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Why international organization for education?

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WHY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

International collaboration in education is not of recent origin. As early as 1545 the Council of Trent issued decrees on the founding of parish schools for the general instruction of the people as well as the establishment of episcopal colleges and seminaries for the whole of Christendom. The earliest universities, including those founded outside the church, were not only international as far as the faculty and student body were concerned, but also the language used as the medium of instruction and the universal value of their degrees.

The Reformation, which broke up the religious unity of the West, and the development of nationalities, which gradually changed the medium of instruction, caused education to lose its world wide implication. Likewise, the formation of modern states and the development of nationalism resulted in the change of the character of education in that it gradually left the service of the church to become of service to the state. In time, ministries of education were created, the first of these being in Poland in 1775.

The years passed, and the world reached that stage of technological development where complete isolation is unthinkable, even to the mind of the untutored. The greater the technological development - the greater, in proportion, the interdependence. This being true, the amount of trade involv-
ing a greater amount of communication and transportation across international boundaries, will be greater in the fu-
ture than it has been in the past.

The foundations of peace, then, must be both positive and constructive. This means that international co-operation in the common growth of culture through education and the several voluntary international associations will go a long way in laying the foundation by bringing about an increase in political unity in the United Nations. This has led the ministers of education in the various countries to raise the problem of international collaboration to foster understanding and goodwill and to bring about a desire for an international center for education, with a certain amount of freedom and action, to the overall international world organization to keep peace of the world.

The purpose of this thesis is to trace the attempts to educate for peace before World War I, and, especially, during the period between World War I and World War II when we were dedicated to the task of promoting peace by pointing out the horrors and moral degradation of war, when we "disarmed our minds while we scuttled our naval vessels,"¹ and, at the same time, how the Weimar Republic made a brief and unsuccessful attempt at real education, and how the Nazis educated German youth for fanatic aggression and death. It also proposes to trace briefly

the history of attempts at international education, and why they failed, while the final section is devoted to UNESCO, its aims and purposes, and how it hopes to overcome the mistakes of previous international associations in building the defenses of international peace in the minds of men.
CHAPTER I

EDUCATION BETWEEN THE WARS

Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, education has been considered the main road to social equality and freedom. The educated man became the dream of the masses, and the educational reforms that followed in the wake of modern wars helped to make this dream a reality. After the Civil War in the United States, there followed a rapid growth of high schools throughout the country. In England, following the Boer War, the Education Act of 1902 was passed which brought secondary education, on a limited scale, to the masses. The rapid development of the elementary school system of France began in 1871 after the defeat of the French in the Franco-Prussian War.

The sacrifices which the masses were called upon to make for their country in time of war helped to raise the curtain on those forces which remained dormant for so long and which played so active a part in the popular demand for educational reform.

The years between World War I and World War II proved to be no exception to the rule. Everyone is familiar with the fact that higher education expanded not only in the United States and western Europe but all over the globe as well. In some countries, such as China and India, there was a great
mass-education movement which was curtailed temporarily because of the great world conflict and of the political unrest in those countries, but the spirit still persists.

It must be borne in mind that the nations of the world developed educational systems different from, and in substantial isolation from, all others. In as far as these educational systems contributed or exerted any influence on international affairs, they may be roughly divided into two contrasting groups, and the United States and Germany will serve as good examples of each type. A short discussion of them will not be out of place because it will help to give body to some of the general propositions advanced in the last section of this thesis.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The democratic upsurge in education following World War I was essentially idealistic. It was the contention of many American educators that greater equality of opportunity in education be provided. The Maryland Study² revealed that of the small number of young people between 16 and 24 who considered war either 'justifiable' or a 'good thing', the majority came from distressed areas. These young people felt that anything was better than the poverty and hopelessness of

their daily lives. The common man had long cherished the belief that equality in educational matters was their one hope for social and economic success. This is an undeniable belief, and any democratic society depends largely upon that type of education which will allow men of all classes to 'rise to the top'. Thoughtful statesmen and educators alike saw in such a system not only the tendency to break down class distinction, but they also saw that it made for contentment of the masses, and it diminished the causes of war. Furthermore, this philosophy was based on two assumptions:

... that peace was here to stay, and that our practices in education for citizenship could be determined without regard to the educational policies elsewhere in the world. In short, education in this country reflected in most respects the prevailing currents of popular opinion.  

American youth was taught to believe in peace as a satisfactory way of life, and American schools set out on a successful campaign of debunking war. They became imbued with the idea that war is criminal; that it depletes the nation's resources; that it destroys life; that it creates millionaires and paupers, and that it eliminates those ideals which are essential to the promotion of humanity, liberty, and the Brotherhood of Man. They were taught, and not without success, how the game of power politics worked, the danger of foreign alliances - of the 'foolishness of it all'.

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3 Carr, op. cit., p. 8.
Much of what has been said is undoubtedly true, but the fact still remains that a time may come when war is the only solution of an international crisis. The Educational Policies Commission\(^4\) emphasizes this and points out that the policies and actions of nations, as well as their desires, lead them into war or peace, and if these policies and actions are unwise, war comes, no matter what the people want. Kotschnig\(^5\) points out that the effort of the schools during the last twenty years to debunk war failed to give youth any constructive alternatives for war or to give them a true appreciation of the international situation and America's place in it.

This is not to say that the vast majority of American schools neglected to see the need of giving international understanding the proper emphasis. Education for peace and international understanding was the theme of many a speaker at the numerous conventions of the teaching profession. Curricula and textbooks were revised in an effort to eliminate material that might tend toward international misunderstanding. A professional educational society\(^6\) issued an entire re-


The teaching of international relations was criticized on the grounds that it was not fully realistic. Educational emphasis was placed upon internationalism before any attempt was made to eliminate the evils of the concepts of nationalism that had been built up during the nineteenth century. According to one critic:

Internationalism, international understanding, international cooperation, and amicable international relations have been discussed as metaphysical concepts, as it were, existing outside of, and apart from, nations and their existence. Attention has been directed to Geneva or some other seat of international conferences when it should have been concentrated on the meaning of nationalism. If the movements to develop international understanding have failed, the failure has been due either to an overemphasis or sentimentality that ignored realities or to a confusion between internationalism and cosmopolitanism; and from both points of view there seems to have been a failure to understand that internationalism and international understanding are things that exist between nations and that nations continue to exist.  

The Educational Policies Commission expresses a somewhat similar point of view:

Peace education has suffered from a vague cosmopolitanism which failed to see that international goodwill requires, by definition, the existence of nations.  

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8Educational Policies Commission, op. cit., p. 51.
Events of the last few years have, according to Hunt,\(^9\) justified the fact that increased attention to international matters is no guarantee for a better understanding of them.

By and large, three schools of thought claim first place in the teaching of international relations, and the best and only evaluation of their methods with respect to international relations which I have been able to find is that given by Kotschnig.\(^{10}\) Since these schools have remained unchallenged to this day, a brief discussion of his findings is in order.

The first school of thought, the objective school, maintains that it is the duty of the teacher to present facts objectively. Many administrators, afraid of public opinion, recommend that only those facts which have been generally accepted be presented for discussion. This being true, one can readily see that there is little room for teaching international relations. But, on the other hand, many educators who have given courageous support to the teaching of controversial issues contend that all facts, pro and con, be presented objectively in order that the pupils draw their own conclusions. In a democratic state such a method seems ideal, but two

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\(^{10}\) Kotschnig, op. cit., pp. 141-153.
difficulties, according to Kotschnig, seem to arise which, as yet, have not been resolved by this school of thought.

The first is that all individuals in early youth, and many of them even after they have reached maturity, are intellectually incapable of solving the more complicated problems which arise in the relations between different national groups. They have to be trained in certain attitudes, the rational foundations of which may escape their minds. This imposes upon the teacher the task of selecting and promoting those attitudes most likely to lead to constructive social living. This happens, of course, daily in our schools - the educator becomes an indoctrinator. At this point, the second difficulty arises. Whether the teacher 'indoctrinates' his wards with certain concepts and ideas or whether he attempts to present his brighter pupils with 'both sides' of a given problem, he has to choose among the multitude of facts and ideas which might be brought into the classroom. There are literally millions of problems that might be raised and most of them, alas, have more than two sides. In other words, even the 'objective' presentation of facts presupposes a selection both of problems and of modes of presentation. This selection in turn rests on the teacher's or curriculum-maker's judgment of what is important and relevant. There is the rub; there are not enough teachers in this country or elsewhere with broad enough vision, with deep enough understanding, with a clear enough scale of values to enable them to distinguish the important from the ephemeral. Most of them tend to play safe, and are thus confined to presenting cut and dried facts which are often unimportant and more often in no way related to the living realities of the day. ...At best, the objective presentation of facts has led to literacy in international matters; it has not achieved enlightenment.11

The instrumentalists or the progressive school educators claim that the most important task of the school is to develop in the pupils the ability to solve problems, so

11 Ibid., pp. 143-144
problems are presented instead of facts. Ideas are the instruments or the tools which are used to solve the particular problem in question. The proponents of this school were pioneers in the educational field who felt the need of international understanding, and they went to great lengths in planning units on Czechoslovakia, and Japan, and France, and other countries, taken from what they believed to be real life situations, and, therefore, created a feeling of reality in the classroom comparable to life situations within the particular country in question. While much has been written favorable with regard to this philosophy of education, much has also been written by other educators who believe that it has some serious drawbacks. The most common criticism being that the American classroom is neither fit nor able to create the fullness of a foreign life. Furthermore, international problems, they contend, can only be understood and eventually solved through a real understanding of the historical background of the nations of the world. Likewise, the complexity of most current problems requires for their solution a research far into the past, sometimes even to the very source of their civilized existence. It is this all important historical background which gives a true comprehension of the present and direction to the future.

Another objection to this school of thought is that it has tended to sacrifice ends to means. It is chiefly con-
cerned by a pragmatism which is solely interested in what works here and now in facing the problems before us.

It refuses to admit man's ability to discover and define lasting values, permanent principles, essential truth, unless such truth or value is to be found in continuous change. ...this may and does easily lead to a paralyzing relativism which recognizes no deeper loyalties and which leaves the individual without guidance or motivation. ... Pragmatic instrumentalism, by refusing to see anything but the next step, deprives us of the will and the strength to take even that step.

The third school of thought resorts to indoctrination, and it presents only one point of view to the exclusion of all others. This school predominates, and it is the only type of school allowed to flourish in totalitarian states. The protagonists of this school of thought have had little or no influence on the teaching of international relations because, in most cases, they advocate a change in the international order on the communist type, and for this reason they have failed to be impressive.

At this point, it is interesting to note just what proposals Kotschnig has to offer in the teaching of international relations. He maintains that it has been a failure in the past, and that to have some chance of success in the future, it will have to proceed along three lines.

First, teachers and administrators should become aware of the two principles of western civilization which have proved their civilizing value down through the ages. In

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12 Ibid., p. 144.
simple language, these principles are that individual freedom is essential to civilized society, and that civilization is most creative where the individual, with all his freedom, accepts his responsibilities towards an organized society. He points out that the great philosophers from Aristotle to Kant upheld the idea of the worth of the individual, and recognized beyond that, the need for loyalty to society as the recipient of man's spiritual and intellectual heritage and the guardian of individual rights. Then, too, from the days of the ancient Jewish prophets down to the present era, the philosophers of all occidental religion provided a metaphysical basis for these two principles - that every individual, as a child of God, enjoyed certain inalienable rights, and, at the same time, all individuals as children of the same God were held responsible for each other's well being. For those people who scoff at philosophy and religion, this is the record of history. It should convince the pragmatist whose preoccupation with the present has not gone so far as to close his mind to all historical facts, that there are certain principles which are basic to our civilized existence, and that they should be used in the study of human relations both national and international.

Second, Kotschnig maintains that the modern teacher should give his pupils a contemporary frame of reference firmly grounded in an understanding of the contemporary scene and the forces which go to mould it. The structure upon which this frame of reference should rest is the fact that we live
in an interdependent world, that every nation cannot escape being a part of that world, and that our economic, cultural, and political destiny is linked to the rest of the world. The apprehension of this fact leads to the apprehension of another, that the countries of this world are so closely related that international regulation of our relationships is absolutely necessary. In other words, an international government based on mutual understanding and co-operation among nations appear unavoidable.

Last, but not least, he argues that the teacher, bent on teaching a realistic understanding of all peoples, must not fail to take into account the imponderable attitudes, urges, preferences and differences in mode of living which distinguish one country from that of another.

No lasting co-operation between nations is possible so long as these imponderabilia are not recognized and as far as possible understood. One of the reasons for the failure of the Disarmament Conference in 1932 was the tragic lack of understanding between the French and the British. Both wanted some measure of disarmament, but the differences in national outlook were among the things which prevented any agreement on procedure. ... Thus, while pursuing the same objectives, they could come to no agreement. Similarly the collapse of France can, in part at least, be explained by the static nature of the French, aptly symbolized by their fixed Maginot Line. They failed to comprehend the dynamic drive of modern Germany. These imponderabilia are difficult to explain to anyone who has never lived in a foreign country. An understanding of them will be slow in coming and may for some time to come remain confined to a select few.\(^{13}\)

This type of teaching will prepare our youth for the

\(^{13}\)Ibid., pp. 149-150
tasks of reconstruction that await them in the post-war world.

I have sketched rather hastily the teaching of international relations during the 'period between the wars'. During that time American schools were then, and still are, so widely varied in practice and policy that exceptions can certainly be found to these generalizations, nevertheless, the program for international education bears a faithful likeness in all American schools during that period. In addition, it would not be assuming too much to say that the program for international education in the democratic countries of western Europe would, in its main outlines, bear a faithful likeness. In turning to the program of international education of a former totalitarian enemy, we shall see how it came to be in direct contrast to that of the preceding description of American experience.
EDUCATION IN GERMANY

GERMAN EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1914

The information on German education prior to and after 1914 has been taken almost entirely, with a few notable exceptions, from a series of carefully documented articles by the State Department.\textsuperscript{14} I do not propose to summarize them, but they should be read by all who want to get at the inside of the German educational problems.

As a background for a brief discussion of German education in the Third Reich, certain fundamental characteristics of German education previous to that time should be noted. Although no national control was exercised in German education prior to 1914, and each state was free to exercise control over its own school system, yet, on the whole, there had developed within that country a uniform pattern of organization regarding the curriculum, the objectives, the type of student allowed to attend the various schools, and the teaching personnel. These reflected the type of society

\textsuperscript{14}Leon W. Fuller, "Education in Germany Under the National Socialist Regime," \textit{Department of State Publication}, XI (October 22, 1944), pp. 466-475.

\textsuperscript{15}Leon W. Fuller, "National Socialist Education in Theory and Practice", \textit{Department of State Publication}, XI (October 29, 1944), pp. 511-524.

\textsuperscript{16}Leon W. Fuller, "The Higher Learning and Extracurricular Activities Education", \textit{Department of State Publication}, XI (November 5, 1944), pp. 551-559.
which they were called upon to defend, a society which was not only aristocratic but authoritarian as well.

No common elementary or secondary school supported by public taxation for all creeds and classes, such as we know in the United States, existed but, instead, various types of schools varying in social status were created.

For the tradition, like the tradition everywhere else except in the United States, was to provide one type of education for the masses, about ninety percent of the population, and another for the classes, the potential leaders, making up the rest of the population, the two types of education differing in content, methods, and aims. The purpose of the elementary school (Volkschule) was to train God fearing, lawabiding, self-supporting subjects; the object of the secondary school was to train future leaders for administration, the professions, the economic and intellectual life of the country.  

The free public schools offered excellent training in the three "R's". As time went on, the country felt the need of providing something more than elementary schools for the masses, and, as a result, the elementary schools were gradually extended upward to provide for a system of intermediate schools which, in turn, linked up with the normal schools for the training of elementary teachers and with a system of vocational schools to provide the necessary education for those who were destined to industrial and mechanical livelihoods. This marked the limit of free education in the German school system.

The elaborate system of secondary schools was geared
to segregate the selective minority who were to prepare for the professions or positions of leadership in the state. Pupils were normally admitted to the secondary schools from the Vorschule, a private preparatory school which was attended by pupils between the ages of 6 and 9. It was definitely a class institution placing those who were able to pay in a position of privilege.

Comparatively speaking, a very small number of pupils in the elementary schools at the age of 9 found their way into the secondary schools to which they were admitted on the basis of a strict and selective entrance examination. This meant that the large number of German children were forced to remain in the elementary school or intermediate schools until they were 14 years of age and complete their education later in part time continuation courses up to 16 years of age or in one of the many full time vocational schools.

