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Transaction No. 13

UNESCO AND WORLD UNITY AND PEACE

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*Its Relation to a Sound National Economy.**

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THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF CULTURE

TRANSACTIONS

Many valuable lectures are given, papers read and discussed, and oral reviews of outstanding books presented, at the Indian Institute of Culture. Its day is still one of small beginnings, but wider dissemination of at least a few of these addresses and papers is obviously in the interest of the better intercultural understanding so important for world peace. Some of these are published in the Institute's monthly organ, *The Aryan Path*] then we have two series of occasional papers—Reprints from that journal, and Transactions. The Institute is not responsible for views expressed and does not necessarily concur in them.

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The Indian Institute of Culture was inaugurated in August, several months before the London Conference of November 1945 at which the Constitution of Unesco was drawn up. This Institute is attempting, in its very much smaller sphere of influence, what Unesco is trying to do on a world scale. It has given its best co-operation to Unesco's effort and has received excellent co-operation from several Departments of Unesco at Paris.

The Indian Institute of Culture has welcomed to its platform several distinguished representatives of Unesco and has been in correspondence with many more. Dr. Torres Bodet himself, Unesco's able and idealistic Director- General, wrote expressing particular appreciation of the importance given in the Institute's programme to questions related to Unesco's work and aims. The Institute has been the subject of two publicity articles in *Unesco Features*, for June 29th and December 28th, 1951.

The efforts of the Indian Institute of Culture are directed to substituting friendliness and co-operation between peoples for the present wide-spread mutual suspicion and self-interest. These efforts rest on recognition of the nobler side of human nature to which effective appeal can be made on the basis of common cultural values and of shared ideals.

In a world torn by ideological conflict, attempts to promote economic and political co-operation must be paralleled if not preceded by non-partisan efforts to bring about unity on a plane above the clash of material interests. Better acquaintance with each other's culture and folkways, difficulties and achievements, along with wider currency for universal ethics and the great thoughts of great men of every nation may succeed in bringing conviction of the essential unity of the human family. The Institute is committed to the constructive approach, convinced that efforts to promote good feeling will bear better fruit than analyzing ill-will, which may only strengthen it.

In this Transaction, Dr. Eleanor M. Hough presents the history and achievements of Unesco and the hope which it encourages for unity and lasting peace. It is a companion to her earlier study "The Concept of the United Nations: A Philosophical Analysis," published as our Transaction No. 9.

UNESCO AND WORLD UNITY AND PEACE

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization plays a role second in importance to none among the parts assigned to the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. M. Henri Bonnet, Ambassador of France at Washington, was right when he called it "the Spearhead of the United Nations." No less significant was the statement of Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet in his Inaugural Address as Director-General of Unesco, when he succeeded Dr. Julian Huxley in that office in 1948, that "The United Nations are the body politic of a new world, and Unesco is its conscience."

The United Nations Charter, signed at San Francisco on June 26th, 1945, included among its objectives, enumerated in Article I:—

To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and

To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 55 of the United Nations Charter provides even more specifically for the promotion of "international cultural and educational co-operation," and Article 57, for "bringing into relationship with the United Nations the various specialized agencies in the economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields."

The San Francisco Conference also adopted a Resolution for a Conference to be summoned to lay the foundations for an international, organization on a wider basis than the old conception of intellectual co-operation. This obviously referred to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which in 1926 had succeeded the League of Nations' International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, formed five years previously. That Institute, though it had done admirable work and was still functioning during the Second World War, did not approach in breadth of aims and functions the scope of Unesco's ideals and activities, for which it had helped to pave the way.

Among the other forerunners of Unesco may be mentioned the International Bureau of Education, organized in 1925 by a group of progressive educationists at Geneva and made an intergovernmental institution in 1929, and the Council of Allied Ministers meeting in London during the years 1942 to 1944, at the sessions of which the dream of such a body as Unesco began to take shape.

The Constitution of Unesco was drawn up at a Conference in London from the 1st to the 16th of November 1945 and the Organization came formally into being on April 4th, 1946, when instruments of acceptance had been deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom by 20 signatories of the Constitution. (By 1952 Unesco had more than 60 Member States.)

