh air from time to time, to find new ways to articulate the themes that make up their daily life – and I'll come back to this point later – but it is essential that under the pretext of reform we do not find ourselves in the situation of Borge's Pierre Menard, who, in attempting to write a new version of *Don Quixote,* wound up making an exact replica of Cervantes' work.

To continue the literary allusion, in thinking about this question and reading through the historical documents of our organization, I've come to see, too, that there is no point tilting at windmills by trying to rectify non-existent discrepancies. There is no discrepancy, or so it seems to me, between UNESCO's philosophy and the conditions of the world today, because – and this will be one of my central theses – the need to reconstruct the world in terms of education is as great today as it was immediately after the war. Take, for example, Africa's education systems, which have been devastated by the equivalent of war and, in certain countries, by war itself.

Nonetheless, there is something we should fight. This is a kind of skepticism or impatience with the themes that UNESCO has repeated over the past sixty years: 'Education for All', 'Cultural Diversity.' Yes, we have to be able to respond to such skepticism and impatience, but first we need to show what they mean, which I shall try to do. I will then speak of one discrepancy that I feel does need to be corrected, which is between UNESCO's ideals and an aspect of its organizational approach. That's the distinction I'd like to make, and I will do so using the specific example of African intellectuals within UNESCO.

My first point, then, is to remind us all from the outset, before any talk of reform, that the idea of UNESCO is still 'a new idea in the world' to paraphrase Saint-Just. That the conditions that were the spiritual force behind UNESCO and are expressed in its Constitution, and especially in the Preamble, as René Zapata spoke of just now, are the same conditions we find today, and I think that anyone who comes from a continent such as Africa will readily agree with me. In fact, it strikes me that we see the organization very differently from Africa, because African intellectuals seem to have a greater need of UNESCO and of the intellectual cooperation that is at its origin, than do intellectuals from the industrialized countries.

The conditions that gave birth to the idea of UNESCO are well known. There was an urgent need to promote the idea that Enlightenment will not triumph automatically and that gloom, as my

country's national anthem puts it, will not be scattered of its own free will – that we must continually work to advance Enlightenment, to watch out over it, and that, sadly, ignorance and prejudice are two heads of a terrible and fertile hydra.

This idea is at the origin of the slogans that might appear banal to our modern ears, impatient skeptics that we have become. Slogans such as 'Education for All', the search for objective truth which alone can bring minds together through the free flow of ideas and knowledge and through mutual understanding. Is our world today so very different that such a slogan should be altered? Or, to rephrase a bit more precisely the questions that we've been asked, need we continue to clarify such grand ideas as 'Education for All', 'Knowledge Society', 'Cultural Diversity', or a 'Dialogue of Civilizations'? This is where I would like to speak of the skepticism and impatience that I mentioned earlier.

One might think that, by virtue of being used, these expressions have now been used up, and need to be renewed. What would we use in place of the founding imperative 'Education for All'? This question must be asked, especially when one comes from a country such as mine where education for all is a vital necessity, yet where we see school enrolments falling.

Imagine if we were addressing an administration known for its skepticism not only in matters of this nature but relative to all forms of multilateralism, such as the current American administration. One would then ask 'So, we get rid of 'Education for All', it's been around forever and we need to change with the times. What do we replace it with?' And the administration answers, 'No Child Left Behind'. What does this change? What does this add? Absolutely nothing. It's exactly the same thing. The imperative remains unchanged. In other words, these themes are enduring, and we must consider why they are so enduring.

Let's take the idea of cultural diversity. This idea has increased in importance over time and in response to new trade structures drawn up by the World Trade Organization. What was clumsily attempted some

years ago with the defensive term 'cultural exception' subsequently found its expression in the phrase 'cultural diversity' – which is at the very heart of UNESCO's philosophy, and which, to paraphrase Verlaine, is neither entirely the same as nor entirely different from the original.

In the same way, if we take 'Dialogue among Civilizations', we see that – without having to accept the oversimplifications of a Samuel Huntington, for example – today's most burning issues compel us precisely to look at how, according to what logic and which imperatives, and in the context of which orientations and leanings, today's great religions could be able to talk together. How do religions talk to each other? Perhaps this is only one part of 'Dialogue among Civilizations' but, once again, there's no point in fixing something that is not broken. We need only to expand on the concept of 'Dialogue among Civilizations' to bring this urgent and insistent issue into a framework such as UNESCO's, where it belongs.

The impatience that some might feel with UNESCO's themes stems from the fact that the horizon seems to recede the closer we get to it. 'Education for All' we said in countries such as mine, 'Education for All by the year 2000'. Well, our first steps in the twenty-first century show just how far that promise was from being kept. But horizons do recede as we advance, it's their nature, and that is no justification for letting impatience get in the way of the mobilization that this call to duty requires. And which, I should mention again, no doubt resonates very differently depending on whether one is in the North or the South.

I'll take an example from my own country. Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first President of Senegal, designated the year 2000 as the year when promises would be realised: economic growth, health care, education for all, etc. But it would be wrong to laugh at those promises today by saying 'Well, 2000 has come and gone and Senegal is probably in a worse state than it was in 1960.' Senghor was both a poet and a statesman, and with this double profile he knew that promises need to be made, that horizons need to be drawn, even though they

will naturally recede. I believe that we must always keep this aspect of the horizon's nature in mind.

Skepticism and impatience must never be allowed to supplant mobilization around ideals. Because reconstruction remains an issue. African educational systems in particular are in need of reconstruction, as devastated as they have become through forces as destructive as war, if not by real wars.

And there is also an issue of peace and security, which, it is important to stress, are built first and foremost upon education, as was so magnificently put in a timeless phrase from the preamble to UNESCO's Constitution: 'it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.' Our security must be based on the reform of human understanding, which is to say, upon our capacity to understand and get along with one other.

In a word: the world needs more UNESCO and more multilateralism, more of the kind of UNESCO that will crusade for scientific and educational reconstruction. This is, perhaps, an expression that we should take from its past and use in a new way, in relation to the situation we are in today.

I come now, briefly, to my second point, having first needed to shake the tree, as I said, in my conservative way. Can it be said that nothing should be changed? I think we can always improve the nature of our commitment to serving ideals that, as I noted a moment ago, are still valid in relation to our present reality.

Here I'd like to be concrete, and take the risk of offering both criticism and a proposal. It is not a huge risk, in that the criticism has often been raised. And it is that the system of Member States often obliterates that of the academic communities and institutions which we wish were more engaged in UNESCO's mission of intellectual cooperation. From this point of view, it is a simple fact that the need for UNESCO is incomparably stronger in countries in the South than in the North, as they seem to have been made prisoners of an absence of cooperation.

So what would it mean to dismiss the system of states in favour of a system of academic cooperation, within a community that validates scholars? Not much I'm afraid, and it wouldn't be very realistic either, given that UNESCO debated this question, this dilemma, right from the beginning. Yet surely we could find a better balance, given our current circumstances, something that would allow us to say on this, our sixtieth anniversary year, 'It's high time we got things moving in this department.'

To be concrete, and to finish, let's take an organization that I know in Africa, CODESRIA, an NGO recognized by UNESCO. CODESRIA is the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. It is a truly pan-African organization, a true success story, and it is credible. Within this organization, African researchers and intellectuals work together. It is an organization that is linking African knowledge across the continent and throughout the Diaspora. When an organization of intellectual cooperation – created by African intellectuals themselves – is enthusiastic about the idea of UNESCO, then UNESCO's National Commissions should be able to benefit from its intellectual dynamism and spirit of cooperation, and to bring on board these teams of men and women, who are the best researchers in their fields. We could go further and imagine that African states could perfectly reasonably name their representatives to UNESCO by consulting with this intelligentsia and its structure of intellectual cooperation, through a process that remains to be worked out, allowing these nominations to follow a reasoning that is not purely diplomatic. I think that I'm not being very diplomatic myself in saying this, rather, that I myself am following a strict logic of intellectual cooperation. And I think in particular of my impatience when I was in other posts in my country, when I was an advisor to the last president of Senegal, and I would come to this very building. My impatience in the face of negotiations that obeyed this diplomatic reasoning and which, at bottom, were about issues that weren't worth the trouble. My impatience consisted in saying, 'Just leave me alone with my fellow philosophers, we agree on issues that have more to do with intellectual cooperation than any logic of a system of states, which so often leads to futile gestures.'

Extreme conservative that I've discovered myself to be, this is the only point I wish to make about the running of our organization. Once again I salute the idea of 'constructing in the minds of men the defences of peace', and I don't see how when we're 120 years old we could formulate this idea any better than we do now, at 60.

18 November 2004
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Edgar Morin
(France)

Edgar Morin is a French sociologist and philosopher, Emeritus Director of Research at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) and President of the *Association pour la Pensée Complexe.* His research has won him numerous awards and international recognition. He is the author of numerous works, which include *La méthode* (Paris: Seuil, 1981-2004, six volumes: *La Nature de la nature* (Vol. 1, new edition 1981), *La Vie de la vie* (Vol. 2, new edition 1985), *La Connaissance de la connaissance* (Vol. 3, new edition 1991), *Les Idées* (Vol. 4, new edition 1996), *L'Humanité de l'humanité* (Vol. 5, 2001), and *L'Éthique complexe* (Vol. 6, 2004), as well as *Introduction à une politique de l'homme* (Paris: Seuil, 1999) and, with Jean Baudrillard, *La Violence du monde* (Paris: Éditions du félin, 2003).

First off, if we are to take seriously the idea that human understanding is something that is underdeveloped, and that must be developed, and that this is of vital importance, then this clearly implies that a psychological approach is needed (…). We have to develop the practice of self examination, and, where necessary, self criticism. This should be part of education, which cannot be limited to just the fight against illiteracy.

Edgar Morin

Personally, I see a twofold objective for the UNESCO of the future. These two objectives are interconnected. The first, as Mr Zapata already indicated, is to de-compartmentalize UNESCO so that its different parts are not distinct and independent entities, hermetically sealed from one another, but on the contrary co-operate closely. And this can only happen if their work converges on common themes. Following from this first and fundamental idea – which is a concept of UNESCO – my second objective is a common theme; of promulgating and fostering a culture of peace, or for peace. This primary requirement, born from the disaster of the Second World War, has today become of utmost urgency, because we see that new disasters have begun and are in danger of increasing.

Only, a culture of peace does not consist of simply extolling the merits of peace compared to the difficulties of war. Everyone knows this, these lessons have never served any purpose. A culture of peace requires, as a prerequisite, a culture of human understanding – understanding of others, of oneself, of strangers, an understanding of people from other ethnic groups, other countries, other cultures, other religions. And to achieve this understanding, I believe we must bring many different approaches together, corresponding to these different areas: education, history, the social and the natural sciences, and philosophy.

First off, if we are to take seriously the idea that human understanding is something that is underdeveloped, and that must be developed, and that this is of vital importance, then this clearly implies that a psychological approach is needed – each and every one of us must recognize the sources of error we all have within us, error that comes from our egos, our need to justify ourselves incessantly. We have to develop the practice of self examination, and, where necessary, self-criticism. This should be part of a general education, which cannot be limited to just the fight against illiteracy. I also think we have to take account of the simplistic way we view others, often bordering on contempt: we try to reduce people to their negative characteristics, forgetting other features or characteristics. This is a very common phenomenon. There is an approach, which I call cultural or socio-cultural, that consists of recognising that culture includes what I call 'imprintings', by which I mean the imprints that culture makes on the minds of children, and so on adults, through its language, its norms, its assumptions, its beliefs, its values, and its principles of intelligibility, all of which differ from one civilization to another. Paul Valéry once said that the true dialogues are those among ulterior motives. Let us not say ulterior motives, but rather that which controls our thinking without us being consciously aware of it, and which I would call a paradigm. It is a matter, then, of attempting to understand what religious or other beliefs mean: rites, taboos, this entire confluent mass.

I think that, with regard to education, UNESCO should support the creation of chairs of Education in Understanding in every major capital in the world, as far as possible within universities, requiring not only co-operation among multiple academic disciplines, but also exchanges among the people from different cultures and of different nationalities appointed to these chairs. They could show, for example, the importance of literature, the theatre or cinema in furthering human understanding. This importance is very often ignored, despite the surprising fact that cinema viewers are very rarely alienated by what they see on the screen. In fact they become much more understanding than in real life: characters like those played by Marlon Brando and Al Pacino in Coppola's

Godfather films, or drifters or naive characters, people who are often looked down on in the ordinary world – we understand them through the phenomenon of empathy, sympathy, spontaneous understanding. The paradox is that we are often more understanding when we read a novel or see a film than we are in real life. And this should come together.

This theme of understanding and of a culture of peace needs to be connected to the concept of education; not just to a concept in terms of quantity – that of proliferating education – but, on the contrary, to a concept of quality, of educating towards pertinent knowledge. Promoting educational reform would be a bold but necessary move – UNESCO was kind enough to publish a text I wrote on this topic a few years ago[1] – reform in the sense that all our education systems are systems that teach us to separate things, to compartmentalize knowledge, to fragment it and render us incapable of bringing together the knowledge that nonetheless we have to bring together if we want to contextualize our knowledge, to position it within the wider picture that is today increasingly becoming global in scale.

So, yes, I believe in education, but a recast education. An education that allows us to understand the modern era, what we call globalization – a process that began with the conquest of the Americas and colonization, a process that has transformed but continues to evolve, entirely out of control, entirely tragic: from the point of view of beliefs, ideologies, religions or nations, the more the world becomes technically and economically unified, the more it is tearing itself apart.

It is this planet-wide history that we should attempt to understand, and I think that in this area we have to go beyond the idea of development, because although we talk about diversity, about cultural diversity and cultural specificities, the very concept of development ignores cultural diversities and cultural specificities. It is founded on and driven by technologies and economics that apply the same quantitative criteria whatever the situation, whatever the country, whatever the

[1] *Seven Complex Lessons in Education for the Future*, UNESCO Publishing, 2001.

cultural heritage may be. I contend that the very concept of development – which always incorporates a belief that quantitative, economic development will lead to democratic development, a belief that experience has shown to be wrong (there have been fine examples of economic growth under dictatorships) – that this concept is misleading. It ignores the consequences of development, which in many cultures tends to destroy traditional ties of solidarity and traditional communities, to uproot rural populations and throw them into urban shanty towns, to increase corruption, with unrelenting monetarization in regions where states are in the process of being constructed. In a word, I would even go so far as to say that there is a fundamental immorality in the idea of development as we now know it, and in its milder form, sustainable development—which does soften its effect, just as one can tenderize a steak, though without reducing the fundamental vice of the concept. We talk about linking human diversity together, but the most important thing in my opinion is to show the relationship between unity and human diversity, and to link these firmly together: because either we speak of diversity and forget everything we share in common, or we speak of what we have in common and forget diversity as if it was a matter of secondary importance. But the connection is essential.

For instance, we say that language is a common feature of humanity, but we only know language through languages – nobody has ever seen a language. Likewise, music exists in every culture, in all societies, but we only know music through different kinds of music. The same can be said of poetry. If we do not decidedly link the idea that we are all human, with fundamental things in common – if we do not link this, in our global context, to the idea that there is a community of human destinies facing considerable peril, not only nuclear, not only due to weapons of massive destruction, not only ecological, but from the uncontrolled processes that technoscience is triggering today, then we are – the planet earth is – a spaceship propelled by four engines that nobody can control. These four engines are science, technology, economics and profit. This is what has to be known, we cannot ignore these global, fundamental realities, and all those categorically necessary sectors of

UNESCO, ranging from history to the natural sciences, to the human sciences and philosophy, and so on, could come together for this task, which appears to me to be essential.

18 November 2004
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Hisashi Owada
(Japan)

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I do not have a conclusive answer, but the key, in my view, to building a strong UNESCO for the future lies in its capacity to carry out its unique ethical mandate as an intellectual and ethical arm of the United Nations.

Hisashi Owada

On 16 November 2005, UNESCO will be celebrating its sixtieth anniversary. The world and the challenges it faces have changed since the inception of the Organization. In line with these transformations, the significance of UNESCO's various fields of competence, namely education, natural sciences, social sciences, culture, and communication and information, have also undergone considerable transformation, as well as these fields' relation to the Organization's mission.

Does UNESCO need to transform itself to confront the new challenges of global society? This is the problem that I would like to address. I will try to answer it in terms of a broader picture than other speakers have evoked – that of the structural change of the international system – and by trying to relate this to the future of UNESCO.

The biggest problem that we face in the contemporary world is the question of its system of governance. Today's international society is going through a major transformation. What is at issue is the global system of governance, and we have to think about this problem much more seriously.

Society relies on a system of governance based on principles of fairness and equity that allow all of its members to preserve what they

possess. Each society, in its actual existence as distinct from any conceptualized ideal type, may reveal different manifestations of this conception of justice corresponding to differences in time and place. In spite of these differences, however, a true society must always reflect a system of shared values.

But when we try to transfer the general notion of social justice that prevails as a norm in the national context to the problem of justice in the contemporary international context, a very different picture emerges.

Firstly, there is the fundamental question of whether today's international system corresponds to the notion of the world as a society governed by a rule-based order. It is common knowledge that controversy remains over whether the world we live in is sufficiently normative to allow us to speak of an international society built on the common concept of justice, and offering a solid foundation for public order based on commonly shared values.

Secondly, within the atomistic structure of the present international system composed of independent sovereign states, we find that these states claim to be both representatives of the public interest in their capacity to establish norms and, at the same time, to be representatives of their own private interests in their capacity to accept norms.

Given such a structural set-up, it is no wonder that putting the high ideals that UNESCO declared in 1945 into practice is becoming increasingly difficult, if not impossible. Even a concept like democracy, as a concrete institution representing an embodiment of justice in society, tends to become ambiguous in the context of this system. In fact, the concept of democracy in the context of international society can have entirely different connotations depending upon whether one is talking about the application of democratic principles – such as the principle of the greatest happiness for the greatest number – in the context of an international society made up of sovereign states, or in the context of a global society made up of individual people.

Nevertheless, the essential nature of the traditional international system is today at a crossroads in history, because the contemporary world is undergoing a major structural transformation in this respect. The premise of an international system constructed on the basis of a body of norms governing inter-state relations, established with the peace of Westphalia, is being seriously challenged. Indeed, although this is a long and slow process which may take decades or even centuries, one cannot deny that we are going through a gradual transformation. What is emerging as a harbinger of this development is the transformation of international society from a community of nations to a community of humanity on a global scale, and an age of globalization that is distinct from internationalization.

Two fundamental factors are at the origin of this emerging change in the international system. It is my submission here that these factors could significantly affect the problems that UNESCO is facing today.

One is the rapidly growing reality of societal integration, described broadly as globalization, which is transforming international society. This process of global societal integration represents a growing challenge to the existing institutional framework for managing the international system, built on the compartmentalization of competence on the basis of national sovereignty within a Westphalian legal structure. An indication of this problem can be found in the apparent growing inadequacy of the present system to control the activities of the global scene. An example are the so-called mega multi-nationals that cooperate in a global market but are subject primarily to national regulatory frameworks exclusively devised in reference to national public policy, as distinct from an international public policy for this globalized market. This problem, furthermore, is not limited to the area of economic activities. The bleak prospect for the future of the Kyoto Protocol is another indication of the same phenomenon in the field of social issues. The devastating experience of September 11, 2001 was dramatic evidence that the impact of globalization is seeping into the political field, subsequently

revealing the total inadequacy of the present system to cope with such new developments.

The other equally important factor at the root of this change in the international system is a growing awareness or consciousness in the world of the primacy of human beings as individuals, and of the growing relevance of these individuals to the values of the international system. The traditional international system, founded on the atomistic notion of a community of nation-states, based on the principle of sovereign equality, is thus being exposed to new challenges. The critical issue we face in this situation is how are we to define social justice in this transforming international society?

The implications of these new developments go beyond the domain of political economy, they concern social and political issues as well. They affect UNESCO's activities in cultural, social, educational, scientific and other areas. There are serious issues in all of these areas concerning the relationship between public order as understood in national societies and the concept of public order in an international society. While the general concept of public order in any society must reflect this society's universal values, the conception of public order as manifested in the form of concrete norms may not be totally free from the idiosyncrasies of particular societies, conditioned by time and place. As a result, a concrete legal norm regarded as an embodiment of the sense of justice as the basis of public order may not always be accepted in another society as a norm with the same universal value. This is exactly what lies at the heart of the so-called problem of 'the clash of civilizations[1]'. We have to deal with this problem, and it is a major challenge for the activities of UNESCO.

This and many other issues of similar character would not pose a serious problem to the international public order as long as we lived in the classical world marked by a Westphalian legal order, as in this case each nation-state is sovereign and co-exists harmoniously with other nation-states on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality and non-intervention in domestic affairs. This is also a point that is included in

[1] A theory popularized by Samuel P. Huntington in 'The clash of civilizations?' *Foreign Affairs,* vol.72, N°3 (1993).

UNESCO's 1945 Constitution. In this old order, sovereign states insist on the sanctity of their own self-contained systems in a completely closed circuit. Within that closed circuit each sovereign government can insist that its own sense of justice as reflected in its own conception of public order shall prevail. But this classical world is no longer in existence. In the brave new world that we are now entering, where socio-economic activities that cross national borders are the rule rather than the exception, the question of how to determine and apply old concepts of justice and fairness in relation to laws on unfair competition becomes much more complex. This is one of the major challenges that UNESCO will face and which it should address with much greater energy in the future. Other examples are abundant – ethical issues surrounding the treatment of human genes, the issue of human cloning, or even abortion or the death sentence, are cases in point. Issues relating to cultural diversity are another example.

Authorities in national societies tend to apply the yardsticks of moral justice and fairness as they exist in their own national community's public order, but which may or may not be appropriate as a yardstick to measure fairness in the context of international public order. This dilemma is particularly conspicuous in the present transitional phase of the system, when we have not yet succeeded in reorganizing ourselves into a truly global community with its own system of public order. This affects the utility of institutions like UNESCO in particular, because UNESCO is an intellectual institution meant to address issues of the human community, while deriving its mandate and power from the traditional international system in which it was created in 1945.

With that in mind, I would like to conclude by asking a question. In view of these contemporary problems of structural nature, how should UNESCO respond? Should it content itself by simply being an intergovernmental organization that takes instructions from Member States, or should it take an intellectual stand? The paradox is that for any agency in the world to be intellectual, it needs autonomy. But is this independence really possible? Is it not often Member States within the context of their own interests that decide what is determined to be

intellectual or moral? In such a situation, can an agency like UNESCO authentically respond to or take an ethical stand concerning current world problems? What if some of the Member States do not agree? How can an organization stand up to its ethical norms and principles from the viewpoint of international public order if there is not necessarily any consensus?

I do not have a conclusive answer, but the key, in my view, to building a strong UNESCO for the future in this sense lies in its capacity to carry out its unique ethical mandate as an intellectual and ethical arm of the United Nations, while keeping two things in mind. One is that in spite of the dichotomies mentioned above, UNESCO can try to achieve its objective within today's international framework by mobilizing the cooperation of the international community in two ways: by appealing, with persuasion and dialogue, to the notion of global public goods that all Member States share as members of a global community; and by mobilizing forces in the international society through increased interaction with civil society actors representing the peoples of the world rather than exclusively nation-states. This does not mean that one should neglect the international system based on nation-states, but that we should try to create a greater degree of interaction with civil society which better represents the aspect of international public order that treasures the values of international public goods, and through that to create an environment in which UNESCO can work in the pursuit of a common international public policy on which the survival of the human kind depends.

18 November 2004
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Fatma Haddad-Chamakh
(Tunisia)

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To achieve its goals, UNESCO must direct itself towards criticising and refuting the triumphant, axiological trinity, the 'configuration' of evil, as Paul Ricoeur might have put it, which all over the world is replacing the ties of mutually supportive relationships with a desire for unlimited profit, hegemony and violence – the new Furies, mortal creatures that are tearing away the 'flesh of the world'.

Fatma Haddad-Chamakh

UNESCO – must we remind ourselves – is an international organization created with a view to establishing peace through education, science and culture. A space, a centre for thought, for the study, analysis and discussion of human knowledge, the world's cultures, the values of which they are bearers and their contributions to its crucial mission. UNESCO is devoted to constructing the defences of peace in the minds of men, according to the preamble of its Constitution – the birth certificate that defines its institutional identity. Let us recall the exact words: 'That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.'

I would like to follow along the lines that Mr. Souleymane Bachir Diagne of Senegal traced out so magnificently in the opening presentation of this forum, and add to this by firmly highlighting the positive results of the work that UNESCO has accomplished in the areas that constitute its core competencies, an immense span rather soberly designated by four single-word programmes: Education, Science, Culture, Communication.

I shall quickly mention three of the intellectual battlefronts in which UNESCO has been a leader since its inception, and which seem to me to be of major strategic importance to its future work.

Firstly, in the vast field of education, I would like to highlight UNESCO's tireless work for more than thirty years in promoting the teaching of human rights in primary schools, secondary schools and universities.

Next, as both an act of homage and a declaration that this work is more urgent than ever, I would like to bring to mind, however briefly, UNESCO's long struggle in the social sciences and humanities – in the fields of philosophy, history and other disciplines – against racism; apartheid; discrimination against women; and other forms of domination, exclusion and intolerance.

Lastly, I wish to highlight the deeper meaning of an event such as this philosophical forum in which we are participating today, a forum in which we can reflect publicly and together on the UNESCO of the future: the structures to be defined, the strategies to be developed, the actions to be encouraged. This event makes sense because it crystallizes the very nature of UNESCO's mission: to set in place, and in motion, an international intellectual cooperation in the different fields of knowledge and thought, among men and women from every continent, from multiple and diverse nations, peoples, cultures; working together, united in a common task. Ever since Kant and, more recently, Karl Popper and Jürgen Habermas, we have known that scientific debate and philosophical discussion, held publicly and rationally through dialogues and colloquia, give rise to an ethics of communication which is also an ethics of knowledge and of acknowledgement, and give rise as well to friendly relations (the famous Aristotelian *philia*[1]) across borders, rather than violence and war.

The untiring effort that UNESCO has deployed for almost sixty years now must continue and be considerably expanded upon in the future, in an international context of extremely complex, difficult and explosive situations created by the follies – of madness, ignorance and pride – of man: those who govern and those who are governed, walking

[1] Aristotle uses the term *philia* (friendship) to analyze different forms of social relations.

backwards towards new barbarisms at the same time as they selectively commemorate the suffering of the victims of ancient barbarities. All the while new victims arise and are hastily buried in silence, indifference and obliviousness.

I will cite just a few of these extreme situations.

The waste and pollution of resources vital to human survival: oxygen, water, flora and fauna. A sustained rhythm of environmental degradation.

The endangering of and disrespect for human life and dignity through operations that exterminate and displace populations: through preventive or punitive wars; endemic interethnic conflicts (consciously stoked if not provoked); and populations deprived of peace or justice, locked in poverty by those who control wealth, and so exempt from hope that they finally become both agents and victims of violence.

In these first years of the twenty-first century, a maelstrom of contempt is howling. Contempt for humanity written into laws that institutionalize inequality of the sexes, the domination of women by men, and the inferiority of women – socially, economically, legally and politically. Contempt for humanity in racist legislation, practices and assertions, broadcast publicly and inveighed against other ethnicities, races, sexes, peoples and religions. Contempt, finally, displayed in the ostentatious resurgence of doctrines of metaphysical, political, religious and even racial superiority of one people over the other, one religion over the other: the one chosen, the other reviled.

In this context, of which each of us has had either first- or secondhand experience, what UNESCO do we want for the future, within the framework of the decade beginning in 2005 that UNESCO has dedicated to sustainable development?

As I mentioned a few moments ago, it seems to me that we want both a UNESCO that maintains and reinforces its fundamental missions in the fields of education, science, culture and communication, and a

UNESCO that innovates. These tasks will be facilitated by access to the new technologies that the scientific and technological revolutions of the twentieth century produced, to institute new strategies for a worldwide networking of UNESCO's educational, cultural and scientific activities. I believe it is absolutely essential that UNESCO's work be given the greatest possible visibility if we are to generate a more lively interest in, and more powerful synergy with, its work for peace and for the intellectual empowerment of all humanity.

In the field of education, UNESCO must:

- Strengthen the struggle against illiteracy and persevere in the promotion of adult literacy, above all in the world's Arab and African states (this was highlighted in the UNDP's 2004 Annual Report[2]);
- Help these and other countries of the southern hemisphere to increase access to basic education for girls and boys equally, especially in rural areas;
- Initiate, promote and monitor improvement in the quality of primary, secondary and higher education. UNESCO must take the lead in actions designed to help young people (especially in the world's least developed and poorest countries and social groups) to benefit from the new information and communication technologies. Because, according to the 2004 UNDP Report, there is a huge gap in the use of computers between the advanced countries and the rest: for example, in the Arab world there are on average eighteen computers for every thousand people, as opposed to several hundred per thousand people in the advanced countries. The digital and communications divide has extended and amplified just how much these countries are lagging behind economically, intellectually and scientifically;
- Develop philosophical education and education in philosophy, which together form an indispensable intellectual vector for the promotion

[2] *2015: Mobilizing Global Partnerships,* Annual Report of the United Nations Development Programme, New York, UNDP, 2004.

and dissemination of the key ideas that feed UNESCO's missions in its four areas of expertise;

- Initiate research into and critical studies of new forms of expression (literature, literary criticism, cinema, Internet sites) of racism; intolerance; and sexual, ethnic and religious discrimination – and publish and distribute the results.

- Formulate action plans to fight against these new modes of expression of racism, sexism and all forms of hatred of others – especially religious – which are generated by compartmentalizing education and culture. The watchword for these action plans should be the decompartmentalizing of systems of education, culture and science at the global level;

- Create and promote at every level of education, from primary to post-secondary, introductory programmes (as well as study and research programmes) on the culture of law and human rights and the non-violent defence of human rights. For humanity, with the diversity of its cultures and the heterogeneity of its history, has for thousands of years known only violent forms of resistance to injustice. In future, UNESCO must do everything possible to promote the teaching and dissemination of a culture of law and of rights (substantive internal law, human rights, international law); and

- Launch study and research programmes into the history of colonialism worldwide.

In the field of science:

- Taking into account the numerous and varied technological and scientific revolutions that have taken place since its birth, UNESCO, the Organization for Education, Science, Culture and Communication, must develop new ways of thinking about, and produce texts on, a new ethics of science for the use of scientific communities and future generations of researchers and teachers in the sciences. It is not a question of trying to curb the energy of existing scientific research, nor to revile science, but to bring about a critical attitude that gives profound

consideration to questions of the real aims and the physical, biological and ethical consequences, in the mid-term and the long-term, of the abusive use of certain technologies in all areas of life and in terms of the environment. Scientific research and its technical applications should be oriented towards activities and industries that reinforce peace, rather than preferring those that prioritize war. This would refute and render obsolete the old hypocritical adage from the *imperium romanum;* 'If you want peace, prepare for war', to be replaced by a new and practical imperative: 'Prepare peace through justice to supplant war'.

- UNESCO should establish an action plan to reinforce and promote as widely as possible a veritable scientific culture, a pedagogy of the scientific or philosophical method: the precise observation of reality in all its complexity, experimental or rather 'experiential' verification of ideological doctrines, and increased awareness among youth of the link between ignorance and prejudice.

- UNESCO should undertake a programme to produce works that popularize science.