The secondary schools formed a community by themselves. The privilege of admitting students to the universities was vested solely in the Gymnasium until the late 70's. Due to the growth of the industrialization of the country and to the German emphasis on science, two other types of schools were created, the Oberrealschule and the Realgymnasium, both of which placed strong emphasis on the sciences and modern languages, but they were never considered on a par with the Gymnasium which continued to command the higher position of influence in the German system of education.
The connection between these two systems was slight. Unless a pupil was admitted to a secondary school from the elementary school at the age of 9, his chances of securing a secondary education was negligible. The great majority of pupils admitted to the secondary schools came from the Vor- schulen, the selective and private preparatory schools. Only about one pupil in ten thousand entered a secondary school after completing the full eight years of an elementary school.

Shortly before World War I there was some agitation for the reform of secondary education. There was much criticism of the fact that no articulation existed between the various schools, and that it placed upon the parents the terrible responsibility of determining for their 9 year old children which one of the professions they planned to train for when they entered these schools. In addition, many felt that the children of the lower middle and laboring classes should be allowed to study for the professions by eliminating the highly selective entrance requirements.

Without elaborating further on the characteristics of the German school system prior to 1914, it can easily be seen how the traditions briefly stated in the foregoing pages set the stage for a reconstruction of German education.
After World War I the Weimar Republic attempted to formulate an educational system for a new Germany. The traditional division of the people into classes each with its own system of education had to be replaced by a new educational system which would train the future citizens in the same schools and would develop a new sense of social solidarity to the republican form of government. The Constitution of Weimar not only aimed for the teaching of citizenship in a free Germany but for international conciliation as well. Article 148 states that:

In all schools effort shall be made to develop moral education, public-mindedness, and personal and vocational efficiency in the spirit of the German national character and of international conciliation. 16

The first attack was made on the Vorschule as a class institution and the Grundschule or foundation school was established in its place as the common school for all children between the ages of 6 and 10. Article 146 states:

The public school system shall be organically constructed. The middle and secondary school system shall be developed on the basis of a Grundschule common to all. This development shall be governed by the varying requirements of vocations; and the admissions of a child to a particular school shall be governed by his ability and aptitude and not by his economic and social position or the religious belief of his parents.17

17 *Ibid.*, 284
The normal schools were abolished by Article 143 of the Constitution, and they were replaced by teacher training institutions which not only specialized in methods of teaching but offered a liberal arts education as well. This change was in accordance with the principles which applied to the training of teachers for higher education, a provision which helped to bridge the gap between the elementary and secondary branches of the educational system.

The secondary schools retained their aristocratic tendency in that they trained a select group for the professions or leadership in the state. They were, however, made more accessible to the masses through the reduction of fees and scholarships.

More important than these structural changes was the endeavor to foster a democratic spirit in education and in administration as well. Less indoctrination was to be found in the classrooms, and more tolerance was permitted. More attention was devoted to civic education in preparation for participation in a democracy.

Apart from the educational system of the Republic, there existed a Youth Movement, a spontaneous activity which revolted against the rigid formality of German education and discipline. It was first organized in 1889 under the leadership of Karl Fischer and it spread rapidly throughout Germany. It was an adventurous romantic and non-conformist activity whose three watchwords were "Nature, Folk,
and Freedom. Although it was imbued with a sense of freedom, its members drew up a code of self-discipline. There was neither adult supervision nor supervision by the state, and its greatest significance lay in the fact that it possessed a spirit of unity among all German youth. The first World War curtailed the movement, but it was revived after hostilities ceased. The Weimar Youth Movement differed from the pre-1914 movement in that it no longer remained an escapist movement remaining aloof from the life of the nation, but it became associated with it. This movement committed itself to the task of creating a new world order nearer to its heart's desire, "more realistic and seeking not escape from but mastery of the forces of machine-age civilization." In 1929 it had over four million members and over ten thousand youth hostels in the country towns and villages which provided comfortable facilities for German youth in their rambles.

Strange as it may seem, the movement never became affiliated with the Weimar Republic. Due to the failure of the Republic to solve the domestic problems as a result of the economic and international situation, youth became disillusioned. The post-war era, especially the turbulent years from 1929 to 1932, the steady increase in unemployment, and the unhappy outlook for the generation just out of school, (members of the Youth Movement), German youth saw in the Republic a reminder of national defeat and humiliation.

18 Fuller, op. cit., p. 471
As a result, they were in a mood to be swayed by some ideology which would resort to nationalistic policies. They wanted action, not words, and they gave their support to the most extreme programs, and they eventually became part of the spearhead of the National Socialist Movement.

The educational program of the Republic met with only limited success. Before any of the reforms had a chance to become well grounded, Hitler found his way to power. The failure of the Weimar Republic to win the people wholeheartedly to the support of its principles was reflected to a large extent in its educational system. The significance of some of the forces which made for reaction are worthy of mention.

First, the Weimar Republic failed to eliminate the old imperial bureaucracy, including a great many teachers, who remained in office. Some of the higher educational officials who had been brought up in a spirit of unlimited admiration for the Kaiser and his imperial Germany remained monarchists at heart, and they sabotaged the best plans of the new leaders. The Republic not only failed to eliminate the 'old type' teacher, but it made no effort to win over the teaching corps. Many teachers were successful in developing a reactionary point of view under the pretense of teaching reverence for the past.

Second, the Republic made no effort to break down the isolated position of privilege of the secondary schools, in spite of the fact that provisions were made for children
of the laboring and lower middle classes to attend these schools.

In so far as the lower classes succeeded in sending their children to these schools, they themselves were determined to preserve the exalted position of the secondary schools, so as to bask in the reflected glory of their sons and daughters. There is nothing so conservative as a new arrival in the company of the select. 19

Thus, it was easy for these institutions of higher learning to continue in their traditional or isolated position, and both the institutions and the instructors became far removed from the people, a dangerous position in a national crisis.

A third factor, according to Ulich 20 which contributed to the failure of the Weimar educators was the lack of vocational guidance. In making the universities available to the children of all classes, the professions became over crowded to such an extent unknown at any other time in any other country. In 1931, there were approximately forty-five thousand of these young unemployed university graduates, and they together with the thousands of hopeless students in the universities and secondary schools lost faith in the future. This was a fact that the leaders of the conservative parties failed to estimate - the danger of such a vast number of unemployed intellectuals together with the German officers of


the Kaiser's army who suffered a loss of prestige when peace came and the thousands of ill-adjusted men and women made it possible for Hitler to edge his way into power. In the early days of his career, he can be credited, at least, with one fact - that he saw some of the weaknesses of German contemporary society.

At this point, it is significant to note what Karl Mannheim\(^2\) has to say about German education, or, in fact, about all education which makes pupils literate in the narrowest sense of the word. The schools in Germany were, as he puts it, 'functionally rational' and they lacked "substantial rationality" and that, in turn, added to their destruction. Upon first thought, the distinction between these two terms does not seem to be so important. Functional rationality enables a person to function well in certain definite set-ups. It calls for an education which makes the individual solely a technician. It calls for definite skills in certain definite situations, and it fails to give children a 'real education'. Substantial rationality is concerned with the 'why' of things rather than the 'how' of things. It thinks in terms of the whole rather than any of its parts, and it results in the development of an integrated personality. It aims to grasp the cultural aspects which the skills

serve, while functional efficiency is often put to irrational ends such as the super-efficiency of the German army. German education failed to strike a proper balance between these two types of education, and, as a result, they failed to get a substantial understanding of themselves and of their nation. This narrow one-sided education heightened their suggestibility and helped to bring about German National Socialism.

The failure of German education to develop self-reliant and integrated personalities left the average German without adequate defense against irrational propaganda and waves of collective emotionalism, particularly when the satisfaction of certainty, security, and assured guidance was offered.²²

These are a few of the outstanding things which made it possible for Hitler to make his way to power.

... and with him arrived in the seats of the mighty a most motley crew of crack-pots and fanatics, to be found indeed in all countries, but more numerous in Germany because of the settling effects of defeat; of frustrated geniuses; of unemployed intellectuals who hated the Republic because it had not fulfilled their dreams of power and social success; of subaltern officers to whom life had lost all meaning when the German armies were disbanded; in one word, all types and kinds of discontented men and women who blamed what in many cases were their own weaknesses and failures upon the preceding regime. Thrown in with these groups were the dregs of German society, who eagerly craved the opportunities created by the destruction of existing values to give free rein to their perversions, to establish a rule of lawless and of terror. There has probably never been a similar period in history, when a great nation spewed forth

²²Fuller, op. cit., p. 511.
such a set of ill-adjusted, pathological specimens and allowed them to become leaders. 23

EDUCATION IN THE THIRD REICH

In view of all the literature on the true meaning of education under the National Socialist Regime, one can confine oneself to a few summary remarks. The National Socialist ideology was derived exclusively from the following German and European authors:

Subordination of private interests to public welfare
(Plate, Adam Muller, Fichte)

Freedom as organic relatedness and limitation of Bindung
(Hegel)

The Folk as organic entity embraced in total state
(Fichte and many others)

The Nordic or "Aryan" race myth
(Gogineau, H.S. Chamberlain, Lagarde, Wagner)

The leader principle
(Fichte)

Duty as absolute imperative
(Kant)

State as total power
(Machiavelli, Treitschke)

Sense of a German Mission
(Geibel, Fichte, Lagarde, and innumerable others)24

Granted that the Nazis misused the foregoing ideas of these

24 Fuller, op. cit., p. 511.
thinkers to further their cause, it must also be admitted that they were already familiar to most Germans, and were, strangely enough, highly acceptable in their Nazi guise.

One of the first things which the new regime did was to completely revolutionize the educational system of Germany. In order to accomplish this, education was centralized by the establishment of a Reich Minister of Science, Education and Popular Culture, Dr. Bernhard Rust. In each state the former education ministry was supplanted by a State Education Office under the Third Reich, and, thus, for the first time in German history, education was placed under a single head. According to Rust the aim of education was not culture, spiritual freedom, or emancipation of the mind, but the shaping of each individual for proper membership in the Volk or national community and for the common tasks imposed upon all by the state.

To the Nazi, the individual is a legend, having no separate existence apart from his national community. This collective organism, the Volk, is the organic union of a racially determined community in a collective personality of all generations past, present, and the future. It is permanent, unchangeable, and it embodies the idealism and objectives of the individual, the group, and the national life. Thus, the educational objectives are predestined by the nature of the Volk. They can never be formulated for pre-
conceived ends.

Likewise, personality was a derivative of race, and it could not be developed through education. It consisted of nothing more than the activation of those powers which are in the individual because he is a member of the collective organism, the Volk. Education had to do with the shaping of the individual as a will of the organic whole.

Race was interpreted as a voice of the blood. Fuller sums up very accurately the Nazi interpretation of race.

Race is the natural from which differentiates life, a primal unity of living substance expressing itself in body, spirit, and soul, the basic reality which gives meaning to all knowledge. Humanity is a myth - there are only racial types. Education, then, cannot develop man but can only elicit responses characteristic of a racial group. Blood has symbolic significance - it is the source of the spirit of a race and transmits the ancestral heritage. The end of education is the development of the child for full membership and functional participation in the folk-community based on blood and soil. The preservation of racial purity is of paramount importance; education becomes a matter of breeding in the literal sense. It must guard against the infiltration both of alien blood and of alien ideas. 25

This organic philosophy of blood and soil, of superiority of the Nordic race, of biological determination is so familiar to all that it need not be enlarged upon further. All that one needs to remember is that the Nazi concept of race was, in reality, a program for world conquest. People are born into inferior or superior races. They are born to

25 Ibid., p. 514.
rule or to serve. The Germans were, of course, destined to world rule while their cousins, the Danes and the English, were to be allowed limited authority in the new world order. The United States was to be allowed a certain amount of authority, i.e., elimination of the Negroes, the yellow race, and the Jews. This is, in short, the 'organic philosophy' which the Naxis, of necessity, had to create in order to give the German youth not only drive but 'respectability' to their acts.

The foregoing remarks on German National Socialism was necessary to understand the true meaning of Nazi education. Here, again, one must confine oneself to summary due to the amount of literature which, in the past, has been devoted to this subject.

By and large, few institution changes took place in the educational system of the Third Reich, but the curriculum, the spirit pervading them, and the teaching personnel underwent radical change. The reforms of 1937 were designed to increase and strengthen the vocational schools. Because of the utter neglect of and, at times even contempt for cultural and intellectual values, the secondary schools were reduced to three in number. Girls were excluded entirely from the Gymnasium because only 10 percent of the student body in the universities could belong to the female sex. They were expected to become at an early stage in life dutiful housekeepers. If they received any secondary education at all, it
was in the special Oberschulen for girls where they were given training in the German subjects, racial theories, and in domestic science. These changes were justified on the ground that the purpose of the school was to mold or fashion all German youth into National Socialists of the first order.

Outside of the regular educational system and under the direct control of the Nazi Party, a new set of schools was created for the training of leaders. There were as follows:

**Adolf Hitler Schools.** These schools were established in 1937 for boys between the ages of 12 and 18. Members were selected from the Hitler Youth and admittance was based upon academic background and leadership traits. Political orientation was the chief purpose of these schools, and strong emphasis was placed on physical training and biological and racial science. The graduate was assured a position in the army or state or entrance to a university. Only a few hundred boys were admitted to these schools each year.

**National Institute of Education.** These schools were designed to prepare young men for the armed formations of the Nazi Party (Storm Troopers and Elite Guards) or the Labor Camps. Entrance was based upon highly selective tests, and the graduate was assured a position in the state police, or entrance to a university, or a post in the armed formations of the Party.
Orders Castle (Ordensburgen). The most carefully selected young men were sent to these schools. They were four in number, and they were designed to develop a super-elite. Members, not over 25 in number each year, were chosen from the graduates of the other two leadership schools who had two years of military service, one year of labor service, and from one to three years of activity in the youth and party organizations. These schools provided a four year training in military skill. The last year was spent in Marienburg, East Prussia, where special emphasis was placed on the medieval conquest of the East by the Teutonic Knights, and where the stage was set for the conquest of the East by the 'master race' at the expense of the Slav population. Hitler said of these schools:

My teaching is hard. Weakness has to be knocked out of them; in my Ordensburg a youth will grow up before which the world will shrink back. A violently active, dominating intrepid, brutal youth - that is what I am after. Youth must be all those things. It must be indifferent to pain. There must be no weakness or tenderness in it. I want to see once more in its eyes the gleam of pride and independence of the beast of prey. Strong and handsome must my young men be. I will have them fully trained in all physical exercises. I intend to have an athletic youth - that is the first and chief thing. In this way I shall eradicate the thousands of years of human domestication. Then I shall have in front of me the pure and noble natural material. With that I can create the new order.

I will have no intellectual training. Knowledge is ruin to my young men. I would have them learn only what takes their fancy. But one thing they must learn - self command! They shall learn to overcome the fear of death, under severest tests.
That is the intrepid and heroic stage of youth. Out of it comes the stage of free man, the man who is the god-man. In my Ordsenburgen there will stand as a statue for worship the figure of the magnificent, self-ordaining god-man...26

The Rauschning quotation points out very definitely the type of youth which the Hitler schools were designed to produce. This quotation also points out that the Hitler youth be brutal, indifferent to pain, and void of all pity and tenderness. From all accounts of the behavior of the German youth in the occupied countries, his wish was fulfilled. For an eye-witness account of both the curriculum and the methods used in these schools of the Third Reich, one has only to read Ziemer's book.27

All that remains to be said on the matter of curriculum is that in addition to physical education and the emphasis on race, preparedness for war was made part of every subject.

Before bringing this brief account of Nazi education to a close, it would be well to mention the type of education carried on to convince the masses. They were regimented largely in the so-called Labor Front whose slogan was "strength through joy". This organization was devoted to


social and recreational interests, but it also developed a comprehensive scheme of adult education as well. It conducted study courses of a vocational and social character, and it tried to interest the working people in drama, music, and the arts. Like all the other organizations which were allowed to exist in the Third Reich, it had become more political than social or recreational, and it, too, became one of the ideological supports of the Nazi regime.

The Ministry for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment established in 1933 under the leadership of Goebbels became one of the main ideological supports of Hitler's Third Reich. This ministry had complete jurisdiction over all agencies which had to do with the forming of opinions with, of course, the exception of the schools. A culture Chamber provided ideas for the press, the radio, the theatre, and other avenues of propaganda. In short, the Propaganda Ministry succeeded in moulding public opinion to support the objectives of Nazism.

It cannot be denied that the last world conflict was due largely to a cunningly planned conspiracy carried to the bitter climax by means of an educational system which had been successful in subordinating all instruction for old and young alike to the objectives of total war. The characteristics of German education under the Third Reich would be similar to any other brief account of the educational policies in the many other dictatorships which found
their way to power during the same period.