The Preamble and Article 1 of the Unesco Constitution admirably define its ideals and its scope. The Preamble reads as follows:—

The Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare,

that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the 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 differences have all too often broken into war;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races ;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these reasons, the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the relation of Unesco to world unity and peace, let us complete the picture with the succinct statement of the purposes and functions of Unesco as broadly outlined in Article I of its Constitution :—

1. The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

2. To realize this purpose the Organization will:

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

(b) give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture; by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities;

by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social;

by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom ;

(c) maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge;

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

by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information ;

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

. It is apparent from this statement that the potential field of Unesco's interest and service is bounded only by the range of humanity's needs, moral, mental, and even physical, interlinked as man's emotional nature and his mind are with his body. All its efforts are directed to promoting the broad ends of unity and peace. The chronicling of all its activities would take too much space, but the principal lines of effort may be broadly grouped into those predominantly concerned with the mental, the moral and the physical aspects of man.

The first category is much the largest. It relates primarily to educational and scientific collaboration and advance. The educational effort includes the major project of establishing a network of international fundamental education centres throughout the world, the first of which was opened at Patzcuaro, Mexico, in May 1951, to train specialized teachers who can pass on their skills to other teachers, and to give to the people of underdeveloped areas not only education in the fundamentals of daily living but also the incentive to improve their lot.

This first category includes also the combating of illiteracy at the primary school level, directing attention, in the world campaign for free and compulsory education, primarily to South-East Asia in 1952. Unesco arranges seminars in collaboration with other organizations for the consideration of special problems in adult and child education, concentrating on methods of teaching to promote the international outlook and to foster international understanding. This effort naturally includes solving the important problem of how best to put across to the peoples of the world the idea of the United Nations and Unesco as the champions of justice, mutual understanding and peace, in connection with which a South-East Asia Teachers' Seminar on Teaching on the United Nations in Schools was held in India at the end of November 1951.

Unesco has also Pilot Projects on an experimental basis for evolving educational techniques, and has assisted in the education of Germany and Japan in democratic principles. It also collaborates in interregional conferences for better mutual understanding, like the Round Table Conference of leading philosophers of different parts of the world which was held in India in December 1951 to consider "The Concept of Man and the Philosophy of Education in East and West." The Indian Institute of Culture sent a paper on this subject which was discussed at that Conference and later published in the Institute's organ, *The Aryan Path* and as its Reprint No. 8.

A very important undertaking in the intellectual category is the production of a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, which will bear witness to the fundamental unity of mankind in the conquest of knowledge and in the arts. The International Commission includes over 50 members from 25 countries, who are collaborating in this project. The History will take several years to complete, but it may be hoped that a fully objective and dependable picture will emerge, giving the moral and spiritual factors their due weight and also according full appreciation to the contribution to science and culture made by all parts of the world. It should correct the myopia of Western savants, so many of whom, unable to see beyond Greece, have withheld from the East and especially from India the credit due for cultural priority. Dr. Julian Huxley's remark in *Unesco: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy* is reassuring in this connection. He wrote:—

Throughout, of course, the development of culture in the various regions of the Orient must receive equal

attention to that paid to its Western growth.

Unesco's campaign to seek methods of reducing the paper pulp shortage is, of course, directed to keeping open the channels for the free flow of information between peoples, on which mutual understanding in large part depends.

Constructive achievements are claimed for Unesco's efforts to promote scientific advance by co-operating with specialists everywhere, facilitating the exchange of information and ideas, spreading a knowledge of intellectual techniques, etc. Unesco has six regional Science Co-operation Offices, in Delhi for South Asia, in Djakarta and Manila for South-East Asia, in Cairo and Istanbul for the Middle East and in Montevideo for Latin America, and the strengthening of their activities is planned, as also the strengthening of international scientific research institutes. An aspect of Unesco's assistance to science is the establishment of an International Computation Centre for research in connection with the complicated and costly "electronic brains" and to make available to all countries facilities for their use. An International Council of Social Sciences is also being formed.

Unesco's work having its application chiefly to the physical environment cannot be sharply differentiated from its efforts on behalf of science, but its technical assistance programme, in which it lends its co-operation to the attempt to help underdeveloped regions to catch up with more technologically advanced nations may be called a physical application. So may its co-operation in the arid zone research project to combat the spread of desert zones and soil erosion ; its assistance to devastated areas; its Food and People studies and discussions, to which the Indian Institute of Culture at Bangalore devoted two Special Meetings in 1950; its later project on similar lines on " Energy in the Service of Man "; and the broad investigation into the social repercussions of technical development and the adaptation needed by peoples so that technology can improve the standard of living without destroying the cultural heritage. The lessons of the industrial revolution of the last century in Europe and America may well be included in the purview of this survey, and the adaptation needed not only by peoples but also by technology, so that it may not have so devastating an effect upon the new areas to which it spreads. Gandhian economics and the idea of a village-based economy seem to deserve open-minded investigation as an alternative solution.

