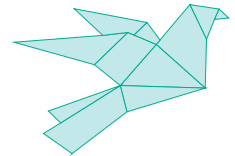


The Role of UNESCO in the Search for Peace



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Ministry of
Foreign Affairs



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



Korean
National Commission
for UNESCO

The Role of UNESCO in the Search for Peace

Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Adopted in London on 16 November 1945 and amended by the General Conference at its 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th and 31st sessions.

The Governments of the States Parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare:

That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

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

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

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

That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that 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.

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UNESCO's Role Toward Peace: UNESCO's International Cooperation Activities (An Introduction)

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I. Foreward

UNESCO's international intellectual cooperation for peace has achieved substantive tangible results in education and culture. Through various programs and educational support in developing countries with the World Heritage, Intangible Cultural Heritage, and Memory of the World projects, the spread of UNESCO activities along with the participation of numerous governments, experts and civil societies in various countries have succeeded in protracting agreements aimed at cultural diversity and its multicultural expression. Though some problems have been politicized and have produced limitations along the way, UNESCO has played a leading role in education and culture while setting the direction of international cooperation and activities in this regard.

However, when it comes to science, public knowledge, and information communication, UNESCO's role has had drawbacks. Although there have been specific achievements, UNESCO's presence remains generally weak. It is difficult to argue that UNESCO is setting the directions in international discourse, forming global institutions, and exerting practical impact.

The independence of former colonies brought about changes in the membership of the international community and UNESCO. Against this, it was only natural that questions began to be asked regarding the existing order in producing, disseminating, consuming, and reproducing information and knowledge. UNESCO, at which discussions about a new information order took place in the 1970s, became a venue of conflicts between the superpowers' understanding of media capital, and criticisms against it. Consensus could be reached on the problems of the existing information order, but disagreements surfaced regarding how to resolve the information divide. The perception was that governmental limits and regulation of information flows or "information sovereignty" posed risks related to possible infringements on freedoms and human rights. Discourse on the new international information order put UNESCO at the center. However, rather than serving as an organ for humanitarian assistance and intellectual freedom and expertise, UNESCO became the source of political confrontation and mutual distrust. In the end, the two countries that pushed most strongly for its birth withdrew on the grounds of bias and fed up with lax management: the US in 1984 and Britain in 1985. Their exit became the so-called UNESCO crisis.

Serious effort has gone into promoting decentralization and reorganization as a means of overcoming the UNESCO crisis. England and Britain returned briefly to the organization in 1997 and 2003. However, the United States cut its contributions to the organization in 2011, citing issues with the Palestinian issue. The US finally withdrew from UNESCO again in 2017, arguing that the organization needed fundamental reforms and over concerns with

anti-Israel bias. Politicized debates over UNESCO's financial crisis and reform remain today.

The above situation is attributable to UNESCO's inherent limits and the constraints on its activities. UNESCO was established to promote peace through cooperation and exchange between peoples and across national borders. Its first executive board reflected this goal to some extent. The UNESCO executive directors now represent "states" rather than the organization, and UNESCO has become an international organization largely mirroring the current international order. UNESCO, like the United Nations, began as a coalition of war-torn countries. However, the onset of the Cold War and the world split into hostile camps and post-colonial newly independent states. This new world presented immense difficulties. The organization's original ideal and operative mechanisms lag and in adapting to rapidly changing realities, which has complicated establishing the organization's role and significance as an organ for global cooperation and exchange.

While UNESCO's problems are owed mainly to external factors, internal factors cannot be overlooked. It is necessary to acknowledge that UNESCO, its people, organizations, and member states have failed to innovate and carve out ways of actively and creatively pursuing the organization's visions. Therefore, a careful review of the priorities and effectiveness of UNESCO projects and activities is needed.

UNESCO has regrettably not played an active role in fostering broader, more diverse, and more extensive new research and practices related to peace, even with the international Cold War realities. While UNESCO was an international organization created explicitly for peace, it has neither led to momentous peace-related academic discourse nor does it lead to theoretical development in this regard. The concept of a "Culture of Peace," for example, was first mentioned in the Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire) in 1989. However, it was not until 1997 that UNESCO started its "Toward a Culture of Peace Program" and the U.N. General Assembly declaring 2000 as the "Year of Peace."

UNESCO's situation provides an opportunity for South Korea to play a more active role. South Korea needs to break with its history of taking a passive stance focused on short-term national interests and its preoccupation with "situational tracking" responses aimed at fostering national prestige when such opportunities present themselves. Instead, while prioritizing a "global community" founded on world peace and the well-being of humanity—as long-term shared benefits to all nations—and by sharing the financial burdens involved, the country can increase its international status and become a moral leader raising a "global citizenship power."

II . The Impact and Performance of UNESCO Activities

In a 1984 Nature opinion piece, “UNESCO’s Crisis Is for All of Us,” the author positively evaluated UNESCO activities while also pointing out that the organization is also “an agency whose ambitions forever outstrip resources and even common sense” (96). The article goes on to say that “Unesco, unfortunately, has never been able to exercise self-restraint but instead feels bound to jump on every new bandwagon that comes along, usually with too small an amount of money to be decisive, often with too woolly an idea of what might be done to be helpful...so as to be able to magnify its own appearance on the scene” (96-7). These are harsh but undeniable observations. We're left asking where UNESCO is accomplishing its duties, what it has done well, and what leads to some of its problems.