In looking at the two educational systems just described, it can easily be said that they stand in direct contrast to that of each other, and that the American schools cannot afford to teach peace while other nations teach their children directly the opposite. Then, too, it helps to point out the fact that all nations who want to live out their lives in peace must provide some kind of organization for international consultation and action regarding certain matters.
After all that has been said, no heavy battery of argument is required to demonstrate that certain aspects of modern organized education are a matter of international concern, and that they are as international in their implication as, for example, the control of atomic energy. This being true, no country can hope to deal with them independently.

Hitler realized, as some democratic leaders have not, that the success of a political and social program depends in the long run on appropriate education. In other words, Hitler did contribute some negative good in the world in that he awakened the democracies to the paramount importance of education to nation and, especially, to international life.

This is not to argue for international control of education, however, it does mean that some kind of international machinery for consultation in educational matters be established in order to help safeguard the peace of the world. The discovery of such methods for the field of education "is just as necessary a part of the search for the road to peace as the discovery of methods for international action in military, legal, political, and economic matters."¹

According to a survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center of Denver, 84 percent of the American people in all walks of life believe that an international agency for education is a primary need in achieving this end. During the early weeks of the San Francisco Conference public interest in this subject was obvious.

The consultants group of the United States Delegation composed of men and women designated by forty-two national organizations representing labor, business, and agriculture, women's activities, religious groups, and war veterans, as well as formal education, agreed on the necessity of assuring the place of education and international cultural relations in the United Nations Charter.

This goes to show that the rank and file of the American people are convinced that an international agency for education having for its real aim a better understanding among the peoples of the world is a primary need in laying the foundation of world peace.

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Before entering into a discussion of the possible functions of an international agency for education, it will be well to bear in mind that there are some things that this agency would never be able to accomplish, and, in fact, would be undesirable to attempt.

It would be useless for such an agency to move into a country and attempt to superimpose a program of education in terms of its own democratic philosophy. It should neither interfere nor attempt to control education in any country regardless of the fact that it means education conducted by the State, or in the form of parochial schools, or private universities or private schools.

Speaking in favor of an international agency for education, Doctor Marshall has this to say:

For any international agency for education to succeed, we must first accept the principle of its non-interference with the organization, administration, curriculum, or method of instruction of any system of schools, whether operated by state, church, or individuals. Freedom from such interference is close to the hearts of all peoples; it is the father of intellectual and religious freedom.4

Miss Selma Borchart expresses this point of view:

We do not want any philosophy indoctrinated in any way, in any country through the agency. We think that this point is of tremendous importance. 5

5Ibid., p. 59.
Ralph Strebel expresses a similar point of view:

It would be sociologically and psychologically unsound for any international body to dictate to any country the kind of educational program it would develop, and no reputable sponsors of the international Office of Education advocate this as a function.  

I. L. Kandel is discussing the problems of education in the post-war world points out that nothing would be more sure of failure than the attempt to draw up a blue-print on education with the idea that it would be applied to any or all nations. He is of the opinion that a foreign group can plan to some degree for the reconstruction of cities and transportation facilities, but education is embedded in a people's culture that no outsider can draft any workable plan for it. In other words, it would be futile to try to force a common cultural plan upon Europeans who have cultural traditions of their own and of which they are justly proud.

In conclusion, it would be to the point to quote Representative Karl Mundt on this matter:

First, it does not propose to send American teachers out to staff the schools of enemy or friendly schools to tell them that they must teach. That provision is not in the resolution.

Secondly, it does not propose to international-ize education so that a standardized course of study is provided for all children everywhere.

Thirdly, it does not provide for political indoctrination or interference with the religious, political or economic practices of any country.

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Fourthly, it does not provide for any domination of dictation by such an office of local school systems anywhere in the world, certainly not in the United States, where our schools are definitely and rightfully under the administration of our local groups and local state school-administration bodies. That condition would remain.\(^7\)

These are some of the things which an international agency for education should not do, and they should be kept in mind in discussing the value of such an organization. In this way disappointment will be avoided and national pride guarded from a sense of wrong.

WHAT AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR EDUCATION COULD DO

Concerning the functions of a permanent international agency for education, one can be more specific. During the past five or six years there has been a vast amount of publications and public discussions regarding the possibility and importance of the establishment of such an agency. The bibliography listed for this thesis will not only give some idea of the scope and range of publications which have centered on and around this problem, but the number of organizations private, professional, or otherwise who have given the problem serious attention.

... The National Education Association, through its Educational Policies Commission and otherwise, had directed efforts primarily to the teaching profession. The American Association for an Interna-

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\(^7\)Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives, Seventy-ninth Congress on House Resolution 215, (Washington, D. C.), op. cit., p. 3.
tional Office of Education has secured support for the proposal among the general public. The International Education Assembly has held three meetings in the United States (Harpers Ferry, 1943; Hood College, 1944; and New York City, 1945), attended by unofficial representatives of most of the United Nations. The Universities Committee has actively promoted the study of the question among the faculties of higher institutions. The American Council on Education has engaged in extensive studies, bearing especially upon the educational relationship between the United States and Canada, and between the United States and Asia. The American Association of University of Women and a long list of other civic organizations have encouraged discussion of the problem among their local organizations. The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace has sponsored two important studies on the question. Most of the foregoing organizations and about thirty others work together in the Liaison Committee for Education in World Citizenship, the London International Assembly, and other organizations.8

Not one of these organizations has predicted in the long run just what the detailed functions of a permanent international agency for education should be, but there is a general agreement among them regarding certain possible fields of service. To list all the functions of an international agency for education would not only be cumbersome, but it would serve no useful purpose here. Instead, I shall attempt to summarize what appears to be the general consensus of those who have given the problem serious attention.

Among all the possible duties listed by the proponents of an international agency for education, none seem to rank above that of deliberate leadership and encouragement in the

8Carr, op. cit., p. 68.
promotion of international understanding and the development of the concept of world citizenship. Experience has shown that nations working alone cannot accomplish this. Every portion of the world is becoming increasingly dependent for its prosperity, and for life itself, upon other sections of the world. This means that our economic and cultural interdependence make it possible to permit any semblance of irresponsible nationalism. An international agency for education could, through cooperative action take the leadership in formulating a realistic program of international understanding which would assist and encourage teachers in the development of right attitudes toward all peoples.

The need of international agency to collect and disseminate information on the progress of education throughout the world has long been felt. All the proponents of an international agency for education agree that a constructive and continuous duty of such an institution would be to act as an international clearing house for studies and data on educational subjects. In order to do this, it would, of necessity, maintain a library which would include files of teaching materials, teacher training courses, school building plans, tests and measurements as well as many other kinds of educational literature. This function is extremely important in that it would encourage, assist, and correlate the education and research conducted by other agencies national, inter-
There is complete agreement on the proposal that the international agency for education should be ready and willing to give expert advice, on request, to school systems throughout the world regardless of membership whenever they happen to be in need of help in establishing modern, civic, and technical education for their people. Likewise, it should also cooperate with any international post-war relief agency when requested to do so.

Another important function of an international agency for education would be to carry out a program similar to that of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. The proponents of the agency point out that such an activity would encourage fraternal contact of educators, scholars, and other intellectuals in the various fields of specialization. It would not only assist in the international exchange of research materials in the technics, but in the findings in the natural sciences and in the social sciences as well.

Among the activities listed for an international agency for education is the formation of minimum standards of education which all nations, however backward, would be willing to adopt. These standards, together with suggestions for their progressive improvement, should be sent as recommendations to all member nations. Specific reference is made to the word 'recommendations' in that it be used advisedly.
In the period of relief and reconstruction there are two groups likely to receive first attention, the smaller children and the adults who will be called upon for the re-organization of the life of their respective countries. Between these two groups is the youth group. Experience in the past has proved that this group must not only have education but employment as well. Past experiences have proved that this is the group in which there lurks the greatest potentialities for molding minds to the menance of world stability. The importance of youth organizations has long been realized, and all serious minded people are of the opinion that this group should merit serious consideration. They point out that for these youth there exists a possible system of youthwork-and-education. They must be educated to achieve self-reliance, a significant life purpose and direction, vocational competence, and adult status. Failure to meet the needs of this group would set the stage for world instability and would eventually lead to another war.

Some organizations maintain that an international agency for education might profitably undertake the drafting of an international charter of education for a free world. They point out that it should result from a series of international discussions which, in themselves, might be more important than the document. The charter would be a document of generalizations expressing hopes and ideals rather than ac-
The Educational Policies Commission has proposed the following topics which illustrate the type of material that might be included in an international charter for education:

1. Universal schooling, including education for health, vocational skills, and intellectual development.

2. Equal access to educational opportunity at all levels.

3. All teaching institutions to be devoted to the development of tolerance, justice, and goodwill, and no teaching institution, private or public, to be allowed to develop international ill will, to encourage traits of group aggression, or to teach lies.

4. A continuing system of adult education opportunities in the study of personal, social, and economical problems.

5. Complete academic freedom and complete academic responsibility and accountability for the teaching staffs of schools in all parts of the world.

6. Definite factual instruction at every level in all school systems concerning the history, culture, psychology, and problems of other peoples.

7. Instruction in all school systems concerning world organization and problems of international relations; such instruction to be factual and free from recrimination.

8. Systematic efforts to improve the preparation and background of teachers for giving instruction concerning international problems.\(^9\)

A widely accepted function of an international agency for education would be to study textbooks, courses of study, and, in fact, all phases of educational programs in all countries, and then evaluate them in terms of international

\(^9\)Educational Policies Commission, *op. cit.* , pp. 41-42.
security. It should be keenly interested in evidences which tend to foster hatred, ill will, aggression, militarism, or otherwise. Refusal on the part of any country to present its teaching materials for appraisal or any attempt to whitewash them should be promptly publicized by the agency. If, in the judgment of the organization, instruction in a given country is dangerous to the peace of the world the following lines of action should be taken: It should report its findings to the government of the country in question, citing as concretely as possible those practices or teachings which tend to develop a mental armament dangerous to world peace and ask that corrective measures be taken. Second, it should attempt by conference, discussion, or other non-coercive means to rectify the situation. Finally, if, after a reasonable period of time, no adjustment has been made, a full report with all documentary evidence on the matter should be submitted to the international agency established to deal with international affairs in general.

Beyond that point, no one wants to see the International Office of Education proceed. Its duty in this particular respect would be fulfilled when it had located dangerous tendencies of education, attempted peacefully to remedy that condition, and, failing in peaceful efforts, had called dangerous situation to the attention of the general security agency. Less than that would make the agency weak at a critical point; more than that would carry it into areas where it does not belong and could not usefully act.

This point of view is an admitted challenge to complete national independence in education.
It holds that there are certain types of education which are so dangerous to all of us that they should be discouraged in every possible manner. It holds that it is better to detect and counteract such tendencies at an early stage, than it is to wait until the tendencies produce a nation which is irrevocably educated for aggression and war.  

Among the proponents of an international agency for education only one major disagreement appears to exist. These people point out that if the international agency for education is entrusted with any power to evaluate instructional programs in terms of international security and then proceed, if necessary, to alleviate conditions, such actions would constitute an improper interference with the internal policies of a nation. They are convinced that limited power is necessary for the establishment of such an agency and for its effective functioning.

Other functions suggested by some of the sponsors of such an institution and upon which there is no general agreement are as follows:

Some organizations who are keenly interested in this agency feel that one of the most worthwhile activities in which it might engage is the arrangement for the international exchange of students and teachers.  

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Carr, op. cit., p. 73.

A brief account of the international exchange of students and teachers conducted by these organizations may be found by reading Carr, op. cit., pp. 44-54.
can lead to dislikes and misunderstandings, or, on the other hand, it can, under proper guidance, lead to an appreciation of other peoples. The international exchange of students and teachers has been carried out by private institutions, and, as far as the results are concerned, they have been phenomenal. In former years we had to depend upon propaganda agencies to become acquainted with various countries, and, in many instances, they became the source of fifth column activities.

Some sponsors advocate that the agency operate an educational radio station, and that it send out educational programs which would be universally available to those schools who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity.

The foregoing group of activities are interesting proposals, and in spite of the fact that they are not generally agreed upon by all the sponsors of the international agency for education, they are, nevertheless, practical possibilities to be considered.
OBJECTIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR EDUCATION

The opponents of an international agency for education have marshalled a number of criticisms with respect to the creation of such an institution, and they have been listed by the Educational Policies Commission as follows:

The proposals are idealistic; they just won't work.
The plan is too ambitious; It goes too far, too fast.
There are dangers in an international agency; it has failed to keep the peace.
No nation can or will yield up any of its functions in the education of its own people.12

Before drawing this section of the thesis to a conclusion it would be well to consider these objections in the order given above.

The first objection is that the proposals are idealistic, and are not workable. The proponents of the agency answer that such an institution, because of its very nature, is a 'venture' in idealism. They point out that the peace of the world depends upon our understanding of the aims and hopes of other peoples. They feel that there are times when idealism or thinking in terms of 'ultimate objectives' and 'high attainments' are the most practical types of thinking, and, on the other hand, that nothing could be more impractical than the alternatives to hopeful planning. It is the opinion of the proponents of this plan that the impractical people are

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12 Educational Policies Commission, op. cit., p. 49.
...those who resign themselves to wars on an inevitable, recurrent, and ever more destructive basis. People who called themselves hard-headed realists have proved on former occasions that the thirteen colonies could never be united, that modern industry could not function without child labor, that education of all the children of all the people was an impious and scandalous notion, that chattel slavery could not be destroyed because it was divinely approved, that no gentleman could ever adjudicate a personal quarrel except with a pistol at forty paces, and that the flying machine was a physical impossibility, the steamboat a dreamer's folly, and the telephone a passing fad.

No major forward step in human relations has ever been taken that was not called impractical by the self-styled realists. History will show who are the real dreamers. Meanwhile, we admit that this fact is an excellent reason for supporting them.13

It has been said that the proposals for an international agency for education are too ambitious both in the sense that they are too far-reaching and that they seek to secure greater prestige and usefulness for education. They point out that there are times, such as the present, which make it imperative that any one who has a contribution to make for the general good should not hesitate to do so at once and in a straightforward manner.

It has been said that there are dangers in an international agency for education. Monsignor Johnson in answer to this criticism has the following to say:

13 Ibid., pp. 50-51.
Of course, there is always the danger that any organization international or otherwise, might come under the control of the wrong kind of persons or forces and its original purpose be distorted. Because an international education office might possibly be used to propagate foolish and dangerous ideas, it might be argued fairly that it would be much better not to have an international education office at all. The trouble with that argument is that it would apply to almost any organization or institution that human beings have ever set up. One needs to weigh the possible good that could come to the world at large through the proper functioning of an international organization for education, wisely set up, wisely administered, and carefully watched, against the harm that might be done if it were taken over by fools or knaves.14

It has been said that education has been given a chance to promote world peace and failed. The arguments dealing with this criticism has been discussed at some length in other sections of this paper.15

It has been said that no nation will surrender any of its functions in the education of its own people.

... It is perhaps sufficient to reply that the proposals of this document do not impair the complete educational autonomy of any nation. The significance of national systems of education will be increased by the encouragement and dignifying presence of an international recognition. The existence of an international agency will not destroy the freedom of state and national school systems to seek new and better methods of organization and procedure. On the contrary, it


15Cf. post, pp. 65-70.
The text on this page is not legible due to the quality of the image.
should stimulate such developments and foster the cultural attributes of the several nations.\textsuperscript{16}

Those who advocate an international agency for education agree without exception that the success of the organization depends on the principle of non-interference with the organization, administration, curriculum, or method of instruction of educational systems in any country. Any further discussion of this question would only be a repetition of what has been said in the first section of this chapter.\textsuperscript{17}

Experience has proved that narrow nationalisms form no basis for the organization of a post-war world or of post-war education. World situations today call for youth whose loyalties to their nation remain steadfast, and, at the same time, understand that this world has become an independent unit where the security of all is threatened by the misery of others living in other parts of the world. One of the greatest dangers in the post-war world is not that educators will over estimate the potentialities of education, but that men in positions of power and influence will fail to use the great force of education as part of the over-all international machinery created to keep the peace of the world.