Unesco's activities in the moral field are primarily concerned with the promotion of human rights, with special emphasis on the right to participate freely in the cultural life of the community. The *Human Rights Exhibition Album* is a noteworthy production. The Unesco Study of Tensions, on which Dr. Gardner Murphy addressed the Indian Institute of Culture on January 1st, 1951, represents an effort to get at the roots of ill-feeling between groups. Its dissemination of the latest scientific pronouncements on Race and on the absence of hard-and-fast racial differences in capacity, as in its brochures on " The Race Question in Modern Science," should help to abate racial prejudice in so far as such prejudice rests upon false rational premises. Good results may be hoped for also from Unesco's study of amicable race relations in Brazil.

Unesco's strictly cultural activities, its fostering of art, music, literature and the theatre may be somewhat arbitrarily assigned to the moral category, inasmuch as their appeal is more to man's emotional nature than to his reasoning mind. Its catalogues of *Colour Reproductions of Paintings Prior to and Since 1860* are a great service to the appreciation of the art of different Western countries; they are supplemented by an *International Directory of Photographic Archives of Works of Art*. The Traveling Print Exhibition sent out by Unesco is a cultural ambassador *par excellence*, Unesco's encouragement of the recording of the music of different peoples and cultures is helpful to international appreciation. So is the

dissemination in co-operation with the International P.E.N. Club, of information on literary developments in the world's many languages. The preparation of an *Index Translationum*, continuing the work of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in this field, and the encouragement given by Unesco to the formation of the International Theatre Institute, whose quarterly *World Theatre* is a link between dramatists in all countries, are other valuable contributions to world cultural unity. Dr. Torres Bodet referred to this in a speech in 1950 as "the brotherhood of man in the pursuit of beauty and harmony."

Unesco is handicapped in its efforts by the fact that its relation to its Member States is purely advisory. It can give them facts, advice and encouragement, but their ignoring of the advice can seriously block Unesco's work. The third paragraph of Article I of Unesco's Constitution reads thus:—

"With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction."

As, however, Dr. Torres Bodet remarked at the memorial meeting held at Paris late in 1951 for the late Léon Blum, prominent in the formation of Unesco; Unesco is "directly associated with the most delicate responsibilities of the United Nations," namely, with "maintaining peace in areas where conflicts are liable to arise, or, after the cessation of hostilities," with restoring "the normal life of such national communities in areas subject to such conflicts."

Unesco has to its credit such solid achievements as its important contribution to the rehabilitation of education in devastated areas, its getting many Governments to relax their postal restrictions on the importation of printed matter; its international clearing-house to promote the exchange of publications between institutions and libraries; its further services to libraries through its monthly *Bulletin for Libraries* in French and English; its Unesco Book Coupon Scheme to overcome the difficulties, imposed by currency differences, in acquiring books and scientific equipment; its collaboration in the distribution of Unesco-CARE book packages to many countries; its promoting of exchange of persons through fellowships; and its work for the standardization of Braille, for the protection of monuments, for a universal copyright convention, the preliminary draft of which was drawn up in 1951, for the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of a scientific, educational and cultural character and for the relaxing of restrictions on the free movement of persons traveling for educational, scientific and cultural purposes. This last, if successful, may well be the thin end of the wedge and lead to the removal of some of the harassing travel restrictions which now stand in the way of mutual acquaintance between peoples.

Service is also being rendered by Unesco through its Monographs on Fundamental Education; its "Towards World Understanding" Series; its "Problems in Education" Series; its Series of "Studies on Compulsory Education"; its *Study Abroad*, an international handbook of fellowships, scholarships and educational exchange, with its *Vacation Study Supplement*; its series of pamphlets on certain special aspects of the Declaration of Human Rights; its "Unesco and Its Programme" Series and other volumes explanatory of the work of the Organization, etc. Also through its periodicals; other than that already mentioned, for libraries, Unesco publishes quarterly *Fundamental Education*, *Museum*, a *Copyright Bulletin* and an *International Social Science Bulletin*. It brings out bimonthly its *Official Bulletin* and *Impetus*; also the illustrated monthly *Courier*, of more popular appeal, and, for the press, the

fortnightly *Unesco Features* and a *Unesco Regional Newsletter* made available in the regional languages, e.g., Hindi and Urdu for India; and a weekly radio script in several languages, called "Unesco World Review." All these keep people throughout the world informed of the activities of the great Organization which exists to serve them all, and of significant events in the educational, scientific and cultural fields.