Celebrating its 60th anniversary in 2005, UNESCO launched its “UNESCO History Project,” which outlined and evaluated its history. While the project is a significant achievement, according to Poul Duedahl, in retrospect, the project focused merely on UNESCO-led activities rather than on the impact these activities had on the world or whether they made any difference at all (Duedahl 2016). Duedahl points out, for example, that while this has influenced a modicum of research related to UNESCO’s “soft power initiatives,” the results primarily reflect the intellectual trends as opposed to inciting influential intellectual discourse (Ibid 2016).

Perhaps the nature of UNESCO’s activities makes it difficult to measure and assess the organization’s impact. As Duedahl asserts with his research on the history of UNESCO’s influence, the dearth of research in this regard comes down to saying that “this type of history is easy to start but difficult to effectively complete,”

One example is the case of the UNESCO evaluation report, “Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, 1957-1966,” which illustrates problems with measuring concrete effects (Duedahl 2016). As a result of this project, a few hundreds of ancient texts were translated, published, and disseminated to other continents. However, Duedahl continues to point out, it is impossible to find out who accessed these texts and how often, and there is no data about whether the readers of these texts underwent a change in perceptions regarding other cultures.

With this problematic issue in mind, Duedahl has zeroed in on specific areas and projects to discover UNESCO’s actual impact. Rather than focusing on UNESCO’s initial activities, he reviewed 15 diverse topics: the struggle against racism; the weaponization of books through mass distribution; the “information films” jointly produced with the UN; international children’s community models; Japan’s re-entry into the international community and its reconstruction and peace projects with UNESCO; UNESCO basic education programs; the UNESCO Congo education project; Latin American-UNESCO

expert activities; the UNESCO History Education activities of Sweden, Mexico, and Japan and international understanding; UNESCO World Heritage activities (Duedahl 2016).

Among the above topics, the most prominent and concrete achievements seem to have been in fighting racism. UNESCO's publication of more than 300,000 copies of related books by the end of the 1950s in 13 different languages is remarkable. That said, the books subjected the organization to criticism in America. School administrators in the US became increasingly concerned about the use of such publications as part of formal education, and by 1953 these publications had all but disappeared from curriculums in Los Angeles. Human rights activist Pastor Jesse Jackson traveled throughout the South in the US, referencing a pamphlet that argued that "the international organization, UNESCO refutes the idea that black people are inferior." Using this material, the Supreme Court of the United States heard expert testimony from UNESCO and its experts and adjudicated on hearings related to segregation. In 1967, the court found that segregation and the ban on interracial marriage were both unconstitutional (Duedahl 2016).

III. UNESCO: Beyond Politics and National Interest

While UNESCO's origins are subject to interpretation, its foundations firmly rooted in intellectual exchange and cooperation tied to the Enlightenment period. Intellectuals and scientists hoped that with cross-border exchanges, reason and education could help to reduce global ignorance and prejudice, thereby preventing war, building peace, and achieving a better life. Such expectations are embodied in the Republic of Letters (*Respublica Literaria*).

The Enlightenment period, of course, took place before the type of nationalism that we know today, and thus the pursuit of international exchange and cooperation across borders was less competitive as with today's focus on territorial boundaries. The intellectuals and scientists of that day had confidence in their quest for truth. They served the general interests of humankind rather than national interests, which at that time equated to the interests of monarchs.

Despite warring states, in Europe, there was a growing awareness that the entire human population would eventually form a global human community. Pacifism had taken root as a means of preventing war and combating evil and sin. Immanuel Kant's "Theory of Perpetual Peace" represents one of the most exceptional contributions to this trend.

While Europe was mired in wars in the early 19th century, by the end of the Napoleonic war, the so-called "European Concert" had fortified a significant reduction in conflicts. In particular, along with a growing acceptance of Europe as "one civilization" after the French

Revolution, international exchanges and cooperation spread, and international norms developed steadily through various international conferences and negotiations. From these changes, various ideas bloomed.

In the middle of all this, the outbreak of World War I had devastating effects. In one hand, the international community was advancing, with Europe at its center, singing praises for the advancement of civilizations. On the other, it produced destructive and mass killing power alongside industrialization. In particular, with the development of the “nation” and national anthems, the nature of war changed to wars among nations, which brought all of Europe to a disastrous state of armament. The perception of war increasingly one of disapproval and foolishness. In reaction, around the world, naval disarmament and peace movements ensued, and then the League of Nations launched its treaty of non-aggression to prevent future world wars.

The efforts towards peace led to earnest efforts at intellectual cooperation and education. In January 1922, the international community introduced the International Committee on Intel Cooperation (CICI). This committee followed with the August 1925 founding of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation (IICI) as the top organization of the CICI and in December the creation of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) as an NGO for the development of education around the world. It was through the IICI that Einstein, for example, asked Freud how to save the world from self-destruction in his piece “Why War,” and through which the latter replied. Like this, there were numerous efforts up until the outbreak of World War II, but just how effective they were requires a serious review.

There was clear recognition to map out a new postwar order even during World War II. This began with the Atlantic Charter in August, 1941, the formation of the Allied Powers in January, 1942, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (Nov. 1942-Dec. 1945), as well as the Moscow Declaration (Oct. 1943) that recognized the need for an international organization for education, and the United Nations Conference on International Organizations (UNCIO, Apr.-June 1943), and the Dumbarton Oaks Conference (Oct. 1944). Based on these efforts, in November 1945, representatives of 44 countries convened for a UN conference to establish an organization in education and culture. Adding science to the culture and education focus, the UNESCO Charter began with 37 signatory countries. UNESCO launched with its 20th country ratification and with high expectations in November 1946.