\textsuperscript{16}Educational Policies Commission, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 57.  
\textsuperscript{17}Cf. \textit{ante}, pp. 38-40.
CHAPTER III
TOWARD INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

As far back as the seventh century, intellectuals have been known to transcend national boundaries and work together in their various fields of interest for the promotion of international brotherhood and world peace. While the rise of aggressive nationalisms challenged their efforts to the extent that they were never able to see their plans become a reality, yet each contributed to the long road which eventually lead to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. To review some of the events of international educational cooperation which eventually came to be organized into permanent international organizations is the purpose of this section of this thesis.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS

The first great name in the history of international education is that of John Amos Comenius of Moravia, a pioneer far in the advance of his time, pointed out that education was the only true road to peace and universal brotherhood. He witnessed with the deepest regret, the destruction which the Thirty Years War brought not only to the schools and churches but to Europe as well. In spite of the fact that he was driven from one country to another, his faith in education never failed. The solution which he advocated for the elimination of devastating wars was knowledge and universal education.
In order to promote these lofty ideals, he proposed a Pansophic College where scholars throughout the world could meet and assemble the necessary knowledge for the mutual understanding of all peoples.

This was the great task to which Comenius dedicated his life - the creation of a Universal College, a Temple of Universal Wisdom, 'a structure of truth, human and divine' which would take all knowledge as the sphere of its activities and in which learned men from all over the world would co-operate. It was not, however, the accumulation of knowledge for its own sake in which Comenius interested, but its unification, co-ordination and advancement for human welfare and universal peace.1

As one looks upon the appaling conditions which have resulted from another great war which threatened to end in the destruction of ourselves and the universe, he is reminded of the fact that Comenius is as real for our day as he was for his, and he deserves his rightful place among those who have labored for an internationally ordered world.

MARC-ANTOINE JULIEN

Another figure of significance in the history of international education is that of Marc-Antoine Julien of Paris. At the age of 19, he was Assistant Secretary of the first Department of Education. As early as 1817 he published, A Preliminary Outline in Comparative Studies, in which he advocated a Special Commission, not too large, whose main

function was to collect research material and to analyze and compare the different methods of education and teacher training in the different countries of Europe. This Commission was to be supported by the sovereign princes of Europe, and it was to maintain a teachers' training institution and to issue an educational bulletin published in several languages. His life was devoted, more or less, to a sort of continuous international conference on education, and he is often spoken of as the Father of Comparative Education

Not only was Julien's plan never carried out, but nearly seventy years elapsed before the idea of an international center for education emerged once more. Since that time, however, many schemes of the same kind have been elaborated, and innumerable conferences, congresses, and general meetings called by educational and other bodies, have passed resolutions urging the establishment of a world center for education.²

OTHER PLANS

During the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, the following plans were proposed:

...the Dutch Moelkenboer and his scheme for a permanent international council of education, the German Kurnig and his international consultative center for education, the Hungarian Kemeny and his plan for an international institute of pedagogy, the Belgian Peeters and his plan for an international bureau of educational literature, the Frenchman Lebonnis and his international institute of education at Caen, and very many others. The plans of these men are only dusty records, yet each added

something to the still uncompleted exploration of
the path to international cooperation in the
realm of the mind and the spirit. 5

One of these men, Peeters, actually set up the first
international office of education. It was known as the
Bureau International de Documentation et d'Education, a
strictly private and professional body with no government
support. It was, in reality, an international clearing
house of educational literature for educators. Since it,
too, failed to receive any government backing, it did not
manage to survive.

DOCTOR FANNIE FERN ANDREWS

An international office for education on a far grander
scale than the one mentioned above was proposed by Dr. Fannie
Fern Andrews of Boston. In 1911 she succeeded in persuading
the State Department in calling an international conference
on education. In March of 1912, the State Department em-
barked on the usual routine of diplomatic correspondence with
the Netherlands Government whom it suggested call the con-
ference at The Hague. The Netherlands Government consented
and in September of 1912, Dr. Andrews set sail for Europe as
an accredited agent of the United States Government. When she
arrived in Holland, she was informed by the government of
that country that some preliminary conferences with other

5Carr, op. cit., p. 31
governments should be held in order that an agenda might be more carefully prepared. Dr. Andrews then set out on a tour of the major capitals for this purpose, and in November of the same year she was back at The Hague with a carefully prepared agenda. After making arrangements with the Netherlands Government for an international conference on education to be called in 1913, she returned home.

By April, 1913, only two countries replied to the invitation. Strangely enough, the United States, the promoter of the project, failed to respond. This was due to the fact that Congress passed a law which forbade the American Government to participate in any more international conferences without congressional approval. Congress was not in session, and it was not until May of the same year that it reconvened and gave its consent. In the meantime, the Netherlands Government postponed the conference until September, 1914. Because of the critical conditions on the continent of Europe, the Netherlands Government again postponed the conference until 1915. The conference did not take place due to the outbreak of the World War.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

When the representatives of the victorious Allies met in Paris to draft the Convention of the League of Nations, an international delegation of women under the leadership of Lady Aberdeen, and including Dr. Andrews, appeared before them
and presented a memorandum which provided for the creation of a permanent International Office of Education to be stipulated by the League of Nations and ratified by the Peace Treaty. President Wilson made a courteous reply to the delegation, and he stated that if all their proposals were not accepted, it would not be due to the fact that the drafting committed was in disagreement with them. He did not, however, give any assurance that they would be accepted, and, to be explicit, there was no provision for the creation of a permanent international agency for education, nor any reference to education in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

In 1921, however, the Council of the League of Nations at its session reacted favorably to a proposal by Leon Bourgeois. It provided for the appointment of a committee of leading educators and scientists to deal with the questions of intellectual co-operation and to draw up a program of action for the League. The Council, after some deliberation, decided to recommend to the League Assembly the following resolution:

The Assembly requests the Council to designate a Commission to study questions of international intellectual cooperation and education. This Commission shall present at the next session of the Assembly a report on the measures which the League might take to facilitate intellectual exchange among the nations, especially as concerns the communication of the scientific data and of methods of education... The study of the project to create an international bureau of education (proposed in the Council's Report of March, 1921) shall be referred to the aforesaid Commission.4

4Ibid., p. 35.
The resolution met with unanimous approval, and eight days later it came before the Committee on Humanitarian Questions of the League of Nations' Assembly. Some of the members expressed concern about the word education which, they said, might be misleading in that it gave the impression that the League eventually planned to take the whole matter of education into its own hands. In the discussion that followed, it was decided to eliminate the word education, and the resolution was approved without it.

In due time the Bourgeois resolution was presented to the Second Assembly of the League of Nations by Gilbert Murray, then Professor of Greek at Oxford University, who pointed out that the word education had been eliminated from the original resolution and that this meant merely the creation of the proposed Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

Dante Bellgarde, representative from the republic of Haiti in the Caribbean, spoke in favor of restoring the word education to the resolution, and he introduced a motion to that effect, but he failed to win any response.

This, he said, is not a question of interfering with the internal educational policy of any nation. What, he asked, does the Assembly wish to accomplish by creating this Commission on Intellectual Cooperation? Is it to bring together and to make available to all nations, the fruits of the human mind and spirit? If we want to do that, how shall we, how can we, afford to ignore the very development of the human mind itself? This is not a question of giving educational directives; it is a question of putting each nation in touch with the best in the field of education for all peoples. It is certainly true that educational methods will vary because each nation
desires to progress in the spirit of its national tradition; but it is equally true that human spirit is one. It is of great value, therefore, to exchange the educational studies made everywhere.5

His words fell on deaf ears. Since one vote would have killed the adoption of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation or, in fact, any other act of the League Assembly, he withdrew his motion and acquiesed in a resolution which merely established a Commission of Intellectual Cooperation.

The French Government took a special interest in this organization and invited it to conduct the activities of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris with funds made available for that purpose, and the League accepted the offer. The Institute became affiliated with the League of Nations in that the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation became the governing body of the Institute, but the Commission retained a small secretariat at the headquarters of the League in Geneva.

The Intellectual Cooperation Organization of the League of Nations, in addition to the Committee, consisted of various Expert Committees, 34 National Committees and two working bodies — the Intellectual Cooperation Secretariat in Geneva and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Paris. Restated again, they are as follows:

5Ibid., p. 19.
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation became the executive branch of the organization. Its chief function was to prepare meetings of the various Expert Committees and to publish their findings. The headquarters were in Paris.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

This organization formed the Secretariat, with headquarters in Geneva. It carried on relations with the governments of the Member Nations and with the Council and Assembly of the League. It represented the best thinkers of the day; it was made up of 19 members appointed by the League's Council, and it consisted of such famous people as Madame Curie, Albert Einstein, and Gilbert Murray.

EXPERT COMMITTEES

In order to deal with specific questions of mutual interest to all nations, the organization consisted of a system of advisory committees. These Committees included such Permanent Committees as the Committee on Arts and Letters, the Committee of Scientific Advisors, the Committee of Architectural Experts, the Committee of Directors of Higher Education, the Committee of Library Experts, the Committee of Expert Archivists, the Committee on Intellectual Rights and the Committee on the Teachings of Principles and Facts of Intellectual Cooperation. Other Permanent Expert Committees
were created as well as temporary Expert Committees to deal with specific questions.

NATIONAL COMMITTEES

In order to carry on its work more effectively, the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation decided to adopt a policy of decentralization and establish National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation in Member States.

By 1939 forty-five National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation has been set up in the following countries: — Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Iran, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Union of South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, United States of America, Uruguay, Yugoslavia.

They were organized in such a manner as to serve as a liaison between the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation, and the schools and colleges of their respective countries.

ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

Due to the fact that the Assembly of the League of Nations took a negative attitude on educational problems, the organization was greatly limited with regard to administrative and research facilities, however, the organization

\[6 \text{UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES, (United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization) p. 7.}\]
broadened out later and some attention was given to the problem of education for international understanding, when it became apparent that world peace was matter of concern to all nations. The funds allotted to the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation were painfully inadequate, but in spite of this fact it accomplished many notable achievements.

The principal work of this organization was to develop the methods of collaboration among the intellectual leaders of different countries on projects of mutual interest. It arranged for the exchange of information among museum and archive officials; it made a study of visual aids to education through the Educational Cinematographic Institute of Rome; it served as the Secretariat of the International Council of Scientific Unions, and it co-operated with that body in organizing conferences of special scientific problems. Through its famous periodical, Conversations, in which the leading philosophers and writers of many countries took part, and through the International Studies Conference attempts were made to clarify the intellectual causes of the growing international crisis and to propose ways of meeting the challenge. Thus the organization, greatly handicapped in its infancy, continued to grow in popularity during the years of its later development.

In 1938 an attempt was made to bring in those countries who were not members of the League and to bring in those
countries who had left the League. In addition, an attempt was made to finance the institution on a broader basis. It was for these reasons that the International Act for Intellectual Cooperation was negotiated at Paris. After the Act came into force January, 1940, the intention was that the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation be placed on an autonomous basis, but still remain within the League.

When the World War broke out on the continent, the program of intellectual co-operation could only be carried on in the Western Hemisphere. After the liberation of western Europe, the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation was reopened in 1945 with the expectation that it would cease to exist when the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization went into full operation.

When the League of Nations was dissolved, all the possessions of the International Organization for Intellectual Cooperation was given to the United Nations. This valuable collection of books and other types of information was eventually handed over to UNESCO, the specialized agency of the United Nations created to deal with educational and cultural matters on an international scale.7

CRITICISM OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

The Organization for International Cooperation has been

7Cf. post pp. 103-104.
criticized in that all of its activities failed to deal comprehensively with all cultural aspects of international life, and seldom, if at all, made any impression on the ordinary lives of ordinary human beings. It would do well to consider a few of these criticisms at this point.

I. L. Kandel maintains that in problems of education for international understanding the most important change to be made is a change of spirit. One can expect no success from an international organization if the will for international understanding and intellectual cooperation is not present within the nation itself. He points out that the National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation which were to form a link between the nations and the organization were established by the latter. They did not originate because of a recognition of importance of inter-relating the varied and multicolored aspects of national cultures. They seemed to stand outside the general stream of intellectual activities within each nation. In other words, international cooperation is not something that can be imposed from the outside, but should grow naturally out of the recognition of the international inter-dependence of intellectual activities.

Speaking further on the failure of the organization, he says:

Intellectual cooperation, whether national or international, has suffered perhaps because the idea was new and because it was promoted by the League of Nations somewhat as an afterthought or
as an addition to rather than an integral part of the whole plan. Naturally the committees on intellectual cooperation were regarded too much as agencies created by and for the International Organization on Intellectual Cooperation. They were created ad hoc and, because they did not grow out of the intellectual activities within each nation, there has been a tendency to consider them as incidental to and not as forming an intimate part of all those activities which make up a nation's culture and civilization. Finally, the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation was faced with the further difficulty that the United States was not a member of the League of Nations.8

The Department of State makes this criticism:

That all of this activity touched too few people was the common criticism of the work of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization. The lack of funds was partly responsible for this failing, but it was also due in part to the fact that the Committee and the Institute were confined in the beginning to specialized projects and seldom made a direct impact on the lives of the ordinary human beings. The number of people who knew about the activities in the intellectual cooperation was small, and the number directly involved in them was smaller but was growing rapidly.9

Walter Kotschnig puts forth a similar criticism:

The Commission as created by the League was indeed an impressive sight. It was inspiring to see brought together in the same room such men and women as Henri Bergson, Gilbert Murray, Albert Einstein, Madame Curie, R. A. Millikan, Miss Bonnevie, Jules Destree, and Gonzague de Reynold. But the very strength of the Commission was also its chief weakness. Its members moved in a rarefied atmosphere far removed from the struggles of everyday life. They had forgotten their early origins in kindergarten and elementary school. They could not be bothered to look into the needs and anxieties of the

8I. L. Kandel, op. cit., p. 46
9"the defenses of peace" Part II, op. cit., p. 5
adolescent. Their minds dwelt on a plane beyond the reach of ordinary man. They themselves were scholars and thinkers and writers and they represented their interests almost exclusively. If they thought of education at all they thought of higher education. To be 'practical' down to earth, meant for them the co-ordination or research and protection of intellectual rights. ¹⁰

Kotschnig points out another criticism, an excuse used by some nations for not giving adequate support to the Paris Institute, namely, that the Institute was too much identified with French Intellectual life, and, therefore, could not be called representative. There was, no doubt, something in this criticism, but it must be remembered that the French Government provided two-thirds of the budget due to the hostile attitude of the other member states of the League especially the Government of Great Britain who disregarded the most urgent pleadings of Sir Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the Commission on Intellectual Cooperation.

There are those who maintain that the experiences of the League proves conclusively that international action in education has been tried and failed. This is a notion taken for granted by those who have failed to note that the League did almost nothing to influence education in the various countries. It proceeded on the premise that education was a strictly national concern, and that no international agency could interfere. It did not see the extent to which education could be used as a political instrument. International

¹⁰Kotschnig, op. cit., pp. 256-257
intellectual cooperation probably failed in the past because it was never attempted in a manner which was equal to the difficulties of the undertaking itself. All the brave men and women who gave their efforts to this work did not give up in despair because many of them took an active part in the formation of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION

When the educators of the various countries failed to win the support of the League of Nations for an international agency for education, Dr. Frederick Zollinger, Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction of the Canton in Switzerland, presented to the Third International Conference on Moral Education in Geneva, a plan for the creation of an International Bureau of Education. It met with the unanimous approval of the delegates, but, strange as it may seem, no attempt was made to implement the decision of the conference. Three years later, however, an International Bureau of Education was set up in Geneva, and its establishment was due, no doubt, to the previous spirited discussion of Dr. Zollinger, and he is credited as the determining factor in its establishment. In March 1926, the Bureau was opened under the leadership of Professor Pierre Bonet, head of the Jean-Rosseau Institute. It was started as a private research agency, but in 1929 it was reorganized as an intergovernmental institution.
Funds were made available by private grants and by member governments.

The organization grew slowly. By 1938 the Bureau had a membership of fifteen governments, mostly small powers endeavoring to improve their educational systems, and two non-governmental agencies.

ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATION

The main function of the Bureau has been to serve as a clearing house on education in the various countries, but it has concerned itself with other aspects of education as well. It carried on a continuous study of the methods of education for international understanding and world peace, and it carried on a great deal of research in comparative education all over the world.

Before and after the war it carried on annual international conferences (International Conferences of Public Instruction) which proved to be of great value. The purpose of these conferences is to consider the reports submitted by primary and secondary educators, the object being that each country may be able to profit by the experiences of others. It developed an excellent library which included a section on children's literature.

The Bureau founded and, as far as I know, still issues a quarterly Bulletin containing important works on education all over the world. In addition, it publishes an International
Yearbook and a series of international studies on such subjects as rural schools and the position of married women in the teaching profession.

During the war it was forced to suspend many of its activities, but it added another department, the Intellectual Assistance to Prisoners of War. This war-time service consisted chiefly in the shipment of books to prison camps so that students and teachers might be able to continue their education. At the same time, it instructed its Management Committee to make a study of the contributions which it might be able to make in the spiritual and educational reconstruction of the world. Through its Consultative Commission it drew up a plan of action dealing with such problems as aid to educational and scientific libraries, provisions of textbooks as well as foreign teaching staffs, and post-war educational reforms.