- One of UNESCO's future missions should be to establish research programmes and study and discussion groups in different geopolitical regions: to reorient the life and health sciences – in the name of peace – setting out the terms for a true international scientific cooperation that will produce truly pacifistic knowledge in these sciences; and to teach young people the principles, goals and means of authentic international solidarity, removed from any profit motive – a cancer that eats away at international relations as much as do the arms and drug trades.

In the fields of culture and communication:

For half a century, UNESCO has done remarkable work to maintain and preserve humanity's cultural heritage. In the future, it will need to expose as many people as possible to the diversity, richness and beauty of this heritage, using the latest in information and communication technologies: the Internet, CDs, DVDs, television. In this way, many

different populations would be able to reap the benefits of this property that belongs to all humanity.

Having access to the infinite beauty of cultural worlds, to their sparkling plurality and diversity, their similarities and their differences, allows each of us to experience both the singularity of cultural worlds and the feeling of belonging to one single humanity. From these mixed experiences, this knowledge and acknowledgement, we stand to gain access to peace through an exchange of aesthetic experiences that are ontologically and ethically charged: men and women learning to enrich themselves with immaterial goods – peace, knowledge, beauty – that, as Spinoza said, increase through sharing and being shared.

To close this brief presentation, I will offer three proposals.

UNESCO must be given air time on selected television networks to broadcast educational programmes about human rights; our judicial culture; the training of the scientific mind; and the history of civilizations, cultures and peoples.

UNESCO must establish, first and foremost, a 'discussion plan' for the construction of new sets of values for a more peaceful future. This is urgent: humanity, having barely emerged from the twentieth century and its two terrible world wars, its cold war, and its endless wars of decolonization, has already spent five years waging new colonial wars.

To achieve its goals, UNESCO must direct itself towards criticising and refuting the triumphant, axiological trinity, the 'configuration' of evil, as Paul Ricoeur might have put it, which all over the world is replacing the ties of mutually supportive relationships with a desire for unlimited profit, hegemony and violence – the new Furies, mortal creatures that are tearing away the 'flesh of the world'.[3]

[3] A concept developed in the works of Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

18 May 2005
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Randolph Kent
(United States of America)

Randolph Kent directs the Humanitarian Futures programme at Kings College, London, which is designed to enhance the planning and programming capacities of those organizations with responsibilities to prevent, prepare and respond to humanitarian crises. It also provides the basis for advocacy efforts concerned with factors that intensify largescale human vulnerability. Prior to this assignment, he was UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Somalia in April 2002, UN Humanitarian Coordinator in Kosovo (1999), UN Humanitarian Coordinator in Rwanda (1994-1995), Chief of the UN Emergency Unit in Sudan (1989-1991) and Chief of Emergency Prevention and Preparedness in Ethiopia (1987-1989). Among his various publications are *Anatomy of Disaster Relief: The International Network in Action* (New York: Pinter, 1987); *The Future of Humanitarian Assistance and the Role of the United Nations* (New York: UN, 2003, co-author); and 'Looking to the Future: Practical Steps to Strengthen the United Nations Relevance and Value-Added in Disaster Risk Management' (New York: UN, 2004). He, along with a team of three, has recently completed a report for the United Nations on ways to deal with UN integrated missions in peace-building settings. Dr Kent holds a doctorate in International Economic Relations and is a graduate from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

To be sensitive to such trends and to be an active guide through the complexities of the future will require an agile and adaptive organization. The first challenge for UNESCO will be to see if it can make that transition.

Randolph Kent

UNESCO has had a rich, diverse and important past in the fields of culture, education and science. However, its potential future role may well eclipse its previous contributions to these fields. In a world marked increasingly by uncertainty, complexity and seemingly unpredictable change, UNESCO could serve as a major coordinator, facilitator and catalyst for dealing with the human challenges of the future.

The UN Secretary-General announced early in 2005 that 'if the United Nations is to be a useful instrument for its Member States and for the world's peoples… it must be fully adapted to the needs and circumstances of the twenty-first century.'[1] And yet, what might those needs and circumstances be?

The question points to a seeming paradox: we cannot predict the future with any degree of certainty, but we can prepare for it. There, too, is another potential paradox: as presently structured and managed, most organizations (and certainly most international organizations) do not have the capacity to adapt to the future in a timely and pro-active manner – though they do have the capacity to influence the future.

[1] *In Larger Freedom, Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All.* Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, September 2005, paragraph 153.

This said, and bearing in mind the Secretary-General's exhortation, one has to confront the sad fact that one of the central capacities lacking in the United Nations system is an ability to speculate, to generate institutional curiosity and to develop, probe and disseminate robust scenarios about what the future might hold. Filling this gap could well be UNESCO's contribution to the UN system and to the global community.

In saying this, it might be worth speculating about: a) what we know about the future, and b) what the implications and challenges might be for organizations such as UNESCO in addressing these possible implications and challenges in the context of the twenty-first century.

What we know about the future

In 1937, the United States National Academy of Sciences organized a study aimed at predicting breakthroughs. 'Its report,' according to the Cambridge University cosmologist, Sir Martin Rees, 'makes salutary reading for technological forecasters today:

> It came up with some wise assessments about agriculture, about synthetic gasoline, and synthetic rubber. But what is more remarkable is the things it missed. No nuclear energy, no antibiotics… no jet aircraft, no rocketry nor any use of space, no computers; certainly no transistors. The committee overlooked the technologies that actually dominated the second half of the twentieth century. Still less could they predict the social and political transformations that occurred during that time.[2]

And while this offers sobering food for thought, there is something compelling and recognizable when analysts such as Dr Thomas Homer-Dixon, Director for the Study of Peace and Conflict at the University of Toronto, speculate that:

> The greatest danger of the twenty-first century is the synchronous failure of global social, economic and biophysical systems arising from

[2] Martin Rees, *Our Final Century: Will Civilization Survive the Twenty-First Century* (2003), London: Random House, p.13.

diverse yet interacting stresses. Never before have we been able to disrupt the fundamental processes of Earth's ecology; and never before have we created social, economic, and technological systems – from continent-wide industrial agriculture to the international financial system – with today's enormous complexity, connectedness, and speed of operation. [Whatever] the issue, our problems spill across geographical and intellectual boundaries, their complexity often exceeds our wildest imaginations, and they converge and intertwine in totally unexpected ways.[3]

All one can say about the future is that the hallmark of the twenty-first century will be uncertainty, frequent and rapid change, and complexity.

Already, new academic disciplines based on chaos and complexity theories have emerged in many institutions of higher education.[4] These disciplines struggle with an acute conceptual tension between those who regard disorder and unpredictability as a systemic norm and those who believe that randomness and its ramifications can be constrained through greater understanding of the laws of physics and the application of more sophisticated technologies.

Meanwhile, a growing official commitment to 'thinking outside the box', to establishing integrated decision structures and to increasing investment in 'futures' analysis, suggests a practitioner community – policymakers, planners and strategists – that knows that change can no longer be addressed through traditional means.[5]

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[3] From lecture notes by T. Homer-Dixon, 'The real danger of the twenty-first century', a talk given on 1 December 2003, sponsored by *Security for a New Century,* a bipartisan study group that seeks to assist Members of Congress and their staffs in better understanding the common characteristics of the security issues facing US policymakers for the US Congress,

[4] A growing number of institutions specialize in matters pertaining to chaos and complexity theories, or at least have dedicated specialists in these areas. Examples include the Santa Fe Institute, New Mexico, renowned for its work on complexity, and the University of Michigan, one of several universities offering courses on chaos theory.

[5] See, for example, the Foresight and Governance program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C.

Yet on the whole, whatever attention is given to anticipating change, complexity and their consequences, few serious analysts maintain that they are able to predict the future. But futurology in its conventional sense is not the issue. Predicting what will be is generally considered fairly dubious.[6] The issue, however, is not necessarily whether one can predict the future, but rather that there is a clear need to change the way we anticipate the future, while maintaining sensitivity to factors that might determine it.

Institutional implications and challenges

The cost of institutional change is all too often more than most organizations are willing to bear, but that cost is not necessarily a financial as much as a psychological one. Normally, the cost of change is measured in terms of threats to institutional norms, of changes in standard operating procedures and repertoires, and inter-organizational relinquishing of 'turf'. In this regard, it is illuminating, understandable and perhaps a bit depressing to speculate on the amount of energy that organizations spend on self-referential and introverted struggles for survival.

The organization of the future will not have the luxury of clinging to such traditional and conventional organizational patterns of behaviour. The organization that will cope, survive and succeed in the future will have to be more adaptive, agile and speculative. It will have to be less prone to interpreting the external environment through its own organizational lenses, and far more empathetic in trying to understand that environment through an array of different lenses. It will not be able to rely on fixed procedures, and will be far more attuned to basing its structures and responses upon multiple options.

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[6] Sir Martin Rees, a former president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, remarked in his most recent work that 'forecasters have generally failed dismally to foresee the drastic changes brought about by completely unpredictable discoveries. In contrast, incremental change is often slower than forecasters expects, certainly far slower than is technically possible.' Martin Rees, *Our Final Century: Will Civilization Survive the Twenty-First Century* (2003), London: Random House, p.14.

As steps towards this transition, the organization will have to accept that basic organizational strategies and operational plans need to undergo regular reassessments and updates, based in part upon changes in the broader operating environment.

It is interesting in this regard that many organizations follow strategies that have all too little relevance to what they are actually seeking to achieve – their programmes and projects seemingly divorced from those overarching objectives that the organization purports to pursue. The organization of the future will have to focus far greater attention on ensuring that its strategies, programmes and projects are aligned – or at least in harmony. Along this same line, such alignment also has to reflect coherence between organizational procedures and structures and the organization's human resources.

Yet, as I said earlier, planners and policymakers are inhibited in their efforts to plan for the longer term because of the sheer cost of change – measured in terms of the potentially overwhelming psychological, conceptual and paradigmatic institutional and operational outlay required. Change often only results from confronting the forces of change, but 'the trouble is that the potential level of losses that we are facing with some problems are so great that to have the experience [of confronting change] becomes counterproductive.'[7]

Organizational norms and memories, prior policy commitments and normal organizational inertia, along with routines and standard operating procedures, can shape and perhaps distort the way problems are structured, how information is channelled, how expertise is capitalized on, and how executive decisions are implemented. Bureaucratic politics within the organization or between contending organizations can significantly constrain the range of options that may be considered, the way issues are defined, and the manner in which subordinates implement executive decisions.

[7] Richard Slaughter, professor of futures studies at the Australian Foresight Institute, Swinburne University of Technology, quoted in Liz Else, 'Seizing Tomorrow' (December 2001), *New Scientist*, No. 2319, p.43.

In this context, it is interesting to consider two recent analyses of societies and structures: Jared Diamond's *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed;* and Richard Posner's *Catastrophe: Risk and Response.*[8] Clifford Geertz, from Princeton University's Institute for Advanced Study, explains Diamond's contention as; 'when societies have perished they have done so through their own neglect and self-delusion' – through 'the failure to anticipate, failures to perceive, psychological denial and groupthink'.[9] Geertz compares this with Posner's argument, which he feels rests on the human and organizational disinclination 'to think systematically about extreme events – absorbed as we are in the dailiness of ordinary life and enfolded by its brevity, the calculation of remote possibilities… looks pointless.'

Enhancing the adaptive capacity of the Organization – UNESCO's agenda?

It is essential to foster institutions that will have the creativity, the flexibility, the capacity to absorb information and the authority to undertake planning and policy-making actions necessary to anticipate and respond to rapid change and complexity. Towards that end, there are five steps that need to be considered:

- Planning as a priority. All too often in modern organizations, the planning function is regarded as secondary to what are perceived as more implementation-oriented functions. Planning, too, is frequently and wrongly deemed a luxury, and long-term planning particularly so. Organizational sub-entities that are designed to think creatively and to innovate are all too often the first for the axe when economic times are hard.

[8] Jared Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (2005), New York: Viking Penguin. Richard A. Posner, *Catastrophe: Risk and Response* (2004), USA: Oxford University Press.

[9] Clifford Geertz, 'Very Bad News' (2005). *The New York Review of Books,* Vol. 52, No. 5.

- Expanded planning time-frame. Two to three years is long-range planning for most governments, although so-called 'blue-sky thinking' can look at issues for much longer periods[10]. The problem for many planners is that they assume that a plan must reflect relatively firm and fixed steps for a defined period of time. When a former Hewlett-Packard executive argued that anyone nowadays with a five- or ten-year plan is 'probably crazy', he was implying that to plan, one had to be relatively certain about the environment in which one was operating.[11]

- Speculation as a main-line activity. The US Under Secretary for Science and Technology at the Department of Homeland Security, Charles McQueary, noted soon after his appointment that 'It's easy to look back and say we could have done this or that, but the fact is we weren't thinking that way.'[12] Those who were not thinking that way were policy planners and decision-makers, for the probability of this sort of attack was evident to many others.[13] The problem is that speculative research and blue-sky thinking are activities relegated to think tanks or, frequently, to non-mainstream sections within conventional organizations;

- Cross-systems organizations. 'Exploration competencies', or the ability to harvest ideas and expertise from a wide array of sources, is vital if one is to stay on top of innovations and their implications. Yet innovation is all too often 'internalized' – the external cross-fertilization that is necessary to maintain focus and to encourage the development of ideas is sacrificed to insular institutional interests.[14] Adaptive organizations will need to develop open information and communication linkages with

[10] Blue-sky thinking is a type of brainstorming, a free reflexion not restricted to what is practical, temporarely ignoring obstacles or opposition.

[11] Hugh Courtney, *20/20 Foresight: Crafting Strategy in an Uncertain World* (2001), Harvard Business School Press, p.160.

[12] Erika Check, 'Homeland Science Chief Wants Quick Fixes' (May 2003), *Nature*, Vol. 423, p.106.

[13] R. C. Kent, *Humanitarian Futures* (September 1998) – a study undertaken on behalf of the US Agency for International Development.

[14] J. D. Wolpert, 'Breaking Out of the Innovation Box' (August 2002), *Harvard Business Review,* Vol. 80, No. 8, p.78.

new types of partners, institutionally (for example, with commercial, non-governmental organizations) as well as geographically. They will also need to find ways to establish 'a new kind of go-between' that can be responsible for ensuring the exchange of trends and innovative ideas and their incorporation into planning processes.[15]

In this context, organizations may wish to look at recent business experiments with knowledge networks (KNs) and communities of practice (COPs), which can recognize a need to share information ('common ground') and mesh together to achieve common goals, purposes and objectives. KNs and COPs are non-hierarchical, fluid, inter-active and – as opposed to many aspects of organizational behaviour – non-judgmental.[16]

- Promoting inter-disciplinary methodologies. Every effort at inter-disciplinary analysis faces the difficult task of giving full weight to diverse, relevant perspectives without over-simplifying or diluting the contributions of individual disciplines. It is a test rarely satisfied completely, except perhaps in matters that are principally technical in nature.[17]

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[15] *ibid,* p. 80.

[16] In a related vein, in 2000, UNDP's administrator used a knowledge network as an example when discussing a South American government's need to restructure its customs procedures. The local UNDP office had a choice of either hiring a consultant and following a conventional approach to responding to the government's request, or sending out an Internet request for advice based upon comparable needs. The conventional approach would have taken up to four months to finalize, while the latter took less than a week. Further information on knowledge management and communities of practice can be found in John Seely Brown and Paul Duguid's *The Social Life of Information* (2000), Harvard Business School, and in Chris Kimble, Paul Hildreth and Peter Wright's, 'Communities of Practice: Going Virtual' – Chapter 13 in Yogesh Malhotra (ed), *Knowledge Management and Business Model Innovation* (2001), Hershey: Idea Group Publishing, pp. 216-230.

[17] It is interesting to note that studies by the RAND Corporation and British Telecommunications Research suggest that technological change is enhanced by 'multidisciplinary trends and interactions' (Philip Anton, Richard Silberglitt and James Schneider, *The Global Technology Revolution: Bio/Nano/Materials Trends and Their Synergies with Information Technology by 2015,* Santa Monica: RAND, 2001, p.35) and that 'positive feedback', or the way that technologies inter-relate and inter-act, means that having different technological disciplines will accelerate overall technological advances (Ian Pearson, 'What's Next?', *BT Technology Journal,* Vol. 19, No. 4, October 2001, p.101).

To lay the groundwork for these sorts of measures, organizational leaders will have to make certain adjustments to the environment in which their organizations operate. These would include:

- Promoting the art of systematic speculation. Planners and policy-makers are inhibited in their efforts to plan for the longer-term because of their assumption that the future cannot be predicted. This attitude reflects a type of linear thinking that requires a precise understanding of cause-and-effect sequencing. It also reflects an inherent organizational resistance to ambiguity. And yet, as a recent study of climate change suggests, the only way to develop means to deal with the possible consequences of change is to identify 'a sequence of steps, each with associated uncertainties'.[18] Emissions of greenhouse gases need to be specified, but so, too, will their dependence on unknown socio-economic behaviour. These unknowns can be tackled by using scenarios designed to produce indicative rather than definitive analyses.

- Adjusting certain institutional mechanisms. None of the above can have overall value unless the consequences of such adjustments feed into an organization's decision-making processes. The same report highlighted the trifurcation of strategic planning, policy formulation and decision-making. Such divisions frequently occur because of a perceived distinction between the immediate and the speculative, and between the practical and the conceptual. These sorts of distinctions – though understandable – create the narrow prisms that the report suggests dulls responsive capacities.

There are ways that, when incorporated with the three previous sets of proposals, the negative implications of trifurcated structures can be reduced:

- Reduce the impact of unanticipated strategic options. Those responsible for strategic planning and policy formulation need to communicate regularly with decision-makers to ensure that 'the future' fits into a

[18] The Royal Society, *Climate Change: What We Know and What We Need to Know*, Policy Document 22/02, August 2002, p.7.

pattern of events that will not come as a surprise. Decision-makers working under extreme pressure are naturally inclined to discard issues and options they are not familiar with. A way around this barrier would be to introduce means by which senior decision-makers were regularly briefed on trends and their implications – to enhance their familiarity and reduce the potential dissonance created by unanticipated analyses, options and proposals.

- Communicating the centrality of speculation. While in most organizations only a relative few will want to be involved in 'blue-sky thinking', an effective organization of the future will be sure of two things. In the first place, it will be sure that everyone in the organization knows that long-range strategic analysis and planning are valued by the organization and are part of the organization's ethos. Secondly, it will find ways to foster that ethos; promoting, for example, knowledge networks and communities of practice.

- Eliminate functions that create unnecessary closure. Organizations require decisions. They function least effectively in environments of ambiguity. The future will require organizations to be far more adept at handling uncertainty, and far more willing to be administratively and programmatically flexible. A starting point is to assess the various types and levels of pressures that determine why and when decisions are taken.

In conclusion I would underline that the challenges of the twenty-first century span an enormous range. They encompass fundamental changes in the concept of human rights and, quite probably, a profound restructuring of how human beings organize themselves. These may stem from profound changes in the roles and responsibilities of states in the post-Westphalian world and fundamental demographic shifts reflecting new ways of social identification and 'belonging'. In facing this century's challenges, we will have to take into account the high probability that humankind will increasingly venture into outer space and will establish itself permanently somewhere else in this solar system – and maybe in others as well. Our responses to these challenges will also have to reflect the probability that much of what we perceive and do will be based less

upon the tangible and physical realities to which our senses are now attuned, and increasingly upon the manipulation of expanded human sensory capacities, which will create a sense of physical and tangible reality.

Science and particularly bio-technology will fundamentally alter the way we envision life and the ways that we live it. Communications – seemingly so far advanced already – will open up new ways of anticipating and sharing thoughts, emotions and desires.

Yet all of these fundamental changes will require three things. In the first place, they will require an ability to speak and understand each other across disciplines. Secondly, as our lifestyles and our environment rapidly evolve, we will need to be sure that human advancement does not become divorced from its historical and cultural context. Thirdly, such fundamental changes will require that the future reflects and is seen to reflect a wide dimension of human creativity. These three factors could well set the agenda for UNESCO in the future.

Reflecting upon the Secretary-General's call for a UN system that is an instrument for humankind, UNESCO, in the context of the wider UN system, has a core role to play. UNESCO should be at the forefront of efforts to ensure that the activities of this global multilateral system relate its work to the implications of a rapidly evolving global community.

UNESCO in the context of the wider international community should bear the same hallmarks. That is to say, UNESCO's vision and strategy, its programmes and projects, should reflect the importance of inter-relating humanity's past with its future, the sciences with the arts, and what might be with what should be. To be sensitive to such trends and to be an active guide through the complexities of the future will require an agile and adaptive organization. The first challenge for UNESCO will be to see if it can make that transition.

18 May 2005
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Jacques Attali
(France)

Jacques Attali is a renowned professor and writer. He was Special Advisor to France's President François Mitterrand from 1981 to 1991 and founder of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, for which he was first President, from 1991 to 1993. He is President and founder of PlaNet Finance (www.planetfinance.org), an international non-profit organisation that aims to alleviate poverty by contributing to the development of the microfinance sector. He also heads A&A, an international consulting firm specialized in new technologies. In 1979, Dr Attali co-founded the French non-governmental organization *Action contre la Faim* (Action Against Hunger). He is the author of thirty-six books and has a weekly column in the French magazine, *l'Express*. Dr Attali holds a doctorate in economics and is a graduate of France's Ecole Polytechnique, Ecole des Mines, Institut d'Etudes Politiques and Ecole Nationale d'Administration.

I shall quickly try to say why I think that the coming sixty years will most probably lead to the destruction of civilization as we know it, and why I believe that UNESCO has an absolutely major and fundamental role to play in the process that might enable us to avoid it.

Jacques Attali

It is easy to speak on a subject such as this, given that in sixty years almost all of us will be dead and only the very youngest of you here today will still be around to criticize the predictions that I am about to make. This of course makes the task of predicting a great deal easier. Nevertheless, for my part, I think it most likely that in sixty years UNESCO will no longer exist or, if it should still exist, it will only be as a sort of somnambulist – walking on, believing that it is functioning, while the rest of the world watches it sleeping. That is what I see, a sleepwalking 'Thing'[1]. That is UNESCO for me in sixty years' time. Some will say this is what it already is today, but I am not one of them – far from it. But I do believe there is a real danger of this happening, not only for UNESCO but for our societies in general. A sleepwalker is the image that comes to my mind when I think of what can become of a civilization that continues to think of itself as alive even after it has faded away. So why am I not also pessimistic? Because I believe that we are all players here, and that, like any true player, our job is not to be pessimistic or optimistic, but to keep playing right up to the final seconds of the match. Optimism, like pessimism, is for spectators, and we are not spectators. But I do think that knowing an adversary's strength best equips us to understand the dangers that confront us.

[1] The 'Thing' is the pejorative nickname given to the United Nations by French President Charles de Gaulle.

I shall quickly try to say why I think that the coming sixty years will most probably lead to the destruction of civilization as we know it, and why I believe that UNESCO has an absolutely major and fundamental role to play in the process that might enable us to avoid it. I shall make, as Professor Kent just did, some very concrete proposals that I dream of seeing put into action by all of you who have come together in this room today.

I believe that the great issue confronting societies today is that, while the match being played out among different forms of civilizations and cultures appears to be a match between barbarisms, between destructive, suicidal and totalitarian systems, and appears to be preventing the development of societies – of men, women and children – all the while we are failing to clearly recognize just how suicidal and self-destructive our own democratic societies, founded on freedom, are. And if there is one message that I hope you take away with you from what I am saying, it is that the greatest function of an institution such as yours is to do what it can to help recreate cohesion in our model of civilization.

I shall begin with the observation that our civilizations – the civilizations that we stand up for here – are based on one principle, that of individual freedom. In fact, humankind could have chosen other dominant values: we could have chosen the desire for immortality, the desire for equality, the desire for fraternity. For reasons that would take much debate to explicate, we have chosen freedom of the individual as our absolute value. And we are constantly struggling among ourselves – you are struggling continually with one another – to advance this individual freedom. We have set up institutional structures to ensure that our societies defend individual freedom and that our international institutions defend individual freedom. The mechanisms in place are, for the economy: the marketplace (which is, in effect, a means of organizing economic transactions on the basis of individual freedom), and for politics: democracy. We base our lives on the notion that, worldwide, our societies will ensure the triumph of both and, what's more, that they are

both cohesive and mutually reinforcing. In fact, history teaches us that the more trade there is, the more democracy there is, because the market brings with it more exchange, more freedom, more possibilities for communication, and so democracy establishes itself. And in concrete terms, we have seen societies become democracies the moment they had market economies and, conversely, democracies creating market economies because it is impossible to be a democracy without a market economy. Culture is clearly at the centre of these things because it is through culture that democracy is established; culture allows for innovation, for science, and for a market economy to develop.

Only I don't believe a word of what I have just said. Because although I do think that this cohesion exists today, it is under ever greater threat, not only from the external forces of which we are well aware, but also from itself. And at the core of that threat is the ideological and cultural capacity to ensure cohesion between democracy and the market. And that, I think, is what will bring about our collective suicide.

Firstly, because there is a contradiction between the market economy and democracy, which is that the market is, by its very nature, unlimited in its capacity both in terms of time and geographic reach. The market has no borders, whereas democracy naturally has borders because democracy applies within a territory. Even in the current debate in France over the European Constitutional referendum, we are seeing that it is much faster, much more natural and much easier to achieve expansion in the marketplace, which is the result of an accumulation of individual initiatives, than political expansion, which presupposes the construction of institutions that are infinitely slower to put in place. There is a contradiction there. The market is by nature stronger than democracy.

There is a second contradiction too, which is that the market is a decision-making process. The first contradiction I spoke of leads to an idea that, in time, the market will prevail over democracy. That is, that the market will take control in areas that today are in the realm of democracy. What is democracy? It is a domain in which the majority decides how resources are to be allocated. And if my prediction is correct,

we are going to see a whole lot of areas that today belong to the realm of democracy – health, education, the courts, policing, defence – all the instruments of sovereignty, shift over to the market. International institutions will be nothing more than corks bobbing in the sea of the market economy, and maybe they already are.

The second contradiction, then, is that the market is a decision-making process that is supposed to behave in such a way that if everyone acts selfishly within the limit of his or her resources, then we reach an optimum point – this is the law of the market. It is a mechanism for making unanimous decisions, whereas democracy is a mechanism for making majority decisions. Which is to say that, according to the law of the market, everybody is happy as long as they are happy with the distribution of goods, whereas under majority rule, the minority agrees to accept majority rule simply because it thinks that democracy is more important than what it has lost in not gaining the majority itself, and also because it thinks that one day it will be the majority again. But what does a minority do if it thinks it has more to lose than to gain under the majority? At that point, if it has the power to, it will shift everything it can over to the market, because it can find gratification in the market's unanimity. This is the second contradiction, which leads me to think that, progressively, we are going to see a great number of fields of activity being shifted over to the market. To take a concrete example, I believe that in the field of education this has only just begun, and we will see if the rationale continues: the privatization of education systems, but not just privatization in the sense that education will shift to the private sector, privatization in the sense of industrialization. Having written about this a long time ago, and having seen it coming, I am among those who believe that, more and more, we are going to see health care and education become not just private systems but actual props for industry. The industry of distance education – we see this already in the new technologies – but also the industry of teaching machines and, looking farther ahead still, all the industries that will spring from what is going to be a fundamental sector of science for the next sixty years – the cognitive sciences – which will link the education market to advances in our

understanding of the individual. Cognitive science: one of tomorrow's major ethical issues, and it just happens to fit perfectly into the market privatization that is underway.

The third consequence of this contradiction between democracy and the market, and perhaps the most important one relative to what brings us together here today, is that the market and democracy are based, as I said earlier, on a common principle – the principle of freedom. When you talk about freedom you are talking about the right to change your mind. This means that, if I am free, I am free to want something and then to want the opposite, to change politicians, to change jobs, to change employers, to change employees. Which is to say that another name for freedom is reversibility, and another name for reversibility is precarity. So, more and more, we find ourselves living in societies that promote a kind of tyranny of precarity in the name of freedom – and by the way, this precarity is not just reversibility back to the original thing, but reversibility towards the new, from which comes our obsession with the new. A tyranny of the new that feeds the law of the marketplace and reinforces the conditions of production of market values. Can we live permanently in societies based on precarity? Can we live permanently in societies that try to justify precarity?

Put differently, precarity is not an extra aspect of the societies for which we are fighting; it is the natural consequence of, the flipside of, freedom. It is another name for freedom. Can we live with it? Can we come to terms with it? Can we defend it against those who protect and promote values other than freedom? How do we do this? If we accept this argument, then we're moving ourselves in the direction of an ever-more fragmented world, living in nations that will become progressively weaker, because governments will no longer have the means to act. So what we will end up with – I think it's fair to say that Somalia today is the prototypical nation for this – is a nation without a state. And the world itself will become a kind of gigantic Somalia with nonexistent states, where governments are off somewhere else, but where? When there no longer is anywhere else? With an illegal economy that doesn't need to

bother asking whether it is legal or not because there will be no more legal standards. That is the world ahead!

We already have a number of responses to this impending situation, and it is very interesting to see that they come from the main sectors of global economic development.

The first response to precarity – the rational response – is insurance. I insure myself. Have you noticed the largest sector of the global economy today is insurance. What we call the derivatives market is entirely comprised of insurance.

The second response? If I reject precarity, I'm going to need to distract myself. This is Pascal's response when confronted with death: diversion and distraction. The recreation industries are massive today – tourism, drugs (and let's not forget that in many languages the word for drugs and travel are the same: a trip) – it is no accident if the recreation industries, in the broadest sense, have become a way of resigning oneself to precarity, of avoiding facing it.

The third response, obviously, is to reject precarity. That is, to turn back and seek long-term visions, to argue that everything we talk about today is a collective unconscious that we cannot accept. Those who reject the market are saying 'Forget democracy and the marketplace, and let's move towards a society that makes sense in the long term'. And this is why we see demands – some clearer than others, some more ambiguous than others, some more acceptable than others – for an upwards revaluation of religion, of the long term, be it ecological or religious, through which we can escape from precarity.

What this all means is that, basically, if we look at these scenarios, we have a pretty bleak choice between a few different futures. An every-man-for-himself future of individual fragmentation, or a totalitarian future cloaked in religious ethics. And you can see in the chaos of our world today that this is pretty much what is happening, where precious few are able to safeguard or to defend the cohesion of democracy and the market, the cohesion of a culture of freedom, the lasting cohesion of a

culture of freedom. And mixed in with this strange phenomenon there is suicidal terrorism, a kind of paroxysm that chooses absolute immortality in the negation of life as its form of rejection of western society – which is truly the ultimate, climactic, expression of the rejection of all of our different cultures. In such a world there is naturally no place for international institutions: they disappear, forgotten in their corners. They are the sleepwalkers that I spoke of earlier. They might exist, but no one cares. We don't make them vanish, because to do so would mean acknowledging their existence in the first place.