However, with the Cold War, UNESCO's work of “establishing a barrier of peace in the human heart” proved increasingly cumbersome. By December 1946, 24 countries had ratified the UNESCO charter with the Soviet Union refusing to join until April 1954. Of Eastern European countries, only Poland had ratified the Charter (November 6, 1946). In this regard, UNESCO had all the makings of becoming a ‘Western Club.’ Moreover, as the

Cold War exacerbated problems and further pushed the world into hostile camps. As such, international intellectual cooperation and exchanges, which were expected to take place with the birth of UNESCO, have become a considerable challenge.

IV. Problems of Science and Knowledge: UNESCO's Frustration

UNESCO is expected to contribute to world peace through intellectual cooperation, free research, and exchange of cross-border scholarship/knowledge. However, higher investments in national security, industry and trade competitiveness, and economic development have thwarted these aims. UNESCO's narrow scope, especially when it comes to priorities and dissemination, research, and education of science and technology proves particularly tricky when it comes to exercising intellectual and moral initiatives. This narrow view also hinders the organization's overall influence.

One reason for the above situation relates to new changes in the social roles and functions of science and technology. With conventional science, there is a belief that "all knowledge will ultimately contribute to human happiness" (Ellis 1971). Scientific discovery or invention was valued as a personal achievement. It was also strongly believed, however, that knowledge should be freely exchanged and shared as a collective human asset rather than monopolized as a commodity of an individual or group. Intellectual property rights and patents only gained significance when their capitalist values tied to industrial development and enterprise success became apparent.

Julian Huxley, the organization's first secretary-general, viewed UNESCO as a universal university. The founders believed in the expansion of universal truths and "scientific humanism" (Ellis 1971). The expectation that a group of experts and scientists from around the world would support UNESCO activities as free-serving scholars rather than as mere agents of nation-states. UNESCO member states would also provide support for the activities of these scholars.

The growing awareness of science's positive impacts to industrial, economic, and social sectors has led to several international organizations such as the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), and the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). Within the UN, several committees have been set up to coordinate competition and prevent program overlap (Ellis 1971).

UNESCO wanted the power of science to save humankind from ignorance, poverty, disease, and starvation, however, the reality was grim. War made it crystal clear that science is the source of not only military power but also national wealth, and thus the basis of

national competitiveness. Technology has already become a matter of intense competition, growth, and protection. Scientific knowledge and technological exchanges and transfers are often only possible in the absence of competition and threat. Moreover, as the Cold War evolved, it became increasingly difficult for scientists to maintain and promote unbiased science serves as the backbone of the academic world. Scientists began to withdraw from UNESCO. Member governments also began to refuse to delegate power to experts and scientists. After Torres Bodet (second UNESCO Director-General, 1948-1952), some criticized UNESCO for having lost intellectual leadership and independence (Ellis 1971). By 1954, after eight years in existence, the UNESCO was made up of state representatives rather than scholars or experts.

In addition to the above, the perception of scientific knowledge is also in flux. Basic questions centered on objectivity and value neutrality are of primal concern. Criticism spreading over how scientific research and knowledge are developed, distributed, repressed, or restricted, and ultimately for whom. Scientific research and knowledge became increasingly subject to issues of national security and property rights, and closely connected to power and capital. The resulting politicization meant that scientists could neither announce their findings nor share them freely. While hope in the idea that science could save humankind remains, it was increasingly emphasized that science could exploit and oppress most of mankind. The argument that scientific knowledge, furthermore, was not some objective truth reached through reason, but a matter of consensus, was indeed shocking. Despite the immense power and potential of science, which faced a moral, philosophical, political, and social crisis, it seems that scientists, as well as politicians and ordinary citizens, no longer look to UNESCO to serve and lead in this regard. In other words, UNESCO made little headway in directing science towards solving transnational problems in a postwar world (Ellis 1971). Instead, serious thought, reflection, and responses to the problems of science seemed to have been carried out mostly outside of UNESCO with the organization perhaps fostering rather than solving problems.

V. A Whole Greater than the Sum of its Parts

When it comes to the saying that “a whole is greater than the sum of its parts,” UNESCO has yet to extend itself beyond a ‘whole’ limited to the assembly of somewhat individual nation-states. While there have been marked successes, several setbacks and failures hamper the organization’s ambitious goals aimed at achieving peace through education, science, and culture. UNESCO is a specialized agency of the United Nations, but still an intergovernmental organization whose general assembly and executive board are made up

of state representatives and governments, not scholars or experts. These representatives focus primarily on making decisions that favor their nation's interests—interests that are often myopic in scope and short-term. Even with the UNESCO Charter's emphasis on contributing to the "entire human community," the actual votes and actions still seem directed at national interests.

UNESCO's dilemma derives from changes in the international environment at the organization's inception, such as the rise of Cold War tensions and a large number of post-colonial states newly asserting their independence. On the other hand, it is also due to the organization's inability to reach beyond the shortsighted, nationalist narrow visions of its members, draw up agendas and programs that serve long-term objectives for humanity, secure public support and sufficient resources, find competent and capable organizations, or establish promotional systems that motivate carrying out their goals. The so-called "UNESCO crisis" is also a crisis of the practicality and legitimacy of the organization's founders' intentions.

At the time of UNESCO's launch, the organization to some extent recognized a desire to promote "cooperation between intellectuals relatively free of the purview of national powers," "the ideal of enlightenment and peace through education," and "individual autonomy of members of the academic community and culture," which were recognized and reflected in the composition of the permanent councils of CICI, IICI, IBE during the Interwar years. However, the autonomy of UNESCO's executive board was greatly diminished during the Cold War and with concomitant changes in the international environment. In 1954, a resolution (in the 8th General Conference) passed that stated that UNESCO directors should no longer act as individuals but as national representatives.