Starting with the assumption that "wars begin in the minds of men," Unesco has naturally directed its efforts primarily to the enlightening of the mind and the spreading of the ideas conducive to mutual understanding and to a universal respect for justice, law and human rights and for the fundamental freedoms. Dr. Torres Bodet, in his Inaugural Address as Director-General in 1948, saw the union of minds as a prerequisite to the effective union of nations, but rightly also recognized the inability of intellect alone to bring about virtue and harmony.

Union of hearts is more vital to peace than union of minds; men are languishing for lack of sustenance for the heart quality, appreciation of which truth Dr. Torres Bodet has shown in his addresses, in many a passage to which the heart responds as a parched plant to the rain.

Those who see the problem of effective unity in peace and freedom as being at least as much a moral problem as an intellectual one must hope for the expansion of Unesco's efforts in the field of ethics. The awakening and encouragement of the moral aspirations is incontestably a legitimate aim for Unesco, directly conducive as such aspirations are to good feeling, which will better assure the implementation of human rights than coercion can ever do. "Implementing man's moral aspirations" has, indeed, been called the sole purpose of Unesco.

Ethics and spiritual values are greatly in need of more emphasis in our day of lowered standards of conduct and a growing disregard of principles. What constitutes true progress needs redefining? As Olive Schreiner once wrote,

A train is better than an ox wagon only when it carries better men; rapid movement is an advantage only when we move towards beauty and truth; all motion is not advance, all change is not development.

Dr. Julian Huxley said in *Unesco: Us Purpose and Its Philosophy* that "in man an increase in the understanding and attainment of intrinsic values... becomes the most important characteristic of progress. "Progress might well be defined also in terms of the dissemination', acceptance and application of ennobling ideals. Without these, scientific and technological advance may prove an *ignis fatuus*, leading men ever further into the bog of materialism, hardening their hearts while increasing their comfort, "that stealthy thing that," as Kahlil Gibran wrote, "enters the house a guest, and then becomes a host and then a master." Unesco, which is doing so much to promote the collaboration of scientists throughout the world and to facilitate their task, would do a great service by also focusing attention upon the moral responsibility of the scientist.

It is significant and hopeful that the representatives of 12 Asian and South Pacific countries, meeting in the Unesco-sponsored Regional Conference of National Commissions held at Bangkok early in December 1951, "while recommending expansion of Unesco's fundamental education and technical assistance programmes" emphasized the "vital importance of moral and spiritual development." They recommended stress on the fundamental education programme, on education for citizenship and the preparation of women as home-makers, and also the teaching and organization of recreational programmes.

Dr. Huxley suggested the quest for a restatement of morality in harmony with modern

knowledge as a major task of the philosophical division of Unesco. The working out of the implications of man's ethical heritage and their application to the present context is highly desirable, but we do not need new ethics. The ethics are there, ready and clear for whosoever would follow them, in the teachings of all the great reformers, Confucius and Lao-Tse and Zoroaster, in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, in the sermons of the Buddha, the teachings of Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato and their schools, and in the Sermon on the Mount. Their ethical teachings are not different. The Commission on the Comparative Study of Cultures, meeting at Paris in November 1949, made the constructive suggestion that Unesco could serve world unity by bringing out the common values and the common meanings underlying the diversities of expression.

The intuitions of the prophets and the mystics were never, perhaps, more needed than today. For what can more effectively incite to right action than the realization which was theirs of the essential unity of men in all departments of their nature, so that the well-being of others is seen to depend upon the observance by each of the laws of health, physical, mental and spiritual ? Dr. Torres Bodet, in his speech before the Indian National Commission at New Delhi, in March 1951, called for "an awareness of effective solidarity driving men to act according to the demands of equity and universal brotherhood" and added, "The soul must work for the ideal of peace." The same idea of fundamental unity has been beautifully put thus:—

Those who see but One in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them' belongs Eternal Truth—unto none else, unto none else.