The strength of the Bureau lay in the fact that it concerned itself primarily with elementary education and secondary education, and therefore was much closer to the broad problems of education which were neglected by the League. Its weakness resided in the fact that it enjoyed even less official support than did the Organization of Intellectual Co-operation of the League.

As constituted, and lacking the necessary funds, it could not take the lead in formulating a broad program of international education, let alone making it prevail even in those countries which collaborated most closely in its activities. Hitler Germany was one of them.11

11 Ibid., pp. 261-262
In February 1947 a formal agreement was signed at UNESCO House in which both organizations agreed to co-operate with each other in the field of educational surveys and other forms of activities common to both. The Joint Committee of these two organizations made all the necessary preparations for the Tenth and Eleventh Conferences of Public Instruction which were held in Geneva in 1947 and 1948, respectively. This same Committee asked the Bureau to undertake an investigation into the role of science in general education and to help in the preparation of a glossary of educational terms which UNESCO hopes to add to educational statistics. In addition, the Joint Committee made an arrangement by which UNESCO will be able to use all documents and information collected by the Bureau since its creation in 1925.\(^\text{12}\)

The experiences in international collaboration have not been in vain, and many features of the Constitution for UNESCO are derived from the experiences of the International Bureau of Education as well as the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation.

\(^{12}\text{Cf. post, p. 107.}\)
CHAPTER IV
THE LONDON CONFERENCE

The war-time associations of nations which brought so many of the Allied Governments to London resulted in the setting up of a conference of the Allied Ministers of Education. The story of this conference and how it played a substantial part in bringing about the establishment of an international organization is told in this chapter.

In the autumn of 1942 the Ministers of Education of the governments in exile met in London at the invitation of the British Council, the agency of the British Government responsible for cultural relations with other countries, under the leadership of Mr. R. A. Butler, then the English Minister of Education. The nations represented in the Conference from the beginning were Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Norway, Luxembourg, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia.

The original purpose of the Conference was to consider the problems of reconstruction, especially in the educational and cultural fields. In view of the fact, the Conference began immediately to plan for the educational reconstruction of the then occupied countries of Europe. As time went on, and as the war continued, the conditions which confronted them became increasingly difficult.

From 1942 to 1945 the Conference working through its
commissions and committees, studied problems such as the training of personnel, the restocking of libraries, the provision of textbooks, and the restoration of works of art which had been looted during the course of the war. As the work of the Conference progressed, it became evident that these problems were of interest to all the United Nations, and the Conference began to concentrate its attention on the establishment of an international organization for education and to consider the most practical method by which such an organization would be made to function in the post-war world.

In 1943 invitations were issued by the British Government to those governments who, up to that time, had only been associated with the conference as observers to become members. In 1944 our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, made it officially known that the United States would participate in an international program for the educational and cultural restoration of the occupied countries in the immediate post-war period, and it would send a delegation to the ninth meeting of the Conference which was scheduled to meet in London, April 6, 1944. Under the leadership of Representative, now Senator, Fulbright, the American delegation was sent to London to discuss with the Conference the possibilities of international action in the restoration of the educational and cultural heritages of the war-torn countries.

At this meeting it was decided to convene two open meetings which would enable all representatives present to partici-
pate fully and equally regardless of their position in the Conference. The first open meeting was held April 12, 1944, and the United States offered for consideration a draft constitution which was drawn up jointly by the Conference and American delegation. It was discussed and revised at this and frequent meetings. As a result, a tentative draft constitution for a United Nations organization for education and cultural reconstruction was drawn up and submitted to the governments of the United Nations and the nations associated with them for study and comment.

The United Nations were greatly concerned regarding this draft constitution, and they devoted much thought to its proposals. As a result, recommendations were forthcoming from the various governments to the effect that effort should be concentrated upon the creation of a permanent international organization for education, science, and cultural cooperation rather than upon a temporary reconstruction agency. In the meantime, other organizations in the United States and elsewhere were working on similar plans for an international agency for education and culture, and they, in turn, helped the Allied Ministers of Education to reach their goal.

In September and October of 1944, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals specified that the principals of international cooperation be carried from the field of political security over into the field of human welfare. This document specified that the Economic and Social Council, which was created to deal with
non-political matters, would be expanded to include matters involving cooperation in education, science, and the arts.

Shortly after the San Francisco Conference convened, it approved a declaration by the French Government which proclaimed:

1. That peace among nations must be founded on comprehension and mutual understanding.

2. That the United Nations have a duty to see that culture is made accessible to all men.

3. That it is the duty of the United Nations to facilitate the exchange and dissemination of knowledge about national (educational and cultural) activities.¹

The Chinese delegation backed by several other governments proposed that problems involving educational and cultural co-operation be turned over to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, a provision in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

Finally, after many discussions and resolutions, the conference agreed that provisions for the development of educational and cultural co-operation be incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations, and that that body convene within a few months to draw up the statutes of an international organization of intellectual co-operation.

Article I Section 3 mentions culture as a means of international co-operation. It reads as follows:

To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, of humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and

¹What is UNESCO? United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1946, p. 4
for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. ²

Article 55 mentions education as a means of international cooperation. It reads as follows:

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

(a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development:

(b) solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and

(c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; ³

During the course of the San Francisco Conference, the House of Representatives adopted the Mündt Resolution favoring the establishment of an international office of education, and two days later the Senate adopted the Fulbright-Taft Resolution. Both were carried without a dissenting voice. The decisions of the American Congress at this time coincided with the discussion of this issue at the San Francisco Conference, and it carried much influence when it was needed most.

Following the inclusion of a specific reference to educa-

²"defenses of peace", Part II, op. cit., p. 51
³What is UNESCO? op. cit., p. 5
tion and cultural co-operation in the United Nations Charter and the approval of the United Nations to draw up statutes of an international organization of intellectual co-operation, the United States delegation pointed out that plans had already been formulated by the Allied Ministers of Education in London to call an international conference for the purpose of organizing an institution for international co-operation in educational and cultural matters, and they planned to call the conference shortly after the meeting at San Francisco.

On August 1, 1945, a few weeks after the signing of the United Nations Charter, the Allied Ministers released a draft constitution of a permanent educational and cultural organization for the United Nations. It was based on the London Conference of 1944, and included with it were comments and suggestions by the United States and other members of the United Nations. These proposals formed the basis for discussion at the London Conference, which was scheduled to convene the following November. Invitations were sent to all the governments of the United Nations urging them to send delegates to the conference and to consider the creation of the proposed organization.

There is one other point in this connection. The American delegation headed by Archibald MacLeish, former Librarian of Congress, was composed of men and women who represented various types of educational and cultural interests and who represented our nation as a whole, rather than different
group interests. Before leaving for London, five meetings of the delegation were held in Washington. At these meetings the delegations agreed upon certain issues which were bound to arise in the sessions of the conference.

The success of the conference was due in a large part to the careful preparation of the representatives of more than 40 of the United Nations, and they were able to complete their work in 16 days. Many nations who took an active part in the conference sent their Ministers of Education as chairmen of their delegations, many of whom were men and women of outstanding ability in education, science, and cultural fields.

The name of the new organization as it emerged from the London Conference in November, 1945, had the word scientific added to the title. The word scientific was introduced into the title by the Honorable Archibald MacLeish. It is of interest to note that when the conference had been called to meet, it did so with the intention of discussing educational and cultural needs only.

The 54 governments represented at the conference were:

- Argentina
- Australia
- Belgium
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Canada
- Chile
- China
- Columbia
- Cuba
- Czechoslovakia
- Denmark
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- France
- Greece
- Guatemala
- Haiti
- India
- Iraq
- Lebanon
- Liberia
- Luxembourg
- Mexico
- Netherlands
- Nicaragua
- New Zealand
- Norway
- Panama
- Peru
- Philippines
- Poland
- Salvador
- Saudi Arabia
- South Africa
- Syria
- Turkey
- United Kingdom
- United States
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Yugoslavia

"the defenses of peace" Part I, op. cit., p. 11
There were observers from the following international organizations:

League of Nations Secretariat
League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation
International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation
Pan-American Union
Preparatory Commission of the United Nations
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Two draft constitutions were placed before the conference. One was prepared by the Allied Ministers of Education with the assistance of the United States Department of State, and the other was prepared by the French Government. In addition, proposals were received from national and international organizations concerned with education, science, and culture. Five commissions were created to study them. They were:

Commission I  (Title, Preamble, Purpose and Principal Functions)
Commission II (General Structure of the Organization)
Commission III (Executive Board and Secretariat)
Commission IV (Relations with Economic and Social Council and other international organizations; also the question of the seat of the Organization)
Commission V (The Interim Commission. This Commission was later changed to that of the Preparatory Commission)

The two principal documents which emerged from the conference were the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Instrument Establishing a Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The main function of the Preparatory Commission

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5Ibid., p. 12
6What is Unesco? op. cit., p. 6
was to bring UNESCO into being as soon as the constitution of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization was ratified by 20 United Nations, and to make the necessary preparations for the First General Conference of the Organization. An Executive Committee of 15 members was established as well as a technical sub-committee to prepare a report on the urgent problems of educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction in the countries devastated by the war. The information was to be placed before the first session of the General Conference.

The London Conference adopted the following resolutions:

The seat of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization shall be in Paris.

This resolution shall not in any way affect the right of the General Conference to make decisions in regard to this matter by a two-thirds majority. 7

The establishment of UNESCO brought and kept together delegates from the United Nations for the purpose of creating an organization which would put learning and thought behind the United Nations for the maintenance of world peace. The meeting of so many minds and the mutual appreciation and understanding among the representatives of so many nations is one hopeful sign of success in building the "defenses of peace in the minds of men". 8

7Ibid., p. 8
8"the defenses of peace", Part I, op. cit. p. 13
CHAPTER V

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL
SCIENCESIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

The Organization for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations made an endeavor to provide ways and means for international collaboration in cultural matters, but a nearer approach to the establishment of such an institution was the International Bureau of Education founded in Geneva in 1925. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization is the most complete fulfillment of an international organization not only for education and culture but for science as well. The manner in which this new organization plans to develop and maintain mutual understandings and appreciations of the peoples of the world and to secure international co-operation in the important fields of common interest is the purpose of this, the last chapter.

AIMS AND PURPOSES OF UNESCO

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, most commonly referred to as UNESCO, is one of the Specialized Agencies recognized by the General Assembly of the United Nations with permanent headquarters in Paris. The United Nations has dedicated its activities to the maintenance of world peace by trying to reconcile the immediate
conflicting political and economic interests of nations. One of its activities, the job of helping each and every citizen to understand the problems of building the peace and to use his personal energies toward solving them has been assumed by UNESCO. If peace is not to fail, people everywhere must understand each other, and, above all, must have confidence in each other and it. It is UNESCO's province to develop cooperative attitudes and mutual understanding which will animate the quest for peace.

It was to this end that the London Conference directed its efforts, and it accepted as the basic principle of all its work that it is possible for mankind to use the instruments which, at present, are available to promote world peace through mutual trust and understanding. This view is best expressed in the Preamble to the Constitution:

...since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed:

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their difference have all too often broken into war:1

It is, therefore, to combat ignorance and the mistrust that ignorance breeds, that UNESCO was created. It aims to remove them by attacking them at the source, the individual mind. It aims to remove the ignorance upon which fear and

1 "the defenses of peace", Part I, op. cit., p. 13.
suspicion thrive and to replace it with knowledge and understanding.

The method by which UNESCO hopes to accomplish its purpose is through collaboration with other private organizations and agencies whose aims and purposes are similar to those of UNESCO. This goes to show that UNESCO is not likely to become either a national or international bureaucracy. It does not aim to build up a large central staff to carry out its program, but, on the other hand, it plans to depend on schools, churches, radio networks, motion pictures, etc., to execute plans formed under its advice. In this way the program of UNESCO is not confined to a few intellectuals such as the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations but, instead, it plans to seep down into the minds of the rank and file of the people. The scope of UNESCO is not limited to the particular references of its title. In the United States Delegation's report on the London Conference appeared this statement:

The United States Delegation wishes to make it a matter of formal record that the new Organization to function not only in the fields specifically mentioned in the title but in all fields useful to the development of international understanding. ... 2

Article I (Purposes and Function) states that the overall purpose of UNESCO is "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through educa-

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tion, science and culture". The functions through which it proposes to achieve this purpose are three: first, the advancement of mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples throughout the world by means of mass communication such as the radio, the press, and the motion pictures; second, the promotion of popular education by collaborating with member states, at their request, in the development of their educational activities; third, the co-operation with member states in the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art, monuments of history and science, and in the diffusion of knowledge among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity.

In other words, UNESCO is an organization which proposes to collaborate with member nations through the media of mass communication, the instruments of popular education, and through the maintenance and diffusion of all kinds of knowledge to advance the mutual understanding of the peoples of the world.

HOW UNESCO WORKS

UNESCO is a grass-roots organization. It functions, to a large extent, as a stimulator of specific programs which will be carried out by private agencies and other official

groups, and it acts as a great international clearing house and co-ordinating center for all knowledge in certain definite fields of interest. The policies and projects which are approved are put into effect through the Executive Board, the Secretariat, member governments, National Commissions and through private or non-governmental agencies.

The Executive Board. The Constitution of UNESCO provides for an Executive Board to be elected by the General Conference which is empowered to meet in regular session at least twice a year. It must assume responsibility for the execution of the program adopted by the General Conference and, in addition, it has the responsibility of preparing the agenda and programs of work of the General Conference. The Executive Board members for 1948 are as follows:

Dr. Edward R. Walker (Australia) - Chairman
Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan (India) - Vice-chairman
Professor Alf Sommerfelt (Norway) - Vice-chairman
Dr. Stanislaw Arnold (Poland)
M. Pierre Auger (France)
Professor Paulo Carneiro (Brazil)
Dr. Benjamin Carrion (Ecuador)
Professor Chen Yuan (China)
H. E. Victor Dore (Canada)
M. Resat Nuri Gumtekin (Turkey)
H. E. Dr. Manuel Martinez Baez (Mexico)
Sir John Maud (United Kingdom)
Dr. Jan Opocensky (Czechoslovakia)
H. E. Dr. C. Parra Perez (Venezuela)
Professor Alex Photiades (Greece)
H. E. Shafik Ghorbal Bey (Egypt)
Dr. George D. Stoddard (U.S.A.)
M. Louis Verniers (Belgium)

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4 UNESCO Courier, February, 1948. Page 2, Column 4
The General Conference. The Constitution of UNESCO provides for a General Conference. It is authorized to determine the policies of the organization, to summon international conferences, to make reports to member nations, and to request reports from them. In addition, it advises the UN on educational, scientific, and cultural matters which concern UNESCO.

The Secretariat. The Constitution provides for a Secretariat under the leadership of a Director-General, chief administrative officer of the organization. The staff is appointed by the Director-General subject to approval by the General Conference. In order to secure the highest standards of integrity, efficiency, and technical competence, appointment of staff members is made on as wide a basis as possible. It is through the Secretariat that experts are assigned, channels of informational research are co-ordinated, and the necessary committees are set up. The Secretariat is divided into 8 sections: Education, Natural Science, Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, Arts and Letters, Libraries, Museums, and the Mass Media of press, film, and radio.

The National Commissions. Article VII\(^5\) recommends that

\[\ldots\text{National Commissions or national co-operating bodies, where they exist, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organization and shall function as agencies of liason in all matters of interest to it.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{"the defenses of peace","Part I, op. cit., p. 19.}\]
National Commissions have been set up in 26 member states as follows: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Columbia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Haiti, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Lebanon, Mexico, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela.

They are the official liaison agencies created by governments through which UNESCO is able to get support for its program and to secure the co-operation of organizations and individuals throughout the world. They bring together leaders who are outstanding in the fields of education, science, and culture, to advise the governments, and they act as links between the individual nations and UNESCO.

Bureau of the Budget and Administration. This Bureau prepares a detailed budget for all activities for the coming year which includes estimates for the separate sections, services, and comprehensive projects.

The budget for 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Budget Category</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>$1,174,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction and Rehabilitation</td>
<td>718,363</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mass Communication</td>
<td>665,713</td>
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<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>562,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Understanding</td>
<td>426,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>408,995</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arts and Letters</td>
<td>340,155</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>291,286</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fundamental Education</td>
<td>259,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy &amp; Humanistic Studies</td>
<td>233,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums</td>
<td>110,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Operating Estimates</td>
<td>$5,192,749</td>
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</table>

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The budget for 1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction</td>
<td>$614,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>$1,714,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>$654,851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Interchange</td>
<td>$530,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social and Human Relations</td>
<td>$327,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>$188,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,959,813</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The budget was fixed at $7,682,637, and, since the allocations netted a sum of $4,959,813, a sum of $2,000,000 was left for administrative purposes, for the Third General Conference, and for the work of the Executive Board as well as for other activities which, in themselves, are not directly in line with the execution of the projects within the program.