But it must be noted that, as long as history doesn't repeat itself, there are some interesting precedents. Today's move to globalization is the fourth in only two centuries. The first three failed. Each of them gave birth to international institutions – let's not forget our history. They failed, and in general they failed during a period of war. Now we see that today's globalization, with all the precarity it brings, is beginning to reach its limits. People are resisting it, but rather than going beyond it to a more successful globalization that could see the formation of international institutions that, I'm getting to the point now, could produce cohesion, the most likely outcome is that each will retire to his Aventine hilltop, refusing *this* global reasoning because it doesn't deliver *this* desired cohesion. The most likely outcome is that the institutions will be forgotten in a corner, everyone will withdraw to their own private hilltop and, obviously, reject the formidable promise of success that globalization brings with it. Let us say that we're heading more towards a globalization of Evil than a globalization of Good, while at the same time there is a huge demand for the globalization of Good on the part of NGOs and other institutions 'without borders'. The 'without borders' ideology is one of planetary brotherhood, of the creation of a world that is different from the one we live in today, a world that is planetary in scope: more globalization, not less.

Beyond this cataclysmic scenario, which is most definitely the one in which I believe the most, we could imagine taking action. And I say this bearing in mind what Karl Marx wrote at the end of his last work, when he suggested that the German Social Democratic Party should take

action, and then mysteriously ended his text with *'Dixit et salvavi animam meam'* ('I have spoken and saved my soul'), implying 'But I don't believe for a moment that you'll actually do it'. These are not the words I would use to stress what I have to say but, despite that, there is a little of this feeling at the back of my mind. I believe that for UNESCO today there are at least three major subjects that give room for action. Three questions – three missions if you will – and one statute.

The first question is, obviously, to produce – debate and produce – the basics of an ideological discussion about the future cohesion between the elements, the dimensions, of our civilization: democracy and the market. How are we to ensure that the market and democracy remain consistent with the values in which we believe – human dignity, the freedom to create, the possibility of governing the world in a just fashion? This opens up an endless field, but I have already spoken too long so I will leave it at introducing the subject, over which there will be extensive debate, with significant issues that need to be broached.

The second question follows from what I said earlier about how democracy and the market put tremendous pressure on individual freedom, on individualism, and are reorienting science towards a science of the individual as a marketable object. I think that there is a major issue, upon which UNESCO has already begun to work, of the connection between science and the protection of individual dignity which, in my view, is going to become a bigger and bigger issue; with the cognitive sciences and, obviously, everything to do with genetics, the evolution of sexuality, the artificial uterus, the separation of sexuality and reproduction etc. – in the entire field of the protection of the individual.

A third question for UNESCO to consider is; 'Is there anything beyond democracy and the market?' Do democracy and the market represent the ultimate human society possible? Not that UNESCO should get into politics, but it should recognize that in the area of freedom, huge fields are developing that are the heart of UNESCO's traditional areas of interest. Essentially, the market is based on market exchanges. If I have a glass of water and I give it to you, I no longer have it; but if I have

information and I give it to you, I still have the information. So here we are in a radical, revolutionary area relative to the laws of economics. Yet tomorrow's economics are derived precisely from the market, and I have spoken only of the market. Are we going to accept that everything can be assumed into the market, or will we use the information economy to create a culture of free distribution, what I call a 'fraternity society'? That is, a society in which people no longer find their happiness in what they can take from others, but in what they can give. We are seeing this fraternity society, or free distribution, already in the field of technology, with freeware, networks, peer-to-peer distribution – so controversial yet so inevitable, and obviously in the coming nature of things. As Mr Kent said so well on the subject of trademarks, free distribution is irreversible, and we are going to live in a world of free distribution. From ten to twenty percent (the actual figures do not exist) of today's gross national product is already made up of free-of-charge activities: NGOs, charities, volunteers. And its share will grow. I think, in fact, that this is as subversive a force within capitalism as capitalism was within feudalism. For me, it is at the very heart of UNESCO's mission to think this way, because it is at the heart of its mission to think about science and information, and free distribution comes from the nature of information.

Questions. Missions. I think that one very important question for UNESCO to consider is that international bodies today are faced with the emergence of private actors exercising the same profession as theirs. Many of the private actors beginning to appear want globalization to succeed, and they are pointing out not the failure of, but the gaps in, our international institutions. These 'things' that are taking on the roles that the international institutions have not filled are what we call self-regulation bodies.

There are simple examples. For instance, the *Bureau de vérification de la publicité* (the Advertising Verification Bureau) is a very interesting group that self-regulates the advertising profession in France, keeping it from making mistakes. There are far more consequential examples too, such as the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, whose members,

we could say, have saved the world today – or the world of international finance at least – by producing, without any external mandate whatsoever, what are known as the 'Basel Accords' – Basel I and Basel II – where bankers have come together to establish banking norms.[2] No institutions are involved, not the IMF, not the World Bank, just bankers themselves. And this is beginning to show up in a number of areas, in accounting for instance, but also in widely varied domains. For example, among private zoos. Private zoos have established extraordinarily strong and prescriptive rules governing the export of wild animals between continents and between zoos of different countries. There is not a zoo in the world, not a serious zoo, that will today accept an animal that has not gone through this network. An entire body of regulation is being put into place, infinitely more efficient, prescriptive, and obeyed, with no legitimacy comparable to that of the international finance institutions or the United Nations. So, are we moving towards a world of self-regulation by the private sector alone? This would be an even greater sleepwalker than the one I mentioned earlier on.

And I believe that there is a role there, a very important one, if UNESCO is ready to play it. I believe that a very important mission for UNESCO would be to produce standards. I will cite just one example to indicate how difficult, I'm convinced, it would be to do. I had the privilege several years ago of presiding over a reform commission for higher education in France, and to my great surprise, all of our recommendations were acted on. It was within this commission that the idea arose of the 'three-five-eight' system – the LMD 'Licence (bachelor), Master, Doctorate'. Based on the adoption of common diplomas, it is now applied throughout Europe.

Many other things that we recommended have also been implemented. Of the measures we proposed, only one, which was quite important to me, was, nonetheless, not instituted. The commission

[2] The distribution of capital to the economy by central banks entails an inherent credit risk for which a clear set of guidelines is necessary. The Basel Committee has established international recommendations that have been progressively introduced into the legislations of its member countries. The 1988 Basel Accord (Basel I) was followed in 2004 by the second Basel Accord (Basel II).

recommended the creation of an agency to rate universities in France, to give them a public grade that would help students and professors choose where they wished to go. I was told 'Great! Wonderful! Now, where were we?' (Some of you will be all too familiar with this.) If you are not in a position to create standards, which implies a good many things, to be a grading agency, an evaluating body, or even more – and on this point I'd like to conclude my talk – a legitimate force with the right to override what you are told by your governments and ambassadors ('Above all don't say anything bad about my university – I'm bankrolling you.'). In other words, you need to be in a position to do what modern economic theory calls an 'assessment of the investment climate' (modern economic theory speaks of climate or environment as the cultural, social, economic and political framework within which a country is good to live in, and will be sustainable). This is done through evaluating these enterprises. In the organization for which I am responsible, we perform this grading activity for microbanks, and I can tell you that it is an absolutely fundamental activity.[3] Moodys does it for financial institutions, because it allows them to know their worth, to improve, and to compete better.[4] Naturally, for UNESCO to be able to function in this way, I believe that it, like any other international institution, will have to be able to confront the primary question that I've had in mind throughout this talk, though I haven't spoken of it directly.

I believe that in sixty years either the world will be barbaric or there will be something like a world government, and this government will not be a multilateral institution but a supranational institution. I believe that as long as UNESCO remains a multilateral and not a supranational institution, it is going to have a very hard time doing anything whatsoever about everything that I have just said.

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[3] PlaNet Finance is an international, non-profit organization dedicated to eradicating poverty throughout the world through the development of microfinance.

[4] A New York agency that provides credit ratings and financial information to capital markets.

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UNESCO House, Paris, France

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A sovereign power can no longer do just as it pleases within its own borders. Even the Charter of the United Nations, from the preamble on, speaks of the rights of people and not of states, something that we have tended to forget over the past five or six decades.

Ghassan Salamé

I would like to add a few points to this reflexion on 'What UNESCO for the future?' concerning areas that have perhaps not been covered until now. Here we are 'stimulating an open reflexion' sixty years after the founding of UNESCO, and the call for this is understandable. It is understandable because the world has changed over these sixty years; it is understandable because the tasks for which UNESCO was created have evolved during these six decades; it is even more understandable because the report made public by the United Nations Secretary-General on 2nd December 2004 was relatively silent on the future of UNESCO and other specialized agencies within the great UN structure.[1] While we cannot predict the future, we do need to have a long-term perspective – as Fernand Braudel, in his great wisdom, urged in trying to identify the major trends in the human experience. Aristotle put this even more intelligently when he wrote that we do not grasp the true nature of things until we reach maturity, or even later. Which is why journalists generally make poor historians and political scientists make poor prophets.

Obviously we need to put things into context. Each event that takes place around us returns us to the fundamental question of identifying

[1] *A more secure world: Our shared responsibility*, Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, 2 December 2004 (http://www.un.org/secureworld/pressrel_2.html).

major long-term trends. Take the most recent events that have shaken the world scene, September 11th, 2001, for example: was it an isolated terrorist incident; was it part of a series of acts linked to the globalization of violence; or was it really the beginning, as some have written, of a worldwide clash of civilizations? Is this event 'ripe' enough, as Aristotle would say, that we can draw genuine conclusions from it yet? Take the war in Iraq. Is it an isolated operation? Is it the start of a series of actions aimed at remodelling the Middle East, or even the beginning of a kind of recolonization of the world? Is it not too early to say? Take the emergence of China: is this just a passing phenomenon as it has been described? The formation of a regional power? The announcement of a new bipolar era in the international system? Is it not too early to say? Take globalization: is it a simple reflection of American power? Is it a wave that will pass as did the first wave of globalization which marked the international system between 1870 and 1914, or is it something more structural and to a large extent irreversible? Is it not too early to say? Take the 'No' or the 'No's' in the European referendums: is this just a minor setback? Is it a real regression? Is it, as some have written, the beginning of the disintegration of the European Union or even of its demise? These four or five events call for us to be extremely prudent in our predictions. But while we must try not to predict, we do need to develop a long-term perspective before coming to any definite conclusions.

This brings me to my second point. If we are unable to reach an agreement on what is going on, let us at least try to agree on what is ending. For the past fifteen years the world has been virtually littered with corpses and death notices. The death has been announced of anything and everything. You could not count the number of books with titles beginning with 'The end of….' 'The death of…' 'The disappearance of …'. Some of these death notices have proven to be premature, some have proven to be false – and that especially raises a huge cloud over considerations of what is to replace the thing whose end has been announced.

Is it the end of authoritarianism? Admittedly, yes, but we should note that, from the same initial position – a planned economy and a one-party system – twenty-eight Eastern and Central European countries have moved in extremely different directions over the last fifteen years. We should also note that democratization has spread throughout Latin America, but that populist movements have begun again to have an impact on the political systems there. It is said there is more freedom in the world (thanks particularly to the revolution in information technology, to which I will return), but I maintain that when it comes to the political process, there has been no significant progress. Finally, we note that the third wave of democratization that has been talked about since 1991 ran out of steam about ten years ago (*The Third Wave,* the seminal work on the subject, was published in 1980).[2] Even optimists like those from the Freedom House acknowledge that this third wave has affected only 110 or 115 states, and that some states have regressed.[3]

The end of totalitarianism? Certainly, the end of the huge creations of the twentieth century, like the USSR or Yugoslavia. But Russia still stretches across eleven time zones, and uncertainty still pervades several parts of the former Yugoslavia with regard to their future as sovereign and independent entities.

The end of the Cold War? Yes, the end of ideological and strategic confrontation on a universal scale, and without direct hostilities between the main protagonists. But one detects a lingering whiff of this Cold War at the Pristina International Airport, in the Iraq affair, and in some other more recent cases as well.

The end of bipolarity? Because one of the two poles of the Cold War has quite simply collapsed. But are we not witnessing a return to bipolarity? Has the old bipolarity been replaced by a unipolar system, by a fluid multipolar system or, more exactly, a three dimensional chess-

[2] Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave* (1980), New York: William Morrow and Company.

[3] Freedom House is a non-profit, nonpartisan organization that supports the expansion of freedom in the world, founded on democracy; the rule of law; freedoms of expression, association, belief; and respect for the rights of minorities and women.

board with numerous distributions of power, as Joe Nye explains it? On the military level it is more of a unipolar era, on the economic level it is perhaps a tripolar world. On the level of 'soft power', it is instead a world without any polarity.[4] Is polarity a concept that can still be used?

They have also announced the end of the nation-state. The nation-state is in danger. It has been undermined by the construction of Europe; by the general disengagement of the state from the public sector; by the relative loss of one of its fundamental attributes – management of the economy; by the collapse of much of the state apparatus in some fifty countries, those we now call 'failed states'; and by the little control that the state maintains over transnational commerce. It is true that the nation-state has become somewhat worn down, but some people are still trying with great determination to build their state – the Palestinians, the Kurds, Timor recently, perhaps Tibet, perhaps Kosovo, and others. The state, even in the most developed states, even in France, still controls up to 30 or 40 per cent of the GDP, and continues to control the military and the border police. One can even say that after a certain intoxication resulting from the disappearance of the state, we are now witnessing a restoration of the nation-state in more than one region of the world.

If the state is no longer the supreme international protagonist, then what is replacing it? Supra-national organizations? This is doubtful. Civilizations, as Huntington has claimed? I do not believe this at all. A civil international society? I don't think so, or not yet. The nation-state might be worn down, but has it really disappeared?

Some wrote it was the end of the military order, that war had become obsolete. This is clearly not true and the past fifteen years have seen the opposite: while the most sophisticated armies might not have been called to fight an outright global Armageddon, more than 125 conflicts have broken out and the most primitive of weapons have

[4] 'Soft power' is a term used in international relations to describe a political body's capacity to indirectly influence the behaviour or the interests of other political bodies through cultural or ideological means, unlike 'hard power', which uses coercion. The term was coined by Joseph Nye in his 1990 book *Bound to Lead* (New York: Basic Books), which he wrote in response to theories predicting the decline of the United States' predominance.

killed by the dozens, hundreds – maybe millions – in Africa, in central Asia, in the Balkans and in other places around the globe. I really do not think that we have witnessed the end of war.

Have we seen the end of territories, as some have written? Perhaps, but people are still willing, in many zones of the world, to be killed for a piece of territory, in the regions that I have just mentioned and in others as well.

It has also been written that we have seen the end of distance. That is true. Manuel Castells' information revolution has truly eradicated distance, notably through the most modern means of communication. But we have seen global distances shrink while the distances between neighbours, between communities that used to have a strong sense of conviviality, have on the contrary widened, become deeper, and have been transformed into conflicts.

The end of ideologies? Admittedly the two great ideologies, National Socialism and Marxism did really wear away. And we have seen a revolution in Eastern Europe, a revolution of intellectuals that did not really produce any ideas, that is true, but for many people today, isn't the market a veritable new ideology?

Isn't nationalism coming back with the unilateral penchants of the great powers? And are we not seeing a resurgence of more than sixty secessionist movements throughout the world? Do we not feel the impact of populist and indigenist ideology, which is at present stirring up in several countries in Latin America?

The end of history as Francis Fukuyama wrote? Without doubt there is the triumph of one ideology over another, and this is perhaps the end of history, but is the debate really closed, and hasn't Fukuyama himself recently gone back on his thesis?

The end of progress? This is what an official from the Japanese Ministry of Finance who prides himself on his intellectualism (Eisuke Sakakibara) has written, presenting the Cold War as a kind of civil war

between the West and two forms of progress or interpretations of progress: socialism and neoclassicism. The end of progress, but can the world really live without at least the illusion, the idea, that human nature and civilizations need progress to maintain their optimism?

The end of modernity? The end of modernity, but why? To be replaced by what? Some will say that it is the end of modernity and a regression towards a pre-modern mediaeval era, others will tell you that we are in the middle of a deconstructed post-modernity. It is more likely that we face a sometimes-frightening mixture, changing from one era to another from one place on the planet to another, the three eras intermixed – pre-modern, modern, and the post-modern era of extrovert and cosmopolitan societies.

The end of direction? We are witnessing the erosion of the four cardinal points. The East is no longer the East, the West no longer exists, the South is too diversified, and the North is very much divided. We no longer have cardinal points that we can rely on to orient ourselves. The world no longer has a compass and the nation-states, traditional guardians of direction over the centuries, blame their painful loss of authority on the impact of globalization. But globalization is a situation: it does not direct. So we see now, how easy it is to pronounce the clinical death of human constructions, but often the concepts for replacement themselves seem to be stillborn, hence the hazardous nature of all predictions, but UNESCO has to continue the effort.

My third point is that it is essential we recognize the information revolution and adjust ourselves to it, for the world arena has been reconfigured by a multiform revolution that is based on and driven by information. The real globalization of the twentieth century was of communication, just as the globalizations of the nineteenth century and before it, the eighteenth, were of transportation. This revolution springs from the marriage of computer and telecommunications technologies. We are moving towards a single object – telephone, fax, television – a digital information transmission tool. We are at the heart of a true revolution. Admittedly, there was Gutenberg in 1436; there was Bell, the

telephone in 1876; but the present revolution was sparked off in the 1970s: with the microprocessor in 1971, the first microcomputer in 1975, the fax, then the mobile phone and more recently the Internet.

Why is this a revolution? It corresponds to the dictionary definition of a revolution, 'a sudden and far-reaching change in the established order'. We see this sudden and far-reaching change in the established order in computers, in telecommunications, we see it and use it in audiovisual gadgets and we see it in biology, which is a language in the sense that biological research is above all the search for a code. This is a revolution because it has those three characteristics of revolution. It is *better, faster and cheaper. Better* in the sense that the inventions are everyday ones: more sophisticated and more miniaturized every day. *Faster* because the power of computers now doubles every twelve months instead of every eighteen. *Cheaper* because a telephone conversation across the Atlantic in 1965 cost almost four hundred times as much as it costs in 2005. This is a revolution also because it signals the erosion of distance. The end of the automatic correlation between geographic distance and the cost of communication will be the most important economic force in shaping society over the next half century. It will have an impact in a way that we cannot yet imagine on decisions about where people will live and work, on the concept of national borders and the shape of external trade. But yet again the end of physical distances also reveals the new extent of cultural distances, a contrast between homogeneous technology and an ever more heterogeneous world.

This is a revolution because it compresses time and transforms us all, from television-viewers into veritable witnesses in real time of the world's tragedies. It is a revolution because it creates a new universal, digital language – allowing all information, images, voice, and text to be translated into the same basic units and transmitted through a single medium. It is a revolution because it has far-reaching economic effects; on the value of things, on the gift economy, on electronic commerce, on the risk of economic monopolies, on the definition of intellectual and artistic property, and finally on taxation. Because we live in a world in

which it is very difficult to know what should be paid and especially what should be taxed.

It is a revolution because it produces social and cultural effects; it destroys intermediaries – stock brokers, travel agents – and delocalizes companies, and we do not know who receives the information we send. It is concerned with disseminating information and not with communication, which involves interaction. This leads to the development of a technological ideology, which believes that only the limits of technology hold back social and political transformation. Ideologues confuse information with communication.

Finally, this is a revolution because it has immense political effects. It threatens democracy, as Mr Boutros-Ghali has discussed, and it redefines the relative power of states. It weakens the state by making censorship difficult and increasing the globalization already taking place. It has far-reaching military effects because the most powerful military machines today are those linked to the information revolution. It radically redistributes power among states, arms new opposition groups and produces a veritable paradox in this sense: the more the capacity to produce and diffuse information across the world increases, the more the demand for information falls. The world is becoming more local at the same time that it is being globalized.

My fourth point is that the globalization engendered by the information revolution contributes to both integration and disintegration. Conflicting forces towards integration and disintegration have marked the past two centuries. The nineteenth century was a century of integration, most often forced, with the unification of Germany and of Italy, and with colonial expansion causing large parts of the planet to be integrated into the great colonial empires. This was a first wave of globalization; set off by navigation, the steam engine, the railway and bilateral free-trade agreements. The twentieth century saw movements of disintegration, notably the disintegration of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and the rise of separatist and sovereignist forces that led to the creation of

more than 150 new states. With globalization today we see once well-established state entities breaking down.

But today's integration is generally carried out in the name of the economy, while disintegration takes place under the cliché of culturalism. Never before have we heard so much about culture as we do today, from the historian Immanuel Wallerstein, who sees today a world made up of competing geo-cultures, to the 'Singapore school'.[5] There are those who challenge the validity of the relationship between secularism and democracy, and some who challenge the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Some want to defend cultural diversity and some, like David Landes, give cultural reasons to explain development and underdevelopment today. Finally there are those like Samuel Huntington, who consider that we have gone beyond conflicts among states to a clash of civilizations. We are faced with a true problem of confusion, of confusion between the use of 'civilization' in the singular – an ink stain stretching across the world – and the plural, 'civilizations', as monolithic blocs in competition with each other. We have a long way to go before we can cut through the three very different perceptions of this culturalism that pervade politics, economics and other sectors of human life. There is the universalist vision of civilization along the lines of Norbert Elias and others, a pluralist and militant vision according to Wallerstein or Edward Said's vocabulary of cultural imperialism, and finally a confrontational vision in the sense that has recently been expounded by Samuel P. Huntington.

This brings me to my fifth idea: there is a serious need for world governance. It seems to me that over the past fifteen years – and this is extremely promising – yesterday's concept of absolute sovereignty has run up against that of responsibility. And above all the concept of responsibility undermines Westphalian sovereignty. A sovereign power can no longer do just as it pleases within its own borders. Even the Charter of the United Nations, from the preamble on, speaks of the rights of people and not of states, something that we have tended to forget over

[5] Proponents of the Singapore School say that Asian views and practices of human rights necessarily differ from those in the West because Asian culture differs from Western culture.

the past five or six decades. But this responsibility to oppose sovereignty is also held by the great powers: we can often see new hegemonic ambitions behind their desire to prevent governments from doing whatever they like with their people, and a growing doctrine denying the principle of equality between states, peoples and even civilizations. This is why there is a true need for governance. And this need of governance is linked to a real desire to reintroduce a minimum of order in a world living through these changed times. World governance starts from the idea that certain problems are global by nature and can only be dealt with validly in a global way: the environment, epidemics, terrorism, money laundering, the trafficking of women or of children, the worldwide drug market. These are worldwide problems that need global solutions. The idea of world governance also comes from a recognition that non-government players can have their own positions and concerns; that a 'world opinion' is beginning to crystallize as a global player in itself; that there is an 'alterglobalist' movement; that there are non-state actors, including non-government organizations; and that the individual has reappeared, whether to be protected or, on the contrary, punished by this new international law.

In brief, a need for governance has been identified because globalization cannot proceed any further without regulation. But governance does pose some serious problems itself. In practice it involves a shift from the nineteen-seventies' concept of the business world to nineteen-eighties macroeconomics, and to the way the world scene was organized in the nineteen-nineties. Why? Because world governance throws into question several mechanisms and concepts that we have become used to. First of all, it replaces hierarchical and inter-governmental management with a horizontal way of dealing with problems, where participants are on the same plane. It also means the end of the rigid division that has until now existed between public and private, as it promotes a system of problem-solving in which government policy draws on corporate management practices. Third, governance represents a shift from the belief that societies are self-regulating, a belief transposed from the free-market principle that the market is self-

regulating. Fourth, governance leads to a devaluation of principles of formal representation and to their replacement by a co-option of different participants according to the issue at hand. This is the triumph of stakeholders over shareholders, as they say in the world of business. And, fifth, governance is organized through norms developed by consensus, rather than by laws that are decreed from above. The call for world governance, which can appear harmless, leads us to question a good deal of the international structure that we have known over the last two or three centuries.

We can already see the beginnings of world governance. Firstly in the extension of international law, in the internationalization of matters that previously belonged to domestic law. Secondly, in the formal codifying of international customs and in the arrival of what is called 'soft law', such as the Law of the Sea in 1982, the convention on discrimination against women in 1979, on the rights of children in 1989, on biodiversity in 1992, finally on cultural diversity in 2005, or even the treaty against anti-personnel mines in 1997.

A third embodiment of such governance is the increased recognition of international norms and the emergence of new international institutions based on consensus, notably the WTO, along with the rise of what we call 'international regimes': formal agreements on specific points among states who choose to take part in them. Finally, we recognize this governance in the rising up of the individual through immigration, or even in the concept of criminalizing political acts, which introduces or re-introduces individuals onto the world scene, whether in order to protect them or to punish them.

How can UNESCO position itself in the face of all this? There is a great temptation to reverse the question that has been put to us: 'What kind of UNESCO for the future?' The great temptation is to ask ourselves the inverse of this question: 'What future for UNESCO?' – a question that you did not put to us. The temptation is great, but I am not going to succumb to it. Let us start from the hypothesis that we need UNESCO. And that UNESCO must survive.

But UNESCO is threatened in view of the future that I have attempted very briefly to describe. Firstly, because even the concept of international organizations is questioned today, and because the inter-governmentalism that has marked the concept of international organizations for the past two centuries is today being strongly undermined.

This general questioning of the concept applies especially to UNESCO because it is more immediately affected than most by the information revolution, which relates directly to the domains entrusted to it in 1945. UNESCO also has to function in a world where multilateral action has been disparaged by certain powerful countries and where multilateralism itself is threatened.

The third threat comes from the concept suggested by Mr Boutros-Ghali, of the arrival of modes of identification that lie somewhere between the individual and the nation-state. The international organizations born in 1945 are very poorly equipped to consider such political, social and cultural structures intermediary between the individual and the state that globalization tends to favour, and even help to flourish.

So, what can UNESCO do? Many think that UNESCO is something of a global think-tank for education, culture and communication, perhaps even science, at least when it comes to ethics and the sharing of scientific advances, and to the transfer of knowledge and technology with a view to promoting equitable development. But perhaps UNESCO is no longer playing, or not adequately playing, the role that was hers at her birth and that I would like to be her priority in the years to come; that is, to be once again a laboratory of ideas. A laboratory of ideas for herself, for the domains for which she is responsible, but equally for the entire world structure.

A second concrete idea is that UNESCO seems not to try hard enough to be a driver of worldwide normative action in its sectors. This has been shown in the matter of biodiversity, we see it this year in regard to cultural diversity. But it appears that Member States are increasingly

resistant to normative action, the role of UNESCO and other international organizations have to set standards, particularly in UNESCO's domain. It also seems that UNESCO and the other international organizations, which produce the norms, which produce this new international law that I hope for and which is partially a reality, do not have the means to have it implemented. They are not assured that the Member States truly respect the commitments they have undertaken when they adopted the conventions, the relevant international recommendations.

Thirdly, UNESCO has a slight tendency to confine itself to operational activities that relate directly to its functions, notably towards the strengthening of national capacities in its areas of expertise. But to strengthen national capacities, particularly in the most impoverished countries, UNESCO needs resources that are very different from those presently available to it. It seems that on this particular point especially UNESCO needs to consider its role for the future, to ask itself whether it should become a lighter structure, whether it should limit its activities concerning projects for which it is ever more difficult to raise funds because the Organization is in competition with other intergovernmental and non-government structures. Should it be more a laboratory of ideas that enable us to anticipate the future, to prepare for it, abandoning the implementation of projects as one of its prime tasks?

It seems that if this Organization is to become a laboratory of ideas once again, for the domains that fall within its expertise and for the entire international structure, it should perhaps break with managerial culture and instead become more involved in re-professionalizing its staff so as to become once again a leader in its fields of expertise such as education, culture, the transfer of knowledge, and so on.

UNESCO functions today in a world climate that is unfavourable to it; because of a demand for administrative efficiency on the part of the Member States – and because of budgetary restrictions – alongside a falling back of donor states and ever stronger competition from other international organizations in fields such as that of education.

UNESCO must ask itself 'What UNESCO for the future?' Our contribution consists simply in wishing it good luck as a lighter, more flexible, bolder organization and as a new laboratory of ideas for a more and more worrisome world.

14 June 2005
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Boutros Boutros-Ghali
(Egypt)

Boutros Boutros-Ghali holds a Ph.D. in International Law from the Sorbonne University in Paris (1949) and a degree in political science from Paris University. From 1949 to 1977, he was Professor of International Law and International Relations and eventually head of the Department of Political Science at Cairo University. He has been a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Arab Socialist Union (1975-1977); Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Egypt (1977-1991); Member of Parliament, Egypt (1987-1991); Vice-President of the Socialist International (1990-1991); and Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs, Egypt (1991). He has also served on the International Law Commission (1979-1991) and the International Commission of Jurists (1975-1977). On 1 January 1992 Mr Boutros-Ghali became the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations (1992-1996). He was Secretary-General of the International Organization of Francophonie from 1998 to 2002 and is currently President of the National Council for Human Rights, Egypt; President of South Centre, Geneva; President of the Curatorium of The Hague Academy of International Law; Vice-President of the Haut Conseil de la Francophonie, Paris; and Honorary President of the Scientific Committee of the International Peace Academy, Monaco. Boutros Boutros-Ghali is the author of a large number of works, notably *Egypt's Road to Jerusalem* (New York: Random House, 1999), *Unvanquished: A US–UN Saga* (New York: Random House, 1999) and *En attendant la prochaine lune: Carnets 1997-2002* (Paris: Fayard, 2004).

And if it succeeds in developing a common awareness of planetary citizenship, UNESCO will have more than met its raison d'être.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

'What future for UNESCO?' To answer to this question, I think that we must go back a few years and return to the founding act of this institution. I am referring to the Constitution of UNESCO, signed on 16 November 1945 in London. This document speaks first of peace and the defense of peace. Secondly it speaks of the importance of democratic principles and mutual respect for others. It also insists on the integrity and fruitful diversity of cultures. Naturally, many other objectives are also set forth, objectives concerning education, culture, science, and the preservation and protection of the world's heritage, but for my part I would like to direct your attention to these three, inasmuch as these three objectives seem to me inseparable from the transformations that have taken place in the aftermath of the Cold War and with the emergence of globalization.

First of all, peace. We all know that peacekeeping is not the province of UNESCO, but rather that of the United Nations. However, it is clear that cultivating peace does fall directly within UNESCO's field of competence. Having said this, it is not a matter of extolling the merits of peace or denouncing the atrocities of war. Cultivating peace demands, before anything else, an understanding of others and their differences, an understanding of the stranger, an understanding of those from another country or ethnic group, or who follow another religion. Now, we well know that globalization tends to incite and foster the temptation to

withdraw into oneself, the temptation to withdraw into a narrow identity, to reject the other. As the world becomes one in the areas of economics, finance, communications and information, it is at the same time becoming ever more divided, tearing itself apart, when it comes to the realm of ideas, beliefs and religions. Most of the conflicts we are confronted with today are interstate conflicts of tribal, ethnic or religious origin.

This means that, in this context, there is a vital need to develop a new strategy to promote and establish a veritable culture of peace, not only before conflicts break out, but also when conflicts have passed. This is what I have called *peace building* – the construction of peace, the consolidation of peace.

The second essential objective is democracy. UNESCO is the only international organization to have mentioned from the start, from its creation in 1945, democracy and the indivisible connection between human rights and democracy. Even before the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Indeed, we often forget that the UN has long adopted a neutral position with regard to the political systems of its Member States. Even more, obliterating any notion of democratic legitimacy in favor of political effectiveness was not only a basic principle of the UN system, but also of international law. Admittedly, this has to be understood in the context of the Cold War's ideological conflict between East and West, in which the UN, with regard to the political systems of its Member States, could not abandon its neutral position without falling apart. That said, during this period we found ourselves in a paradoxical situation. While normative and institutional measures favouring human rights were growing, actions that favoured the democratization of Member States were inexistent, or even banned. By virtue of the famous adage whereby 'each is lord in his own manor', we saw *coups d'état* and dictatorships multiply. We had to wait until the end of the Cold War and for the 1993 Conference on Human Rights in Vienna for the concept of democratic legitimacy to finally be brought in. And here we find the

interweaving of peace and democracy, of fostering a culture of peace and fostering democracy.