On taking up his work as Director-General, Dr. Torres Bodet recognized the need for improving the moral as well as the intellectual condition of the great mass of people. Unesco, of course, cannot work a miracle, changing the innermost nature of men, as he said at Geneva on July 12th, 1951, at the 14th International Conference on Public Education. It must content itself with "sowing the good seed among the rising generations." Eloquent of the sense of fair play with which he sees Unesco approaching its task was his insistence that the aim was not to make propaganda but to fertilize minds, developing in them the critical sense to judge and appreciate, perhaps even to reject, the ideas presented. Yet he was confident that the good seed sown would germinate.

But the real work has to be done by each man on himself, with such encouragement as he can get from outside. The four famous Freedoms, for example, freedom of speech and of worship, freedom from want and from fear, have another than a passive implication. Man must free himself from fear, developing courage. He must have the strength to rise above circumstances; he must not only have freedom to worship as he will but a worthy ideal to serve; not only freedom to speak, but something to say that is worth saying. And even as negative desiderata, the Four Freedoms fall far short of completeness. The world is no less in need today of the freedoms that each can and must win for himself—freedom from superstition, freedom from the fallacy that the moral law can be hoodwinked or that the reactions due under it can be evaded, freedom from prejudice and predilections and from all the weaknesses that prevent the expression of man's innate divinity. On the achievement of these freedoms wait objective judgment, intellectual integrity, an open mind, right conduct and brotherliness to all.

The Buddha said that "Hatred ceaseth not by hatred but by love" was the Law Eternal; and the 13th Chapter of *I. Corinthians* on the supremacy of love among the qualities and powers still has its message for the modern world. If this teaching and that of the innate divinity of man in his essential nature were once generally grasped, can there be

doubt that the problems of conflict of apparent interests, economic or political, would solve themselves?

The historian Arnold J. Toynbee is quoted in an interview in *World Review* for March 1949 as pronouncing our present problems moral ones, "as the great decisions of history always are." World unity, he said, demanded "a spiritual change in modern man. It is only by a spiritual rebirth that every great civilization has reached maturity."

Men can exist without vision, unless they perish in the clash of greeds or die of *ennui*; but they cannot truly and fully live. Proclaim "the glory and the grace that mix with evils here" and men will turn from gadgets in distaste. From time to time a great lover of mankind arises and draws men to him as to a magnet. "Man is faith-formed," and men grow into the likeness of their idea). In association with a great reformer like Buddha, Jesus and, in our era, Gandhiji, many of less kingly mould have risen to a new stature.

Certain nations, like certain men, have shown the power to inspire in an unusual degree. The deep spiritual perception native to the soul of India, the capacity which that soul has shown to assimilate lofty ideas and ideals justifies Dr. Torres Bodet's statement at New Delhi in March 1951 that "for the good of all mankind, India, as she advances, will yet keep her soul." There is spiritual sustenance to be drawn from the great heritage of past ages which India holds in trust for the whole race; as there is inspiration still in the Greek ideal of truth, beauty and goodness, and the ancient Greeks' recognition of the obligation upon man to live beautifully.

Those treasures of the human spirit ought not to be confined to academic circles. More stress in Unesco's effort to overcome provincialism in space and time might well be put on the truly great literature of the distant past. The world today needs the insights of the Upanishads and the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the great passages in the Bible, etc., presented as *literature*, divorced from all sectarian interpretations and claims. The catharsis offered by the classical tragedies of Greece, the apotheosis of human love in *Sakuntala*, like the greatest plays of Shakespeare and Goethe's *Faust*, have power still to lift the human mind and heart above the sense of isolation and futility. "Sublimity," as Longinus wrote, "is the true ring of a noble mind," but the many centuries through which the truly great books of the world have survived prove that there have been many capable of echoing that true ring and of appreciating a beauty beyond their own power to create.

Galsworthy declared that peace depended on there being more lovers of beauty than of those indifferent to beauty. If men "have not the love of beauty, they will still be making wars." His praise of "the going-out of friendliness from being to being" as "the great thing about life" is an implementation of that insight. "Friendliness seems so natural, beauty so appropriate to this earth!"

Well advised, indeed, is the service already mentioned, which Unesco has been rendering to the arts. Dr. Torres Bodet recognized in his address at the first General Assembly of the International Music Council, formed with the assistance of Unesco, that

education, as a complete discipline, would benefit if the arts and, in particular, music were restored to the place that they never should have lost.