**Bureau of Personnel.** The scheme of classification for all posts in the Secretariat is the purpose of the Bureau of Personnel. It makes for better balance between sections and for greater uniformity in methods of operation.

**Bureau of the Comptroller.** A Bureau of Comptroller has also been set up. This, together with the above-mentioned Bureaus of Budget and of Personnel, constitute the three offices required for efficient service.

**Private or Non-Governmental Agencies.** UNESCO does not and cannot act alone. Article XI\(^7\) in UNESCO's Constitution makes provision for co-operation with private or non-governmental organizations whose activities have something in common with the Organization. It also makes provision for

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\(^6\) UNESCO Courier, February, Page 1, Column 4.

\(^7\) "the defenses of peace", Part I, op. cit., p. 20.
these organizations to undertake certain specified tasks. These provisions make it possible for the greatest amount of interchange with those organizations that have functioned successfully since the end of the last war.

PROJECTS OF UNESCO

The first thing to be borne in mind in this connection is that UNESCO is not in itself a relief organization, but it will do everything within its power to help to organize assistance wherever it is possible and to aid those countries whose educational, scientific, and cultural institutions have been destroyed in the course of the war. Its aid is not limited to these countries alone. It will aid any which, upon request, sincerely wishes to improve these institutions.

Since this thesis is devoted to a study of the importance and development of international organization for education, no full account of UNESCO and its activities will be given, however, the high-lights of UNESCO's projects for 1947 and 1948 should be mentioned.

Before proceeding any further, it should be pointed out that the Preparatory Commission made an attempt to formulate a UNESCO philosophy, and at one time plans were actually made for a general discussion of the subject at the First General Conference. It was not carried out because some of the members were far-sighted enough to see that such a discussion would
be harmful. Any attempt at formulation at that time would result in conflicts of ideology, and a discussion would do more harm than good. In spite of the diversity of background of the delegates, they were able to agree upon a very wide range of projects as long as they were practical and concrete.

It is true that practice and action imply theory and principle. But UNESCO has so far been content to leave these implications largely unexplored and unformulated. They may perhaps in time be given explicit theoretical and philosophical formulation, but that time is assuredly not now. 8

The First General Conference decided that this organization should devote its attention to 4 comprehensive or UNESCO-wide projects: Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, Fundamental Education, Education for International Understanding, and the Hylean Amazon Institute. These comprehensive projects were chosen because they would involve all or most of UNESCO's 8 subject fields: Education, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, Arts and Letters, Libraries, Museums, and the Media of Mass Communication. In this way UNESCO would remain a large organization because it would have 4 main fields to cover instead of only 1 or 2.

In reviewing UNESCO's program for 1947 and 1948, I shall use the same plan as that of the Director-General in his report to the Second General Conference in Mexico City.

in November of that year. The following order will be used: First, the comprehensive projects involving all or most of UNESCO's subject fields; Second, the centralized units servicing the programme; Third, the activities of the sections dealing with the various separate fields with which UNESCO is concerned.

FOUR COMPREHENSIVE PROJECTS

I. RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION

1. Campaign for Rehabilitation. During 1948 the United States voluntary agencies plan to spend over $80,000,000 on help for educational institutions in 21 war-devasted countries. During 1947 similar United States aid topped the sum of $80,000,000, while $62,000,000 was raised in 1946.

The American Commission for International Education Reconstruction (CIER), formed in 1946, left no stone unturned to aid UNESCO's campaign, and it was able to contribute $72,000,000 for educational reconstruction, contributed from the United States. It printed 50,000 copies of a pamphlet prepared by UNESCO to assist that organization in its campaign for gifts and funds. It put forward a plan making it possible for graduation classes to make contributions for the benefit of school children in war-devasted areas, and the plan yielded approximately $10,000.
The Council for Education in World Citizenship (British) collected 13,000 for educational reconstruction. Part of this sum was spent in collaboration with UNESCO to purchase microfilm, reading apparatus, and other educational aids.

Canada contributed over 2,000 tons of all kinds of educational equipment.

The Encyclopedia Britannica presented 300 sets of encyclopedias to war-damaged countries.

This list of donations is by no means complete, but it will serve to illustrate how governments, foundations, and other civic-minded organizations have responded to UNESCO's world-wide campaign to provide funds, gifts, and services in the educational reconstruction of the war-devasted countries.

2. Temporary International Council for Educational Reconstruction. The first UNESCO-wide project was successful in the formulation of the Temporary International Council for Education (TICER), an international body which is concerned with the reconstruction of the war-devasted countries. It is composed of international voluntary organizations as well as national organizations who are interested in reconstruction. The structure of the Council is so arranged to assure the independence of each member organization. The work of the Council is twofold: First, to provide a framework within which the efforts of these non-governmental organizations in this field can be developed to the fullest possible extent by means of common planning and close co-operation; Second, to
provide a center through which national efforts can be co-
ordinated with UNESCO's international reconstructional cam-
aign. National Councils are being established for education-
al, scientific, and cultural reconstruction to serve the same 
co-ordination purpose on the national plane.

3. **Short Term Projects.** The Second General Conference at Mexico City decided that UNESCO take on certain short term 
tasks to afford early relief to the nations whose educational 
scientific, and cultural *institutions* have suffered badly as a result of the war. A short term task of importance was the collection of information on the damage and losses to museums, monuments, and *sites in the war-devasted areas of the world*. The slow gathering of this information has result-
ed in a careful mapping of these areas and in a comparative 
evaluation of losses and damages as a basis for securing aid 
wherever it is needed.

Among the projects undertaken in this connection is the immediate purchase of books, educational material, and scientific equipment according to the funds made available for this purchase. Other projects will take for form of *suggestions* to teachers, librarians, and museum authorities in an effort to solve some of the educational and cultural problems resulting from total war.

4. **Youth Service Camps.** UNESCO has assisted the educational programme of three different Youth Service
Camp Organization as follows:

The International Youth Hostels Association for a camp at Cauterets (Hautes-Pyrénées), France;

The Service Civil International (composed of several co-operating agencies), for one camp located at Boussu-Bois in Belgium, and another at Lucimia, and

The World Federation of Democratic Youth, for a camp at Litvice, Czechoslovakia.9

In assisting the educational programme of these Youth Service Camps, UNESCO has the unique privilege of meeting the youth of many nations who are working in an international enterprise, and who will later be in a position to influence public opinion.

5. Book Coupon Scheme. In order to make the foreign purchase of books easier, UNESCO has created a Book Coupon Scheme. It is, more or less, a method of securing funds on an international scale, and it is designed principally to help 'soft' currency countries obtain publications from 'hard' currency countries. This scheme has been developed into a practical plan, and it is almost ready to be put into operation on an experimental basis. During the experimental period, UNESCO will not only act as the agency issuing the book coupons, but it will make available for the introduction of the Book Coupon Scheme a 'hard' currency reserve of $1000,000. Because of this limited amount, the number of countries participating in the experiment will be limited to only 5 or 6 countries.

9Ibid, p. 32.
During the experimental period, UNESCO will also accept payment from the distributing agencies for the book coupons in one of the three UNESCO currencies, French francs, pounds sterling, or United States dollars.

The way the Book Coupon Scheme will work may be summarized in five principal steps:

1. UNESCO issues Book Coupon to national distributing agency. No payment is made.

2. National distributing agency sells coupons to individual or institution for local currency.

3. National distributing agency transfers equivalent of local currency to UNESCO in either francs, sterling or dollars.

4. Individual purchaser of coupons uses them as a cheque to pay for books bought abroad.

5. Bookseller receiving coupons presents them to UNESCO and is paid in his national currency, minus discount to UNESCO for upkeep of scheme. 10

UNESCO's 1948 funds for education and reconstruction will provide the money for this free distribution, and it will make the final decision as to whether or not the project should be continued on a permanent basis.

6. National Exchange Centres. The proposal that National Exchange Centres be set up in the war-devastated areas to assist in the more adequate distribution of educational, scientific and cultural literature met with approval at the Second General Conference at Mexico City. Since that time two National Exchange Centres have been set up in the United States and the United Kingdom, and they have been able to

send large quantities of books to the war-damaged libraries throughout the world. TICER with the co-operation of UNESCO was able to create a French National Exchange Centre which has begun to operate, and it is hoped that other such centres will be set up in the future. UNESCO is of the opinion that there are other countries who have large quantities of books and periodicals which could be made available to war-devasted areas, if organizations for collection and distribution could be established. It must be borne in mind that these centres are not under the supervision of UNESCO, but UNESCO's Clearing House will co-operate with these establishments in all their endeavors.

UNESCO will assist these centres in negotiation for the reduction or elimination of import duties and in the reduction of transportation costs for books and for other materials. The forty Member States were asked to take the initial step in this direction by the reduction of tariffs and to co-operate in setting up their own Exchange Centres.

FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

The definition of the purpose of Fundamental Education proved to be no easy task. After a meeting of experts from 9 countries held at UNESCO House in April 1947, they were able to arrive at a tentative definition.

There had been a tendency, when the term 'Fundamental Education' was first coined, to regard it as no more and no less than a campaign
against illiteracy, but it soon became clear that the skills of reading and writing were only of value as a means to a wider end. This wider aim of Fundamental Education has now been defined — 'to help men and women to live fuller and happier lives in adjustment with their changing environment, to develop the best elements of their own culture, and to achieve the economic and social progress which will enable them to take their place in the modern world.' 'Fundamental Education should thus be designed to provide a first step to further education.'

In many regions of the globe, many communities are living at a bare subsistence level - underhoused, underfed, and underslothed. Their agriculture has not risen above that type of civilization which still continues to use the hand-hoe or wooden plow. If Fundamental Education can be applied to underprivileged groups to rid them of disease, to improve their agriculture, and to help people to live a fuller and more productive life, it will go far in making an important contribution to world discovery. In order to make such a program work, UNESCO has realized the importance of co-operating with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), two specialized agencies of the United Nations.

1. Pilot Projects. In order to test the practical application of Fundamental Education, UNESCO, at the invitation of the governments concerned, established, in 1947, three Pilot Projects in Haiti, China, and British East Africa (Nyasaland). In 1948, a fourth Pilot Project was established

in the Cuzco area of Peru, and the British East Africa Project was extended to include Tanganyika. A UNESCO consultant is assigned to work with a group of local experts in the practical application of new methods or ideas in Fundamental Education to communities typical of conditions in the regions involved.

The Haiti Pilot Project. The Haiti Pilot Project is concerned with a 50 square mile area of the Marbial Valley in southern Haiti, affecting 30,000 people of a rural and backward community. The purpose of the project is to try out the most advanced techniques of Fundamental Education, test new educational materials (improved text-books, visual and oral aids), and use education to raise social, economic and health levels. It plans to aid in the establishment of a Teacher Training Centre to train school teachers and adult and community education workers. UNESCO and the WHO are working together in sanitary engineering and in an effort to eliminate endemic diseases. In addition, it also works in cooperation with the FAO in running model farms, in stressing mountain-side cultivation, and in the rotation of crops.

The region is well suited for the experiment in Fundamental Education because of widespread illiteracy, over population, tropical diseases, primitive agriculture, and soil erosion. The population is eager for education and schooling.

The East African Project. This Pilot Project plans during the first three years to concentrate its efforts on the Mponela area in Nyasaland, a region of 100 square miles.
Later, the project is to be extended to cover a wider sphere because the scheme is planned for five years. This region is a typical African rural community with fertile land which grows all the food needed, including a money crop.

The purpose of the project is to raise the social, economic, and educational level of a representative African tribal community which relies on a predominately agricultural economy. Particular stress is being laid not only on a general raising of the standard of living but the rudiments of sound community planning, the quality of agriculture and animal husbandry, the encouragement of arts, crafts, and recreational activities without impairing the culture of this African community. Other features of the project include the establishment of a community library, museum, and art center, and a survey on the possibility of rural industrial development.

The British Government has launched a scheme for the mechanised production of groundnuts, and UNESCO has been requested to co-operate in its educational and welfare aspects. This program of Fundamental Education will be treated as a comparative experiment with the tribal development scheme.

Pilot Project in China. This project was begun in 1948 under the leadership of Dr. James Yen, the distinguished head of the Chinese Mass Education Movement. China in cooperating with UNESCO is trying out new methods in bringing a minimum of education to the people of China.
Pilot Project in Peru. The Second General Conference approved a new Pilot Project for 1948, and the area in which this project was to be carried out was to be decided by the executive Board. Upon the invitation of the Government of Peru, it was decided that the new project be carried out in the Cuzco area of Peru.

The significant progress in the Pilot Projects sponsored jointly by UNESCO and the governments concerned are bringing a basic education to under-privileged people in China, East Africa, Haiti, and Peru.

2. Clearing House in Fundamental Education. One of the most important functions of UNESCO is to keep workers in touch with the latest developments in other areas and to keep them informed with the most advanced technical advice and information all around the world. The next few months the main concern of the Clearing House in Fundamental Education is to collect data, list all fundamental educators in all Member States, and note all the work to be done in this field. The Clearing House is interested in technical development information not superficial or popular, which means that original sources have to be obtained wherever it is possible. It is hoped that by the end of the year that the Clearing House will be able to make available all that which has been collected.

3. Bulletin of Fundamental Education. UNESCO will publish in January, the first issue of a quarterly Bulletin of Fundamental Education. It will be given wide circulation in UNESCO's working languages with free rights of translation.
Mr. Lyman Bryson, Professor of Education at Columbia University and UNESCO's Chief Consultant to the Columbia Broadcasting Company on International Education has performed a great service in this field. Through his able leadership this organization has conducted a thorough investigation into the tension which have affected international understanding. In addition, he engineered an investigation regarding the types of institutions which militate against aggression, and the results that can be hoped for through these institutions.

UNESCO's activities which were undertaken in this field are as follows:

(1) an analysis of current methods in schools and colleges;
(2) a summer seminar for teachers...
(3) a study of materials and techniques for use in adult education classes;
(4) assistance to international relations clubs in schools, colleges, and youth organizations;
(5) examination of textbooks from the member states to reach a set of principles and a method of their textbooks and other teaching materials;
(6) a survey of the conditions under which the exchange of persons will aid understanding, in collaboration with the United Nations and other agencies;
(6) a survey of the conditions under which the exchange of persons will aid understanding, in collaboration with the United Nations and other agencies;
(7) a drive to secure fellowships, scholarships, and travel-grants for the exchange of teachers, students, and research workers;
(8) research into the possibilities of setting up international study centers with one or more of them under the direct supervision of UNESCO.

IV. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF THE HYLEAN AMAZON

None of the projects sponsored by UNESCO has attracted more attention than the International Institute of the Hylean Amazon (IIHA). It is a broad program of study on a large scale, and it is concerned with a region of great forests of untapped resources extending from the Andes Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Orinoque River to the Highlands of Brazil. It derives its name from the German explorer Humboldt who called it Hylea over 150 years ago. It embraces one-third of the continent of South America, and it involves 7 sovereign states and 3 European dependencies (the Guianas).

The Conference which established the International Institute of the Hylean Amazon Institute was convened by UNESCO and the Governments of Brazil and Peru at Iquitos, Peru, from April 30 to May 10, 1948. Its aims are to encourage and carry out scientific studies which are directed toward a greater knowledge and understanding of tropical nature and of man's relation thereto, and to co-operate in the practical development of the region. The scope of the program includes both the natural and social sciences, and the Hylean Amazon region offers unusual opportunities for research in these fields. Some of the projects outlined could be carried out immediately, others will take many years of patient toil.

The seat of the IIHA is located at Manaus, Brazil. The member states of the IIHA are to set up national bodies
to maintain relations between their respective governments and the Institute. In addition, they were expected to encourage the study and development of their own national sections in accordance with the integrated work program of the Institute for the whole region.

The Iquitos Conference also established an Interim Commission to function until the first session of the Council of the Institute which is expected to take place sometime during the first half of the coming year.

At the close of the current year, UNESCO will have concluded its role in bringing the International Institute of the Hylean Amazon into being, and since that role was one of preparation, it will conclude as soon as possible and practicable an agreement with UNESCO.