The UNESCO Constitution, created in 1945, emphasized the nature of executive directors as experts in international intellectual cooperation, including the dissemination of art, humanities, science, education, and thought, rather than as representatives of the state. In other words, the appointed executive directors elected 18 representatives with consideration of their knowledge of arts, humanities, science, education, and thought. Effort was made to elect persons with "competence...and the necessary experience and capacity to fulfill the administrative and executive duties of the Board of directors," with additional consideration paid to "the diversity of cultures and a balanced and geographic distribution" of the Assembly (UNESCO Constitution 1945, Article V. Executive Board, A. Composition). In addition, only one person may be elected to the executive board from the same country, except as the Chairman of the General. Thus, the idea that "UNESCO is an organization beyond the state" embraced the organization as a gathering of education, science, and cultural representatives, which was embedded in earliest resolutions (Nature).

However, in 1954, the 8th session of the General Conference made noteworthy

amendments to the composition of the Executive Board. The executive consists of 22 persons elected through the General Assembly from the delegates appointed by member states. Each director represents the government of the country of his nationality (Records of the General Conference, 8th Session, Montevideo, 1954). Through such revisions, UNESCO's Executive Board became a representative of governments, not individual experts of culture, science, and education. This change implied that there was a consensus among the Member States to exclude the expertise, ideals, or leadership of individual experts, and to reflect governmental interests in the Executive Board. UNESCO, therefore, had become an intergovernmental organization, as opposed to an organization of experts that could, if need be, transcend national interests in the narrow sense for the long-term interests of humanity.

The current version of the UNESCO Constitution (2001, as amended in the 31st session of the General Conference) states that the "Executive Board consists of 58 board members" and defines the qualifications of executive directors as countries. In other words, the election in the General Conference is that of nations not of persons. Therefore, the participation of experts accomplished in their fields of competence in the Executive Board was no longer relevant to the evaluation or support of the international community. It was only possible with the support and nomination of the country to which he or she belonged.

In a way, it seems almost natural that representatives of Member States become the members of the Executive Board. In the end, this meant that the governments of Member States took part in the decision-making process of an organization ran with financial contributions made from each Member States. Given that UNESCO is in the arena of international politics, the chances are slim that governments act toward longer and broader-terms as opposed to achieving short-term and myopic national interests. This situation is even more apparent when rivals attempt to follow policies and mandates as directors while simultaneously pursuing national interests.

UNESCO strives for cooperation and peace through education, science, and culture. However, when the organization's Executive Board assert policies and decrees on behalf of their home governments, failure often results. In fact, there are times when the linking of these national foreign policies directly conflicts with UNESCO's fundamental purpose. It is thus crucial that countries aim at broader contributive efforts towards humanity, even when those designs seem inconsistent with national interests—an issue tied to defining and interpreting national interests clearly and with transparency.

VI. Conclusion: Pursuit of Global Citizenship Rather Than Soft Power

The UNESCO crisis is an opportunity for South Korea. In a sense, UNESCO is a tool itself, but it should not be the mere sum of the short-term interests of states. UNESCO should strive for more. Putting short-term, narrow interests aside, South Korea can support the expansion of UNESCO experts and intellectual freedom. This support can lead to UNESCO's impact on developmental programs that impact humanity. And if South Korea is willing to provide resources commensurate with its national economic power, it will naturally play a more crucial role in the global community as a whole.

Through "global citizenship power," South Korea can improve its public and national images, heighten its international status, and strengthen its moral voice in the long-run. While soft power approaches have value in themselves, South Korea's historical experiences and geopolitical positioning make the pursuit of the UN's global civil power a more apropos direction with UNESCO. Korea experienced Japanese colonial rule, war, national division, economic development, and democratization. It experienced environmental destruction that often accompanies industrialization and urbanization, and a consequent rapid environmental movement. Owing to its geopolitical location and history, the country has a deep desire to achieve world peace and can empathize and assist other countries with similar experiences.

Recently, South Korea's strategy towards UNESCO has been varying according to context, and aimed at improving the national image. Some argue that Korea should focus on the strengthening of soft power. However, there is a need for paradigm shift in the long-term, in which Korea becomes a leading player within UNESCO for the common future of humanity. Rather than aiming for more soft power, South Korea should set global agenda on the common issues of humanity, propose programs, and actively participate in exchanges for problem-solving. This way, there is a need to seriously review policies to strengthen Korea's intellectual, moral, and practical leadership at the global level.

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UNESCO's Educational Cooperation Activities: Successes and New Approaches

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I. Introduction

Formed in 1945, UNESCO initially focused on world peace and security through education, science, and cultural exchange, but eventually its focus extended into fundamental freedoms and human rights. With the establishment of this organization designed to address a post-WWII world, education became a crucial and ultimate means of promoting global peace.

In UNESCO's early days, education was regarded as a critical systemic condition that required urgent action from every member country—all targeting compulsory and free primary education. Later, as the concept of education extended to 'lifelong learning' and beyond the dimension of education per se, education served as a platform for solving diverse social and community problems, through the concepts of education for international understanding, peace education, and inclusive education. Around the 21st century, UNESCO had clearly established the importance of creating a sustainable society as a means of reducing cultural squabbles and conflicts. It also conceived and sought to put into effect a global community based on global citizenship.

Over the 74 years since UNESCO's establishment, its most significant achievement in education activities has been to expand the relevance of education with lifelong learning while helping to promote the right to education with its Education for All (EFA) agenda. However, educational opportunities remain limited, and the gap in the quality of education is growing. Perhaps this explains the rise in criticism that UNESCO's educational practices have done little to reach its goal of creating a world of peace and safety.