The idea of democratic peace, since this is the subject of which we are speaking, is not new. Emmanuel Kant spoke of it in his 1795 *Project for a Perpetual Peace*. It is not my intention here to explain the relationship between peace and democracy. I simply wish to remind us all that the cultivation of peace and of democracy are inseparable and that it is UNESCO's task to manage these two perfectly complementary approaches. But there is another challenge that is equally essential: namely, managing the impact of globalization on national democracy. And I would agree with Judge Owada, that UNESCO can no longer confine itself to a static and disembodied view of democracy, to an idea of democracy that is circumscribed by the borders of the nation-state. In point of fact, the most firmly entrenched democracies have entered a period of weakening as a result of globalization. Because, whereas the interstate society comprises multiple political communities organized around the partitioning of the world into states, the global society is breaking down these very divisions. From the revolution in communications technologies to planet-wide solutions to many problems and the growing importance of transnational exchanges and networks, the process of globalization is giving us a new frame of reference, a new scale to our actions and to our decisions.

This entails particular implications for UNESCO. Its cultural actions are now carried out in an environment in which national and local societies that have reached differing levels of democracy coalesce with a global society that is not democratic. An environment in which the fabric of national democracy has been undermined and the power of the citizen has lessened. Can one still speak of democracy when international order is shaped by transnational interests and multinational corporations, over which neither citizens nor many states have any control? The democratization of globalization, democracy on a global scale, does not simply consist of adding together the democracies of the world's nations, even were they all indeed democratic. The democratization of globalization is

therefore one of the new challenges that UNESCO must meet in the coming decades. For if we want to construct an open, participatory and living global democracy, we must not only take into account the desires of political subjects and the behaviour of economic agents, but also the aspirations of social and cultural agents.

The third and final objective, and where I would like to end, is that of cultural diversity, which is the subject of a Preliminary Draft Convention signed by almost every UNESCO Member State and of a major international conference held in Madrid just two days ago.[1]

As I mentioned at the beginning of my address, this concept is not new, in fact it features in the 1945 Convention. However, we are all well aware that homogeneity through globalization threatens the diversity of our different cultures. Accordingly, it will be the task of UNESCO in the coming years to preserve this cultural diversity and the multilingualism that serves as its infrastructure. Why should we give priority to this objective? Simply because one of UNESCO's *raisons d'être* is precisely to counter that which jeopardizes the diversity of languages, the diversity of traditions, the diversity of cultures. In this respect, I would remind you that the OIF – the International Organization of French-speaking Communities – was the first institution to address this problem head on, in adopting the Cotonou Agreement on cultural diversity.[2]

Why defend cultural diversity? Firstly, because it is essential to humanity's cultural heritage. It is not enough to protect the environment, biodiversity and the world's architectural treasures, we must also preserve languages, cultures and traditions. When a language disappears, when a culture disappears, when a civilization disappears (as Paul Valéry said 'civilizations are mortal'), all of the values they carry within them are lost forever, while the threat of uniformity and cultural standardization on a planetary scale looms on the horizon.

[1] The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was approved by the UNESCO General Conference on 20 October 2005.

[2] The OIF (in French, *l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*) officially adopted the *Déclaration de Cotonou* on 15 June 2001.

My second argument – and here I return to the subject of democratization – is that a plurality of languages is to international democracy what a plurality of political parties is to national democracy. Cultural diversity is an essential factor in democratizing international relations.

The final argument: we know that globalization weakens the capacity of the nation-state, in that the major problems that will have an impact on the future of the planet cannot be managed or resolved at the national level, but must be dealt with on an international scale. Now, if the international organizations, or the group of states in charge of this management, were to act in non-democratic manner, this globalization could endanger national democracy.

Having said this, I believe, like Edgar Morin, that it is important to link the unity and diversity of humanity together, as otherwise we will either talk about diversity while forgetting everything we have in common, or we will talk about what is common and forget diversity, as if it were something secondary.

Peace, democracy, cultural diversity: these are, then, the three great challenges that UNESCO must rise to in the face of globalization. Globalization is neither good nor bad. And there is nothing inevitable about it. We must have the courage to admit that globalization will be what we make it, and that UNESCO has an essential role in this undertaking. If UNESCO succeeds in bringing about a synthesis – almost in the chemical sense of the word – between these three elements, namely peace, democracy and cultural diversity, it will be able to bring about another, more essential synthesis: that of cultural identity and planetary citizenship.

And if it succeeds in developing a common awareness of planetary citizenship, UNESCO will have more than met its *raison d'être.* Such is the breadth of the opportunities towards which UNESCO should, I feel, commit its future.

14 June 2005
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Robert Badinter
(France)

Robert Badinter is a former Minister of Justice, Keeper of the Seals (1981-1986); member of the Paris Bar (1951-1981); Professor of Law at Université Paris I, Sorbonne (he has been Emeritus Professor since 1996); President of the Constitutional Council of France (1986-1995); President of the Arbitration Commission for the former Yugoslavia (1992-1995); and member of the European Convention (2002-2003). He was instrumental in abolishing the death penalty in France and has taken numerous measures to enhance individual freedoms and victims rights. Since 1995 he has been Senator for the Hauts-de-Seine *département* and President of the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. He is the author of numerous books: *L'Exécution* (Paris: Grasset, 1973); *Libertés, Libertés* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); *Condorcet*, 1743-1794 (Paris: Fayard, 1989, co-author with Elizabeth Badinter); *Libres et égaux* (Paris: Fayard, 1989); *La prison républicaine*, 1871-1914 (Paris: Fayard 1992); *Un antisémitisme ordinaire* (Paris: Fayard, 1997); *L'Abolition* (Paris: Fayard, 2000); *Une Constitution européenne* (Paris : Fayard, 2002); and *Le plus grand bien* (Paris: Fayard, 2004). He is an Emeritus Professor of Law at the University of Paris and holds an M.A. from Columbia University, New York and an LL.D. from the University of Paris.

International institutions are actors who are playing an ever more important role on the world stage (because of this delegation of sovereignty on the part of nation-states), but who as in the classic fable, once created, escape the control of their creators – sometimes to their great dissatisfaction – who then try to recapture and fetter them.

Robert Badinter

By a rare phenomenon of a harmony of ideas – which does not surprise me, considering the views he put forth, and which I support – Ghassan Salamé has put into words exactly what I wanted to say, that is, he reversed the terms of the question 'What UNESCO for the future?' in saying 'but the first question that we should ask ourselves is "What future for UNESCO?"

From this starting point, I have rather quickly prepared the impromptu words that I am now going to present to you, which I will situate in the area I know best, that of law, rather than political philosophy or a view of humanity as we see it. Since we are talking about the future, a sort of futurology, I will begin by saying that, thinking scientifically, predicting the future seems to be an impossible challenge. Randolph Kent[1] highlighted this point particularly well in his brilliant address by referring to the results of a long-term prospective study carried out by the

[1] In his address to this same forum on 18 May 2005, Randolph Kent quoted Sir Martin Rees' *Our Final Century: Will Civilization Survive the Twenty-First Century.* In 1937 the US National Academy of Sciences organised a study aimed at predicting breakthroughs. 'Its report', according to the Cambridge University cosmologist, Sir Martin Rees, 'makes salutary reading for technological forecasters today. It came up with some wise assessments about agriculture, about synthetic gasoline, and synthetic rubber. But what is more remarkable is the things it missed. No nuclear energy, no antibiotics… no jet aircraft, no rocketry nor any use of space, no computers; certainly no transistors. The committee overlooked the technologies that actually dominated the second half of the twentieth century. Still less could they predict the social and political transformations that occurred during that time' [Rees, p.13].

American National Academy of Science in 1937, as described by Sir Martin Rees. Rees showed that in the world of science, no-one had foreseen the advent of nuclear power, nor computer technology, nor the rockets that allowed man to travel to the moon. He went on to enumerate the scientific achievements that, a little more than half a century earlier, no-one in this committee of experts had been capable of predicting. In the same way, when it comes to the social or political arenas, we have to be extremely prudent about predicting the future. I am not sure that if we had brought an international committee of lawyers, philosophers and economists together at that time in Geneva (an ideal place for such a meeting) to predict what the future held for these disciplines fifty years on, the results would have been any better than those of the National Academy regarding science. Because I do not think there would have been many in 1937, apart for the very optimistic or the most determined democrats, who would have predicted the evaporation, the disappearance, the destruction of National Socialism, or of fascism in general. We only have to think back to something that happened not twenty years ago. Few of us would have predicted the disappearance of the USSR and the end of communism, except if we consider that the communism with a capitalist face practised in China remains as a survival of the Marxist doctrine. Consequently, in this area too, even when we talk of economic globalization we would have to say that the art of prediction must be practised with the utmost discretion.

Since I am talking about determining the role of UNESCO in the future in relation to the field of law, rather than taking on an ambitious exercise in futurology, I will say: let us first identify the really big trends of today's world. Let us see what they indicate and try to assess what the role of UNESCO can be in the movements that mark our epoch. In doing so I will be considering the future not in the Braudelian *longue durée,* it is true, but rather in the medium-term.[2]

[2] See Fernand Braudel, 'History and the Social Sciences: The *Longue Durée*', Chapter 2 of Fernand Braudel, *On History* (1980), Chicago: University of Chicago Press. This expands on a concept developed by Braudel in his preface to Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* 2 vols (1972-4), New York, Harper and Row.

What are today's significant trends? This has been very well explained already in Mr Owada's address to this forum. We are witnessing a movement that has been going on for some decades now, a remarkable shift towards the globalization, or at least the internationalization, of law. Mr Owada mentioned the dialectic still playing out between the concept of sovereign states, inherited from the treaties of the Peace of Westphalia so long ago, and today's trend towards limiting the power of nation-states. In the area of law, you see this very clearly at three levels: You see it in a striking way in the multiplication of international agreements. If we consider the impact of this phenomenon, it is worth bearing in mind that international treaties, because of their primacy over internal law, entail that states accept to limit their judicial sovereignty in a particular domain. From this point on, the international treaty will circumscribe national law, and will take precedence over it.

The second level, mentioned just now by Mr Boutros-Ghali, is the development of international institutions. In this area, he is the expert. International institutions are actors who are playing an ever more important role on the world stage (because of this delegation of sovereignty on the part of nation-states), but who as in the classic fable, once created, escape the control of their creators – sometimes to their great dissatisfaction – who then try to recapture and fetter them.

The third and most striking level, and perhaps the one that would have been the hardest to predict at that conference I spoke of a moment ago, held in the thirties on the shores of Lake Geneva, is the development of international jurisdiction. We have gone a long way from what existed then, and this is remarkable. I am speaking not only of limitations on sovereignty, but of the almost reverence accorded by sovereign states to a higher international order, that of the international courts. Assessing the significance of an institution like the European Court of Human Rights, I would have to say it is revolutionary, not just judicially, not just legally, but politically. I remember listening to Mrs Thatcher in the House of Commons, whose parliamentary eloquence was equal to her firmness of character – you see that I rate her very highly in the art of oratory – most

forcefully taking on the 'cosmopolitan' judges of Strasbourg. The judges had taken the United Kingdom to task, condemning its mistreatment of Irish prisoners as constituting a violation of the principles inscribed in the European Convention on Human Rights. And I can say, as far as my country is concerned, I draw great pride from the day in 1981 when I arrived in Strasbourg to lift the restrictions that forbade French citizens from taking France before the Strasbourg Court, knowing quite well that France's citizens would notice if French legislation or French authorities breached their fundamental rights and, therefore, that this would be a source of progress for French law. That has come true, to the satisfaction of the French – if perhaps to the detriment of our national vanity.

And, if we want to go further, nothing in this regard is more significant than the creation – not without difficulty, not without problems; not without, today still, reluctance and even hostility on the part of the world's foremost power – the inception and the establishment of the International Criminal Court, following on from the *ad hoc* international criminal tribunals established to try crimes against humanity that had taken place in the former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda.

At such tribunals we are witnessing the birth and the affirmation of a judicial power that is no longer an expression of state sovereignty, but has its own role to play and is potentially able to carry this role through as far as to sentence a head of state. Two things are being affirmed simultaneously here. The first is the universality of certain legal concepts and certain legal definitions; such as crimes against humanity or genocide or systematically practiced collective rape (and, sadly, I could go on with the list), which are defined as being crimes that the international community has determined it cannot accept. This entails recognition of the internationalization of the law, one could almost say of the globalization of criminal law. The second thing these tribunals affirm is a delegation of the power to judge, no longer primarily to national authorities, but to an international criminal court whose judges are completely independent of any state, with not just the power to judge, but the power to prosecute, to be an independent prosecutor. This is the birth, until recently very difficult to imagine, of an international criminal

code that no longer tolerates the committing of crimes against humanity and which for the first time has launched an international judicial instrument that ensures the authors of these crimes can be prosecuted if their states fail to do so, or just pretend to do so. I said 'not without difficulty, not without problems' as we are also well aware that the foremost power in the world – the United States of America – has no great fondness for the International Criminal Court, to say the least. But whatever its jurisdiction, the sword of justice is the mark of state sovereignty, and for this power to be exercised through an International Criminal Court is one strong sign of the current movement towards establishing an international code of law that will recognize and enshrine our essential human rights. The question then is: 'How can UNESCO contribute to this?'

You were right, as always my dear president, my dear Boutros-Ghali, you were right to point out that the privilege, or the singularity, or the special quality of UNESCO is precisely that it encourages the growth or development of the universal by starting from the differences, all the while, of course, completely respecting the culture of each individual. As I am discussing law, I would like to speak of this very strong and positive movement that is driving us towards the internationalization, even globalization of the law. This can only occur while respecting our cultural differences. There are legal principles and judicial expressions of these principles that translate into quite different judicial cultures, and this is precisely what I want to emphasize today, at this so very appropriate gathering, that there is in this a place, a role, an eminent function for UNESCO to assume.

A role to assume in three areas that are true to UNESCO's purpose. The first is, of course, to assist with essential research. To speak of research in the context of laws and rights always raises a smile; because we visualize the laboratory, scientific equipment, and white coats. But when we are dealing with laws and rights, fundamental research is research that strives to clarify the concepts on which law can be constructed. And, with regard to new fields, with regard to protecting these things that are

the products of human intellect, we are faced with difficulties, with questions that we have never dealt with before. The arrival of computer technology – Pierre Sané and I have often spoken of this – brings with it new responsibilities in the area of human rights. For let us say it dramatically, if the Hitler and Goebbels regime had today's computer technology at its disposal, imagine the immense havoc that they would have wrought on people's minds. So we are faced with new questions: about what rights exist in the light of these advances in technology? What rights, when we are confronted with something that has radically changed the data from which we must build the instruments of legal protection? In UNESCO itself, each time we approach one of these fields, one of these new areas that are opening up to us, particular attention has to be given to ensure legal practitioners will be able to put the concepts that we define into some practical form. There are two levels involved here, which, although connected to each other, are nevertheless quite distinct. And I could say, regarding the principal questions that have great bearing on humanity, questions about scientific advances in genetics and artificial insemination, that are obviously major issues today – not to speak of our age-old laws regarding marriage or legitimacy – that, no, the law has not kept up. So, for example, in the case of cloning, we are witnessing phenomena that we are fairly familiar with, in terms of the scientific control of procreation, but which pose critical questions about our ideas regarding filiation.

We could find other examples, relating to intellectual property, for instance. But we need to consider the second level at which UNESCO's involvement could prove positive and necessary: the dissemination of law and rights. The world is more and more conditioned by laws, and I always say to my friends: 'You talk about the globalization of commerce, about globalization of services. That's true, but what does it mean? We are no longer in the era of bartering. We no longer exchange goods with other goods: what we negotiate now are rights.' Rights are the primary objective behind our economic or social activity, and because of this, it is important that we foster good practice by widely disseminating information about the laws in this area. It is up to UNESCO to consider the

methods for this dissemination, to research ways that laws are circulated internationally, ways they are ever more internationalized – to propose laws and perhaps even to provide them. In the area of human rights, too. How many times have Pierre Sané and I talked about fighting for human rights? To fight, though, requires knowledge. The lawyer in Africa who cannot benefit from ICT, who does not even have access to the sources of the law, is unarmed. This highlights just how much knowledge and the communication of the law are essential weapons in the progress of democracy. This is true too for other forms of legal knowledge.

The third level, and in this we are once again in UNESCO's field of competence, is obviously education. Teaching about human rights and the law has never ceased to raise questions for me, less as concerns the content taught than in the techniques to use. Here, let me cite a very recent memory. This is interesting because it relates directly to our present concern, which is 'How can we promulgate an understanding of human rights through education?' We have numerous techniques at our disposal, including satellite connectivity. I remember teaching a course on human rights in Mexico that was relayed through the Andes Cordillera, and marvelling at the thought of this process. I did not see any of my audience. I was not teaching a course in empty space, but I was in front of a camera, teaching students who were some thousands of kilometres away. But in teaching about basic human rights we have the opposite situation. This is a return to the most simple and most immediate relationship. How can we encourage children to know, love and understand human rights? There are many great teachers, and plenty among you know much about the use of modern teaching techniques, but I finally asked a friend who is a great artist, a student of Matisse: 'You ought to make a book of illustrations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to be used by children'. She created, for her own pleasure and ours, this delightful work of art – a copy of which, my dear Boutros-Ghali, you will allow me to give to you at the end of the session – in

which each article of the Declaration is illustrated with pictures of children, their parents, other adults, flowers and trees[3].

To atone for my intellectual sins, I have taught courses in civics in some of the tougher suburbs of Paris. I have had only moderate success, I must say, but it has allowed me realise that it is much harder to teach human rights to fourteen-year-olds in a Paris suburb than to run a university seminar on that subject. Well, the other day I arrived, very anxiously, at a class of eight- to ten-year olds. Copies of this book had been distributed in advance, and the teacher had asked the children to look at them, perhaps to colour them in, but in any case to comment on them. I was bombarded with questions, and some were absolutely remarkable, about the meaning of the articles of the Declaration: 'What is the right to asylum?' 'What is equality before the law?' And thanks to the illustrations, I hope that I was able to make them understand. So, to say it once more, I think there are always other approaches, and I believe that if UNESCO organized a competition on children' books to illustrate another one of the basic texts on the subject of human rights, perhaps we would have contributed modestly, but usefully, to the spreading of fundamental human rights amongst those who will be the citizens of tomorrow and towards whom we have a responsibility.

[3] *Le livre des droits de l'homme* (2005), Paris: Gallimard Jeunesse. Illustrated by Jacqueline Duhême, preface by Robert Badinter.

15 September 2005
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Ping Huang
(China)

Ping Huang was born in 1958 in Cheng Du, Si Chuan Province, and obtained his Ph.D from the London School of Economics in 1990. A Research Professor of Sociology, he is currently Director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing (www.cass.org) and Professor at South China Normal University and Sichuan University. He is on the Academic Board of the International Organization for Migration and the International Advisory Board of the *British Journal of Sociology*. His main areas of research are the sociology of knowledge and development. Among his published works are *Searching for Survival* (China: Yun Nan People's Press, 1997, co-author); *Unfinished Words,* (China: Si Chuan People's Press, 1997); *Looking for Home in Floating* (China: Shan Dong Peoples' Press, 1999); *Labour Mobility and Labour Migration: Issues in Recent China* (Australia: UNESCO & University of Wollongong, 1999, co-author); *Environment and the Problem of Ecology: Imagining Tomorrow, Rethinking the Global Challenge* (Washington: Merrill Corporation, 2000); *Together with Migrants* (Paris: UNESCO, 2004, co-author Geneviève Domenach-Chich).

Providing an open platform for the exchange of ideas and for dialogue among civilizations, sharing information and knowledge equally with all, these are the real added value of UNESCO – in the past, at present and, what is more, for the future.

Ping Huang

I have not really been thinking about 'What UNESCO for the future?' but what we as human beings, as well as social actors – and partly as thinkers – should do for the future, for our future. I have been a little troubled about what I could say on this topic, about 'What UNESCO for the future?' The first question that came to mind was what UNESCO is not, simply because today we have so many different organizations and it is clear that UNESCO is not an organization like the IMF or the World Bank, which have money and therefore power. Nor is it an organization like the G8, the club of the most powerful countries of the world. It is not the EU nor the WTO, and it is not even an organization like the UNDP, which is also part of the UN system. As a development agency, the UNDP works on more concrete development issues and programmes. But since it was established, UNESCO has had its own unique features, without which there would be no UNESCO at all.

We have so many different organizations today – some are quite new, like the WTO, and some have a history similar to UNESCO's. Some are very powerful. Therefore the question for us to ask is: do we still need UNESCO? And if we do, 'What is UNESCO?'

Before we discuss the roles or functions, the missions and version of UNESCO we need for the future, we could ask ourselves the question, are

we really living in a new era? If we are, what is it? To take a simple example, we are witnessing an information technology revolution that has produced so many not just new but challenging phenomena. We are also living in an increasingly networked society, where people handle their own ways of connecting with one another across various kinds of boundaries. We are living in a time of global warming and of many other types of ecological crises, challenges and problems – pollution is only one of them. We have also recently been confronted with cross-border terrorism – since September 11th, but also before September 11th. And above all, we are witnessing a massive – to a certain extent, free – cross-border flow of capital, of workers, of goods and of diseases (again, HIV is just one of them), together with a massive flow of information and of different types of knowledge.

In a word, is this an era of globalization? If it is, is this globalization partly also localization or regionalization, or do we have something like glocalization?[1] All of this has reshaped, or is reshaping, our world; our way of living and of interacting with each other. In the history of our civilizations, we have never before seen such a manner of living and interacting with others, and we have never so radically reshaped the way we think and how we communicate with one another in terms of pace, scale and easy access to different communication channels (for example, using cell phones and the Internet). On a micro-level, this has reshaped the ways we handle local, regional, international and transnational relations. We have seen many global groupings, in the UN system, in the G8, in the WTO, and so on. But in terms of this kind of massive expansion of cross-boundary or cross-cultural communications and interactions, the traditional ways of managing international/local relations seem insufficient, due to problems of recognition and identity – even though we still have our own national identities and are recognized as citizens of different nation-states. Are these changing and transforming our lives at

[1] Glocalization, a neologism and portmanteau of globalization and localization, is a phenomenon by which local structures develop direct economic or cultural relationships with the world system via information technologies, circumventing traditional power hierarchies such as governments and markets. The term also refers to the creation or distribution of products or services intended for a global or transregional market, but customized to suit local laws or culture.

such a pace and on such a scale that we may soon be unable to recognize our world or identify ourselves?

Now let me get back to UNESCO. Before considering the question 'What UNESCO for the future?' the first question we must ask is: 'What has UNESCO been and what has UNESCO achieved?' How much has UNESCO achieved in terms of its original goals, since it was established almost sixty years ago?

On my way here, I came across a well-known conversation between former French President Georges Pompidou and the then Premier of the People's Republic of China, Zhou Enlai. When China and France established diplomatic relations in the early 1970s, the French President asked the Chinese Premier, 'What do you think about the French Revolution?' His answer was 'The French Revolution occurred less than two hundred years ago, so it is too early to say.' Similarly, I could say that UNESCO has been with us for only sixty years, so it is too early to make a true assessment of it.

But in today's world of seemingly runaway globalization, UNESCO can contribute to – or continue to contribute to – peace and security, which was its original mission, and to humanity's common welfare. The question is: how much has UNESCO contributed over the past sixty years, its formative years?

Let me take only two dimensions, two of UNESCO's goals from the beginning. One is cultural diversity, the other is dialogue among civilizations. After almost sixty years, if we look around today's world, can we be sure that we have actually enjoyed more cultural diversity than before, keeping in mind that many languages have either died or have disappeared in this time and many sub-cultures, indigenous cultures have disappeared?

While the world is getting richer in material terms or in terms of lifestyles, is it becoming poorer in terms of cultural diversity? Do Coca Cola, Disney and others represent the culture of the globalizing world, or does it need something more? The well-known Chinese sociologist, Fei

Xiaotong, said that a world with cultural diversity is a world with peace and differences. He repeatedly emphasized the importance of this notion, which comes from an idea of Confucius's – of a peaceful world with cultural diversity. In recent years, even the Chinese leadership, both the Chinese President and Premier, have also used this term as an image of the future when they visit other parts of the world.

The second example I want to consider here is dialogue among civilizations. Once again, if we compare today with the world sixty years ago, can we be sure that we have more such dialogue? That we have more mutual communication and understanding? Is the globalizing world a society of a 'clash of civilizations', as many fear and as so many decry so vehemently?[2] If not a 'clash of civilizations', how can cultures, civilizations and people appreciate, respect and trust each other? And then, how can peace be founded 'upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind', to quote UNESCO's Constitution? Dialogue must, then, be the first step, without which we cannot conceive of realising mutual understanding and trust.

Now, it is believed that a globalizing world is a world in which information flows freely, yet certain questions remain:

- Can everybody in the world really have equal access to this free flow of information, and share in it equally?
- Has this information technology revolution enabled human beings to be more critical and more creative in terms of their intellectual originality?

Of course, we have so much more information today, and far more access to information, but if we ask ourselves whether we are more critical and intellectual because of it, the answer is not clear. The danger is that people may be polarized by such an information revolution, and that both sides – not just the weaker – might become less intellectual and less critical. Sometimes there is too much information. In this sense, a

[2] A theory popularized by Samuel P. Huntington in 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, No. 3 (1993).

globalizing world can also be a risk society, in terms of the challenges and opportunities that information technology brings.

- Are we living in a world with more uncertainty and therefore more risk? – yes.
- Are we well-prepared for such challenges? – not yet.
- Can challenges turn into opportunities? – yes, but this requires an active effort.
- Is the risk society a dangerous society? – not necessarily, it depends on the way we tackle it, manage it, and cope with it.

The key is to turn the risk society into a trust society! There is a risk, but what we really need to cope with such risk is trust among peoples and civilizations.

So what makes UNESCO unique?

As UNESCO is not a funding agency, nor a donor or a charitable organization, it has less economic or financial power than some others, and it may not really contribute so much to the world in terms of economic involvement. In terms of action, many people today complain that UNESCO and other UN agencies are too much talk and not enough action. This is partly true, but:

- As long as they are intellectually powerful (not necessarily 'correct'), ideas can change the world.
- Dialogue can foster respect and mutual understanding if it is fair and balanced and strives for peace and security.
- Cross-cultural communication and understanding is necessary to prevent clashes, conflicts and wars – whether military, economic or ideological.
- Intellectuals can play a practical and useful role if they commit to such dialogue and communication and exchange of ideas.

- Ethnic minorities and cultures become meaningful and powerful when they are not simply protected but, rather, promoted.

Today, we have too much money and too few ideas – if we look at the problem of poverty around the world, I do not really think that it is because of a lack of money.

UNESCO can be more powerful:

- It is precisely because of all these changes and challenges at local, regional and global levels that UNESCO has never been more relevant.
- It might be dangerous, however, for UNESCO to become too ambitious.
- To be more powerful, UNESCO must be more focussed and more intellectual.

Providing an open platform for the exchange of ideas and for dialogue among civilizations, sharing information and knowledge equally with all, these are the real added value of UNESCO – in the past, at present and, what is more, for the future.

15 September 2005
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Albert Jacquard
(France)

Albert Jacquard is a writer, humanist and geneticist. Confronted with the gravity of world challenges faced by humanity, Albert Jacquard devotes himself to activities that support the evolution of a collective conscience and highlight the urgent need to modify our values and our behaviours regarding life on earth. Professor Emeritus of the Universities of Paris VII and Geneva, author of *L'Eloge de la différence* (Paris: Seuil, 1978), Albert Jacquard is recognized as one of the great thinkers of the twentieth century. He has published more than thirty books, including *J'accuse l'économie triomphante* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1995), *A toi qui n'est pas encore né(e)* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2000), *Dieu?* (Paris: Stock/Bayard, 2003), *Tentatives de lucidité* (Paris: Stock, 2004) and *Halte aux Jeux!* (Paris: Stock, 2004). He takes part regularly in international events, as a scientist and a humanist, collaborates on regular basis with various special-interest groups, and militates for a collective awakening regarding the danger of racism and exclusion. He was a genetics expert for the World Health Organization (WHO).

Are we going to continue to destroy the earth? Or will we be able to allow for the needs of today's six billion people without forgetting the needs of the many billions of people to come? It could be UNESCO's role to be the spokesperson for those who cannot speak for themselves, because they are as yet unborn.

Albert Jacquard

The upheavals and revolutions that have occurred in the years since UNESCO was founded have already been mentioned in this forum. Among these upheavals, the most pivotal were the conceptual revolutions, of which little has been said. The century that has just ended was one that demonstrated our tremendous capacity to rethink ideas. It gave us Einstein's theory of relativity, Hubble's law on the expansion of the universe, Bohr's new ways of looking at matter. But above all, a conceptual revolution took place that is not spoken of often enough, one that resulted from the discovery of a molecule: DNA. Although there is nothing strange about its structure, it is no more mysterious than any other molecule, DNA is capable of extraordinary things. It is the only molecule known that can reproduce itself, clone itself as we say today, and which as a result is eternal. Not eternal in the metaphysical sense of the word, but immortal because in being able to replicate itself it can fend off the destructive power of time. DNA was formed in the oceans, doubtless three and a half billion years ago, and is the origin of every living being.

The word 'life' has been used by several speakers in this forum, but what does it really mean? Its meaning has changed completely since the discovery of DNA. Before this, 'life' was indefinable; looking it up in the dictionary we find only 'the state of being alive' – clearly there was a problem. Essentially, we did not know what life really was. But now we

do. An object – whether it be a molecule, a chimpanzee, a human being, or whatever – is a living thing if it contains molecules of DNA. Because DNA is one molecule among others (a complicated molecule to be sure, but there is nothing mysterious about it) the mystery of life has evaporated. Everything that makes up the universe has been brought together: the dividing line between inert objects and living entities has vanished. Everything is an object. That is what my colleague Hubert Reeves means, for example, when he says that even human beings are 'stardust'; it is why Saint Francis of Assisi was right in addressing not only his 'brothers the birds', but also his 'sister, water'. In this sense, I too am related to a drop of water! Saint Francis was right, both the drop of water and myself, just like everything else in the cosmos, are all objects subject to the laws of the universe, where nothing occurs that cannot be explained by the interplay of physical forces. So what is my place? What is special about me? Am I nothing but an object?

Our understanding of what a human being is must be re-thought, using the lucidity that science brings us. What am I? I am an object, but I am not just an object. In the course of evolution, errors in reproduction have occurred, mutations have led to new structures, to strange objects that have sometimes been capable of unprecedented performances, thanks to their complexity. The fact is that the most complex object that this process of chance has created is, to our knowledge, the human central nervous system. With a hundred billion neurons and a billion connections, its capabilities are unique: it does not just observe and record facts, it asks questions, thinks up answers, and projects an explanatory model onto the universe that surrounds it. It develops its comprehension and displays its intelligence. This feat is magnificent, we can be proud of it, but it is not what we have done best.