UNESCO’S CENTRAL SERVICES

I. UNESCO’S DOCUMENTARY LIBRARY

UNESCO's Documentary Library was established at the First General Conference at Paris, and it set to work immediately. There has been a steady increase in the volume of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other literature which has been received, catalogued, and loaned. A valuable collection of books received from the former Organization for Intellectual Cooperation under the terms of an agreement with the United Nations proved to be of tremendous importance. They were
donated to the Library when the League of Nations was dissolved. UNESCO, in return, has promised to deal with the requests for publications to the former Organization for Intellectual Cooperation, of which a goodly number still exists. This Library is gradually becoming known throughout the world not only for specialists on the UNESCO staff but for workers outside of the organization as well.

II. CENTRAL INFORMATION SERVICE

A Central Information Service was established in connection with the Documentation Library. When the several sections of UNESCO have completed work in one form or another, it is to be expected that they will hand over their records and conclusions willingly. Plans are being made for the co-ordination of all enquiries to UNESCO by Member States as well as other organizations to insure maximum uniformity, economy, and avoidance of duplication. UNESCO hopes to build up a word register of workers, institutions, and activities in the selected fields of education, science, and culture.

III. UNESCO'S STATISTICAL SERVICE

Article XI3 states that careful and detailed co-ordination between the Statistical Services of the UN and those of the Statistical Services be maintained. Plans

have been made to secure a statistician from UN to organize UNESCO's own Statistical Services in a manner both adequate to meet UNESCO's needs, and fully co-ordinated with the statistical work of the UN and of the other Specialized Agencies.

IV. OTHER UNESCO CENTRAL ACTIVITIES

A detailed plan has been drawn up for the co-ordination of this organization's work with Fellowships and Scholarships. In addition to this, another central service for the exchange of persons was set up in UNESCO House with a director.

At the request of the Economic and Security Council, UNESCO set up an internal committee to deal with the problem of translation of the classics, with a view to better understanding between cultures, and to provide a foundation for world culture.

A consultant on copyright together with a Committee of Experts was selected to draw up a plan for a world conference on the subject.

UNESCO'S EIGHT SUBJECT FIELDS

I. EDUCATION

1. Adult Education. An International Conference of Leaders in Adult Education sponsored by UNESCO will be held sometime during this year. By means of interviews and
and correspondence with leaders of the former World Association for Adult Education and the promoters of the International Federation of Workers Educational Associations, UNESCO has been able to collect invaluable information on Adult Education. All this material will be put to the greatest advantage in the preparation of the proposed International Conference of Leaders in Adult Education. The 1948 Conference is planned to bring to light all those opportunities of increasing international understanding through adult educational organizations for the promotion of peace.

Lists of books, experts, and educational materials as well as new methods in the Adult Education field has been collected by UNESCO and sent, on request, to governments.

2. Co-operation with International Voluntary Organizations. UNESCO has established co-operation with a large number of international organizations in the field of education, particularly with teachers' organizations. Members of UNESCO's staff has attended conferences of the most important of these organizations. Some of them are:

The International Student Service,
The International Federation of Secondary School Teachers,
The International Federation of Teachers' Associations,
The World Organization of the Teaching Profession,
The International Association of University Professors and Lecturers,

and other organizations prominent in this field. 14

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3. Co-operation with the International Bureau of Education. On February 18, 1947 UNESCO signed a formal agreement with the International Bureau of Education for a provisional period of one year. Close co-operation between the two Organizations in the field of educational survey and information has developed. The Joint Committee of the two Organizations planned the program and organization of the Tenth Annual Conference on Public Education held in Geneva in 1947. The Executive Board recommended to the Second General Conference that the provisional period be prolonged for a further period of 12 months, and the recommendation was approved. Again, as in 1947, both Organizations planned the program and organization of the Eleventh Annual Conference on Public Education which was held in Geneva last June. Through the common planning of educational activities common to both Organizations, UNESCO has been able to benefit from the experience of the International Bureau of Education through 25 years of valuable service.

4. Educational Seminars.

1. Seminar in Sevres, France. The educational seminar held in Sevres, France brought nearly 100 educational leaders from countries all over the world. Having few precedents to guide its work, it succeeded in going a long way towards making education a constructive force for international understanding. Its members carried back to their educational colleagues new ideas which proved to be helpful to educa-
tional committees who were formulating educational policies. It directed its attention on two things: (1) ways and means of developing world-mindedness in the educational systems of the Member States; and (2) the effect on the growth and adjustment of adolescents as a result of the influences in cultural environment of various countries.

It is interesting to note some of the results of the Seminar. One of the results of the study on curriculum improvement was a revision of the Social Studies in Wales. It was brought about by interest stimulated by the Wales participant who was appointed chairman of the revision committee in that country. Sweden, influenced by her seminar participant, appointed a committee on curriculum reform for the elementary schools. Then, the "Radiodiffusion Francaise" scheduled a weekly broadcast entitled, *Children of Other Lands*. The scripts used for this activity were prepared and sometimes recorded by children of other lands. The publication of material from the Seminar made for every national area represented at Sevres. There were a large number of requests for speaking engagements by educational and civic organizations for people who participated. All these resulted in curricula revision and improvement of methods in education. The members found it impossible to study in detail certain related problems, and UNESCO decided to study 4 of them at seminars to be held in London, Lake Success, Prague, and Caracas.
2. Seminar in London. UNESCO's Seminar in Teacher Education was held at Ashbridge Park, within 30 miles of London, from July through August 25. The educators who attended were asked to bring an account on the training of teachers in their respective countries. UNESCO outlined, in advance, the points to be included in each résumé. It covered information on the institutions devoted to the training of teachers, including the requirements for admission of teachers in the different types of schools. It also directed its attention to problems related to education for better international understanding and to those factors affecting favorably or unfavorably the prospects of improving teacher training.

3. Seminar in Garden City. Teaching about the United Nations and its Special Agencies was the purpose of the Seminar conducted at Adelphi College, Garden City, New York. It was devoted to materials for instructing children up to 18 years of age about the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. Each member who attended was asked to bring some particular project to be developed in the work shop. Discussions regarding the best methods of presenting the United Nations system to children at the different age levels were carried on with some degrees of success.

4. Seminar in Prague. The purpose of this Seminar was to study certain aspects on childhood education. It directed its attention to the study of how attitudes can be formed, what experiences can be provided, and what skills can be
developed to educate children for a world society. In addition, the education of deficient children (physical, mental, and social deficiencies), the problem of juvenile delinquency, the psychological effects of the war on children, and the special difficulties facing teachers in the education of these children were discussed.

5. Seminar in Caracas. In co-operation with the Pan American Union, UNESCO sponsored a seminar to study the educational problems in South America. These educators are especially interested in child delinquency and its relation to school attendance. Then, too, since the war, many projects for educational reform have taken root, and this is an opportunity to discuss their educational value from a comparative point of view.

Each of these seminars played an important role in UNESCO's program in that they aim at raising the general level of education in the Member States, and at strengthening the concept of a world society among the youth of all countries.

II. LIBRARIES

1. Reconstruction of Libraries. The public library services of UNESCO has occupied an high place in the reconstruction of war-devasted countries. During 1947 much of the work in the Libraries Field was devoted to a survey on public library needs which were brought about by the war. Under the leadership of Mr. Emerson Greenway, Librarian of
the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, and consultant on the Libraries staff for two months, the whole of UNESCO's 1000 volumes of medical books and periodicals have been distributed through UNESCO during the months of January, February, and March of 1948. Fifteen libraries were the beneficiaries of publications solicited through the UNESCO Clearing House. The literature was donated by the Army Medical Library of Washington and the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine Library, Nashville, Tennessee. The Book Coupon Scheme and the National Exchange Centers have performed an invaluable aid in the purchase and equitable distribution of foreign books. 15

2. Aid to Historical Italian Libraries. Four historical Italian libraries closed and emptied during the war are being restored by assistance from UNESCO. They are the Biblioteca Hertziana, the former German Archaeological Institute in Rome, and the former German Art-Historical Institute Library in Florence. The International Union of Institutes of Archaeology, History, and History of Art (Rome) is the responsible authority and the Italian Government has provided facilities for the work. Arrangements to proceed with the work were made with the Allied Control Authorities because these libraries had been German property before the war.

15 Cf. ante, pp. 94-96.
3. *Education for Librarians*. Ever since the beginning of World War II, librarians in all countries have been isolated from their colleagues in other countries, and they have been unable to benefit from the experiences of others. A program is being worked out for the exchange of librarians and travel grants. In September of 1948, UNESCO sponsored a summer school for librarians to study the role of public libraries and to develop means of furthering international understanding through such institutions. It was sponsored by the International Federation of Library Associations and the professional library groups in the United Kingdom. Prominent librarians from 21 countries were represented at the summer school. Student librarians who attended heard the lectures and took part in the discussions. In addition, they visited libraries and exhibitions of equipment, and they were shown documentary films. On September 20, the summer school was transferred from Manchester to London in order that the students, during the last week of the session, might be able to take part in the second post-war meeting of the International Committee of the International Federation of Library Associations.

4. *International Library Pool*. Ever since 1939, periodicals have not been able to get exact information regarding the literary scene in other countries because editors were at a loss to know where to find articles or how to contact writers. The need has long been felt for some kind of system of assistance by which a literary review in some area or
country enjoy the possibility of publishing articles by
writers in other countries. During 1947 the Secretariat
conducted preliminary enquiries as to how this project could
be accomplished and how a pool might best serve its purpose.
It soon became evident that such a pool was necessary, and
requests for information and articles were received from
sources in many different parts of the world. UNESCO was
able to serve as a liaison in providing a means for the
establishment of contacts when and where it is difficult to
obtain information which, in the long run, will contribute
to mutual understanding between nations and cultures.

5. *Documentary Reproduction*. A small equipment of
microfilm reading equipment has been set up in UNESCO House.
It is expected that as more room becomes available the exhibi-
tion will be built up as the nucleus of a documentary reproduc-
tion information centre. An informal agreement has been
reached with the Director of Libraries of the Massachusetts
Institute of Technology, by which the Institute's Library and
Laboratories will undertake specific research and experimental
work in the development of documentary reproduction in co-
operation with UNESCO. A scheme is being launched for the
supply of film-strip projectors to schools in war-devastated
countries, as an experimental demonstration of international
coopperation in the use of visual aids and the use of films
for the projection of text-books. This scheme is being con-
ducted with the co-operation of the Council for Education
in World Citizenship of Great Britain.

III. NATURAL SCIENCES

1. Role in Scientific Research. There has been considerable misunderstanding regarding the role of UNESCO in scientific research, and it would be of help to point out the aim of the Organization in regard to the matter. The Constitution of UNESCO defines its role as follows:

...the Organization will maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge;

by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions;

by encouraging cooperation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science, and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information;

by initiating methods of international cooperation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.16

In order to fulfill these aims in the field of the Natural Sciences, UNESCO has developed two methods:

(1) Grants-in-aid. A grant-in-aid is money given to a non-governmental or international organization to carry out a general programme of scientific research in line with UNESCO's objectives.

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(2) Contracts. By this method UNESCO makes payment to an educational, scientific, or cultural organization for the execution of a program at UNESCO's expense. Contracts may be concluded with non-governmental organizations which have been granted consultative status. Thus, it can be readily understood that only under exceptional circumstances can UNESCO's funds be donated.

2. Field Science Co-operation Offices. In 1946 the Preparatory Commission proposed the setting up of a system of Field Science Co-operation Offices to maintain a more effective contact between scientists and technologists in parts of the world which are remote from the main centers of research and from their colleagues as well. This proposal was endorsed by both the First and Second General Conferences, and three such offices were set up in 1947 as follows:

1. Latin America with headquarters at Rio de Janeiro,
2. Middle East with headquarters at Cairo, and
3. Far East with headquarters at Nanking.

The Office in Latin America will be closely co-ordinated with the Nylean Amazon Institute. The Middle East Office has been very successful in that it has been of service to scientists in that area including Alexandria, Cairo, Teheran, and Baghdad. The Far East Office has taken over UNRRA's engineering education program in China which, incidentally, is involved in the supervision of $2,000,000 worth of engineering equipment. The sum has been made available through the generos-
ity of the United States. This Far East Office also serves the Philippines. The South Africa Office is designed to serve Burma, Thailand, and Indonesia. A fourth field Science Co-operation Office was established in South Asia (India) in April of the current year.

In establishing these institutions it may be said that they serve as a connecting link in supplying information required by the laboratories and research workers in the scientific field all over the world.

3. **International Scientific Organizations.** Ever since the latter part of the 19th century a net-work of non-governmental international organizations has been developed. It is known as an International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), and it federates a number of international bodies concerned with different fields of science. It has succeeded in uniting scientists and educators all over the world, and they have contributed to the advancement of knowledge and to the mutual understanding of peoples as well. These organizations have, in the past, contributed much toward the achievement of UNESCO's major objectives, and, in order that these activities might be able to continue with their work, UNESCO has given them financial support in the form of grants-in-aid.

Under the terms of a formal agreement signed with the ICSU, UNESCO made numerous grants-in-aid through this body with the result that

... special conferences have been held, younger
scientists have been able to travel to international meetings (and there often to take part in framing the adopting resolutions on the role of science in maintaining peace), international scientific laboratories have been helped to recover their footing, and international stock-rooms and collections have been established, in all these ways facilitating that increase of knowledge and international co-operation in intellectual activity and promotion of which is especially enjoined on us by our Charter.17

The total amount of money which has, in agreement with UNESCO, been shared out by the International Council of Scientific Unions (ISCU) amounted to $231,319. The main types of activities which have been promoted by these funds are as follows:

(1) Grants to international scientific conferences and symposia
   (a) transportation expenses
   (b) publication and correspondence expenses
Examples: International Commission on Optics (Prague)
           International Congress of Cell Biology (Stockholm)

(2) Travel Grants
Example: to a Chilean biologist to collaborate with a French marine biological laboratory

(3) Publication Grants
Example: the bulletin of the International Union of Scientific Radio (world ionosphere network)

(4) Aid to International Bureaus, collections, and stock-rooms
Examples: International Commission of Zoological Nomenclature
           International Bureau of Isostatic Reductions (movements of the earth's crust)

International Centre of Type-Culture Collections (preparation of a world catalogue) of strains of micro-organisms maintained and available to scientists in all countries) 
International Bureau of Physico-Chemical Standards (Brussels) 
(stock-room of pure substances not commercially available)

(5) Aid to International Laboratories
Example: International Zoological Station (Naples)

These grants permitted the undertaking of no less than 143 separate projects in 1947. The travel of some 500 scientists on international work from nearly every country in the world was brought about; 61 important scientific meetings were made possible, and 79 publications, some serial, were assisted. The approximate distribution between science was as follows: General Science 18%, Physics, Astronomy and the Earth Sciences 30%, and the Biological Science 39%.

UNESCO, in practically every case, is supporting the international pooling of known data for the welfare of humanity, but it is not undertaking basic research itself.

IV. SOCIAL SCIENCES

1. Tensions Affecting International Understanding.

After a meeting of the Executive Board last April, a project on the Tensions Affecting International Understanding was initiated. Shortly afterward a Preliminary Outline of the project was proposed for strengthening the spirit of tolerance among nations, and it formed the basis of the study for the proposed project. By the end of June, UNESCO brought to Paris eight prominent social scientists to consider the causes of national aggression and the conditions necessary for interna-
tional understanding. They agreed to the following items

1. War is not necessary. This group of experts in social science are convinced that there is no evidence to indicate that wars are necessary. They pointed out that there are vital needs common to all men, and they must be fulfilled in order to maintain peace.

...men everywhere want to be free from hunger and disease, from insecurity and fear; men everywhere want fellowship and the respect of their fellowmen; the chance for personal growth and development.19

2. The problem of peace is none other than that of keeping down aggressions and of directing them into channels that are socially and personally constructive so that man will no longer exploit man.

3. In order to avoid aggressions that lead to war, man-kind must plan the use of modern productive power and resources so that there will be maximum social justice. Insecurities and economic inequalities which create group and national conflicts are the source of tensions which have wrongly led one group to see another group a menace.

4. Modern wars are fostered by many myths, traditions, and symbols of national pride handed down from generation to generation.

5. Parents and teachers find it difficult to recognize the extent to which their own loyalties and attitudes acquired

at an early age and at a time when conditions were so different are no longer adequate to serve as a guide in a modern rapidly changing world. Education must do everything it can to destroy national self-righteousness and to bring about a more critical analysis of our own lives as well as other forms of social life.

6. The development of modern means of swift communication which should be an asset to world solidarity increases the danger that distorted truth will reach a great many people who are in no position to distinguish the true from the false. Mass communication should prove to be a factor in keeping the peace by encouraging an adequate understanding of people in other countries.