In the above context, this paper examines the role of education and the main agendas for education cooperation that have been proposed for achieving a peaceful society. The paper also reviews the trends and achievements of EFA and makes a proposal for future work. Just as there was a need to create UNESCO, the demand for education and its reality is in the 'here and now.' In this context, I point out how we can rethink education from now as the foundation of intellectual collaboration and how education can serve as a mechanism of new approaches for achieving global peace and security.

II. Education's Peacemaking Role

World War II resulted in the loss of approximately 50 to 70 million lives, including civilians. It is known as the worst war in history, with the atomic bombs that led to Japan's declaration of surrender; however, the deafening noise of ideological and regional wars has always plagued the world. How many so-called wars in the name of tensions and conflicts do we

see around us today? Though it is unclear whether wars should be counted as merely part of the collapse of socioeconomic systems, they insulate the bonds of trust—communities-to-communities and people-to-people—while deepening and spreading the problems of suspicion and distrust. UNESCO's Constitution describes wars as “the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men.” In addition, it suggests that such ignorance and prejudice can be overcome by building the so called ‘defences of peace’ in human minds, in other words by building ‘intellectual and moral solidarity’ through education.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the 1948 United Nations General Assembly interprets education as a basic human right and guarantees that “all people have the right to receive an education.” It is recommended that “education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory” (Art. 26). However, as a universal human right, education has a long way to go toward establishing itself as a concrete institutional system in every social context as a choice for all people. We must transcend rhetorical declarations of the international community and move to action.

For the past 74 years, education has served as a crucial mechanism and means of sustainable survival in the face of social, communal, and global problems. No one disputes the claim that education is essential. Regardless, concern over the means of providing education and its function is still lacking. Indeed, while there is ample discussion of the methods and functions of education, the question remains whether such discussions adequately address intervention and support at national and global levels. While we cannot deny the achievements of concrete educational activities in healing the scars of war and promoting peace, how should we seek to understand the issue of current social conditions that look to education to bring about peace?

Perhaps the progressiveness in education is overemphasized. Education is rooted in conservatism, keeping sociocultural foundations intact. If we want to resolve conflicts and tensions, and foster peaceful and inclusive communities, we need an education with ‘other meanings’ running counter to the basic characteristics of education from this conservative perspective. Education is bound to conflict with education’s ‘other meanings,’ and the chosen approach depends on the compatibility of the particular social contexts. When UNESCO was established, the slogan “it is in the minds of men that defenses of peace must be constructed” was also established, and with it the idea that we must stop acting as if each person can live his or her own way without interference. Instead, it is only with active intervention that we can move beyond the individual, find ways to live together in diverse societies and cultures. In other words, we must seek to actively practice ‘transformative education’ through education’s ‘other meanings’ rather than merely expanding the

opportunities for education in its traditional sense.

UNESCO explicitly suggests that the weapon against the concrete problem of war is 'peace' but the organization has not clearly detailed how education works as a medium for realizing peace or the approaches embedded in the process. The first task of education was to "increase opportunities for institutionalized education" with the message that education, in name alone, would carry over into one's lifecycle realities. Unfortunately, nothing much has changed with the approach of expanding educational opportunities for adult literacy and school-aged youth in the Education for All initiative, the Millennium Development Goals, or the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Though our devotion to 'quantified education' has elucidated who joins these activities, we still face conflicts and antagonisms that are difficult to resolve in the communities around us. It is for these reasons that we must move beyond expanding traditional education to adopting education with 'new meanings.'

UNESCO has undoubtedly paid more than a little attention to education's 'new meanings' for a transformative society. The "international education," and later "peace education," "inclusive education," "sustainable development education," and "global citizenship education"—the content and methods featured in global education agendas—include 'new meanings' in terms of going beyond formal, institutionalized education. Looking positively at UNESCO's leading educational programs, we might be able to judge the level of social conflict we face. Nevertheless, UNESCO still lacks answers for how to combine and collaborate on various functions of education to promote peace in the global community. If education is "society's hope," even remotely, then we must reflectively analyze UNESCO's ideology and the global education agenda in practice.

III. UNESCO's Education Cooperation in terms of the Global Education Agenda

A. Expanding opportunities for school education through fundamental education

After World War II, the international community held ignorance, disease, and poverty as the significant blocks to human progress. Until then, the most effective means of solving said problems were through enlightenment campaigns. Aside from countries with already established educational systems, most people in other countries were unable to decipher their own language and culture.

In 1947, UNESCO announced that three-quarters of the world's population was illiterate, and promoted fundamental education as a strategy for social developmental. Frank Laubach argued that life quality increased proportionately to education and that an emphasis on education was required to solve diverse social problems. Thus, he said, the spread of

literacy worldwide should include public education at the elementary levels. With the belief that education was the fundamental force for social integration and development now that the great shadow of the war had lifted, UNESCO promoted the following suggestions for basic education:

- Fix problems with jargon endemic in institutional education (School Education and Literacy Education)
- Provide reading materials for post-basic education
- Produce learning materials that all age groups can use even at basic education levels
- Give incentives to motivate adults to participate in community education efforts
- Prepare financial support for the promotion of basic education in each country
- Expand efforts for teacher training, innovations in education administration, and training of education outreach professionals

The above basic education promotion plan was perhaps influenced by UNKRA (1950-1958). UNKRA's primary mission was to provide material and infrastructural support to deliver necessities for the restoration of the education system in postwar Korea (alongside UNESCO's support for education). Educational support to UNESCO member states, at the national level, was aimed at "free and compulsory education" for basic education. Indeed, UNESCO committed to achieving universal free and compulsory education through a series of meetings and plans held in Bombay, India (now Mumbai) in 1952, and in Karachi, Pakistan in 1960.