What we have done best is not that we have learned, little by little, to understand the universe around us and how we ourselves work, but that we have created an object more complex than either you or I, capable of far more than either of us. This object is 'us' provided this 'us' results from our interaction.

All objects interact: a pebble and the earth attract each other; the entire cosmos is interdependent. Human beings form part of this general network of interdependence. But what we have added over some hundreds of thousands of years is a way of relating that is quite particular: we have invented a language that is infinitely subtler than that of any other animal. Most animals can transmit information to each other, but we go much further, transmitting to others not only information, but the most intimate part of ourselves – our fears, our hopes and our dreams. And in doing so, without any deliberate intention or premeditation, we construct the only object more complex than any of us individually – our interaction. In other words, the true apogee of complexity is the thing that makes humanity unique: not you or me, but us. In our capacity to bring this 'us' to life and to make it think we create something more than ourselves. What I am, the person who speaks and of whom I speak when I say 'I' is not what you see – an object weighing a particular amount and with a particular shape or colour – but an entity that cannot be seen or measured, made up of all my interactions with others.

It is through these interactions that I can define myself, through these interactions that I become truly human. This was expressed by Erasmus when he said 'one is not born a man, one becomes a man'. Nature brings us forth as objects ready to follow our destinies: we only gain our subjectivity through interactions with others. Nature is neither good nor evil; it does what it does. For instance, it produces babies in conditions where half of them die within their first year. But we have been able to challenge nature. Humanity is the product of human action, through which we add the richness of adventure to nature's gift, and humans alone in this universe have been able to say 'No' to the laws of nature. Infant mortality in technically advanced countries is less than one child in a hundred. In this area, we have been able to master our own destiny.

We have even invented something extraordinary: the future. Nothing in this cosmos depends on the future. If my watch falls off and breaks, it is because of the blind force of gravity, rather than any will or

intention to break it. There is no 'in order to' in nature, there is just 'because of'. But we understand that the future will come, and this has allowed us to introduce purpose in a world that ignored its existence, to put the present in the service of a tomorrow that does not yet exist. Admittedly, the extent to which we can intervene is limited and we do not achieve everything we would like, but we have been able to introduce will and deliberate intent into an otherwise passive universe.

Is this not an inexhaustible source of wonder? We are one part of the cosmos that is not content simply to be, but that recognizes its own existence and directs its own future. We must tell our children: 'Be proud to belong to the human species, but don't forget that nature's gifts are not enough; you have to become part of this community through interacting with others'. This is, I believe, a lucid view of humanity – that the true riches we all share, individually and collectively, can only be realized with much effort, through the fecundity of our interactions with others.

It is from this perspective that we can imagine a better future for humanity, and through this perspective that we can describe a possible role for UNESCO in building this future. For why was it founded if not to contribute to building a humanity capable of managing its future? Certainly, nature inflicts catastrophes on us, such as tsunamis and cyclones; we can do nothing but endure them. But just as destructive is the suffering we cause by our own behaviour: to end it depends purely on our own will. It is necessary and urgent that we establish relationships between humans, by which we can each grow through the contributions of others. We must acknowledge that our riches lie in others, that their difference gives us the tools we need for our own development. This is the starting point. This vision might be considered Utopian, but it is really the only realistic one. We must establish relationships so that our interactions are not an excuse for conflict but an opportunity to share.

Naturally, we must build this humanity of tomorrow from the reality of today. Regrettably, this reality is far removed from the world we might hope for. I am forced to admit that the driving force of certain societies, particularly mine – white, European, urban – is competition, a constant

tug-of-war against each other. Is this struggle necessary? Certainly not. In contrast to competition, a more reasonable attitude would be to emulate others; that is, to compare ourselves to others, hoping they will be better than us and might help us improve ourselves. We are constantly encouraged to compete, especially at school, where we resort to grades, ranking systems, competitions and prizes at every opportunity. But a goal of simply surpassing others is clearly pathetic; it is much more exhilarating to surpass ourselves.

What we need is a radical change of attitude on the part of a whole segment of humanity, and one that presents itself as a model for humankind. Admittedly, it has made some remarkable achievements, but its unbridled appetite for competition is propelling it into a blind alley, that of the continual growth of consumption – a growth incompatible with our planet's limited resources. This segment of humanity must recognize that despite its arrogance it is a colossus with feet of clay. Its fragility is manifest in its mis-management of our non-renewable resources, which the present generation is stealing from the generations to come.

A revolution in attitudes is both necessary and urgent. The Einsteins, Hubbles, Bohrs and Watsons of the twentieth century brought about conceptual revolutions that radically altered our view of the world. Because of them, science has given us a much clearer window on reality. Now that the tools are available, together we have to choose what direction to take next. Are we going to continue to destroy the earth? Or will we be able to allow for the needs of today's six billion people without forgetting the needs of the many billions of people to come? It could be UNESCO's role to be the spokesperson for those who cannot speak for themselves, because they are as yet unborn. It is essential we listen to them, for they are part of the 'others' that Arthur Rimbaud was thinking of when he wrote 'I is another'.

I imagine a shining UNESCO, one that could dynamize the necessary creation of a humanity in which people no longer seek to be winners – that is, to produce losers – nor wear themselves out fighting each other, but in which they understand the need to enrich one another

through mutual respect. This incontestable shift in our mindset can only be achieved through education, and it is surely UNESCO we must count on to achieve it.

It is a splendid agenda. Perhaps we should lose no time in taking a few symbolic steps. I suggest one that concerns the organization of which UNESCO is a tributary, the United Nations. In placing it in Manhattan, two steps away from Wall Street, its creators gave no thought to the symbol of promiscuity this represents. The stock market is the very emblem of a competitive society. To avoid contamination, it would be wise to relocate the United Nations by moving it to a place more representative of the hopes of humanity: why not Jerusalem?

15 September 2005
UNESCO House, Paris, France

Achille Mbembé
(Cameroon)

Achille Mbembé was born in Cameroon and obtained his Ph.D in History at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1989 and a D.E.A. in Political Science at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques (Paris). He was Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University, New York, from 1988-1991; Senior Research Fellow at the Brookings Institute in Washington, D.C., from 1991 to 1992; Associate Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania from 1992 to 1996; and Executive Director of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in Dakar, Senegal, from 1996 to 2000. Achille Mbembe was also a visiting Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, in 2001, and a visiting Professor at Yale University in 2003. He has written extensively on African history and politics, including *La naissance du maquis dans le Sud-Cameroun* (Paris: Karthala, 1996). His latest work is *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Cal: University of California Press 2001). He is currently Research Professor at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER) of the Witwatersrand University of Johannesburg, South Africa (http://wiserweb.wits.ac.za).

I am now pleading for a future UNESCO that would regenerate itself (or reinvigorate itself) truly in line with its Constitution, so that it can draw up a project for humanity today and for the future.

Achille Mbembé

The question 'What UNESCO for the future?' is extremely complicated. It could not really be otherwise, for it concerns a topic that we can no longer dodge nor defer. Whether we like it or not, it is imposing itself upon us ever more forcefully.

To even attempt to answer this question, one needs to be able to say something about the future itself. This is not so much a question of predicting the future as of being able to interpret it and imagine it, as by its very nature the future can only ever be the subject of imagination. We are called upon to exercise, to avail ourselves of, this faculty of imagination at a time when, at least for those among us who live in the world's South, it is becoming clearer that from now on uncertainty is the departure point from which our humanity will develop. Uncertainty is our experience, it is from this uncertainty that we try to make sense of the world and of life.

And if there is anything that is truly characteristic of today, particularly in societies stricken by situations of extreme poverty and unlimited violence, it is this: the absence of guarantees or legal rights – the fact that nothing is accomplished once and for all; that everything, or nearly everything, is reversible; that every gain can be, in principle, only marginal; that what is won today can be lost for good tomorrow, without

warning, so that again and again we have to know how to start afresh, to begin again, to recreate everything from almost nothing. And so, if UNESCO is to have a future, there are some signs of our times that it must learn to decipher. Rather than replying directly to the question that Pierre Sané has put to us, I would like to try to develop it in my own way, starting out from my base in a rather special African country, South Africa – the country in which I live, and which I am learning to know and to understand: it is from here that I begin my reflections.

I say 'a rather special African country' for at least two reasons. Firstly, it is a country whose recent experience has shown that it could embrace, at a crucial moment in its life, the idea and the action of 'starting over'. South Africa was able to 'start over' because at a certain point in its existence it had had firsthand experience of true enmity. It was obliged to come face to face, in the closest of quarters, with the question of the enemy. It was obliged to respond to questions of 'Who is the enemy?' 'What are we to do about this enemy?' and beyond this, 'How can we create conditions in which we can live together that are no longer based on the widespread exchange of death?' For that was certainly the basis of the race struggle that the apartheid regime erected as a driving force of history. Starting over called on South Africa to break away from this nefarious circle, to put the past behind it in order to usher in new future for all.

The second reason is that there is something in this ethic of renewal and beginning afresh that clearly indicates a type of politics, a way of being human, that can triumph over even terror and catastrophe. And so, because it has been able to 'start over' afresh, this country has given us an idea of what a politics of possibility can be. It shows us that a politics of possibility is inseparable from what is to come, and that one of the conditions of communal life, of 'being-in-common', is that its renewal must be the result of processes of justice and reparation – reparation of what has been destroyed in humanity, both in the victims and in the perpetrators.

And because this labour of reparation and of justice – which must be taken up unceasingly – is in progress, the challenge is deciphering what comes out of it – what it implies, its politics. All of a sudden, the future has become inseparable from what is being born, just as much as it is from the memories of the past. Memories we hold on to not so as to be enslaved by the sufferings of the past, but with a concern to create a new world that can be shared from now on: a future open to all. Yet the tools we have at our disposal, particularly in the area of knowledge of societies, do not help us much to grasp that which is emerging. Still, I would like to take the risk and say a few words, not about what our future is to comprise, but about the present, from which the future will develop.

In his address to this forum, Ghassan Salamé suggested quite rightly that in thinking about the future and about UNESCO we must give serious consideration to what he called the 'long term'. If I had to add something to his comments, I would say that on top of the 'long term', what we must take into consideration if we want to imagine the UNESCO of the future is the confusion of times, the interlocking of different periods of time. In many respects, it is this confusion of times that characterizes today's world and the multiple paradoxes that make up our experience of it. This confusion of times explains why our world is evolving in various directions at the same time. This interlocking of different periods of time explains the extreme situations we have experienced, and which provoke a string of questions, a few of which I will turn my attention to now.

How, for example, can we explain forces and emotions that do not correspond to any known and perfectly identifiable cause? This is one of the questions posed by terrorism. What do we do about the situations of emergency and extreme precarity – each as intolerable as the other – that are making the lives of millions of people around the world resemble a permanent state of siege, as we saw recently through television footage of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. Yet the concatenation of crisis, extreme precarity and a state of siege has created the situations in which hundreds of thousands of people are living today, not in any exceptional circumstances, such as following a catastrophic

disaster, but every day, and for the long term. What can we say about the swirl of events in which life goes on, about the insecurity and the deaths of millions of people, about the indescribable face of contemporary horror and terror, or even of all the invisible processes that resist both genealogy and generalization?

These questions might seem too general to experts in development. But one must go to the limits of things and then return to the essentials to know what humanity has made of life. This endless questioning of where humankind and its cultures are heading, this is ultimately the territory of UNESCO. To envision a future for UNESCO we must position ourselves at this level, not that of generalizations or generalities, but I would say of *radicalism* – in those areas in which, for the majority of the inhabitants of our planet the relationship between life and death is played out, and in consequence, so too is even the possibility of producing culture, which seems to me to be one of the principal missions assigned to UNESCO.

So in these times, more than ever before, it is incumbent on UNESCO to undertake a real effort of thought and elucidation, and the Organization must embrace this as its primary task. I believe that this task of elucidation is of intrinsic value: it participates in the work of making sense of this world, without which the ideas of humanity and of culture on which this Organization is founded would effectively have no meaning. You will have gathered that I am now pleading for a future UNESCO that would regenerate itself (or reinvigorate itself) truly in line with its Constitution, so that it can draw up a project for humanity today and for the future.

A careful reading of its Constitution shows that UNESCO's founding purpose was clearly a project for humanity in the future, for the Constitution already presented a humanity reconciled in all its fragments, its scattered multiplicity, its plurality – or, we could say, its hybridization. This is something that the greatest African thinkers of the past century, beginning with Léopold Sédar Senghor, never ceased to wish for. In fact, UNESCO's *raison d'être* was based on a concept of culture, a concept that

presided over its foundation. At the roots of this concept was a project and an idea: an idea of a communal world, the idea of a common humanity, of a human story and of a human future that all the nations of the earth, rising above their individuality, could share with one another.

This poetry of humanity, this poetry of a world in common and a future offered to all, both as gift and as a paradigm of sharing – this poetry is precisely what needs to be recaptured, to be re-inspired, above all in these times of terror. This is what must be recaptured as a project for the world today, a project at once political, ethical and aesthetic. Because it is obvious that our world is dominated by the politics of power and a desire for sheer violence, a desire manifested not only in acts of terrorism, but also in the strategies aimed at eliminating terrorism.

While the pressure for increased knowledge and learning is ever more tyrannical, it seems that this task of re-creation or of re-inspiration must be approached through a deliberate and manifest effort to rehabilitate the humanities, what the French call the Arts and Human Sciences. This means rehabilitating fields of knowledge that, it must be acknowledged, have lost a great deal of ground in recent years through the priorities set by governments, corporations and academic institutions, especially during the last quarter of the twentieth century.

These devalued disciplines are in need of rehabilitation, but also they need to be brought together, as Pierre Sané suggested, by drawing upon all fields of knowledge, not only because our reality has become more complex than it was, and because this complexity necessitates a multiplicity of approaches, but also because – and I dare to use this term here – capital has become our world. This situation, the world-wide ascension of capital, the world's preoccupation with capital – this situation forces us to connect disciplines that are still divided.

We experience this in South Africa, for example, with questions as fundamental as the AIDS epidemic, in which profit and life are so closely embroiled. It is no longer possible today to separate nature from technical interventions, economic data or cultural issues. It is no longer

possible to disconnect economics, the so-called 'pure economics' in which human beings do not exist, from biology, epidemiology, culture and ecology. A single axis now cuts through economics, politics, aesthetics, science, biology, ontology and so on.

To quickly return to the humanities, I would say that the UNESCO of the future will need to exhibit a new curiosity with regard to the different intellectual streams that in the last quarter of the twentieth century have profoundly transformed how we interpret the world. I am thinking of the political significance of the tumultuous shift that has affected fields of knowledge as different as philosophy, the arts, literature and architecture, of four streams of thought that have had such an impact across the board: postcolonial theory, race theory, feminist theory, and the study of diasporas and other sorts of cultural change.

The contribution these streams of thought have made to democratic theory, to the critique of citizenship, and to the revival of attention given to difference and otherness is considerable. We need this kind of thinking at the UNESCO of the future because it opens the way to the possibility of a democracy based on mutual appreciation as an obligatory condition for a convivial life. So here are a set of comments of a general or epistemological nature. If they were taken seriously, these comments would have consequences on the type of institution that we are trying to re-imagine, and on the way in which it would function and bear witness to the world in its entirety.

I would like, once more, to briefly mention a few aspects of the context in which the remarks that I have just made are situated. We live in an epoch characterized by increasing uncertainty. We are dealing, in most cases, with uncertainty that is radical because it obliges us to question, to re-examine, our accepted understanding of what it is to be human, our accepted ideas about life and culture. I would like to draw attention to three aspects of this radical uncertainty, before concluding my presentation.

The foremost, without doubt, concerns the establishment of borders and their connection with what must be called the regime of confinement. By 'establishment of borders', it is important to understand the connection between the establishment of political power and the control of land. But I think that 'borders' equally evokes questions of 'Who is my neighbour?', 'How do we deal with the enemy?' and 'What should we do about outsiders?'. The border is one of the technologies that could destroy the idea of a common humanity and even the possibility of culture. This risk shows up very clearly in the way we respond to those three figures who haunt the contemporary world: the neighbour, the outsider and the enemy. I believe that the difficulty that we experience in responding to these three figures is essentially linked to how we have dealt with the problem of race, or more precisely, the processes of defining race. In the past, UNESCO sponsored Levi-Strauss's famous report on this question.[1] Since then, much has changed, and, in changing, has increased in complexity. Perhaps it is time to relaunch this debate on a global scale, bearing in mind the progress achieved in genetic science and the advances in critical thought on how we think about and define race. Then there are the immense bodies of research on forms of racial segregation, and even the racialization of war itself in the guise of the struggle against terrorism.

We would have to revisit these questions in view of the mutations of the contemporary world and the complexity that has developed around the question of race, not only in societies historically divided into various racial components, but also wherever the discourse on integration and practices of segregation, far from contradicting each other, are mutually reinforcing. When you look at it closely, the question of race has always been linked to that of war. Historically, the issue of race has always been thought about and pursued in reference to war. One can, in fact, describe racism as a relationship based on war, on permanent war, a racial war amounting to a war about biology. I was speaking just now about radical uncertainty. It does not seem an exaggeration to say that

[1] Levi-Strauss, *Race and History* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952). A re-edition of the original French version *Race et histoire* was published by Albin Michel (Paris) in 2002.

the great uncertainty, one that hangs heavily over the future in a completely unprecedented way, is the entry of our world into a regime of permanent war. By this I mean war that tends to become not something exceptional, but a condition, a long-term social and economic relationship, a kind of war that is exceptional in that it abolishes the distinction between sheer violence and culture and politics, that is to say it abolishes any need to negotiate.

These are certainly not new questions. But they are questions to which contemporary critical thinkers are paying more attention. Both the regime of confinement and the regime of permanent war are based on a type of racialization of the enemy, or simply, of the Other, regardless of who it is. It seems to me that this is one of the foremost serious uncertainties to which UNESCO must devote its thinking.

The second ground for uncertainty lies in the connection between capital, life and human security in the contemporary world. When one lives in Africa, when one sees what happens in many other regions of the globe, when one listens to the cries that are rising up from the forgotten zones of our planet – hunger, thirst, sickness, lack of shelter and so on – then one cannot but question what seems to me to have become a central feature of our times. One has to ask what gives capital the right to this status of absolute power, why has capital emerged with this new legal and cultural status, a status close to being a permanent exception. We only have to look at the efforts aimed at, for example, limiting the state's capacity to regulate disputes arising from the politics of capital. I mention this because, almost everywhere, the question arises anew of the connections between the three elements without which there is no civil life. These elements are the commercial production of value, the common ownership of wealth – and therefore surely the question of poverty – and the free development of each person's capacities. Whenever the equilibrium of these three factors is upset, it is certain that societies will sooner or later return to a state of serious conflict.

These three imperatives are in conflict today, as is shown in two or three processes that I would like to quickly mention. The first is surely the

almost limitless expansion of the market. This seems inexorably to cover all of our natural resources and human output, including our cultural and spiritual output, and especially those which until quite recently had still escaped this appropriation. This is particularly evident in the case of life, of living in its generality. There no longer exists, really, a sphere that could be called the realm of the sacred – sacredness in the sense of being intangible, of having a kind of immunity – inextricably ontological and axiological. The sphere of sacredness is itself now ruled by the logic of the market.

The hold that market logic has on the whole living world is partly the result of the exponentially-growing technical mastery of plant, animal and human genetics. This grip seems on the one hand to objectify life, in opening the perspective of an undefined transformation of living forms, themselves reduced to capital mobilized towards yielding a profit. On the other hand, however, it leads to the proliferation of diverse forms of sub-lives, to the multiplication of expendable lives, of semi-lives, of superfluous lives, burned, to be abandoned, caught in the trap of extreme poverty, exposed to sudden death, condemned to a regime of absolute vulnerability that you one sees almost everywhere, even in the suburbs and ghettos of the developed world.

Professor Huang Ping brought up a question – the question of democracy, or, in relation to what I am concerned with here, of the 'democracy to come' (a term that I have borrowed from Jacques Derrida). I say 'democracy to come' because it is partly the imagination that defines this place, and gives meaning to this old term whose power to drive insurrection is still underestimated. To come out of a situation of racial war, to reconcile with the enemy, to learn to live together – that is, to learn to share in a common humanity – for all this to be carried out with a view not just for the present, but which is always aspiring towards a future that will never be reached, because the day it is reached will be the end of history – all this, I believe, must be at the centre of every vision of the UNESCO to come.

May I say a few words on the subject of difference and singularity? What South Africa is now teaching us is that, when it comes to emerging and future democracies, the recognition of difference is not at all incompatible with the principle of a democratic society. Recognizing this does not mean that societies of the future will function without shared ideas and beliefs. In fact, this recognition constitutes a prerequisite if these ideas and these beliefs are to truly become shared. After all, democracy also means the possibility of identifying with the Other. This idea of identifying with the Other as a substantial part of the democratic concept can be expressed in another way: at the heart of it all, the sharing of singularities is very much a prerequisite for a politics of our fellow man.

I would like to finish up with this question of our fellow man – which is not the same as that of our neighbour, even if the relationship between the two is very close. I believe that the response to the series of questions 'Who is my neighbour?', 'How do we deal with the enemy?' and 'What should we do about outsiders?' or again 'How are we to deal with the presence of others amongst us, the arrival of outsiders amongst us?' will determine the fate of what we call culture in the century that has just begun. The task of UNESCO will be to help elucidate these responses.

It sees to me, at least, as someone who lives at the other end of the world, that these are the radical challenges to which UNESCO must respond if it wants to have a future in the coming world.

23 November 2005
Santiago de Chile, Chile

Miguel Rojas-Mix
(Chile)

Writer, historian and philosopher, Miguel Rojas-Mix graduated in law at the University of Chile, where today he is a Professor of History and History of Art. He has a Ph.D. from the University of Cologne and an LL.D. from the University of Paris-Sorbonne and has taught in a number of prestigious universities in Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Spain and the United States, and in Paris at the University of Paris I Sorbonne, the University of Paris VII, and the Institute for Latin American Studies. Among his many publications are: *Chili, dossier noir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); *América latina en sus ideas* (Paris: UNESCO/SigloXXI, 1981); *La Universidad iberoamericana: globalización e identidad* (Madrid: Colección ExtremAmérica, 1999, ed.); *El fin del milenio y el sentido de la historia* (Santiago du Chili: Lom, 2002); and *La Memoria herida: 11 de septiembre. De Salvador Allende a las Torres Gemelas* (Cácere, Spain: Cexeci, 2003). He has also published over 300 papers and articles, and his writings have been translated into many languages, including English, Italian, German, Catalan, Portuguese and Japanese. He is the director and founder of the review *Revista Con eñe*, and directs the *Centro Extremeño de Estudios y Cooperación con Iberoamérica* (CEXECI) in Spain, which he founded in 1993.

Today, business logic does indeed transform universities into mere technical schools, abandoning the humanistic sense of education. Considering students as clients - a term that is used with disturbing frequency - and concentrating on making a market product of them may very well train students technically, but it does not teach them the values that lead to a democratic culture and make education a social investment.

Miguel Rojas-Mix

What UNESCO do we want for the twenty-first century? The recent celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of UNESCO's creation, held in Paris last week, on 16 and 18 November, was an occasion to reflect on the very subject of this forum at the highest level.

Among the participants were Mr Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO; Mr Victor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine; Mr Philippe Douste-Blazy, France's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and two former UNESCO Directors-General, Mr Federico Mayor Zaragoza and Mr Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow. Each of them explained what he considered to be fundamentally important for UNESCO as it faces the twenty-first century.

Mr Matsuura defined the institution as an audacious presence facing the challenges of our time. He reiterated what he had written in his preface to *Humanity in the Making* - a book by Roger-Pol Droit[1] about UNESCO's intellectual history - that UNESCO's function is to use hindsight to build a better future. Along these lines, there was consensus that UNESCO, faithful to its motto of education, science, culture and communication for peace, must remain firmly present on all these fronts.

[1] Roger-Pol Droit, *Humanity in the Making: Overview of the Intellectual History of UNESCO 1945-2005,* Paris, UNESCO, 2005.

Mr Matsuura defined these fronts in terms of UNESCO's important issues of concern for the future: first, the defence of human rights; second, the safeguarding of humanity's common heritage; third, the provision of quality education for all; fourth, the promotion of sustainable development that respects life and the biosphere; fifth, a continued attentiveness to issues such as bioethics and, finally, the fight against discrimination.

Given the vast conceptual territory covered by UNESCO, I will address only the issue of education. I have mentioned these six strategic areas outlined by UNESCO since in different ways they all converge into education, particularly, of course, that of quality education for all. This is a central theme in education, and probably the most complex and problematic of all.

Education is a major concern in Latin America today, and at every level. It is especially important at the level of global citizenship, where one cannot separate primary education from higher education. However, I am going to specifically address higher education, as this is the field in which we are working with a group of Latin American universities. This involves annual meetings, of which the most regular is the meeting of the chancellors of Latin American state universities.

In his address at the celebrations on 16 November, Mr Douste-Blazy brought up this very subject, saying that education for all is one of the main challenges of this century, as it is both the key to development and a barrier against intolerance and inequality. Since we are convinced this assertion is true, the big question we must ask ourselves is how we are to make education for all a reality. How we are to fulfil the mandate of education for all, particularly in the present situation of our countries, where a neo-liberal model of education is imposing itself, seeking profitability and looking at the market rather than at the humanistic education of our citizens? Humanistic education of citizens could be the key to combating intolerance and inequality.

What UNESCO do we want for the twenty-first century? Certainly a UNESCO that continues the major lines of action outlined by Mr Matsuura,

a UNESCO that remains faithful to its motto: education, science, culture and communication for peace. We would also like UNESCO to have the means to successfully reach these goals. Besides delivering powerful and crucial messages for the preservation of humanity's moral heritage, UNESCO must solve the problem of implementing its objectives, as noted by another participant at the commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary, Mr Victor Yushchenko. It must make these great principles a reality, taking the development situation as well as cultural specificities into account, as established by the recent Convention on Cultural Diversity.

In the specific area of education, and more particularly that of higher education, we would like UNESCO to help us in Latin America, and indeed in other regions, to answer seven big questions about higher education in the twenty-first century. Since time is short, I will not go into all of these questions in detail here, but I will discuss a few of them. However, it would be useful to remember them all, at least as questions, so I will list them briefly. Sometimes a question is more pertinent than any answer or explanation.

The first question is how to shape these values in the context of both state and private education? The second is, depending on the context, what remains of our universities' social commitment?, or 'What university for what society?' The third is how to determine the curricula of the future? The fourth is what systems are appropriate for regulating higher education in Latin America? The fifth is what kind of research is sustainable in developing countries? The sixth is, on what basis can we define the autonomy of universities today? And the seventh is how to reclaim our universities' cultural function?

Let us look at the first point. How can we shape these values in the context of both state and private education? The survival of the state university and its values is increasingly threatened in an environment of market economy and global society, particularly given that, since 2001, the World Trade Organization (WTO) has included higher education in the list of services subjected to market forces. But to be governed by national interest instead of private interests is an essential difference between state

and private universities. State universities cannot accept discrimination where the constitution does not discriminate. In a state subject to the rule of law, state-run universities must remain open and pluralistic. They must be open to all members of society regardless of race, religion, class or fortune. On the other hand, private universities may be denominational, while state universities cannot. The fact that a given university may be denominational is part of the freedom of education but not of pluralism. State universities must practise an active tolerance; as a public service, they can put the principles of UNESCO into effect.

Business logic transforms universities into technical schools. This threatens the very definition of a university. When the University of Berlin was created, Wilhelm von Humboldt warned about the danger of transforming universities into mere technical schools[2]. Today I would insist on this point: business logic does indeed transform universities into mere technical schools, abandoning the humanistic sense of education. Considering students as clients - a term that is used with disturbing frequency - and concentrating on making a market product of them may very well train students technically, but it does not teach them the values that lead to a democratic culture and make education a social investment.

The second question is 'What remains of the social commitment of our universities?' - or 'What university for what society?' As public entities, universities assume the state's constitutional commitment to ensuring equal opportunities for all. In an interview quoted in Patricia Politzer's *El libro de Lagos*, Ricardo Lagos referred to the words of former President of Israel, Yitzhak Navon; 'Democracy only materializes when there is an education system that offers equal quality for all, without this you do not have democracy'.[3] I have recently been informed that Chile's

[2] German linguist, diplomat and philosopher (1767-1835). On the basis of his language studies, von Humboldt sought to replace comparative grammar with a general anthropology that would examine the relationship between language and thought, and between languages and cultures.

[3] Patricia Politzer, *El libro de Lagos* (1998), Ediciones Grupo Zeta. Ricardo Lagos was President of Chile from 2000-2006. Michelle Bachelet was inaugurated President on March 11, 2006.

government has agreed to provide free education to the poorest segment of Chilean society, through a system of grants.

The third question is how to determine the curricula of the future? 'What curricula for the future?' How are we to ensure that our universities are universities for the twenty-first century, rather than focussing on the nineteenth? Doubt remains. It is difficult to have a clear vision in this area in today's environment of rapid social change, including scientific and technological changes, emerging cultural forms, globalization - or globalizations - and increasing social uncertainty and insecurity. But in such a crisis of values, universities, like UNESCO, have a responsibility to anticipate the future. This entails developing new ways to approach knowledge. The original and profound Edgar Morin gives us a lesson on how to approach this question in his book, *Seven Complex Lessons in Education for the Future*[4].

The Delors Report indicates clearly that, in matters of higher education, maximum effort must be made to redesign our institutions to adapt them to growing social and individual needs and to new forms of knowledge and intelligence[5]. According to the report, this implies a new academic pact. This could be UNESCO's great task in this field.

Some fundamental aspects of these new curricula are to be found in the areas of action mentioned earlier: human rights, quality education for all, sustainable development that respects human life and the biosphere, a continued attentiveness to bioethics, and the fight against discrimination. But there is something that was not mentioned among these priority concerns: the enormous epistemological revolution we are witnessing, which education has not yet begun to process. This revolution is the transition from an alphabetical intelligence to a visual intelligence. There are increasingly more things that we know because we have seen them than things we know because we have read them. This will have huge repercussions on the formation of values.

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[4] UNESCO Publishing, 2001.

[5] Jacques Delors (ed.), *Learning: The Treasure Within* (1996), report to UNESCO by the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

I am going to skip the other points to conclude with the last of the seven questions. How can we reclaim the cultural function of universities?

Universities fulfil their educational mandate based on culture. By 'cultural function', I mean their responsibility to educate not only professionals, but also intellectuals, to train them in the always-essential task of thinking. The Catalan University of Cervera, famous for its conservative history, was proud of the following motto 'Far, very far, from us the dangerous novelty of thinking'. Today, many universities seem to have silently adopted this motto.

In *Mission of the University*, José Ortega y Gasset identifies three functions of universities: the transmission of culture, the teaching of professions, and scientific research.[6] Business logic has substantially changed the values developed by Ortega, and runs counter to the mission given to Latin American universities in the twentieth century by the university reform of Córdoba in 1918, of ensuring equal opportunities. To think of higher education as a service listed on the stock exchange, to privatize even state universities, means to relinquish one of our major successes: public, universal and free education, the only education that can ensure equal opportunities, a precept inscribed in all constitutions. This is called into question in the name of a market value that has no interest in such principles.

To advance another culture, to create an alternative to the market that is based on stimulating creation, is a task that must be taken on by our universities.