He said that by the power of music men could be led "to meditation and a richer inward life." This is even truer of the beauties not perceptible to sense, experienced when, as

Plotinus wrote, one contemplates

greatness of soul and a just character, pure temperance, and the manly countenance of fortitude in another, modesty and reverence proceeding serene, intrepid, and unperturbed, and, crowning all these, the godlike splendour of intellect.

From this point of view, and bearing in mind Ruskin's question in *Unto This Last*, "whether, among national manufactures, that of Souls of a good quality may not at last turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one," consideration might well be given to the including of men outstanding for nobility of character among those suggested by Unesco for world-wide Commemoration Celebrations. For, as A. N. Whitehead has said, "Moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness."

The training of leaders is naturally in mind in Unesco's activities in the provision of fellowships and in its exchange of persons programme, and it is very necessary. Even intellectuals are not always free from prejudice. As Prof. Gilbert Murray wrote to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, it was because Madame Curie had seen, during the First World War, "how often the intellectual leaders in the various nations had been not better but, if anything, worse than the common people in the bitterness and injustice of their feelings" that she had thrown herself into the work of Intellectual Co-operation. And Professor Murray adds:—

The artists and thinkers, the people whose work or whose words move multitudes, ought to know one another, to understand one another, to work together at the formation of some great League of Mind or Thought independent of miserable frontiers and tariffs and governmental follies, a League or Society of those who live the life of the intellect and through the diverse channels of art or science aim at the attainment of beauty, truth and human brotherhood.

Literacy alone is not enough, even for the masses, as is recognized in Unesco's Fundamental Education project, among others, but it is well for all that the importance of special attention to the natural leaders of the people is recognized. Dr. Huxley warned in *Unesco: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy* that the sacrifice of quality to quantity in the mass education effort was a real one, tending, if unchecked, "towards the promotion of mediocrity, even if mediocrity in abundance" and an accompanying discouragement of high- and unusual quality. It is evident from Unesco's provision of fellowships on a large scale, its contribution to the programme of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, etc., that quantity has been recognized, as he said, as "a means, a foundation for quality." One project for 1952 aims at the training of leaders for the campaign for extended workers' education. It is not the leveling down of the opportunities, educational and other, for man to rise to his full potential stature that is required, but the leveling up of the underprivileged in every department of life.

Even more important, however, than training the talented for intellectual achievement and leadership is the training of all for responsibility. Complementing the work for human rights must go a parallel effort to bring home to all men, women and children, the sense of their own responsibilities and duties, nobler conceptions of which lie at the root of even material improvement that can endure.

This need is recognized in Article I of Unesco's Constitution, where, among the methods of furthering the Organization's broad humanitarian aims are named "suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom."

The acceptance of responsibility by an increasing number of individuals must at last lead to a similar acceptance by the Nation, for, as the citizen, so the collectivity of citizens which is the State. And, as Southey wrote, with a didacticism repugnant to many today:—

For as, of all the ways of life, but one—

The path of duty—leads to happiness ;

So in their duty States must find at length

Their welfare, and their safety, and their strength.

Didacticism, it is true, has sometimes smacked of cant, that "most loathsome of all vices," but the learning of the principles of right action should not be left to individual groping and painful advance by the trial-and-error method. Choice must be free but the intelligent exercise of choice calls for such knowledge as history and the garnered wisdom of the ages can reveal of the consequences that inevitably follow, sooner or later, right or wrong steps, individual or collective. Only in the light of this law of action and reaction and of the cyclic course of events is the decline of proud civilizations comprehensible. That which Dr. Torres Bodet referred to at Sevres on July 19th, 1951, in opening the Seminar on the Teaching of History, as "the miracle of cultures flourishing and apparently disappearing only to flourish again some-where else, later on," is explicable only as the reaping by such cultures of causes which they had sown.

Unesco's fostering of teaching on the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in the schools, already referred to, is excellent. The teachers have to be made aware of the promise which these organizations hold for world peace. The United Nations and Unesco, and the other Specialized Agencies are the best working substitute for a full-fledged World Government at the present time. Unesco, in particular, in working to direct the minds and-hearts of men in every country to dedication to united effort for the commonweal, is helping to prepare the stage for such a consummation as a Republic of the World. But teachers have to have these facts brought home to them, and particularly the ideals for which both the United Nations and Unesco stand. If the teachers can be made international-minded they can pass on to the children in their charge the concept of a higher -duty than to one's Nation. For, as Dr. Tara Chand well brought out at the Fifth General Conference, deploring national decisions on the basis of national self-interest:—

We must bring into human affairs the conception that above and behind the positive law of the State there is the law of man, the law of nature and, perhaps the law eternal. The ancient Indian Lawgiver declares: "Law is that which sustains, by law are the peoples held together.