The Karachi Plan achieved its 1980 target of conceptualizing basic literacy for adults as both primary education and compulsory. According to an Asia region study, primary enrollment rates in 1960 exceeded targets in all surveyed countries. The rate in Nepal increased from 9% in 1960 to 95% in 1976 and the rate in Bangladesh from 47% to 106% over the same period. Despite these achievements, however, in 1980, there were still more than 100 million people worldwide who had not gone to school.

Unlike the strides made with primary education, basic literacy for adults has had much less success. Since the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed education an inalienable 'human right,' equipping all with the ability to read, write, and count at the basic level remains a task essentially unfulfilled. With the postwar baby boom generation and the general rise in the world population, the number of illiterate individuals aged 15 and over reached 950 million in the 1990s. This was the context in which SDG 4 (one of the Sustainable Development Goals launched in 2015) aims to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality of education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all," following on from the Education for All initiative launched in 1990.

B. Paradigm Shift through Lifelong Learning

International organizations focusing on education are not limited to UNESCO alone. Attempts to make education a systemic and public institution and seeing it as a concrete means toward state and social community development are common features of all modern nation-states. There is a diverse population of such organizations. In particular, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Women's Organization, the World Bank, and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), all of which are arms of the UN, focus on linking personal growth and development at the social, national, and global levels and are concerned with both support and sustainability.

UNESCO, however, does not interpret education as merely a tool for growth and development. Instead, it recognizes the growth and development of human beings and the growth of individuals and societies as two-way flows and attempts to identify and support ways toward mutual development of both from a lifetime perspective. This concept has come to be called "lifelong learning." Rather than seeing education as enlightenment and knowledge transfer for specific age groups per se, UNESCO sees education as a process of growth that continues with teaching and learning throughout one's lifetime. Even though the organization began with a focus on basic literacy skills for adults, it is said that the organization's greatest achievement has been the expansion and depth it has given to the meaning of education

The 1970 Lengrand Report and *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow*, subsequently published as the Faure Report, triggered the move towards lifelong learning. The former analyzes the concept of the learning society, which argues that education is not only a tool for the development of individuals and society, but also a fundamental power to sustain the social community. Faure emphasizes the active role of education in setting the direction of a person's life. Extending these discussions, the 1973 Dave Report suggested changing the framework of continuing education to today's pillars: learning to know, learning to do, learning to be, learning to live together (the last of which was added by the Delore Report; Delore et al. 1996).

UNESCO's expansion of the concept of education beyond the "instrumental standpoint" that individuals need enlightenment with basic education primed for contributing to social and national growth has led to innovations in education around the world. It worked to shift national administrative systems to support an individual's lifelong growth and development with the expansion of state responsibilities in education and in terms of making such education free. UNESCO promotes civic learning at local administrative levels through the UNESCO Global Network of Learning Cities. As of 2019, 205 regional government (cities) are members of the network, including and 35 cities in the Republic of Korea.

In fact, the ideological shift from seeing education as based on the needs and growth of individuals through the 'lifelong learning' of the 1970s to its transformation into 'voluntary learning' for individual conscious reflection and transformative movements, rather than mere transfers of specific knowledge and skills, must not be overlooked. However, lifelong learning is still an essential element in discussions of educational development and even within the debates on sustainable societies.

C. The Dream of Constructing a Peaceful Earth through EIU, Peace Education, and Inclusive Education

UNESCO established guidelines for education for international understanding (EIU) as part of school education in 1959 (UNESCO 1959). The guidelines were designed to promote UNESCO's role as an international organization aimed at protecting human rights and peace through education, as mentioned in the organization's Constitution. They did not, however, adequately attend to such issues as the extreme ideological confrontations between colonizers and post-colonial states, the Cold War, and poverty-related issues.

In response to the above, UNESCO adopted the "Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation, and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" at its 18th General Conference in 1974. The recommendation recalled that it was the responsibility of each country to use education to achieve the objectives outlined in the August 12th 1949 Geneva Agreement for the Protection of War Victims. It reaffirmed UNESCO's responsibility to "promote and support any activity that ensures the education of all people for the promotion of justice, freedom, human rights and peace of its member states."

In particular, the conceptualization that "...'international understanding,' 'cooperation,' and 'peace' are inseparable, and based on respect for people and nations, with their different peoples and nations, with friendship and with respect for human rights and basic freedoms" begs the question of whether such ideals are only for and directed to minorities. This line of education led to criticism for not meeting the needs of diverse groups and being tantamount to a policy that failed to promote equality and solidarity.

According to the recommendation, educational responsibility is the corresponding/complementary link between individual and society, which is certainly true when it comes to development. However, education must adequately recognize the problems associated with political power—aggression and domination, oppression and violence—in the international community, and "[education] must make every individual aware of his or her responsibility to maintain peace, and contribute to the struggle against ideologies that foster colonialism,

neocolonialism, racism, fascism, ethnic discrimination, and other forms of hatred.”

This recommendation is rooted in the context of addressing what was, at the time, a fierce Cold War system. Dogmatic education was prevalent in school and institutional education, ironically working through the veil of promoting post-World War II peace to maintain hatred and discrimination. By the late 1960s, several diverse social and minority groups began to criticize and resist functionalist approaches used in schools to maintain and develop society. Consequently, UNESCO gained prominence as a member of the international community with the task of rebuilding peace through education, requiring an understanding of individual cultures and identities to strengthen cooperation.