7. The social scientists have come to the conclusion that they know of no evidence which proves that one ethnic group is inherently inferior to that of another. Neither colonial exploitation nor oppression of minorities within a nation is, in the long run, compatible with world peace.

8. Social scientists are still separated by national, ideological and class differences which makes it difficult for them to resist the emergence of pseudo-scientific theories which have been exploited by political leaders for their own ends.

9. Social scientists are unable to arrive at an objective point of view when economic or political forces are
brought to bear upon the investigator and induce him to accept narrow, partisan views. Because of this, there exists a need for a concentrated, financed, international research and educational program.

10. The eight social scientists experts recommended the creation of an international university and a series of world institutes of the social science under international control. They believe that international scientific fact-finding studies could contribute useful information concerning the cultures of all nations and bring to light those tensions which lead us into war.

11. The scientists who have worked in the development of the atomic and biological warfare are not personally responsible for this great human curse. A constructive use of these scientific developments will improve when mankind takes upon itself the responsibility for understanding the forces which work upon society both from within and from without.

12. The boundaries between the sciences are beginning to break down because of the common challenge confronting them. This being true, the social scientists can help make clear to the people of all nations that the welfare of one depends upon the welfare of all and that the world can be a place where men should be able to live out their lives in peace.

2. International Manuals in Science. International
manuals in the Social Sciences have been investigated, and draft outlines have been prepared. Many international experts were consulted regarding the practicability and value of factual text-books of this kind in general economics, economics of world trade, food and agriculture, and international organization. The finding of these experts will be placed before the Third General Conference for approval.

V. PHILOSOPHY AND HUMANISTIC STUDIES

At the First Session of the General Conference and at subsequent meetings and inquiry into the origins of Human Rights was incorporated into the programme of UNESCO. In order to accomplish this task, it was decided to ask philosophers throughout the world their opinion regarding Human Rights and their development during the last century, and what, in their opinion, were the forces threatening those rights.

At the same time, the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations was at work drafting a universal bill of Human Rights. The delegates to UNESCO's First General Conference recognized the fact that any project on Human Rights must necessarily be carried on in relation to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

At the meeting of the Economic and Security Council of the United Nations in January 1947, UNESCO representatives made it officially known that the Specialized Agency wanted to assist in the project. Both organizations came to the same
conclusion - that an international inquiry among thinkers and philosophers was necessary in order to find out just what agreement there was on the question, and to present the information thus obtained to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations for their consideration in the preparation of the Bill of Human Rights. This was done and the replies represented nearly all the world's national groups and nearly all ideological approaches.

In July 1947, a UNESCO committee representing all faiths and opinions met to study the information obtained, and they prepared a manuscript for publication. It is expected that it will be published some time this year in English, French, and Spanish. It will be published in other languages at some later date.

The drawing up of an International Bill of Rights is one of the most difficult tasks which the United Nations has encountered. The chief stumbling block is the existence of many schools of thought. The French philosopher Maritain maintains that agreement is possible if it is given a pragmatic rather than theoretical approach to make practical conclusions acceptable to all parties as points of convergence in practice, however opposed the theoretic view points.

In dealing with the Human Rights from the point of view of the philosopher he has the following to say:

... 'Men, he says, are today divided ... into two antagonistic groups: those who, to
a greater or lesser extent, explicitly reject Natural Law as the basis of those rights.

Such an ideological contrast is irreducible and no theoretical reconciliation is possible, but if we follow a practical viewpoint, we have before us an entirely different picture, where no theoretical simplification is any more in question; then not only is agreement possible between the members of opposing philosophic schools, but it must be said plainly that the operative factors are... less the schools of philosophy than currents of thoughts..."20

2. **International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.** A 4-day conference at UNESCO House in Paris has been planned in September to study the setting up of an International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies similar to that of the International Council of Scientific Unions.

3. **Translation of the Classics.** At the request of the Economic and Security Council UNESCO set up an inter-secretarial Translation Bureau which is concerned with

A. translation of the Classics (scientific and philosophical as well as literary)

B. translation of contemporary literary works.21

UNESCO’s Translation unit is seriously considering the re-establishment of the Index Translation previously published by the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation.

20*UNESCO Courier*, (September, 1948) p. 3, Columns 4-5.

1. Reproduction Techniques.

Music. About 20 years ago the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation recognized that music, a form of human expression, could make a substantial contribution to international understanding. In order to preserve the original interpretation of composers, it proposed the recording of music through the field of Arts and Letters, UNESCO has taken up the work where the ICC left off. It is developing a project for a world catalogue of recorded music.

This project originated at the First General Conference, and the Director General was instructed to survey the techniques and methods of reproduction in music. This survey reported before the Second General Conference that the techniques of music reproduction have been highly developed, and UNESCO's assistance was needed in making available recorded music to the peoples of the world. The Director General was instructed to prepare a catalogue of world music, listing music available in recorded form and music which should be recorded to supplement existing material.

In July of this year, a Committee of Experts met at UNESCO House to work out methods to be adopted for collecting information for the proposed catalogue. The National Commissions and other international musical organizations will be asked to assist in the preparation of the proposed catalogue. At the same time preliminary investigations will be made into the
advocacy of establishing an International Music Institute, and a report will be submitted to the Third General Conference.

Painting. The aim of the Arts and Letters Programme in this subject is to compile a detailed catalogue of those paintings which have been reproduced in color, together with recommendations for additional reproductions.

The arts with which this subject field has marked for attention in 1948 are: Prehistoric Art, Persian Art, Art of the Italian Renaissance, and the development of European paintings between 1870 and 1940.


The idea of an International Theatre Institute (ITI) first took tangible form in 1946. The First General Conference at Paris approved the resolution calling for an international meeting of theatre experts for the purpose of creating an International Theatre Institute.

The First Congress of International Theatre Institute was held in Prague, in June, 1946. It was the culmination of two years of active guidance under J. B. Priestly, noted British playwright. At this Congress, Mr. Priestly pointed out that any international organization which crossed national frontiers was at least one thread in the fabric of a world society. He also pointed out that the effort to link theatres together in order that people might enjoy the world's best dramas, showed a movement towards international undertaking. Further-
more, he drew attention to the fact that the particular na-
ture of the theatre demands deal with human beings intimately.

In this way people will become acquainted with the way
in which other people live and feel and think.

VII. MUSEUMS

1. Permanent Service to Museums.

In many war-torn countries museums were completely des-
troyed, and UNESCO plans to take an active part in their
reconstruction. It is concerned with a permanent service
which hopes to make arrangements, for people who are connec-
ted with museums, to visit museums in other countries and to
exchange ideas and experiences with museum experts in those
countries. This permanent service also plans to supply, on
request, information on modern museum practice. The establish-
ment of professional contacts by direct consultation which
individuals and institution, by indirect means through the
International Council of Museums, and by extensive correspond-
ence with individuals and institutions throughout the world,
UNESCO is becoming an active international center of infor-
mation and advice on all museum matters.

2. International Conference on Museums.

The International Council of Museums was formed in Paris
in 1946. It serves as a permanent body of experts for the
United Nations Specialized Agency, and it sponsored the First
International Conference on Museums in the same city in July
1948. It was the first international museum conference ever held, and more than 100 delegates from all parts of the world attended. It is expected that the Conference will exert considerable influence in the development of educational value of museums and in the advancement of techniques in teaching with objects.

VIII. MASS COMMUNICATIONS

1. International Ideas Bureau.

At the end of World II, the war devastated countries were faced with the problem of rehabilitating their press. Competent journalists had been diminished through enemy purges or suppression. All normal contact with the rest of the world had been interrupted for years. As a result of all this, the problem of how to train more journalists and to safeguard professional standards was forced not only upon professionals but upon certain responsible sections of the public as well.

At the Second Session of the Unesco General Conference (Mexico City, November - December - 1947), the following resolutions were passed in plenary meeting:

"Positive Action... The Director-General is instructed to create at once within the framework of the organization a production unit based on an International Ideas Bureau, capable of initiating and influencing production on Unesco subjects in press, film and radio..."[22]

The Divisions Program in accomplishing these objectives has drawn up its first practical program which is necessarily experimental and subject to revision. It is guided by four

main themes:

(1) Peace and human progress depend upon the free flow of ideas and information;

(2) Peace and human progress are produced and maintained by international co-operation;

(3) Peace and human progress require that each generation exert its best efforts in educating the next generation;

(4) Peace and human progress - and human survival itself - are challenges to the goodwill, courage and energy of every human being. 23


1. Calendar of World Affairs. This publication would include an almanac of centenaries, jubilees, discoveries or occurrences throughout the world which have made some contribution to the advance of civilization and to the understanding between the peoples. The first issue of the Calendar is planned for 1949.

2. The Masters Meet. The object of this project is to prepare a radio series to be made available to various national broadcasting organizations. Unesco, through its national commissions, will request prominent personalities in each country to write a few pages on the work of one of their foreign colleagues.

3. Dividing the Stars. The aim of this project is to reveal how modern astronomy is an outstanding example of intelligently planned scientific cooperation on an interna-
tional basis. The film would be used to illustrate how astronomers have apportioned special tasks and how the results were pooled among themselves.

4. The Lost Echoes. This project is an international radio feature aimed to counteract cultural isolation. It plans to bring to each country the most representative literature of their neighbors and to foster international appreciation of the arts and letters, and thus promote an understanding between peoples.

5. Hopes of Tomorrow. This project is a radio and press series on current activities in science and other fields which seem to give the promise of hope to the future solutions of human problems of the present. In the field science, for example, it would stress how atomic energy could be developed for industrial use, the prolongation of human life, the treatment of mental diseases, the development of alternative sources of energy to replace exhaustible resources, etc.

3. International Institute of Press and Information. Unesco has planned for the creation of an International Institute of Press and Information which, it is hoped, will co-ordinate on an international and non-political basis, the numerous activities which will bring about the gradual improvement in the technique and practice of journalism throughout the world. The need for such an institute was recognized at an early stage, and in August, 1947, a resolution by the
UNESCO Commission on Technical Needs in Press, Radio and Film was placed before the General Conference at Mexico City. It was approved, and a sum of $25,000 was set aside to aid in its creation. Once established, the Institute would be an entirely non-governmental, autonomous body with its own administrative organization. UNESCO would provide a small subsidy, but it is intended that the Institute will soon be on a basis of financial independence.

The main purposes of the Institute are:

1. to clarify and intensify among the public and professional group, the knowledge of the power and responsibilities of the press in a modern world,

2. to act as an international center of active research and study on technical and professional problems covering all aspects of the field of press and information,

3. to act as a place for the exchange of ideas,

4. to act as international pools of thought and experience in the fields of press and information,

5. to assist schools of journalism everywhere, and to maintain high standards of the journalistic profession,

6. to undertake the publication of specialist literature and periodicals,

7. to organize seminar sessions, meetings of experts, and various courses for the exchange of scholars.24

Now that UNESCO has taken the initial step in working out a plan for an International Institute of Press and Information, it is up to the responsible factors in all countries to do its share in helping to create the Institute which is of paramount importance.

In conclusion, UNESCO has pointed out time and time again, that there must be a reasonable balance between the different subject fields. There must be no over-emphasis of any one subject in the program of UNESCO - of natural sciences against the social sciences, or of mass media as against the more academic activities. Then, there must be no over-emphasis of particular aspects of any one subject, such as formal education against adult education, or music against the visual arts, but co-ordinated into a single unified program.

UNESCO, through its Public Information Service, is working on a well thought out plan to gain the interest and the support of the peoples of the world in practically every project, including those mentioned in the preceding pages.
UNESCO AND PUBLIC OPINION

A report published by the National Opinion Research Center, based on a survey of public opinion in the United States between April 28 and May 10, 1947, gives a description of opinion regarding various activities of UNESCO. The report shows that a majority of the public would have the United States co-operate with UNESCO in each of the following types of activities: educational rehabilitation and reconstruction, world-wide broadcasting, textbook revision, international exchange of persons, and exchange of art and museum exhibits, books, and magazines. In studying the acceptance of these five projects, the National Opinion Research Center asked two different questions of respondents, who were given a card which listed the five projects mentioned above in the following order:

"It has been suggested that each country in the United Nations put some money to do the things on this card. Do you think the United States should put up money to do any of these things?" "Are there any of these things that you think we should NOT put up money for?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should</th>
<th>Should not</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. &quot;To help rebuild schools and colleges destroyed in the war&quot;? .......... 66%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. &quot;To look over the school books used in all countries to see that they don't build up misunderstanding among countries? 64%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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3. "To help all countries exchange with each other such things as books, magazines, art, and museum exhibits? Should | Should Not | Undecided
| 58% | 25% | 17% |

4. "To send teachers and workers to foreign countries on an exchange arrangement in which other countries would send their teachers and workers here? Should | Should Not | Undecided
| 61% | 23% | 11% |

5. "To help pay for a United Nations broad-casting station that would send radio programs to all countries, telling the people what's going on in the world?" Should | Should Not | Undecided
| 67% | 23% | 10% |

Those who said that the United States should help do two or more of the projects were asked another question involving financial support which would eventually be borne by the taxpayers. A majority of 61% of the public as a whole indicated their approval to the following question:

"Do you think the United States should help the United Nations do this, even if it meant that our government couldn't lower the income taxes people are now paying?" United States should still help - 61%
Should not help - 13%
Undecided - 5%
In favor of none or only one of proposed projects - 21%

From a combination of the results on the above question and the answers to the five specific projects previously

26 Ibid., p. 22
27 Ibid., p. 24
mentioned, people were grouped on a five-point scale of approval-opposition toward the UNESCO program in the following order:

- **High support** - those who said that the United States should do all five of the projects, and answered "yes" to the intensity question. ........ 28%

- **Considerable support** - those who said the United States should do two, three, or four of the projects, and answered "yes" to the intensity question. ............... 31%

- **Qualified support** - those who said the United States should do two, three, four or five of the projects but answered "no" to the intensity question. ............. 13%

- **Slight support** - those who said the United States should do only one of the projects. (These were not asked the intensity question.) ........................................... 9%

- **Opposition** - those who said the United States should not do any of the projects. ......................... 9%

- **Undecided** - those who answered "Don't know" to either of the questions. ................................. 9%

These questions asked the general public how the programme of UNESCO has the support of the majority of people in this country.

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28 **Loc. cit.**
CONCLUSION

The Charter of the United Nations provides that peace shall be maintained, if need be, by the application of force, and that would be the only case in which force would have a legitimate use. The risk that the United Nations may be compelled to resort to the use of force, will diminish in accordance with their desire not to shirk from it. In order to spread abroad the spirit of peace, it is necessary to teach the nations that peace must be defended at the peril of their peace, and at the peril of their lives.

...the spirit of peace is not a spirit of relinquishment or a spirit of cowardice, but a spirit of courage and of firm resolve and when necessary a spirit of sacrifice. 29

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, is a specialized agency of the United Nations, aims to clear the channels through which knowledge may pass from nation to nation. It was created not so much to give specialized knowledge but to put knowledge to work in order to establish a different kind of relationship between men and nations so that they will understand each other's way of living, each other's way of thinking, and each other's history, in other words, a different way of assessing the value of all human activity.

This new organization maintains that the real choice is between isolation and international co-operation, between a new world and no world at all, between building with what we already

29"the defenses of peace," Part II, op., cit. p. 43
have and being destroyed by what we have, for it is doubtful that our civilization could survive another war. Ever since its creation, one of UNESCO's principal objectives has been to demonstrate to the nations that they do not exist in isolation and the insecurity of one nation threatens the insecurity of other nations.

Scientific progress, even when it came to the place where it was serving to give victory to the peoples who were fighting for a more humane and democratic world, discovered the most devastating and dangerous weapons of warfare which, had they been available to the enemy, would have brought complete annihilation. This leads to only one conclusion - that new wars must be avoided, and that peace must be organized, if peoples of the world wish to live out their lives in peace. This conclusion leads to another - that the use of international force is necessary in controlling future aggression, and that something can be done to prevent war by applying the principle of international co-operation, education and mutual understanding.

It is for this reason that UNESCO was created. It strives for a reconstruction of the spiritual basis of humanity, and new ideals capable of commanding the support of all races and creeds. It seeks to bring the cultures of the West into contact with the cultures of the East, and to bring together all the peoples of the world in one great community without destroying their individuality.
One of the most hopeful signs that UNESCO will succeed is that more people than ever before favor international cooperation in the cause of peace, and they are aware as to the urgency of those problems which UNESCO was created to solve.

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Our earth is but a small star in the great universe. Yet of it we can make, if we choose, a planet unvexed by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race, color, or theory. Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task today that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man. 30

30 Stephen Vincent Benet, (Section of a prayer read by President Roosevelt at the United States Day Ceremony, White House, June 15, 1942).
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