Highly commendable work has been done by Unesco in connection with the keying of history and geography teaching to the production of the international outlook but the possibilities of science teaching in connection with the fostering of global thinking may be capable of considerable development. It is valuable, of course, to bring the lesson home to the children that scientific knowledge has been built up as a great co-operative undertaking in which the men of many ages and different countries have played their parts, one going on from where another left off, though it has not all been progress, some of the arts of antiquity having been lost and some of the feats of the ancients, as in engineering and in bandaging, for example, challenging modern emulation.

But the presentation of scientific advance as an international achievement by no means exhausts the possibilities of utilizing the teaching of science in the schools, with the collaboration of the museums, to promote the recognition of brotherhood and respect for law. In Nature study in the class-room, as well as in the laboratory, attention can be drawn to the identity of essence of all forms, the universality of life or motion and the reign of law throughout Nature. The interdependence of the kingdoms of Nature can be brought out—the vitally important exchange of oxygen and carbonic acid between the plant and animal

kingdoms, the mutual adjustments and co-operation in the symbiosis between the various forms of life; the transformation of solar energy and mineral ingredients by the plants into a form in which they can sustain animal and human life, and the ever more widely recognized reciprocal obligation to restore organic waste to the soil if it is to produce in abundance plants with high nutritive value; the contribution to agriculture of the humble earthworm by loosening the soil and of birds by keeping down insect pests.

The fact that animals share with man an emotional nature as well as a physical form can be pointed out, as can the instinct of animals to unite in flocks and herds. The lesson of co-operation among the bees and termites, among beavers and other gregarious animals and among birds, and even between the organs of a particular body, without which life would cease, is capable of impressive application to the co-operation between man and man which has played its part in so many constructive achievements and without which life in society would be inconceivable. Even such homely and suggestive lessons may be utilized as the fact that, although overshadowed, even the lower leaves of a tree work hard at their task of photosynthesis, with the help of such light as reaches them, benefiting by their activity the tree as a whole, with, its interdependent parts.

No lesson offered by science has, however, more practical implications than the evidence which it furnishes that this is a universe of law. This includes the cause-effect sequence which the mathematician and the laboratory worker alike confirm, the alternation of high and low tides, of light and darkness, the cycling seasons and the rhythm of the marching orbs, with which Kant memorably bracketed "the moral law within." Even the indeterminism now found in atomic behaviour yields to statistical averaging and may well give place, as knowledge advances, to the recognition of laws not now known.

The modern theory of evolution, arbitrarily limited though it still is to the physical realm, points to a gradual acquisition of powers as the indwelling life raises from kingdom to kingdom—cohesion and dispersion in the mineral kingdom, sensation in the plant and instinct in the animal kingdoms, the evolution of faculties as well as of form culminating in man. Even physical evolution, therefore, bears witness to the law of progress, though the modern evolutionary theory ignores the ancient complementary concept, still widely held in the East, of individual moral and mental development through successive human personalities.

The applications which might be made of the findings of science in furthering Unesco's ends have been examined at some length because the approach from this direction to the problems of human relations and of human conduct might be particularly successful in our day, which is so largely dominated by science, pure and applied.

Again, though secular education seems on every count preferable to sectarian schools, would Unesco not do well to investigate the possibilities for world understanding of combining with such education the undogmatic and sympathetic presentation of the great moral and spiritual verities proclaimed by all the world's great ethical and spiritual teachers, free of the superstitions and distortions which have crept into the formal creeds? For what is Religion *per se*, but that which, as the derivation of the word itself suggests, "*binds* not only all men but also all beings and all things in the universe into one grand whole"?

In his Valedictory Address as Director-General of Unesco, at its Third General Conference in 1948, Dr. Julian Huxley stressed the importance in Unesco's effort of making as full use as possible of the men of international outlook and good-will. He said on that occasion :—

There do exist writers and scientists, artists and, philosophers, who have by virtue of their individual genius become truly citizens of the world, who are in advance of individual governments and of the common man in their thinking. We need to call on them to give us a lead in our thinking, to give us a bold clarification of our general aims and of the paths we should pursue in realizing them. ”

He proposed Unesco's deliberate adoption of the policy of relying wherever possible on these citizens of the One World of the human mind and of helping them to find their place in some form of organization which would make it possible for them to render help more efficiently to Unesco and to the cause in which it and they believe.