Regarding globalization - one of the great issues of our times - universities must determine what criteria is relevant. To put this into practice they must train culturally, and understand culture with regard to a particular concept, a concept defined by the final declaration of the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies that was held in Mexico from July to August, 1982. The participants of this conference agreed that

[6] José Ortega y Gasset, *Mission of the University* (1944), translated and with an introduction by Howard Lee Nostrand, Princeton: Princeton UP. Revised edition, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1992.

culture was to be defined in terms of cultural identity: 'Every culture represents a unique and irreplaceable body of values since each people's traditions and forms of expression are its most effective means of demonstrating its presence in the world'.[7] It is fundamental that culture be viewed in terms of identity, because relevant criteria can only be established on the basis of culture. What are these relevant criteria? Simply, the conceptual tools necessary to discern, among the enormous flow of information that globalization brings, that which is useful for our development and reinforces our identity.

In a way, the information society will overwhelm us, but the information society and the knowledge society are very different things. The knowledge society deals with selected and processed information. Whereas we cannot control the information society, we can control the knowledge society - if we have the necessary criteria with which to select what is useful to us and so make this flow of information a source of development that will enrich our culture with its global lessons and strengthen our identity in terms of our responsibilities as members of a multi-ethnic and multicultural tribe called humanity.

UNESCO can change concepts and revitalize values, as Claude Lévi-Strauss, another speaker at its sixtieth anniversary celebrations, helped it do in its early years. His 1951 book, *Race and History*, resulted from anthropological work he had carried out under UNESCO's commission.[8] This book deeply marked some of us (those of my generation), drawing a lesson from the Second World War to contribute, along with the work of UNESCO, to banishing racism from historical perspectives.

[7] Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, 26 July - 6 August 1982.

[8] Lévi-Strauss, *Race and History* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952). A re-edition of the original French version *Race et histoire* was published by Albin Michel (Paris) in 2002.

23 November 2005
Santiago de Chile, Chile

Carolina Rossetti Gallardo
(Chile)

Journalist at the Catholic University of Chile and Executive Secretary of the Chilean National Commission for UNESCO, Carolina Rossetti Gallardo is a graduate of the University of Paris III, Sorbonne, Institut Français de Presse. She worked in the Office of Information in the Moneda Palace in Santiago de Chile under the government of Salvador Allende until taking exile in France from 1975 to 1987. In 1990 she became Cultural and Press Attachée with the Embassy of Chile in France, followed by similar posts with the Permanent Mission of Chile to the United Nations Office in Geneva (2000-2002) and the Permanent Delegation of Chile to UNESCO (2002-2004). From 1992 to 1996 she directed a weekly political broadcast, *Domicilio Conocido,* for Chilean television station, Chilevision. She has hosted numerous radio broadcasts, and from 1995 to 2000 directed Radio Tierra, the Chile women's radio station and the Journalism School of the University De Artes Y Ciencias Sociales (ARCIS) in Chile. She stood for parliamentary election in 1997 and in 2004 ran for mayor of Santiago, Chile, as candidate for the Socialist Party.

I even believe that the time has come to knock on all doors, to open all the windows, so that fresh air circulates through our Organization. If we do not do this, we risk asphyxiation.

Carolina Rossetti Gallardo

'What UNESCO does humanity need in the twenty-first century?' I will approach the question as a journalist, leaving aside for the moment my role as Executive Secretary of the Chilean National Commission for UNESCO.

I will begin with an anecdote that reflects two ideas that I wish to address. Two months ago, a group of parliamentarians from the Chilean right wing asked our National Commission for information on the number of grants and the amount of money and technical assistance that Chile receives from UNESCO. This question implied that our country should not contribute more than it receives from the Organization. In other words, in their view it should be 'fifty-fifty'. The truth is that, like the majority of Member States, Chile contributes more technical and financial assistance than it receives. While there is no doubt that our government does not share this view of international relations, unfortunately a number of political leaders see the world as one great supermarket where everything has a price, where supply and demand define human values, precisely as Miguel Rojas-Mix has just pointed out so well. It is this capitalist vision that promotes the privatization of education, health services and social security, as if the only way to eradicate poverty was through economic growth controlled by a minority of enlightened traders. And we all know that in this supermarket there is a scarcity of the products that are essential for sustainable human development, such as solidarity, equality, social justice and labour dignity.

This Chilean right wing's concern reveals two issues that, in my opinion, are related to the significance of UNESCO and also to the meaning it should give to its policies in the twenty-first century.

The first issue is the lack of appreciation of multilateral forums as legitimate and effective places for democratic, pluralistic debate through which different cultures can work together to find solutions to the challenges of the twenty-first century. I do not wish to mention these problems here because we are all well aware of them, I would just like to say that they generally have the same origin: our cognitive and political incapability to process new forms of violence unknown by present generations[1]. And this is probably a cycle that has repeated itself throughout the history of humanity.

The second issue is that of ignorance or disinformation concerning UNESCO's programmes and activities and the results of its work. This is so not just in one national political sector, but in civil society at large, and not only in Chile, but in the vast majority of UNESCO Member States. Yet we are in the midst of the rapidly expanding information and knowledge society. This is why we welcome the Management of Social Transformations (MOST) programme, which organized a meeting in Argentina in February to connect and build bridges between the study of social policies and political decision-making, bringing together researchers and political leaders.[2]

Because it comes up in all international forums, some might consider the question of multilateralism to be of little consequence. But multilateralism could be considered the political arm - or rather the most reliable instrument we have - with which we might restrain the devastating process of economic and financial globalization. We all agree that globalization has both positive and negative sides. The negative aspects,

[1] Violence that arises from religious and ethnic confrontation; nature's violence against humans and humans' violence against nature; gender violence; and violence as a response to poverty and exclusion generated by capitalistic globalization.

[2] The first International Forum on the Social Science-Policy Nexus (IFSP), Argentina and Uruguay, 20-24 February 2006 (www.unesco.org/shs/ifsp).

its disadvantages from the point of view of the social scientists, are to be found at the level of a dominant capitalist economy, which I would venture to say hinders efforts to eradicate poverty and to achieve lasting peace. I believe that the only way to confront this reality is to recognize and make use of multilateral instruments and forums, in which democratic and plural debate can be guaranteed. A multilateralism that promotes a solution, so that our lives are not to be limited to visiting the great supermarket into which the planet is being transformed, where humanity's only aim is to consume ever more, leaving thousands of starving people by the wayside, with the risk that those who do consume will finally be choked by their own greed.

This is why UNESCO must devote itself, within its areas of competence - which, by the way, must not keep increasing year after year (do not tell me that a convention against doping has anything to do with UNESCO) - to legitimizing and expanding on its essential role: to be an increasingly representative forum for cultural diversity and plurality, for thought and politics, open to civil societies in a transparent and effective way. In practical terms, this means calling on civil society as well as specialists and official representatives of Member States to provide input on UNESCO's activities that concern them. It is not an easy task, but it is time to work on it. How this is to be achieved will require a great deal of thought. The important thing is to be aware that we will only avoid violence through respect and multilateralism.

The second issue I mentioned, then, that of ignorance or disinformation, originates in a lack of the effective communication that is required to establish UNESCO as a real and concrete presence in the everyday life of citizens around the world. Some people will say that this is not the mission of an intellectual forum. I actually think that it is, I even believe that the time has come to knock on all doors, to open all the windows, so that fresh air circulates through our Organization. If we do not do this, we risk asphyxiation.

We, the National Commissions, must assume our part of responsibility in this communication society if we are to fight this disinformation or lack of information. This is not a matter of creating new forms of communication, but a matter of knowing what to communicate and why indeed we do communicate it, of keeping in touch with citizens in such a moment of turmoil within their political and social representations. To borrow a phrase from UNESCO's report on knowledge societies: 'Information has no value if it cannot be mobilized and used'.[3] The question is knowing what information civil society needs and might be able to mobilize. I believe this is a matter of urgent reflexion for us if we are to respond to the current demands of global society.

In a global world - in the knowledge society - how can an international organization with the usual characteristics translate its experiences and its knowledge from a codified, removed language into one that a vast majority of the world's people can understand? Because to find peace, humanity needs this new language - through which all challenges and all identities can be recognized. It is, as the report indicates, 'a matter of governance', and there will be no governance of globalization if we do not construct new paths for the majority of human beings who are currently stalled at the side of the road. Allow me to use another metaphor: the new forms of violence will create new chasms and we must use information and the dissemination of knowledge to construct bridges that all can cross, because only an equitable sharing of all of our resources will allow the underprivileged to integrate development, as we all know. UNESCO's mission is to empower the victims of poverty in order to eradicate it. This action, which I think should be one of positive discrimination, must be at the centre of our programmes and our activities. This means empowering the underprivileged through disseminating the knowledge that emerges from UNESCO's activities, to give a real existence to them and to their problems. It is well known that what is not said, what is not explained, does not exist. Or, when it does exist, it is easily forgotten. This is what happens in Africa. I will venture to say that in my country, Chile,

[3] *Towards Knowledge Societies,* published on 21 October 2005.

the continent of Africa - which is one of the priorities of UNESCO and should be one of the priorities of the more developed countries - does not exist. In Chile, Africa does not exist. Perhaps it would exist if we could trade with African countries. And this situation is very serious. This is why we must get to work, put on our overalls and start building those bridges across the abyss. I have the impression that this challenge of disseminating knowledge or empowering others through knowledge cannot be met using the codified language of international organizations. Sometimes I think that we live in a kind of greenhouse in which natural species and plants can live, but they will not survive if they are obliged to face the outside climate, in other words, reality.

Finally, I would like to point out a matter that is related to this objective of universal communication, one that reflects the plurality of social representation. In what is arguably an attack against this objective, the main language for the daily dissemination of UNESCO's activities is the language of globalization: English. The supremacy of this language in international organizations and in the world of technology and science contributes to the homogenization of culture and contradicts UNESCO's policies of fostering plurality and diversity. As an example, Spanish, a language spoken by over 500 million people, is only present at UNESCO's intergovernmental meetings because of the efforts of Spain, which pays for interpretation services so that Spanish speakers can participate more fully and a more democratic and plural debate can be assured. We request that the necessary financial resources be sought to ensure that UNESCO's six official languages, at least, are present at all meetings, in all documents, and on UNESCO's website. It is always better to put one's own house in order first.

29 November 2005
Seoul, Republic of Korea

Yersu Kim
(Republic of Korea)

Yersu Kim is Dean of the Graduate School of NGO Studies of Kyung Hee University, Korea. He served as Secretary-General of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO from 2000 to 2004; Director of the Division of Philosophy and Ethics at UNESCO, Paris from 1995 to 2000; and Professor of Philosophy at Seoul National University from 1977 to 1998. Dr Kim has been active in Korean and international academic communities. He is past President of the Korean Philosophical Association and was Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Philosophy Association and Vice-president of the International Federation of Philosophical Associations. He is the Chair of the Organizing Committee of the 22nd World Congress of Philosophy, to be held in Seoul in 2008. Dr Kim's educational background includes a B.A. from Harvard and a Ph.D from the University of Bonn. He has written extensively in Korean and English, on themes related to the philosophy of language, the philosophy of culture, universal ethics, and aspects of Korean culture.

The UNESCO I see in this future is at the forefront
of this process of civilizational transformation,
as a thoughtful, tolerant and forceful guide for humanity.

Yersu Kim

The question 'What UNESCO for the future?' is different from 'What future for UNESCO?' Although I am not quite certain that it would be possible to truly separate these two issues, it is however a useful distinction, in that the question as formulated gives us certain latitude.

I have had the privilege of working with UNESCO for the past ten years, five as a member of the Secretariat in Paris and four as Secretary-General of the Korean Commission. UNESCO is therefore an organization for which I can but harbour deep affection. Despite many weaknesses, it is an organization to which the following saying applies par excellence: 'If we did not have it, then we would have to invent it'. In the past sixty years of its existence, UNESCO has been the source and promoter of many seminal ideas that have helped humanity to deal with many crucial problems it faced in its tasks of survival and prospering. It is a platform on which very many diverse voices and viewpoints can be aired, mostly in diplomatic but sometimes in not so diplomatic language. Some speak disparagingly of UNESCO as a mere talk shop, but who can tell how much UNESCO may have contributed to maintaining world peace in disseminating ideas to the collective hearts and minds of the people and governments of its Member States?

Talking about UNESCO is somewhat like the tale of three blind men who set out to tell you what kind of creature an elephant is from their first-hand experience, using their tactile senses. This is just by way of warning that personal experience at a great organization like UNESCO, where so many different hopes, expectations and interests meet, may not be a reliable guide. UNESCO, as you all know, is an inter-governmental organization, with 191 Member States. They sometimes rise above concerns of national interest and sovereignty, but the predominant perception is still Westphalian. Ideally, it functions as the intellectual arm of the UN system, having the mandate of fostering intellectual cooperation in the spheres of education, sciences, culture and communication. Its Secretariat consists of some 1800 regular members and carries out, at any given time, at headquarters and in 53 Field Offices around the world, several hundred large and small programmes and projects. It is a behemoth of an organization, but it survives on very little sustenance. Its biennium budget is in the order of US$600 million. This is about twice the size of the budget of Chongno-Ku, the district of Seoul where I live. You can make your own calculations. It is not easy to have a precise overview of everything that is going on at UNESCO at any one time, and many things can slip right through the tactile senses of a well-meaning blind person.

There is no way to be just and fair in giving due credit to the outstanding achievements of UNESCO's individual programmes in its spheres of competence, especially in culture and education. So I will simply assume the daring stance of the blind men and dive straight into the topic 'What UNESCO for the Future' with the question: 'What is the governing idea of UNESCO that not only holds its multifaceted and multifarious programs and projects together, but also gives coherence and a forward thrust to its basic ideas and ideals?' I think the answer to this question is without doubt the idea of world development. From the immediate post-World War II period, through the interlude of ideological confrontation, to the present - which is characterized by economic globalization and cultural fragmentation - development has been the central guiding idea on which so many of UNESCO's achievements, both in practical as well as intellectual fields, were based.

It is to UNESCO's lasting credit as the intellectual arm of the UN system that it was among the first to recognize the complex nature of the development process, and it undertook path-breaking initiatives to deal with the exigencies of such a recognition. Endogenous development, integral development, sustainable development, cultural development - these are some of the memorable sign-posts along UNESCO's path to making development productive and appropriate to changed and changing circumstances.

Despite some partial and modest success from these efforts, development no longer elicits the inspiration and admiration it once did. It is under attack on many fronts, and many Member States and societies are drifting away from it, or rejecting it, having set other priorities. One of the central motivations in having the UN system, and particularly UNESCO, is to eradicate poverty. Yet poverty persists and even deepens. We may even speak of the 'banality' of statistics that tell us that well over 1.3 billion inhabitants of this planet live in conditions of absolute poverty, and their numbers are rising. Yet, this is happening at a time when the globalizing economy is creating wealth unimaginable even a few decades ago. What makes us drift away from the idea of development when it is needed more than ever? What is the cause?

The root cause must be found in the absence of a persuasive model, or models, of development - the absence of a dynamic and coherent set or sets of objectives that together might make up such a model, within which and according to which development could take place. No matter what kind of qualifier one chooses to add before the word development, and no matter how pernicious one may find the identification of development as 'simple' economic development, the idea as embraced and admired by the world has been and remains to this day part and parcel of the larger cultural synthesis that Europe succeeded in forging over a period of several centuries. Consisting of ideas, values and practices based on rationalism, individualism, belief in science and progress, and materialism, the cultural synthesis of the West offered humanity one certain guide to the path of human survival and flourishing.

Development as economic growth was one component of this larger synthesis. This may be the reason why identification of development, modernization and Westernization, even after so many efforts, is difficult to satisfactorily discredit.

Development no longer commands admiration and allegiance today because those ideas and values that had formed the backbone and motor behind the rise and development of Western civilization seem to be losing their once self-evident relevance and validity. It is becoming increasingly clear that signs of stagnation and even of relative decline are due not to an accidental configuration of factors but, to a tension and contradiction within and among the ideas and values that are at the core of expansionistic civilization. A growing sense of uncertainty and crisis has been evident now for a number of years, a sense that ideas and values underlying the Western synthesis that had served humanity so well in its tasks of survival and prospering seem now to be increasingly irrelevant and even counter-productive. There comes a point in the evolutionary process when and where certain ideas and values, because of their once-proven efficacy and validity, assume a semblance of universality. The ideas and assumptions on which modern society was founded are no longer adequate to deal with many of the central problems facing humanity, such as environmental degradation, inequalities among individuals and among nations, and the dehumanization of work and consequent deprivation of purpose and meaning to life.

I think the cultural arrogance that simply assumes the universality of the Western model of development has prevented us from seeing its essential embeddedness in a larger historically conditioned context, in which there emerges a set of ideas, values and practices that together constitute what might be called a conception of human flourishing. I have referred to such an emergent conception as 'cultural synthesis'. Development cannot be properly understood without recourse to the evolutionary process of struggling with the tasks and problems of survival and prospering that the small continent of Europe had to face.

I see cultures and civilizations of different times and places as striving to forge a synthesis of this kind, each in its own way. Each strives to forge an optimal synthesis of ideas, values and practices that would best enable it to deal with the problems it faces. Each of some two dozen civilizations identified by Toynbee was probably based on such syntheses of varying degrees of finesse and comprehensiveness.[1] East Asia achieved such a synthesis from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. So, too, did the Islamic civilization from the twelfth to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire was, for practical purposes, incorporated into the Western world. Such a synthesis, when successful, provides a clear model for emulation, and sometimes a yardstick against which other culture's efforts at synthesis may be measured and evaluated, thus giving false encouragement to claims of universality.

There is a lesson to be learned from history. Both Islamic and East Asian civilizations have been world orders with pronounced universalistic claims. I imagine our friends from the Arab countries may wish to enlighten us on this particular aspect of Islamic history. Supremely confident of its cultural superiority, the traditional East Asia was largely oblivious to the looming challenge to its cultural integrity posed by a young civilization in the making, that was going through a dizzying succession of transformations subsequently known as Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, French Revolution, Industrial Revolution and colonialism.

Suddenly confronted with vitality of European civilization in the middle of the nineteenth century, countries in the traditional East Asia attempted to deal with the situation each in its own way. By the end of nineteenth century, it was clear what would be the outcome of two civilizations with universalistic claims. Although there were differences in speed and modality, this meant adopting and internalizing the values and practices of the Western cultural synthesis. East Asian civilization, abandoning its traditional role as the teaching civilization, became a willing pupil of the Western synthesis. In moments of doubt and uncertainty, one needed

[1] Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), *A Study of History,* 12 volumes, Oxford University Press, 1934-1961.

simply to go to the ready-made cultural model provided by the Western synthesis. Today, in the early years of the twenty-first century, East Asia, a region of the world where 1.6 billion people live, has once again become one of the major poles of the world economy, together with Europe and North America.

It is also becoming increasingly clear that modernization, in the sense of Westernization, is drawing to a close. This assertion in no way implies that East Asian countries either individually or collectively are anywhere near forging a clear conception of where they wish to go from here. It simply means that the Western synthesis is no longer able to provide answers to some of the burning questions in the quest for human survival and prospering, such as questions concerning the environment, social justice, the individual and the community, and issues regarding the objectives to be pursued in life.

Humanity stands today in a situation of extraordinary challenge and openness. Scientific and technological advances are creating new opportunities on a scale previously unimagined, even as they threaten to destroy the very foundation of human life. The forces of a globalizing economy are creating great wealth for humanity, even as they widen the gap between the rich and the poor. Increasing global interdependence gives rise to ever more complex transborder problems that defy traditional solutions. The rise of new global powers, which began with decolonization some sixty years ago and is now progressing to some of the so-called BRIC countries, rising to become epicentres of world politics, are creating forces that make the old international order problematic and that point toward a new one that would be more equitable and productive.[2]

This is the future, as part of a process of civilizational transformation, that I see for UNESCO. The UNESCO I see in this future is at the forefront of this process, as a thoughtful, tolerant and forceful guide for humanity. It

[2] BRIC is a term used to refer to Brazil, Russia, India and China. A thesis considers that their economic potential is such that they may become among the four most dominant economies by the year 2050.

would in no way decree, on the basis of some unilateral conception of human survival and prospering, how such a transformational process should proceed. UNESCO would offer a certain framework or frameworks within which such conversation among humankind could proceed. Such a framework could initially consist of inventories of problems that afflict humanity today. Problems are experienced in concrete existential ways, and, as such, may be an easier way to identify commonalties among different cultures and societies. Another essential component would be an inventory or inventories of values and ideas that have been put forward by different civilizations, cultures and international documents as relevant to the problems inventoried. Then would follow a long and arduous process of intercultural dialogue, debate and consensus building.

Does UNESCO have the will and the capacity to face up to its future as the leader and facilitator of this process of civilizational transformation? This question brings us perilously close to the question of predicting the future of UNESCO. I remember saying at the beginning that the two questions were difficult to keep neatly apart, but I intend to follow UNESCO's injunction. Yet I can't help mentioning a few germane points. I have already alluded to one, a serious mismatch between its mission and the resources available to carry it out. This mismatch is glaring, not only in financial matters, but also in matters of available intellectual resources. A certain critical mass of intellectual capacity is essential for the integrity of UNESCO's work. It is an absolute necessity, sine qua non, if UNESCO is to be able to face up to the future. Decentralization, while helpful in bringing UNESCO closer to its Member States, has had the effect of bringing that critical mass to a dangerously low level, through dispersion and overextension. There is also the issue of the future of UNESCO as an intergovernmental organization. Many of the problems that UNESCO is called upon to deal with are becoming transnational and transboundary. Issues of governance play out at a level beyond that of national interest and sovereignty.

Mr Jacques Attali gave us a metaphor about UNESCO that is amusing, but also very telling. He warned that UNESCO may become a 'machin

somnambule', some strange unidentifiable thing in a sleeping state, in another sixty years. While he mercifully stated that UNESCO is not this yet, he saw the only salvation to lie in UNESCO being transformed into a supra-national organization. I do not think Mr Attali's dire prediction will come to pass. If indeed UNESCO is on the way to becoming a 'machin somnambule' in sixty years time from now, I think that the patience of Member States, or their tax-payers, will have run out much before that. So I am an optimist, but my optimism is predicated on a hard and critical assessment of the present and future of UNESCO.

29 November 2005
Seoul, Republic of Korea

Tu Weiming
(United States of America)

Tu Weiming is Harvard-Yenching Professor of Chinese History and Philosophy and of Confucian Studies at Harvard University and Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. He was born in Kunming, China in 1940, grew up in Taiwan and obtained a B.A. in Chinese Studies at Tunghai University (1961). He received both his M.A. (1963) and Ph.D. (1968) at Harvard. Having taught Chinese intellectual history, philosophies of China, and Confucian studies at Princeton University (1967-71) and University of California, Berkeley (1971-81), he has been on the Harvard faculty since 1981. He has also taught as a visiting Professor at Peking University, Taiwan University, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in France. Professor Tu holds honorary professorships from Zhejing, Renmin, and Zhongshan Universities and the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and has been awarded honorary degrees by Lehigh, Michigan State (Grand Valley), and Shandong Universities. He is a member of the 'Group of Eminent Persons' appointed by Kofi Annan to facilitate dialogue among civilizations, and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He has published several books in English and in Chinese, and dozens of articles primarily focusing on the modern transformation of Confucian humanism. A five-volume anthology of his works was published in Chinese in 2001.

Actually, civilizations themselves do not clash, only ignorance does. Ignorance about cultural diversity, especially fear of radical otherness, is the cultural malaise that needs to be cured as a precondition for dialogue.

Tu Weiming

In the *Analects*, Confucius states that, at the age of sixty, his ears became obedient.[1] In other words, it took him sixty years to learn to be able to listen thoroughly, for his ears to become attuned to the world around him. I simply want to note that at the age of sixty, UNESCO has cultivated the art of listening. In addition, it has also practised the art of face-to-face communication and successfully demonstrated its respect for all ethico-religious traditions. Indeed, UNESCO is, in my opinion, a real ray of hope for the human community, despite all the constraints inherent to a major international organization.

In our age, when data are mistaken for information, information for knowledge, and knowledge for wisdom, it is imperative that UNESCO continues to involve an ever-expanding network of like-minded partners in joint ventures to address perennial and urgent educational, scientific and cultural issues characteristic of our troubled and tension-ridden world. UNESCO can play a critical role in defining the spirit of our time by focusing on the trends that will significantly enhance the survivability and meaningfulness of the human community. Since we are all aware of the

[1] 'At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. 'At thirty, I stood firm. 'At forty, I had no doubts. 'At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. 'At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. 'At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right.' *The Confucian Analects*, II.4, translated by Arthur Waley, first published in 1938 by George Allen & Unwin, London (repr. New York: Everyman, 1989).

fact that the viability of the human species is at stake, we cannot afford to ignore ecological sustainability. In addition, as reiterated at the 1995 United Nations Social Summit in Copenhagen, three major issues confronting the human community continue to haunt us: poverty, unemployment and social disintegration. So it is not only our human relationship to nature that is at stake, but how we interact among ourselves as individuals, groups, societies, nations, cultures and civilizations. Indeed, a practicable sense of the global community, not to mention the 'global village', is at best an imagined possibility. What we witness throughout the world is disintegration at all levels of human-relatedness: family, community, nation, region and world. Paradoxically, processes of reintegration, reconstitution, reconfiguration and reorganization, from the family to the globe, are also unfolding in front of our eyes.

It is in this particular context that I cherish the hope that UNESCO in the future continues to acquire an embodied knowledge of these seemingly contradictory and definitely complex developments. To do so, it must maintain its vitality as a learning organization, with a lifelong commitment to personal learning and organizational learning. Such an organization must cultivate a strong and independent 'communal critical self-consciousness' among all of its stakeholders - the scholar-officials who represent Member States; the administration, including the Director-General; the division heads; the program officers; the support staff; all the other workers for the organization; specialists, experts and scholars who serve as UNESCO consultants; and those who take part in the long-term and *ad hoc* activities of UNESCO.

Already, and here I speak from personal experience, UNESCO has exerted a shaping influence on the self-definition, self-understanding and even self-realization of a large group of 'public intellectuals' throughout the world. To continue to enhance its vitality, UNESCO should engage in systems thinking to avoid falling into the trap of simple-minded 'either-or' dichotomies. It should embrace a long-term, holistic approach to the global issues of education for all, dialogue among civilizations, world peace, and human flourishing. The UNESCO culture, underscoring the art of

listening, face-to-face communication, and respect for the wisdom of elders from diverse spiritual traditions, is truly congenial to what the American philosopher, Richard Rorty, advocates as the role and function of philosophy: to engender edifying conversations. It is vitally important that we translate these edifying conversations into social capital, cultural competence and ethical intelligence for the global community. This is predicated on the ability of UNESCO's leadership to never lose its own critical self-consciousness and self-reflexivity as a learning organization.

The example of America is relevant here. I was born in China and grew up in Taiwan, fifth grade through college. Ethnically, culturally and spiritually I am, by default and by choice, Chinese, but I became a naturalized American citizen in 1976 and am very proud of my citizenship. America, to me, has been one of the great learning civilizations in the world. America came into being through learning from French and Scottish philosophy, from English and Irish literature and law, from German science and technology, indeed from European civilization in general. For more than three centuries, it has been an immigrant society, always in principle and often in practice open to all races and creeds of the world. Unfortunately, in the last few decades, America has transformed itself into a teaching civilization. Surely, as one of the oldest republics, the United States of America has a great deal of sharable experience in market economy, democratic policy and civil society? And American cosmopolitanism, rather than isolationism, is good for the rest of the world. I strongly believe that it is vitally important for America to become a learning civilization again. The United States has rejoined UNESCO. I hope that the American presence will exude an ecumenical spirit of cooperation and collaboration without undermining the American insistence on efficiency, transparency and public accountability. I have faith in the dynamism, sensitivity, generosity and sense of fairness of American civil society. It will compel American politicians to be more responsive to the criticisms of the international community.

Personally I object to my government's unwholesome position on cultural diversity. The fear that some of UNESCO's programmes may be

manipulated to ignite anti-American sentiments is not groundless, but the interest of the American people will be better served by adopting a 'dialogical' rather than 'unilateral' mode in conducting international affairs. The dialogical mode is predicated on some level of tolerance, but tolerance is only a minimal condition. In addition to tolerance, there must be full recognition that the other's existence is a given reality. It is both reasonable and legitimate for the other to exist. Its existence cannot be wished away. It took Israel and the Palestinian authority decades to come to this realization. Without such recognition, tolerance is no more than a strategic manoeuvre. With full recognition, there is a chance of trust. Only with trust can there be respect. Mutual reference can be built upon mutual respect and mutual learning can grow out of mutual reference. Celebration of difference may turn out to be a real outcome of this fruitful interaction.

The dialogical mode is radically different from the dialectic method. Dialectics involves surpassing and overcoming. The synthesis is the result of transcending thesis and antithesis. There is violence inherent in that process. Through violence, or at least confrontation, the lower levels of interaction will be surpassed or overcome. Dialogue is, to be sure, a transformative act, but it takes as its point of departure respect for the integrity of the other. Surpassing and overcoming are incompatible with the dialogical mode. Effort is required on both sides to rise above doubt, suspicion and mistrust. Arguments are unavoidable in a genuine dialogue, but dialogue is not argumentative. It is not a competition to achieve external objectives - power, influence, resource, prestige or reputation. Dialogue in the true sense of the term is not an occasion for conversion or persuasion. It is an opportunity for listening, especially deep listening. The purpose is to broaden one's intellectual horizon, enhance one's self-knowledge and deepen one's self-reflexivity.

One of UNESCO's major long-term commitments is the promotion of dialogue among civilizations. If there is a perception of an imminent danger of a 'clash of civilizations', the necessity of inter-civilizational dialogue is urgent.[2] Actually, civilizations themselves do not clash, only igno-

[2] A theory popularized by Samuel P. Huntington in 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 72, No. 3 (1993).

rance does. Ignorance about cultural diversity, especially fear of radical otherness, is the cultural malaise that needs to be cured as a precondition for dialogue. I am acutely aware that nowadays traditionally liberal-minded public intellectuals in America are worried about pluralism. They assume, based on apparent and real ethnic and linguistic conflicts confronting American education and society, that pluralism is likely to lead to relativism, nihilism and anarchy. Their worries are not unfounded, but so-called 'cultural wars' are often reflections of fundamental economic, political and social divides that require basic changes in behaviour, attitudes and beliefs. Dialogue among pluralistic civic organizations is the best, if not the only, way to deal with this complex situation.

The Philosophy section of UNESCO, under the leadership of Yersu Kim, has been involved in a profoundly significant global effort to address this issue. While we recognize cultural diversity and celebrate cultural difference, we make serious intellectual and practical efforts to identify a common ground for sharing core values and establishing universal ethics in the global community. Recognizing cultural diversity and celebrating cultural difference do not automatically lead to relativism. I hope that UNESCO for the future will develop sophisticated and subtle ways of understanding how complex cultural interactions can lead to fruitful processes of mutual flourishing. The combination of thick and thin descriptions of the ethico-religious landscape of the world is not only possible, but also practical. It can serve as an initial step to enable the dialogical mode of inter-civilizational interaction to come into being.