EIU for peace and social integration been conceptualized as ‘international education’ and practiced since 1990. Efforts have been made to create an inclusive ‘Culture of Peace’ by recognizing and accepting social and cultural differences outside of repressive hierarchies. Furthermore, in conjunction with the ‘multi-cultural education’ of US educational reform, and earlier European focus on ‘intercultural education,’ EIU actively integrated informal education areas within formal education. Although there may be conceptual differences, EIU has served as a central axis of UNESCO’s educational agenda when it comes to its efforts toward embracing inclusivity and coexistence, i.e., social integration, in recognizing sociocultural diversity.

The significance of an educational agenda producing concrete practices should not be understated. In 2000, UNESCO responded to a 1997 request from the South Korean government and approved the establishment of the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding (UNESCO-APCEIU) as a category II organization. As an organization that mediates educational efforts necessary for the promotion of inclusive society and peace, APCEIU has continued to promote teacher training, data development, inter-governmental dialogue, program development, and inclusive multicultural citizenship in conjunction with regional governments, in order to promote education for international understanding, peace education, and conflict resolution. Interestingly, EIU as a concept is so comprehensive in its coverage of UNESCO’s global education agenda that it has served as global citizenship education since 2015.

D. Responding to Global Problems through Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)

The concepts of sustainability and sustainable development are relatively new. These concepts were first defined and popularized through the “Our Common Future” report, published in the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, also

known as The Brundtland Commission, in 1987. The debate over sustainable development sparked by the publication of "Limits of Growth" by Club of Rome scientists in 1972 led to criticism of individual states' national policies that prioritized economic growth.

Education for sustainable development (ESD) made sustainable development a concrete element of the educational agenda and a more active issue for the growth of the international community and development for all. The UN General Assembly designated the period 2005-2014 as the "UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development" (UN DESD) in 2002 and selected UNESCO as its leading organization, tasked with creating a framework for educational activities promoting ESD. UNESCO developed a plan for the implementation of DESD and began concrete activities in 2005. ESD expanded the notion of conventional education to include more social, environmental, and economic aspects and led to the conceptualization of concrete actions influencing diverse areas.

While the concept of sustainability began with a critical awareness of limited resources and environmental problems, the perception that more comprehensive education is crucial to solving problems associated with global development is wide-spread. In other words, even with the ESD's ability to foster tolerance when it comes to tensions and conflicts of various social and cultural groups, sustainable development is perceived as infeasible without it.

ESD is now conceptualized in education as a society-oriented, high-quality education in which everyone can benefit, thereby learning the values, actions, and ways of living necessary for a sustainable future and social transformation. UNESCO proposes four specific educational goals for this purpose. First, the promotion and improvement of basic education. Second, reorienting existing education programs to reflect values, perspectives, skills, and knowledge relating to sustainable development. Third, developing public understanding, trust and awareness of sustainability. Fourth, practical training.

UNESCO-led ESD has progressed in diverse ways. First of all, each country is required to reflect on the concepts and practices relating to ESD in the process of education. The revised curriculum should include such topics as society and ethics in science subjects, addressing the issue of moving toward a society free of environmental problems. Accordingly, UNESCO has promoted the publication of guidelines for ESD extracurricular activities that include the training of teachers, curriculum, research processes, and student workshops. UNESCO has also made effective use of the UNESCO Association Schools Program Network (UNESCO ASPnet) not simply to foster its values and ideals, but also to implement ESD to achieve practical goals.

In 2012, UNESCO established the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEP) as a Category I organization in New Delhi, India, to strengthen ESD capacities of regional and national institutions. In particular, this organization

has been expanded ESD's role in resolving challenges to peace, conflict resolution, and social integration. UNESCO has additionally designated Regional Centres of Expertise (RCE) in alliance with the United Nations University to promote ESD and deliver on DESD goals. Work is aimed in particular, at including the values of sustainable development are included in administrative, environmental, and public policy for the management of cities in ways that are conducive to the coexistence of the people living there. Here, education takes a primarily transformative role. As of 2019, there are 168 RCE network-approved regionally specialized centers globally.

In 2014, when the DESD ended, UNESCO held a meeting with the Japanese government to evaluate ESD's 10-year run. The evaluation showed that DESD was able to achieve significant results, which led to education reform tailored with a recognition that education plays positive roles beyond the scope of its perceived boundaries. Following this, the international community adopted SDGs in 2015, which included ESD as part of its concrete goals for 2030. ESD, which was initially conceived in the 1980s and 1990s as environmental education for the sustainability of the planet, has now become a more comprehensive educational agenda that extends beyond an ethical approach for science. However, it is difficult to surmise whether ESD fits appropriately in the economic and eco-political structure when it comes to discussions of economies of scale. It is delivered as program activities in schools, and public educational institutions, but it is questionable whether it is similarly disseminated at the level of higher education and civic education in society as a whole.

E. Promoting Inclusive Humanity, Society, and Culture through Global Citizenship Education (GCED)

UNESCO confirmed and announced its education development agenda for 2030 at the 2015 World Education Forum in Songdo, Incheon. Unlike the 1990 and 2000 meetings, which proposed 'Education for All' as a separate initiative, the 2015 EFA agenda was the same as the UN's SDG 4 agenda. It was agreed to accept criticisms of differing educational goals and to produce more efficient and effective outcomes. With the declaration to "ensure inclusive and an equitable quality of education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all," SDG 4 includes UNESCO's historical educational agenda and has laid out a strategy to overcome unresolved challenges. For this reason, Global Citizenship Education (GCED) is as significant as ESD discussed above. The provision to "provide basic levels of universal free education," including in the MDGs between 2000-2015, might have resulted in quantitatively expanding school education, but this neither resolved conflicts

in the international community nor created a human community for the future. Moreover, the deepening of global inequality, discrimination, and exclusion of socially and culturally vulnerable groups, the increase in local wars leading to worsening tension and conflict, and the growing culture of hate have not been resolved with expansions in institutional education opportunities.