Dr. Torres Bodet said at the Sixth General Conference:—

.. no other Specialized Agency, not even the Economic and Social Council itself, has so large a network of collaborators. The association of minds, forming a world-wide working community devoted to the same ideal of thought and trained in the same ways of thought, is both the forerunner of, and the most powerful agency for, the advent of mankind's unity.

Article XI of the Unesco Constitution provides that “This Organization may co-operate with other specialized inter-governmental organizations and agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes” and Unesco has not only lent its co operation to existing organizations but has also fostered, and in some cases instigated the creation of organizations devoted to international co-operation between specialists in particular fields” It collaborates with these national non-governmental agencies through working agreements and grants-in-aid, participates in their conferences, a number of which it has taken the initiative in calling, makes fellowships available through these organizations, etc., and has accorded many of them consultative status.

Unesco has co-operated fruitfully with the United Nations, the Food and Agricultural Organization and the World Health Organization, bringing out, in co-operation with one or other of these, international catalogues of educational and scientific films on food and people, on the conservation and utilization of natural resources, on health and the well-being of children and on the arts.

Article VII of Unesco's Constitution provided for the creation' by Member States of National Commissions or similar National Co-operating Bodies as *liaison* groups between Unesco and the State, bringing into association with Unesco's effort the principal bodies in that country interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters. The fullest possible linking up of such bodies with the National Commissions' work is obviously desirable. Dr. Torres Bodet told the Representatives. of National Commissions on June 14th, 1951, at their third meeting, held in Paris;—

Only by the sensible use of ability and good will wherever they are found shall we be able to proceed towards the practical fulfillment of our aims, and bring them to the notice of the widest possible public.

Unesco has, besides, a wide correspondence with private individuals and' groups, such as the Indian Institute of Culture, welcoming their interest and encouraging their contribution to the effort to bring about world-mindedness.

The growing political tension in the world makes imperative the stress which Unesco lays on helping, as Dr. Torres Bodet put it at New Delhi on March 24th, 1951, “each civilization to achieve self-realization, while simultaneously participating more fully in a pacified and peaceful world community.” Seeking not uniformity but “a harmonious diversity,” Unesco can give a lead in the direction of ideological tolerance as well as mutual cultural appreciation. Even when, as today, to quote Dr. Torres Bodet's Report on the

Activities of the Organization from April 1950 to March 1951 (presented to the Sixth Session of the General Conference in June-July 1951), "the tragic divergences in outlook that now divide the peoples are leading them ever further from the ideal of man's intellectual and moral solidarity which is the core of Unesco's philosophy," giving, as he pointed out at that Conference, an "increasingly political colour to philosophy, values, cultural expression and even scientific speculation," should not the policy of "Live and let live" be encouraged? No formula is perfect, nor can any State claim to have eradicated altogether injustice and anomalies. The truth which any man's or any people's insight may contain must not be sacrificed to the zeal for seeing eye to eye. "*Du choc its opinions jaillit la verite.*"

It is most unfortunate that financial limitations should be imposed upon an effort so promising as that of Unesco, with its great achievements and its greater promise of world unity. Dr. Torres Bodet said at the Sixth General Conference that for three years Unesco had been brought to a standstill on the question of finance, and that the question might have to be settled "whether Unesco can go on living forever on promises." It depends primarily upon contributions apportioned among its Member States, and the preoccupation of many of these with defence preparations naturally imposes difficulties. But, if Unesco's efforts succeed in time, defence preparations will not be needed. The provision of means adequate to Unesco's capacity should not be begrudged. As Dr. Torres Bodet said, "Unesco is not a luxury designed for easy times...it is in the most difficult days that the world has the greatest need of it."

"In the darkest of the post-war years," he says in his *Report* (April 1950 to March 1951), already mentioned, "Unesco has steadily consolidated its position." And he adds:—

The anxious days in which we live may be far from the stable, genuine and just peace that it is Unesco's task to build in the minds of men. The resource on which the Organization can count may be trifling for so tremendous a task—None the less, Unesco has chosen the only path which, sooner or later, will lead the peoples from a precarious to a lasting peace.