Concretely, I propose that UNESCO take on the task of an edifying conversation on 'universal values' under the influence of the Enlightenment of the modern West in a comparative civilizational perspective. The purpose is to provide sympathetic understanding of and critical reflexion on these values - notably rationality, liberty, equality, due process of law, human rights and dignity of the individual - from Hindu, Judaic, Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, Jain, Christian, Islamic, Sikh, Shinto and other spiritual perspectives. The purpose is twofold: to offer thick cultural descriptions of these values so that they can be richly contextualized in

the lifeworlds of many seemingly incompatible discrete civilizations. At the same time, spiritual traditions that have been adversely affected by Enlightenment secular humanism may offer universalizable values of their own that can greatly enhance the knowledge, intelligence and wisdom of the ethical discourse in market economy, democratic polity and civil society of the modern West. More significant with a view toward the future is the authentic possibility of integrating a spiritual dimension into international communication, which has been dominated by the language of instrumental rationality defined blatantly in terms of wealth and power.

The assumption that the Enlightenment values enumerated above are 'universal' whereas Islamic, Confucian, Taoist, Buddhist and Hindu values are 'local' or 'regional' is highly problematic. Discussions on 'Asian values' in the 1980s were seriously flawed because they were motivated by combative political rhetoric, charged with anti-Western emotions, or dismissed as justifications for authoritarianism. This is unfortunate because they could have been occasions for an inter-civilizational dialogue on the core values necessary for human survival and flourishing in our time. Indeed, it could have been an edifying conversation on significant topics such as the global significance of local knowledge and an East-West dialogue on ecological sustainability.

I have discussed elsewhere that for the well-being of the global community, we need to go beyond the Enlightenment mentality, in other words, secular humanism. As a dispirited and denatured form of life, what the secular humanism of the Enlightenment mentality dictates is an anthropocentrism rooted in materialism, instrumentalism and egoism. It may have liberated the human spirit from oppressive religious practices and terrifying natural forces, but it has also enslaved the human body and mind in the 'iron cage' of self-destruction.[3]

With all the great Enlightenment values, the viability of the human species is at stake, and our current project of human development is too restricted to provide inspiration for ourselves and for our children, not to

[3] The 'iron cage' is a concept developed in the work of Max Weber.

mention numerous future generations. At a minimum, the core values necessary for human survival and flourishing will have to be augmented by sympathy, empathy and compassion. Common sense teaches us that the more powerful, influential and financially endowed an individual is, the more responsible he or she should feel for the well-being of the larger community. This common-sense notion is applied to group, society and nation as well. The idea of 'soft power', with particular attention to social capital, cultural competence, ethical intelligence and spiritual values, is pertinent here.[4]

As the eminent political philosopher, John Rawls, notes in *A Theory of Justice*, for the idea of liberty to take root in our society, justice as fairness must be implemented by national policies and practised in all spheres of interest in the public domain.[5] In Islam and Confucianism (of course also in Judaism and other historical religions), the sense of justice and fairness is pronounced. The question, 'Is it just or fair for those with power, influence, access to information, ideas and material resources to be concerned only with their own interests?' looms large in the Islamic and Confucian worlds. Rationality is a defining characteristic of humanity, but we learn from Buddhism as well as Christianity the value of charity and compassion. Even if we extend rationality from instrumental to communicative, as Habermas has brilliantly done, it cannot accommodate the need for sympathy and empathy in our world. Besides the due process of law, if we do not want our society to become litigious, we need to cultivate and promote the value of civility as well. Even the neo-classic economist, James Buchanan, acknowledges the importance of decency, in addition to liberty and responsibility as core values indispensable for a smoothly functioning market economy. The Enron fiasco drives home Buchanan's point.

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[4] 'Soft power' is a term used in international relations theory to describe the ability of a political body to indirectly influence the behavior or interests of other political bodies through cultural or ideological means, as opposed to 'hard power', which uses more direct coercive measures. The term was coined by Joseph Nye in *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), a response to theories of the declining power of the United States.

[5] John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (1971), Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

To follow this line of thinking a bit further, we know well that rights will have to be combined with responsibility. The effort of Hans Küng to formulate a declaration of human responsibility through the InterAction Council ought not to be perceived as an implicit critique of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[6] They are in theory and practice complementary documents. Similarly, the dignity of the individual and social solidarity are both core values to be cultivated. There is unavoidable tension between them, but to assert that a concern for social solidarity is necessarily in conflict with the dignity of the individual is one-sided. Justice, sympathy, civility, responsibility and social solidarity are not merely Asian values. They are also universal values.

In organizing a continuous inter-civilizational dialogue between philosophers in Asia and the Arab world, UNESCO has embarked on a profoundly significant intellectual journey to cultivate a style of global thinking unprecedented in human history. Since the late 1960s, thanks to incredible scientific and technological achievements, our naked eye can see the blue planet from the vantage point of the astronaut. We have realized, with great apprehension, that our habitat in terms of soil, minerals, water and air is finite. We have also realized how vulnerable the earth is. We now know for sure that we are no longer just the results of an evolutionary process that is totally beyond our control. Rather, we are active participants in this evolutionary process, and shapers of our environment. We in fact have had an impact on every aspect of nature, including climate. This awareness offers us an insight that none of our predecessors, such as Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Marx, Wittgenstein, Dewey and Heidegger, ever imagined possible. They may have successfully imagined themselves as world philosophers, but our existential condition dictates that we cannot but be global thinkers. We belong to the first generation for whom the Axial-Age civilizations are consciously or inadvertenty our common heritage. We are in a new Axial Age.[7]

[6] Established in 1983, the InterAction Council is an independent international organization comprised of former heads of state and government that publishes an annual review of the world situation. Hans Küng, inventor of the concept of global ethics, has been working with the Council to formulate a world charter on human ethical responsibilities.

[7] The 'Axial Age' refers to the period from 800 BC to 200 BC during which the same intensity of thaught appeared in Ancient Greece, the Middle East, India and China.

In light of this new awareness, the classical Confucian idea of the 'great unity' (*datong*) is no longer a Utopian idea, but a shared aspiration. 'Great unity' is in perfect accord with the idea of 'harmony without uniformity'. Harmony is predicated on diversity and difference. The opposite of harmony is sameness. The 'great unity' is diametrically opposed to homogenized unity. The greatness of the 'great unity' lies in its convergence, confluence, integration and harmonization of different colours, sounds, tastes and experiences. Harmony embraces difference. Without difference, harmony is impossible. If we do not mix spices, we cannot make tasty soup. Without different sounds, there is no music. Without different colours, there are no paintings. Geodiversity and biodiversity are preconditions for human survival and linguistic and cultural diversity is congenial to human flourishing.

I would like to conclude with one wish: UNESCO philosophically offers an anthropocosmic vision for human survival and human flourishing. Such a vision entails four inseparable dimensions in its core curriculum. They are: 1) ecological sustainability; 2) social harmony (for survival); 3) personal and communal self-realization; and 4) ultimate spiritual transformation (so as to flourish). Underlying this comprehensive and integrated curriculum is the idea of *padeia*, involving spiritual exercises as well as physical and mental disciplines.[8] Education, in this sense, is not only the acquisition of knowledge and skills but also self-cultivation, character-building and the quest for wisdom. Science, so understood, intends to make us wise as well as powerful. Culture is, as in the classical Chinese ideal, 'the human pattern that transforms and completes' the task of Heaven and Earth, for it is both naturalistic and spiritual, rather than a narrowly construed anthropocentric construct superimposed on nature without any reference to the transcendent.[9] In any case, the future UNESCO should

[8] *Padeia*, Ancient Greek term meaning 'education, upbringing'.

[9] This idea originated early in Confucian thought (see the 'Xici' or 'Appended Statements' of the I Ching), in which the 'great virtue' of Heaven and Earth is defined as life-creating, whereas the potency of the sages is understood as the ability to observe and emulate heavenly virtue and put it into practice in the human community. Both Mencius and Xun Zi, two significantly different followers of Confucius, continued this line of thought. The specific formulation of Heaven and Earth initiate but human beings complete the cosmic process is found in Dong Zhongshu's Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu fanlu).

embrace personhood (self-cultivation), community (social integration), nature (sustainability) and Heaven (God, Allah, Brahma or Tao: the ultimate source and meaning of life) in its all-over programmatic design and implementation.

What UNESCO for the Future?

Why not use these blank pages to jot down your own ideas?

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REPRINT

Planning the Organization of UNESCO, 1942-1946: A Personal Record

Frank Richard Cowell,
Former Secretary-General of the National Commission
of the United Kingdom to UNESCO

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Planning the Organisation of UNESCO, 1942-1946
A Personal Record

When the President of the Board of Education of England and Wales, the Right Honourable Mr R. A. Butler - as Lord Butler then was - invited his colleagues from the Allied Powers concerned with education, then in exile in London, to meet him on November 16, 1942, he was following up an initiative of Sir Malcolm Robertson, Chairman of the British Council, who had entertained them a month earlier. They were the Ministers or Acting-Ministers of Education from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Professor René Cassin, Commissioner for Justice and Education of the French National Committee of General de Gaulle. They were all living in war-time London, in perpetual, often desperate anxiety as well as in constant personal danger, sustained only by their determination to maintain that fierce struggle upon whose successful outcome hung all their hopes of ever seeing their homeland again or of being able in any way to contribute to the education of their

countrymen. Confidence in such hopes required a degree of optimism for which the realities of war then gave scant encouragement.

London had the aspect of a beleaguered city. Its schoolchildren had been dispersed over the country, and none too soon, for heavy air-raids on British towns with London as the principal target began in September 1940. Food, clothing and petrol were strictly rationed while supplies of all kinds became scarce or disappeared. By 1912, the war-time pattern of life had become normal.

With characteristic British caution, Mr Butler proposed to concentrate upon a review of the actual educational problems and difficulties the exiled governments were facing in Great Britain. Current practical problems arose from the educational needs of the children and young people of the thousands of exiled families who had succeeded in escaping to the British Isles. In his letter of invitation, however, he said that it would be profitable to discuss post-war educational needs and to explore plans for the formation of permanent organization for Inter-Allied and, subsequently, international cooperation in educational matters.

The British Council and the Allies in Exile

The British Council, which had made the first move to bring the Allied Ministers together, was then of recent creation. It had been formed to counter the poisonous provocation of Fascist and Nazi propaganda on the cultural front and it was still a very small organisation when in September 1939 the war threatened to suspend its activities. Such modest initiatives as it had been able to undertake in Europe were soon brought to an end. In the United Kingdom itself the Council had no responsibilities apart from giving limited aid to the relatively few students brought from overseas under its auspices, only a handful of whom, stranded by the war, then remained.

In May 1940, Hitler had started a campaign of total annihilation against his enemies, his armies were overrunning Western Europe and thousands of refugees were fleeing before them, many to arrive sooner

or later in Great Britain. There they joined the earlier influx of mainly German-speaking Jewish and liberal refugees who had fled from the Nazi persecution after 1933. For them the British Council had no responsibility, although it took a benevolent interest in the aid being organised on their behalf by others. The Council was also in touch with the growing number of private people, societies and organisations, some of which were being quickly improvised, who were anxious to help the refugees. During the summer of 1940, in conjunction with the exiled Allied Governments, the British Council began to furnish and equip a series of cultural centres for the Allies up and down the country, of which the Polish Hearth in London was the first. In this way a number of the Council's officers, and none more than Miss Nancy Parkinson, now Dame Nancy Parkinson, became good friends of all the Allied Governments.

It was a natural development therefore for the British Council to promote the meeting of Ministers of Education and to provide some modest secretarial aid at their meetings, an initiative which was to involve far greater responsibilities than could have been foreseen in November 1942. For the Allied Ministers quickly grasped the opportunity to renew their gatherings. Further meetings were arranged and The Conference of the Ministers of Education of the Allied Governments and the French National Committee, under the Chairmanship of the President of the Board of Education, came into being as an enduring war-time organisation. It was always referred to, more shortly, as 'The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education' (CAME).

The Idea of International Intellectual Cooperation and the Reality of War

Some memory of the harsh realities of war during which 'the UNESCO idea' took rise, so briefly and inadequately sketched above, is a very necessary complement and perhaps corrective for those academic accounts which put all the emphasis upon the philosophical antecedents of UNESCO in the speculations of enlightened souls of past ages from the founders of the Library of Alexandria, Pope Gregory IX, medieval scholasticism down to Eighteenth Century Enlightenment. When that fascinating story is adequa-

tely traced, justice will be done to many far-sighted men, among whom few will deserve greater prominence than Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (if UNESCO were ever to adopt a patron saint, it is difficult to think of anyone more entitled to the honour than he). But all such forerunners were remote from the thoughts of most of the original participants in the conference of Allied Ministers of Education. They and their fellow-countrymen had a war to win. Many of them were fire-watching at night, with the ever-present problem of what to do if Hitler succeeded in his plan to invade or to reduce Great Britain. Beyond survival and dark and daily anxiety about their families in occupied territory, their thoughts were concentrated upon such matters as training teachers and professional classes (secondary and higher education had been abolished by the German conquerors in Poland), rebuilding schools, providing blackboards, chalk, writing paper, desks, scientific apparatus and replacing tendentious, propaganda-loaded textbooks with proper educational manuals. Their colleagues from their national museums and galleries were deeply anxious about the fate of national treasures known to have been looted by the enemy, while most, if not all, had lost their homes and everything they possessed.

Plans for Educational Reconstruction

Inevitably therefore the early deliberations of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education were dominated by very definite practical worries and material needs. The first news which the British public had about their labours was a short paragraph in the *Daily Telegraph* of February 20, 1943 announcing that the President of the Board of Education had appointed the Professor of Political Science at Cambridge, Mr Ernest Barker (he became Sir Ernest Barker in 1944) as Chairman of a committee which would consider the supply of books to occupied countries after the war, 'including history books objective in character'. This committee, it was said, 'followed a conference recently held between Mr Butler and representatives of the British Council and the Allies'. There had in fact been a second meeting of the Conference in January 1943 when M. Julius P. Hoste of Belgium persuaded his colleagues to consider a model cultural convention, and there was a third in March of that year.

By that time, the pattern of effective cooperation was emerging. The course of war, stern, bitter and relentless, was beginning to take a less unfavourable turn. The immense power of the United States of America had been drawn into the conflict by the Japanese attack on the U.S. Navy based at Pearl Harbor in December 1941. In the Spring of 1943, the British Eighth Army had vanquished Rommel in North Africa; the Russians were victorious at Stalingrad; the air offensive over Germany was steadily intensified. By June 1943, General de Gaulle's French National Committee was able to leave London for Algiers, continuing however to be represented on the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, which at that time had been joined by observers from the United States, the Soviet Union, China, India and British Dominion governments.

The Conference was now well-equipped administratively for its chosen tasks. They were undertaken by a series of Commissions and Committees whose work was coordinated for the full Conference by an Executive Bureau. The full range of its labour is best indicated by the chart on page IX giving the names of the Commissions and the dates on which they were established.

The titles of these commissions and committees conceal the names of the devoted men and women whose energy and determination alone made the Conference a reality. They deserve individual mention and tribute for which a volume in itself would be required. As originators of the Conference, the United Kingdom incurred responsibilities extending beyond those arising from its membership. The brunt of these duties apart form the secretarial aid shortly to be described, fell upon the broad shoulders of Mr W. R. Richardson of the Board of Education. To him more than to any other single person, the Conference and its officers turned for guidance on the innumerable problems and difficulties arising in the day-to-day work. Unruffled, unperturbed, with the practised hand of the experienced administrator, he met all the crises and kept the business moving. Long after UNESCO had become a reality he lent his skilful hand to guide this new adventure into international public administration in so far as the voice of Great Britain influenced its course.

A number of documents and publications were produced by CAME's Commissions. M. Hoste's initiative provided in 1944 the *Report of the Commission Appointed to Consider Conventions for the Adjustment of Intellectual Co-operation between the British and Allied Governments*. Sir Ernest Barker's Books Commission promoted a confidential *Report on Matters Relating to the Book Trade in Europe* (November 1944), the upshot of which was that the sooner that private enterprise in printing, publishing and selling books could be resumed, the better. The History Comittee's idea of a miniature history of the war was taken up by the Oxford University Press, who commissioned a short work from R. C. K. Ensor. The Committee's much more ambitious scheme for a historical survey of *The European Inheritance* was also later published by the Oxford University Press in three weighty volumes under Sir Ernest Barker's editorship. The Commission's *Report on Translations* likewise did not appear until after the end of the war. In January 1946, the *Final Report of the Commission of Enquiry on Special Educational Problems in the Liberated Countries* was completed and issued. The Chairman of the Commission was Dr Joseph A. Lauwerys, whose comprehensive, sympathetic and understanding review of the difficulties created by the war and invasion helps to explain some of the social problems with which post-war societies have had to grapple. The Science Commission under Dr E. F. Armstrong, appalled by the wholesale looting and destruction of laboratories, set to work to draw up lists of basic scientific equipment needed as immediate first-aid replacement. Seventy-six of these inventories were devised by the Commission.

If the other Commissions produced no published documents, their work was none the less valuable, for it brought many problems into focus, assembled a great deal of information and threw up in discussion ideas and suggestions for later action. Such was the work of the Audio-Visual Aids Commission, chaired at first by Dr J. Slavik of Czechoslovakia and later by Professor Alexandre Photiades of Greece with Mr Oliver Bell from the British Film Institute as its robust, genial and good-humoured Secretary. In all the work of arranging meetings, providing agenda, working papers, minutes and documents, the Conference and its Committees and

Commissions were faithfully served by officers of the British Council. The wide friendships, shrewd wisdom and tireless energy of Miss Parkinson, the calm, legal mind of Mr Richard Seymour and the cheerful devotion of Miss Phyllis Downie in undertaking a load of toil from the Books Commission will be enduring memories for all who shared in the work of the Conference.

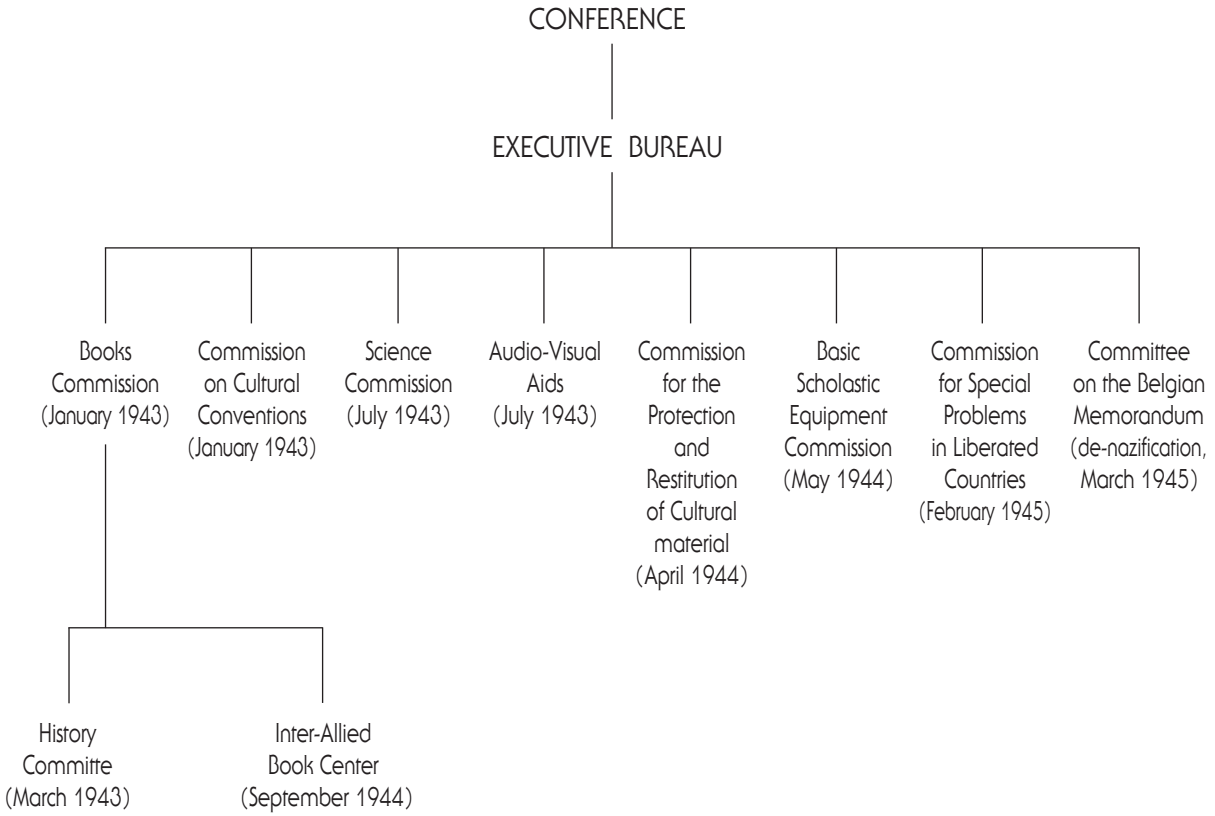
Its range of work steadily widened. A representative from Luxembourg was welcomed at the Third Meeting of May 25, 1943, and at the following meeting observers arrived from the United States (Mr Richard Johnson) and the U.S.S.R. It was then decided to invite China and the British Dominions. Their representatives were present at the Fifth Meeting of July 27, 1943, when the re-organisation of the Conference was proposed to cope with its increased scope of activity. The Planning Committee, then appointed, reported at the following, Sixth, Plenary Meeting on October 5, 1943. An Inter-Allied Bureau was set up to meet more frequently than the full Conference and to undertake the practical supervision of the work in hand. It consisted of the exiled governments and Great Britain and was limited to eleven representatives with unofficial observers from the Dominions, China, the Soviet Union and the United States. Soon afterwards an invitation was sent to the latter states to turn their observers into full members, but none were eager to do so at the time. As a part of the reorganisation, it was agreed that each Member State should bear part of the cost of the Conference and it was also proposed to replace the British Council staff by an international secretariat, a step which was never taken. By February 1944 each Member State began to pay its share of the small expenses. At the Sixth Meeting also, Mr Butler repeated his hope that the Conference would develop step by step into a United Nations agency in the field of education and culture.

Already considerable divergences were observable in the attitude of the participants to the work and hopes of the Conference. The Russian observer made no secret of his country's unwillingness to participate in any international educational organisation if it was going to deal with the

curricula of national schools and he let it be known that the Soviet Union would prefer to establish bilateral cultural relations after the war, an attitude which was widely shared at the time. One of the first acts of the Conference itself had been to set up a Commission on bilateral cultural conventions. It was not foreseen that the number of States in the world would increase to well over a hundred within about twenty years to make the multiplication of separate cultural agreements over all the world an impossible administrative task. The British Dominions and China preferred to wait for a lead from the United States before committing themselves, although some favoured a post-war intergovernmental educational organisation. M. Cassin reverted to the theme at the Eighth Meeting on February 4, 1944, and on the 16th of that month Dr Alf Sommerfelt (Norway), Professor Paul Vaucher (France) and Professor S. Glaser (Poland) were charged with a preliminary review of the various available plans and suggestions for the establishment of such an intergovernmental body. This they did, with a recommendation for further study of the various possibilities of action they outlined.

The First Plan for a United Nations Educational Organisation, 1944

The whole emphasis of the work of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education had been placed, as Mr Butler had proposed in 1942, upon practical immediate problems and the likely needs of the enslaved countries after liberation. By April 1944, the main work of the Conference in planning reconstruction had been carried to the point where the preparation of a draft constitution for a permanent United Nations organisation to pursue this task could be completed, and put to all the Allied and Associated Governments with an invitation to them to join in the work. During the two meetings at which this draft was debated and approved, the Conference had the benefit of a powerful delegation from the United States of America, some of whose members were later to carry the work of international intellectual cooperation far beyond the goals which then limited the ambitions of the Conference.


CONFERENCE
EXECUTIVE BUREAU
Books Commission (January 1943)
Commission on Cultural Conventions (January 1943)
Science Commission (July 1943)
Audio-Visual Aids (July 1943)
Commission for the Protection and Restitution of Cultural material (April 1944)
Basic Scholastic Equipment Commission (May 1944)
Commission for Special Problems in Liberated Countries (February 1945)
Committee on the Belgian Memorandum (de-nazification, March 1945)
History Committe (March 1943)
Inter-Allied Book Center (September 1944)

Mr J. William Fulbright, Congressman from Arkansas, headed the delegation, which included in addition to Dr John W. Studebaker: United States Commissioner of Education, Dr Grayson N. Kefauver[1], Dean of Education at Stanford University, Dean C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College, Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, and Professor Ralph E. Turner, of Yale University, then an official of the Department of State. They came well-prepared, for relief and reconstruction problems had been much studied in the United States where large funds were promised for the work.

All but one of the seven sections of the draft constitution which emerged from these deliberations concentrated upon the task of repairing the ravages of war. The need for such reconstruction was proclaimed; the scope and functions of the proposed organisation were outlined; membership was to be open to all Allied and Associated Nations and to such other nations as might be accepted after the war was over and the machinery of the new body was defined. There was to be an Assembly of national representatives each with one vote, an Executive Board and an international Secretariat. Their main practical purpose was to administer an Emergency Rehabilitation Fund to be managed by a special Committee consisting of three representatives of the States making the largest contributions with three others to be elected by the Executive Board. The administrative expenses of the new organisation were to be assessed and shared generally on an agreed basis. In a final article, Member States were to be asked to supply information on educational and cultural matters, and cooperation was foreseen with other bodies operating in the international field. That was all.

Creation of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies

Among these other agencies the new United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was clearly of major importance. Created as a result of United States initiative, it had held its first session at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in November 1943, when forty-four Allied and

[1] Mr Cordell Hull, when reorganising the State Department, had four months earlier appointed him as consultant on all questions relating to post-war educational reconstruction.

Associated Nations signed the agreement for its establishment and operation. The four main classes of supplies it was designed to provide did not go beyond basic essentials to maintain life, to improve health and to restart essential public utilities and basic industries. The specialised materials and services required for public education seemed beyond UNRRA's immediate interests, as though its device were *primum vivere, deinde philosophari*, so desperate were the needs that were foreseen. A clear field for action seemed open therefore to the Allied Ministers of Education, on whose behalf however immediate contact was established with officials of UNRRA in London to avoid all risk of duplicating any of its activities.

While the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education was debating these matters in April 1944, the war was approaching its climax. Allied forces were storming their way through Italy, the Soviet forces were driving the German armies out of their territory and on June 6, 1944 the invasion of Europe by American, British, Commonwealth and Allied troops was launched. These mighty events notably enlarged international perspectives. Meanwhile, in May 1944 the American Government had invited Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China to consider the framework of an international security organisation, and discussions began at Dumbarton Oaks near Washington in August. By October the first draft was published of a Charter proposed for a new intergovernmental organisation to be called 'the United Nations', so setting on foot a vast operation to culminate in the great conference at San Francisco in the following April. Both CAME and the United Nations had been anticipated by the effective plan for a permanent Food and Agricultural Organisation worked out at an international conference held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in April 1943. The resultant draft constitution of FAO was published in August 1944. It was evident therefore, both from the creation of UNRRA and now from the concrete plan for FAO and the constructive work looking towards a new intergovernmental political organisation which would at last make a reality of the ideal which the League of Nations had sought to serve before the war, that something more than a mere educational relief organisation could and perhaps should be contemplated.

New Intergovernmental Relations and the Precedent of the League of Nations

It is difficult, if not impossible, to detect and assess a building up and enlarging ideas about the future scope and range of a new international agency in the world of education and cultural life. Memories of the League of Nations and of its Committee and Institute for Intellectual Co-operation were then quite recent, and many members of CAME looked forward vaguely to their revival. Enthusiasm for international intellectual work, as other members of CAME knew very well, had neither been general nor vigorous. When the Covenant of the League was being drafted in 1919, the Belgian delegation had proposed a Commission for International Intellectual Co-operation with words amplifying Article XXI pledging Member States to establish and develop moral, scientific and artistic links between nations on the widest possible scale, and to foster an international spirit by every possible means. The proposal seems to have died without discussion. It was revived at the First Assembly of the League a year later in the more ambitious form of a project for an international body to undertake for intellectual effort what the International Labour Office was to do for manual workers. Vigorously assailed by the British delegate, it was stoutly defended by other delegations with the result that a compromise solution created in 1921 a provisional consultative Commission under the title of the Committee for International Intellectual Co-operation which came into being in August 1922, with Professors Henri Bergson, Albert Einstein, Gilbert Murray and Madame Marie Curie among its first twelve members. Their non-governmental character was in accord with the doctrine upheld by the First Assembly that intellectual matters were 'either the province of each government or of private initiative... and... the League could have nothing to do with them.' Enthusiasts for international intellectual cooperation could derive scant encouragement or support from the Committee's experience. Consistently opposed and derided by the United Kingdom and Dominion members of the League whose six delegations never voted together, as Lord Balfour tartly observed, except to oppose intellectual cooperation, it was sustained by the faith of the Latin members. Little more than a

debating club of distinguished intellectuals. it was without any possibility of action until, at the request of Henri Bergson, it was provided with an Institute and a small staff in Paris. Because it was a French idea, because it needed money, because more than three-quarters of the total budget was provided by the French, the United Kingdom refused to join. What was harder to bear was the way the United Kingdom seemed to cover its apparent meanness by adding insult to injury with the pretext that the whole thing was just another cunning French cultural propaganda device. Among the opportunities to change the world then lost was the request from the Government of China in 1931 for advice and help in re-organising its educational system, a work now proceeding in 1966 on very different lines from those favoured by the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation. The Committee and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation never had more than about $100,000 to spend in any one year and no member of the League was more energetic than the United Kingdom in opposing any expansion until the 21st and final Session of the League when British opposition was suddenly opposed by Mr Noel Baker-but by that time it was clearly too late to help or to hinder.

But for the First World War, the International Bureau of Education would have been established at an intergovernmental Conference summoned by the Netherlands to meet in September 1914. When this initiative was belatedly resumed after that war, the Bureau was established at Geneva in 1925, but as an international non-governmental agency. In 1929 it became intergovernmental. The annual subscription was minimal, but although the British Government sent delegations to the annual Conference on Public Education arranged by the Bureau, it never became a member, neither did it contribute to the small cost of the Bureau - an embarrassing state of affairs which was suffered to continue long after the Second World War, and one which has indeed tardily been rectified very recently.

The League Committee for Intellectual Co-operation. the International Bureau of Education and the International Council for Educational Films, a body created under the League's auspices, were not, of course,

either the sole or the most dynamic influences serving the cause of intellectual cooperation. International non-governmental organisations had been founded by the private initiative of many scholars and some were already integrated in larger units such as the International Council of Scientific Unions and the International Academic Union. The League had sought, through its Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to add an invention of its own: the National Commissions, which Member States were to establish. To them in particular had been entrusted the revision of history text-books, but they were never very effective. Although there had been a National Commission for the United Kingdom it is doubtful whether anyone knew anything about its existence apart from the very few who had in some way been involved in it.

British and American Private Initiatives to Promote UNESCO

It would be impossible to do justice or even to name all the bodies and individuals who gave time, thought and enthusiasm to furthering the cause of international cooperation when the war should cease. They were to be found not only among the citizens of the Allied and Associated Nations, for the energy and devotion to UNESCO's cause in later years by Italy, Germany and Japan is hardly likely to have been entirely the product of a post-war state of mind. Just as the war revealed the depths to which man can still sink, so it also provoked eager efforts to serve the best in humanity with an intensity of idealism now difficult to characterise convincingly to those who never experienced it.

In the United Kingdom, the British Association approved plans for a United Nations Organisation for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction; the idea had the strong support of the Council for Education and World Citizenship and particularly of the London International Assembly in which Lord Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray were its moving spirits on League of Nations lines. But it was in the United States that the theme was taken up with the greatest vigour and on the widest scale. Many national American associations gave it their weighty support. The American Council of Education, the National Education Association with its

Educational Policies Commission actively led by Dr W. G. Carr, the Institute of International Education under Dr Stephen Duggan, the American Council of Learned Societies for whom the highly respected Dr Waldo G. Leland was spokesman, the International Education Assembly directed by Dr Grayson N. Kefauver, and the American Association for an International Office of Education of which Mr James Marshall was Vice-President, all strongly advocated the establishment of an international educational and cultural organisation. These men had the satisfaction of helping to shape UNESCO's destinies at later General Conferences, except Dr Kefauver whose death occurred while he was actively campaigning for UNESCO's cause in America. It was a campaign which all these organisations pursued with energy and success to win the support of such diverse national organisations as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labour, the Congress of Industrial Organisations, the Farmers' Union, the League of Women Voters, Science Clubs and the Federal Council of Churches, all of whom were reported by the New York *Times* on July 31, 1945 to be in favour of the proposed new United Nations body.

The Second Plan for a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisation, 1945

The weight of American public opinion was reflected and supported by the State Department and it influenced members of Congress. Practical effect was given to it by an entirely new draft for UNESCO's Constitution elaborated in the State Department and sent to London. At last the Allied Ministers could consider it in peace. The launching sites of the flying bombs and rocket missiles which had been killing and maiming thousands of Londoners had been overrun by the advancing Allied armies, Berlin fell and the unconditional surrender of the German troops brought the war to an end on May 8, 1945. On August 15 the Japanese also surrendered unconditionally and the Allied Nations at last, at fearful cost, brought peace again to a devastated and ravaged world.

Such were the manifold and mighty influences which combined to induce the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education to supersede their limited project for what was to have been a predominantly relief and reconstruction agency and to prepare instead proposals based upon the new American draft constitution for an 'educational and cultural organisation of the United Nations'.

Henceforth the emphasis all went upon an active programme to develop and maintain mutual understanding and appreciation of the life, culture, arts, humanities and sciences of the peoples of the world as a basis for effective international organisation and world peace. The aim was to be to enlist cooperative effort and to ensure that all peoples might share in the world's full body of knowledge and culture in the belief that a contribution would thereby be made to economic stability, political security and general well-being.

The methods by which these desirable ends were to be secured were not stated with any precision, but were expected to arise from the consultations between leaders in educational and cultural life, from the increase in the free flow of ideas and information through all the available media of communication, and by the exchange of students and teachers. The proposed new organisation was also to develop educational and cultural plans and materials which any Member State could adapt to its own requirements. Furthermore research and studies on educational and cultural problems were to be undertaken as long as they contributed to the maintenance of peace and the advancement of welfare. Finally the new Organisation was pledged to assist countries who asked for aid to develop their educational and cultural facilities. The draft also outlined the administrative and executive machinery by which these broad aims might be pursued. They included a policy-making General Conference, an Executive Board of fifteen, and a Director-General controlling the Secretariat which was to be recruited on a wide geographical basis. All members of the United Nations could join but others required a two-thirds majority in a General Conference vote to qualify for admission.

Planning the Preparatory Conference of 1945

This new draft proved to be the origin of UNESCO's Constitution. Brought to the Allied Ministers by Dr Kefauver on April 11, 1945 the American proposals stirred up some animated discussions. Many European members deplored the omission of all reference to reconstruction. They also opposed the clause making the establishment of National Commissions with legal rights to choose delegates to Conferences mandatory upon all Member States. The debates were many and prolonged and changes were discussed and approved. At last on August 1, 1945 the British Government, at the request of the Conference, sent the revised draft Constitution together with an explanatory document which had been prepared by Sir Alfred Zimmern, to all the Allied and Associated Powers with an invitation to attend an international conference in London in November 1945. The draft would then be considered and approved so that a new Specialized Agency of the United Nations to deal with educational and cultural matters would come into existence as soon as twenty of the signatory States had formally ratified their acceptance of the obligations of the Constitution. Uneasy at this development, which involved the forthcoming liquidation of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, the French government continued to press for amendments. Their earlier contribution to the cause of intellectual cooperation was recognised when, at their earnest request, they were associated with the British Government as the inviting powers. While the Conference's draft Constitution was being considered in the capitals of the Allied Powers, the French were busily engaged in preparing an alternative draft. It was not ready until August 21, 1945 and it differed in important respects from that which had emerged after the prolonged debates within the Conference. An effort was made to satisfy France over a number of points, but the Conference rejected the French proposal to make the new Organisation, like the International Labour Office, tripartite, with delegations composed of Governments, National Commissions and representatives of international non-governmental organisations.

The Preparatory Conference, November 1945

Time was now running short as preparations had to be made for the Preparatory Conference. Representatives of forty-four States began to arrive for the Conference which opened on November 1, 1945 in Great George Street, London, near Westminster Abbey, the Houses of Parliament and St. James' Park, thanks to the public spirit of the Institution of Civil Engineers who generously gave up the use of their headquarters building for the occasion. No other accommodation large enough for the Conference was then available in Central London where bomb damage had put the few other conference halls out of action. Physical difficulties were many, as delegates are unlikely to have forgotten, for food, clothing and petrol were all still rationed and buildings were difficult to heat. Supplies of all kinds were apt to be meagre.

Considering all the many difficulties and preoccupations of that troubled time, an immense amount of thought and interest had been devoted to the subject which the November Conference was to discuss. Reference has already been made to the numerous British and American national organisations whose members had contributed suggestions for the 1944 draft Constitution. The new draft was widely circulated in the United States where a series of meetings were held all over the country to consider it, culminating in a meeting attended by some fifty national organisations in Washington on September 24, 1945, over which Mr William Benton, then Assistant Secretary of State, presided. He called for 'a fight for peace and for a better life for the common man... with the same strength and intelligence that in the last few years had been devoted to the fight against Fascism.' Later, as Senator Benton, he was to lead two United States delegations to UNESCO's General Conferences and, more recently, to represent the United States on UNESCO's Executive Board.

While the invitations were being prepared for despatch, Mr Attlee's Labour Party formed the Government of Great Britain. Miss Ellen Wilkinson became Minister of Education, for the Board had ceased to exist with Mr Butler's Education Act of 1944. He had become Minister of Labour in July 1945, being succeeded as Minister of Education by the Right Honourable

Richard Law, M.P., whose contact with the Conference was necessarily brief. It fell therefore to Miss Wilkinson to welcome the delegates and she was chosen to preside over the Conference, which was attended by forty-four countries. The Soviet Union was a notable exception. It reinforced its earlier reservations by the new consideration that in its view the Conference should have been convened by the Economic and Social Council.

The formal organisation of the Conference, its various Commissions and their Chairmen, the clash of opinions, the proposals and counterproposals, the work of the Drafting Committee, the trend of the debates, the impressive contributions of many distinguished delegates, are no longer remembered. Four of the five who have since become Director-General of UNESCO were present: Dr Jaime Torres Bodet, as leader of the Mexican Delegation, Dr Luther Evans, as member of the American Delegation, Dr Julian Huxley, as a visitor, and M. René Maheu as member of the Secretariat. The meetings were held before tire era of fully-developed international conferences with their many mechanical aids such as tape-recorders and simultaneous translation. Some interpreters who had served the League of Nations had luckily been recruited to astonish many delegates by the uncanny speed and accuracy with which they were able to interchange French and English, the two working languages of the Conference.

Where so much has been forgotten it is pleasant for the author of this brief account to recall a cold November morning in a small, unheated room, where the Drafting Committee was preparing the final version of the Constitution and endeavouring to ensure equivalent French and English texts. The energetic chairmanship of Mr Archibald MacLeish, leader of the United States delegation, the deeply thoughtful contributions of Dr Jaime Torres Bodet, and the fecund inspiration of M. Etienne Gilson from France aroused an admiration which the passage of years has not dimmed. It was then that, Mr MacLeish picked up Prime Minister Attlee's remark, as he welcomed the delegates, 'Wars begin in the minds of men' and added the more than pertinent corollary: 'It is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.' It was

also at that time that M. Gilson minted the happy phrase, 'the fruitful diversity of cultures', and that, on a more pedestrian level, this writer persuaded the Committee to include the promotion of 'the rule of law' among the primary purposes of the Organisation. The text of Article I (Purposes and functions) had been agreed, everybody was cold and already late for lunch, but Mr MacLeish, who had never flagged in his enthusiastic pursuit of a form of language adequate to the high purpose of the Organisation, said that he thought that real progress had been made in the morning. Turning to M. Gilson, who had never had any illusions about the strenuous difficulty of the Committee's task, and who did not share some of its apparent psychological assumption, he added: 'Well, M. Gilson, I think you will agree that it is better now.' - 'No,' replied Gilson amid general laughter, 'it is no better; but I am getting used to it.'

Throughout 1945, the State Department in Washington had its sights fixed upon the long-term agency for international educational and cultural cooperation that UNESCO was to become. The delegates from the original nucleus of CAME, however, did not allow the Conference to forget the desperate needs of their homelands. They had been summarily stated in a pamphlet put out by the United Nations Information Organisation, *Allied Plan for Education*, in 1945 and they were forcibly re-stated at the Conference. It was a grim story. One tenth of the schools of the Netherlands had gone, said Msgr. F. L. R. Sassen, there were three times as many tuberculous children as in 1940, while the equipment of all schools of technology had been stripped and removed by the Germans. The situation was far worse in Greece where Professor Photiades reported the loss of nearly half the schools. Six thousand teachers were needed, he said, but the physical condition of most of the children was so bad that they needed food and medical care before lessons. Dr Falski of Poland told the most tragic tale of all: one seventh of the children of Poland between the ages of eight and fourteen had died, hardly one single Jewish child remained alive, a quarter of Poland's teachers were missing together with about 350 of Poland's 1,000 University teachers. All the equipment of the schools of trade and technology with half Poland's art treasures had been carried

away or destroyed. There were no books and the children lacked shoes. No more than about 3,000 out of Poland's 17,000 doctors remained to cope with a sickness rate among children fifteen times greater than it had been before the war. The cause of the stricken countries had a forceful champion in Bernard Drzewieski, also of the Polish Delegation, who won all hearts, despite the political embarrassment his persistent and vigorous appeals seemed to create in some quarters. Russian wounds were not reported and the full inventory of the ghastly suffering and colossal losses of the victims of a war that seemed likely to wreck European civilization, then barely recovering from the frightful holocausts of 1914-1918, will never be established. Who in 1945 could declare that all reference to the 'great and terrible war which has now ended' should be excluded from the Constitution of an Organisation dedicated to the promotion of peace and security? There was however no answer to the sound principle urged by Mr C. W Jenks, the able and adroit legal representative of the International Labour Office, that permanent Organisations should not admit into their Constitutions provisions dealing with temporary situations. The reference to the great and terrible war was nevertheless retained in the Preamble, while relief and reconstruction was relegated to a separate document annexed, the 'Instrument Establishing Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission'. It was signed, together with the Constitution, on November 16, 1945, three years to a day since Mr R. A. Butler first met the Allied Ministers of Education, and less than six months after the last shots of the war were fired. Without the foresight and devotion of the Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education, this remarkable constructive effort would not have been achieved amid such recent ruins.

The Preparatory Commission for UNESCO

Although UNESCO had been created by the Preparatory Conference, it could not become a Specialized Agency of the United Nations until twenty States had formally accepted the obligations of membership by depositing instruments of ratification in due form at the British Foreign Office in accordance with Article XV of the new Constitution. There would

be then a General Conference to agree upon a programme of work and a budget. Some machinery was clearly necessary to make the necessary arrangements and to do so rapidly. The Preparatory Conference accordingly established the 'Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission' with specified duties, which included the appointment of a technical sub-committee to look into the needs of the countries devastated by the war. Their findings were to be reported to the Commission which was empowered, if it thought fit, to bring such needs to the notice of any likely source of help. That was all the satisfaction the stricken countries were given and their representatives on the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education were far from satisfied. The majority of the delegates attending the Preparatory Conference had no first hand experience of the horrors of war and although they were sympathetic, they did not believe that they could create another relief agency. It was true that UNRRA, mighty as its relief operations were, was not empowered to provide educational materials, but the massive aid it was rendering to restore the physique and the economic resources and industries of the stricken lands seemed likely to aid them fairly quickly to restore their schools and their equipment.

The problem was by no means neglected by the Preparatory Commission. Contributions were received from several countries and individuals, but the Commission was unable to accomplish much in relation to the vast dimensions of the needs. In time less and less was heard of them as new life and hope were slowly restored in Europe.

The Preparatory Commission had to work hard to measure up to the tasks imposed upon it. These had been extended beyond the original expectations of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, and they were reflected in the expanded title of the new Organisation in which 'Science' was included, after prolonged debate. The first meeting of the Preparatory Commission took place in London immediately after the Constitution of UNESCO had been signed on November 16, 1945. It could not remain in periodic session in London, so an Executive Bureau was established representing the Commission, composed of the following

countries: Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, France, Greece, India, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. A fifteenth seat remained vacant in the hope that the U.S.S.R. would accept it, a hope which was not fulfilled. Miss Ellen Wilkinson was elected to the Chair and Sir Alfred Zimmern, who had worked hard as a temporary member of the staff of the Ministry of Education throughout the Preparatory Conference, was appointed as Executive Secretary. The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education was still in being and some joint sessions were held between its Executive Bureau and that of the Preparatory Commission (CAME was not in fact dissolved until December 31, 1945, after a final, formal meeting with the Executive Bureau of UNESCO).

Meanwhile the Preparatory Commission had acquired a new staunch friend in the Ministry of Education, where there was another change shortly after the advent of Miss Wilkinson. The Permanent Secretary, Sir Maurice Holmes, had reached retiring age and he was succeeded by Sir John Maud who before the war had been the head of one of the colleges of the University of London. During the war he became a civil servant and rose rapidly to eminence. In 1943 he had been a member of the British delegation to the Hot Springs Conference, at which FAO had been created, and also, in the same year, to the UNRRA Conference at Atlantic City. He was thoroughly at home in an international environment. With his distinguished academic background, wide knowledge of the world and innumerable friends overseas, he and Lady Maud found their new official and social responsibilities thoroughly congenial and their magic transformed everything they touched. Sir John had the major task of the re-organisation of the public education of England and Wales to fit it for the post-war World, but despite this heavy load, he found time for UNESCO and used it with such effect that in later years, when a new Director-General was needed for UNESCO, the question always arose whether Sir John Maud would be available. The principles of UNESCO's Constitution are certainly vindicated by the fast friendships formed among those who work for it and many pages would be needed to record all the names which still glow in memory - some,

alas, of firm friends who are no more, such as Alf Sommerfelt, Alexandre Photiades, Jan Opocensky, and many who are fortunately still active, Roger and Jacqueline Seydoux, Henri Laugier, Louis Verniers and others who so powerfully promoted the cause of UNESCO from so many varied backgrounds.

But the first call upon such memories should be to evoke the names of those of the Secretariat who bore the daily heat and burdens of a novel task which the Executive Board and Conference did no more than guide. Their very number defeats all hope of doing so adequately, so a very few must serve as a token of the loyal band who joined UNESCO's staff in its early days. Howard E. Wilson and Walter Kotschnig upon whom Sir Alfred Zimmern heavily and wisely relied had soon to return to America. Others long remained and of the services of René Maheu, Malcolm Adiseshiah, Jean Thomas and Michel Montagnier it is unnecessary to speak. No four men have done more to shape UNESCO's destinies, which indeed the first two still direct. The splendid services of Michel Montagnier, tragically cut short by death at the height of his powers in November 1964, have a permanent memorial in the efficient management of the whole domestic side of UNESCO's housing and accommodation and particularly in the efficient arrangements for the business of the General Conference which he quickly devised, supervised and directed as it steadily grew to become ever more demanding. He bequeathed a splendid tradition ably sustained in later years by his colleagues, Manuel Jimenez, Roger Barnes and Peter Urlik, while upon the human side, personal relations with every delegation and its staff were undertaken with exquisite skill and tact by Miss Katherine Stafford and Madame Hélène Arnaud, all of whom were among the first to join the Secretariat which they still serve, apart from the late Miss Stafford of very gracious memory. The list could be endlessly prolonged and it is to be hoped that this mere mention may provoke fuller and more fitting accounts such as the very pleasant contribution of the first Director of UNESCO's Library Division, Mr E. J. ('Bobby') Carter, himself one of UNESCO's veterans[2].

[2] See References, p. XXXII.

Sir Alfred Zimmern, who was the first Executive Secretary in charge of the Preparatory Commission, had long since acquired an enviable reputation as a scholar. He had acquitted himself as an ardent and skilful advocate of improved international understanding in Paris, where he had been Deputy Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (1926-30), and in Geneva and elsewhere where he had taught and lectured on international relations. He was a man of great personal charm, unfailing good nature and boundless enthusiasm for UNESCO's cause, to which he devoted himself unceasingly. He was throughout sustained by Lady Zimmern. They both looked forward with natural anticipation to his appointment as the first Director-General of UNESCO as the crown and reward for a lifetime's effort in the cause to which UNESCO was dedicated. He was however then sixty-six years old. He naturally tended to regard UNESCO as a more effective Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, to receive recognition and support, to be endowed with more money, and more man-power, but not much more. I remember that he said to me during one of our very frequent, almost daily discussions, that he thought that the staff of the new Organisation would perhaps grow to fifty or sixty people. Sir Alfred himself was unable to achieve much, for within a few weeks from the successful conclusion of the Preparatory Conference he was suddenly stricken. His life was despaired of and when recovery began, it seemed unlikely that he would be able to undertake the heavy work of preparing for the first General Conference, then only a few months ahead. In these circumstances Miss Ellen Wilkinson met the five Vice-Presidents of the Preparatory Commission and proposed that Dr Julian Huxley should replace Sir Alfred Zimmern for whom another post would be found if he recovered. Dr Huxley had not been a member of the very small British delegation to the Preparatory Conference but he had followed the proceedings with keen interest. He was eight years younger than Sir Alfred. With his advent, the Preparatory Commission took on a very different aspect. His energy, unfailing sense of good humour and wide human sympathies made light of the immense difficulties which the Commission had to face. Brisk, and if at times seemingly brusque, it was because he put the cause on hand above all else, not because he was really unable to suffer fools gladly. My earlier and happy relationship with him as secretary of a small research group of

which he had been Chairman enabled me to reassure the timid that if he seemed sometimes to bark, he was never known to bite. There were soon many more people to reassure because Sir Alfred's modest ambition for a small secretariat soon was a thing of the past. Dr Huxley, with Mrs 'Pat' Longley as Establishment Officer, quickly gathered a loyal, devoted band of workers, many of whom serve UNESCO still. In the succeeding twelve months he had recruited about six hundred men and women of all grades.

In September 1946 the Preparatory Commission left its temporary headquarters in London for Paris, at first in the former Hotel Majestic in the Avenue Kléber, the building in which the Treaty of Versailles had been drafted in 1919. For the French delegation at the Preparatory Conference, and nobody more insistently than M. Léon Blum, its veteran and distinguished leader, had pleaded passionately for the honour of welcoming UNESCO to France. The British Government were at first opposed to this proposal, considering that all the United Nations Specialized Agencies should be more efficiently and more economically located with the United Nations itself, but they yielded to France and it was Mr W. R. Richardson of the British delegation who proposed the Resolution that 'the seat of UNESCO shall be in Paris', which was accepted with acclamation and the addition of a clause reserving the right of the General Conference to take another decision by a two-thirds majority.

Sir Alfred Zimmern, having recovered, returned to the scene with the hope of regaining his former position. He was necessarily constrained to be little more than a spectator with the title of Advisor - although Lady Zimmern campaigned tirelessly on his behalf. Difficulties arose and, finally on October 3, 1946 the Executive Bureau decided to entrust Sir Alfred with a special mission. He was absent from Paris until the General Conference began in November.

Planning UNESCO's Programme

Dr Huxley and his colleagues had spent their few months in London recruiting the Secretariat, drafting UNESCO's first programme, making all the arrangements to summon the First General Conference and, in

general, charting the future course of the Organisation. Relations had to be established with the United Nations through the Economic and Social Council, with other Specialized Agencies, with Governments, particularly that of France, with the international non-governmental organisations in UNESCO's sphere of interest, and a flood of correspondence resulted. As the essence of public relations is private relations, contact had to be established and maintained with an immense number of people. In all his heavy labours, Dr Huxley was greatly aided by the tact, charm and sympathetic understanding of Mrs. Huxley as Lady Huxley then was, as she presided with grace and dignity over the innumerable social occasions into which the future Director-General of UNESCO was inevitably plunged amid the exacting demands of the unique, cosmopolitan, diplomatic centre that Paris again had quickly become.

In comparison with London, Paris in 1946 was unscathed by the war. But the sufferings of the French under occupation had been worse than the sufferings of the British in a very vital respect. The British were free, if bombed. The conqueror had divided France, not only physically into the occupied and the unoccupied zone, but spiritually into two camps, those who had to work with him and the rest. The rest rallied to General de Gaulle who, almost single-handed, had kept the tricolour flying after June 1940, ultimately to recruit an army of liberation in whose eyes collaboration with the enemy in any form was treason. Greatly reduced as the British standard of living had been during the war, it was adequate to sustain life, which is more than could be said of the straits to which many of the French had been reduced, although they lived in the richest agricultural land of Europe. Railways, bridges, signals and telephone and telegraph wires had been destroyed, and daily life was full of hardships. The First General Conference of UNESCO had to be planned and conducted in this setting.

Before the Preparatory Commission Secretariat left London, two substantial contributions to the documentation of the First Conference had been sent to the printer and they appeared under the date of September 15, 1946. *A Report on the Programme of the United Nations Educational,*

Scientific and Cultural Organisation set out preliminary ideas upon the desirable activities of the Organisation. 'Suggestions had flowed in from many quarters,' it reported, 'from governments, delegates and expert advisors, from organisations both national and international, from individuals, from UNESCO's own Secretariat.' After the various suggestions had been coordinated by the Secretariat they were reviewed by the Preparatory Commission which created seven committees for the purpose: Education, Social Science, Natural Science, Mass Media, Libraries and Museums, Fine Arts, Letters and Philosophy, all of whom set to work throughout June 1946. A real effort had therefore been made to elicit from specialists in these various domains the best available advice upon the tasks which UNESCO should undertake. With the aid of a drafting sub-committee, the Secretariat produced a final text. It soon became clear that too much was being proposed and the Preparatory Commission endeavoured to meet the difficulty by suggesting priorities. Even then the Budgetary Commission faced a difficult task in estimating the expenses likely to be incurred in the first year's work. Nor is this surprising, for the whole enterprise was very novel and, to an administrative mind, some of it at least seemed difficult to translate into practical activities. The figure of $7,500,000 finally decided upon was already considered to be too high by some members of the Preparatory Commission; Dr Jan Opocensky of Czechoslovakia, who had early endeared himself to members of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and who was certainly as zealous as anyone could be for the cause of UNESCO, proposed to reduce the figure to $6,950,000. This was the sum that was later to be approved by the First General Conference, again on the motion of Czechoslovakia.

The Executive Secretary set forth another document, *UNESCO, its Purpose and its Philosophy*, by Julian Huxley. It at once caused controversy in the Preparatory Commission. To some members it seemed a sane and balanced statement of the cultural principles of a tolerant, evolutionary humanism, which was the very reason that it was disliked by others who were committed to the doctrinaire views of a very different tradition, or to the intolerant views of dogmatic Marxist ideology - not that the latter attitude had anything like the vocal advocacy it was to receive in UNESCO's councils in later years. Dr Huxley's document was in consequence

circulated by the Preparatory Commission 'as a statement of the personal attitude' of the Executive Secretary and 'in no way an official expression of the views of the Preparatory Commission.' After the passage of years such timidity may seem surprising, but it is worth remembering as evidence of the pitfalls before anyone who seeks international agreement upon cultural principles. The difficulty would be less if all the Member States of UNESCO loyally stood by the principles of UNESCO's Constitution within their own territories and until they do so, it is clearly premature to look for agreement to any single statement of the *Philosophy* of UNESCO.

These two documents went forward to the First General Conference of UNESCO together with the Budget Estimates, drafts of agreements with the United Nations and with the French Government over accommodation and facilities for the Organisation in Paris, the Staff Regulations, reports on relief and rehabilitation measures and relations with UNRRA, and of course, the draft agenda and other working documents for the Conference. Before the Conference began on November 19, 1946 the Preparatory Commission held its final session in Paris on November 14 and 15. It had worked hard and to good purpose.

UNESCO in Action, 1946

UNESCO had legally come into being on November 1, 1946, when the twentieth acceptance of the Constitution was received in the Foreign Office, that of Greece. The United Kingdom had been the first to ratify it. On November 19, before the business sessions of the General Conference began, there was an impressive official welcome to the delegates by France. The ceremony took place at the seat of the ancient University of Paris from which the light of learning had been shed to illuminate other lands since the Middle Ages. The delegates assembled to be saluted by the Garde Républicaine and its famous band, and to be greeted on behalf of the universities of France by M. Gustave Roussy, the Rector of the Sorbonne, and by M. Marcel E. Naegelen, the French Minister of Education. The President of the Preparatory Commission, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, whose duties had now reached their culmination, was unable to be present through

illness, and she was represented by Mr David Hardman M.P., Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Education, who was to lead British Delegations to the first six sessions of the General Conference of UNESCO. He therefore addressed the assembled delegates on behalf of the Preparatory Commission, thanking France and handing over the legacy of four years work in London to the new Organisation. The Provisional President of the French Republic, M. Georges Bidault, made the final speech, welcoming the Conference on behalf of France and referring in eloquent terms to the high purposes to which the delegates had to dedicate themselves. On the following day the formal proceedings of the Conference began in the building on Avenue Kléber. They are a matter of record and they need no detailed chronicle here. Thirty-nine Member States of the United Nations participated, of whom thirty-four were qualified to vote because they alone had ratified UNESCO's Constitution. Sweden and Switzerland sent observers. Between November 20 and December 10 the plans of the Preparatory Conference for the programme, budget, financial, staff and other arrangements of the Organisation, not forgetting the mechanics involved in arranging such a meeting, had been put through a detailed scrutiny by a large body of experts, many of whom had not taken part in the work before. Much was changed, refined and improved; much was learned about the management of the Organisation and its General Conference. But the work of the Conference of Allied Ministers and especially of the Preparatory Commission proved a solid and reliable base for the proceedings. Dr Julian Huxley was appointed Director-General for a term of two years instead of the constitutional six; the staff he had recruited from London and augmented in Paris remained to ensure the continuing acceleration of the momentum the Organisation had already acquired under his inspiriting leadership. An Executive Board of eighteen members, half of whom had already participated in the work of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education or of the Preparatory Conference, were elected to guide the Secretariat between sessions of the General Conference. Their agenda soon became heavily charged for time did not allow the General Conference to make all the detailed adjustments required in the matters submitted for decision.

So ended four years of preparation, begun without any anticipation of their epoch-making realisation. That the creation of an organisation such as UNESCO merits this description will be plain from the antecedent state of cooperative effort to achieve the advancement of educational, scientific and cultural standards throughout the world, so briefly alluded to above. Without the shattering disaster of a world war it is highly improbable that any international links such as those now provided by UNESCO could have been forged. It is only necessary to recall the volte-face of the United States of America towards the League of Nations and that of Great Britain and the Dominions towards the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation and its Institute to be convinced that little progress would have been made. The ordeal of war had revealed the imminent perils threatening those values which are the motive forces of civilisation because they endow life with meaning and worth. It was to enforce this solemn lesson that the references to war were included in the preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO. They had not appeared in the draft constitution circulated by CAME and voices were soon heard to question the desirability of alluding in this way to a historical event which would steadily be of diminishing significance for the generations to come. The catastrophes of 1914-1918 and of 1939-1945 were, however, of such dimensions that it was unthinkable that they should ever be allowed to recur. Apart from that one reference to the past, all the emphasis in UNESCO's Constitution was rightly upon the future, directing men to work together to maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge in all branches of intellectual activity. For no bonds are stronger than those which forge themselves as men and women, forgetful of self-interest, devote all their energies to some common purpose whose achievement enhances the meaning and value of their lives. Between 1939 and 1945, when their lives were at stake, men realised that those cultural values later to be proclaimed in UNESCO's Constitution were also in deadly peril. The war was fought for their preservation as much as for human survival because life without them would have lost its savour. In celebrating UNESCO's Twentieth Anniversary today, it is fitting, therefore, to recall the grim and ominous years over which it was slowly devised to become the standard-bearer of all civilised living and all cultural values in whose whole-hearted service the idea of war would for ever be banished from the minds of men.

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In addition to the sources mentioned in the text, the author used the following:

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[5] The author gratefully acknowledges the opportunity provided by the kindness of Mr. Claude Berkeley, Director of the Department of Documents and Publications of UNESCO, to consult the archival material deposited at UNESCO headquarters.

[6] Dr Opocensky was one of the original members of CAME and of the Executive Board of Unesco. It was at the Third Session of the General Conference that he resigned from the Executive Board 'to avoid difficulties for UNESCO', which had been created by an unconstitutional demand for his replacement. The General Conference rejected this demand, but Dr Opocensky was actually replaced.

[7] The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Miss Phyllis Downie, Librarian of the Ministry of Education, in enabling him to consult these materials, Miss Downie, as mentioned above, was herself engaged in work for CAME.

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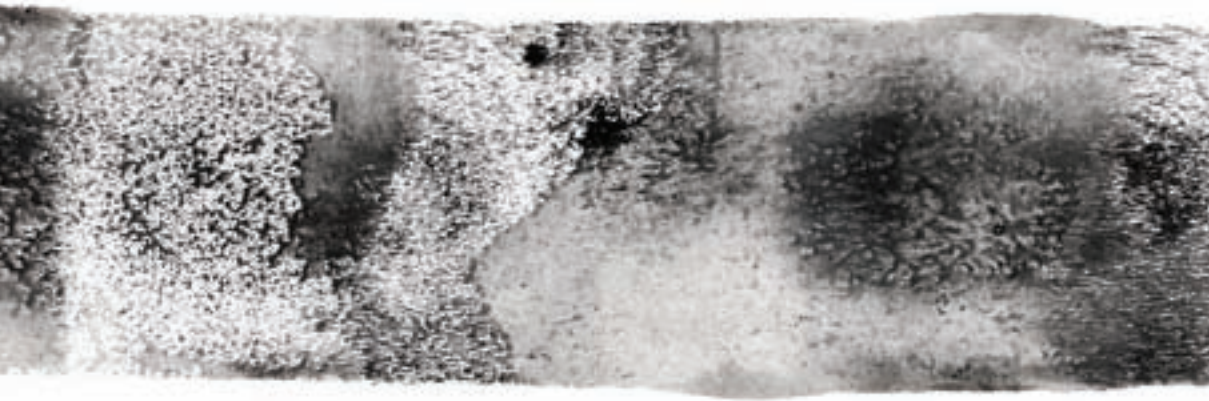

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