UNESCO defines “global citizenship” as citizenship for the society of the future as published in its “Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21st Century. Here, global citizenship education is conceptualized as cultivating the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes of learners who can take the lead in creating a more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, safe and sustainable world. The Asia Pacific Center of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU) has promoted global citizenship education as a central theme of its education for international understanding and activities to expand its practice. In reality, however, global citizenship education is a concept that encompasses both education for international understanding and intercultural education, including human rights, anti-discrimination, anti-hate, and peace—all of which are UN advocated.

Global citizenship education is expected, along with the ESD education lead by Japan, to continue to be an essential element of the education agenda for the period to 2030. In line with this, UNESCO holds an International Forum on Citizenship Education on an annual basis and is at the forefront of developing materials for systemic public education on global citizenship as well as informal education. As a critical deterrent of violent radicalism and genocide, and to promote global citizenship, UNESCO has focused on the importance of language as one of its main focal themes in education. In addition, due to the complexities of national categories operating through sociopolitical landscapes, the debates over concepts and practices when it comes to global citizenship are often heated. However, the reality is that global citizenship, and discussions about it, contribute to collecting and disseminating practices that lead to real change. UNESCO has exerted influence on education politics in ways that cultivate global citizenship to address and solve global conflicts and problems that complement existing national education programs. In addition to the UN-affiliated Category I institutions, APCEIU, the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development, the IICBA, ASPnet, and UNESCO-UNITWIN are all actively engaged in this regard. In the Asia-Pacific region, in particular, APCEIU has worked to promote global citizenship through awareness-raising activities, teacher training, research and development, and gathering information on good practices.

IV. A New Approach to UNESCO Educational Cooperation

A. Achievements and Challenges to Education for All (EFA)

Through the Education for All (EFA), UNESCO's efforts to provide both educational opportunities and qualitative growth in learning have led to concrete actions. The EFA, which clarified "the right and duty of and for all" as its standpoint, came through the Jomtien Declaration, the Dakar Action Plan, and the 2015 Incheon Declaration, continued its activity of overcoming the "blindness and prejudice" contained in the UN Charter.

Over the past years, UNESCO has made remarkable achievements through the EFA, including universal primary education, narrowing the gender gap in educational opportunities, and improving adult and youth literacy. In particular, the adult literacy rate had improved 5% every decade since 1950 (when UNESCO began its survey), while illiteracy fell from 37% in 1970 to 14% in 2015. However, as of 2017, 264 million school-aged students had no educational opportunities in school, and of elementary school students who were enrolled, around 17% failed to graduate. Less than 45% of all 15 to 17-year-olds graduated from middle school. In addition, despite increasing literacy rates, the illiterate adult population still amounts to nearly 750 million people.

Despite the achievements, the EFA, which according to the UN Charter, is in the role of acting on behalf of 'mankind's social peace and security,' the organization is far from achieving its goals. Moreover, even so, it is additionally challenging to say whether those goals can be 'achieved' with any mutually shared consensus. How exactly can we achieve EFA's goals? What exactly makes this effort so difficult? In what alternative discussion must we have to make UNESCO's intellectual cooperation an educational function that can maintain the dignity of people while protracting means of supplying them with education on justice, freedom, and peace?

B. Achievements and Challenges to the Global Agenda

In terms of evaluating UNESCO's global education agenda, it faces considerable challenges. Difficulties with international understanding education and education for sustainable development, as well as difficulties with citizenship education are pervasive. During UNESCO's early days, fundamental education consisted of basic reading and writing, but with schools as public educational institutions, efforts increasingly move to on and off-campus facilities where they become increasingly subject to evaluation. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know precisely what influences an individual's gained literacy skill or

extended years of schooling spells in terms of her individual relationships with those around her. What we can say with some confidence is that expanding schooling opportunities has contributed to development by empowering the labor force. Economists and politicians, who hear in it the measures of the country's economic strength, continuously reproduce this idea.

In hindsight, however, has the outcome of UNESCO's global education agenda goal of creating a human rights-based social community achieved peace? While arguing that no progress ignores reality, beyond the numbers participating in the educational push and the vast number of education gatherings, the outcomes of education as an intervention for reducing tensions and conflicts remain grossly abstract. These issues reflect on the SDG debates that centered on the feasibility of including global citizenship education, along with other educational efforts. Nevertheless, UNESCO's education efforts over the past 70 years can be read as an abstract process that is ossifying to ones with concrete actions. Through education, we can evaluate the abstract pictures of "our" human lives as well as interpret and resolve the tension and conflicts within them.

C. Education for Peace: A New Approach

In the UNESCO Constitution, all nations believe in the "...full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, [and] are agreed and determined to develop and increase the means of communication between their peoples and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives."

The fourth industrial revolution and artificial intelligence are portrayed as products of technological progress and universal images of advanced human society. However, such revolutionary and progressive changes act as driving forces that redesign the future of humankind while redefining the micro-relationships of everyday life. Such changes call for change in education to reorganize generation-to-generation, community-to-community, and norm-to-norm relationships. Given that EFA has failed to achieve its educational goals of providing equal opportunity and of maximizing the quality of the education environment, the future innovative society calls for new global forms of education, new roles of education geared towards addressing social change, and education that cultivates new talent. Thus, there is a growing need to reflect on UNESCO's EFA, which is mostly responsible for fundamental/ basic education.

Considering that, "education should serve as the basis of intellectual cooperation of members of the international community," it should not only be a means of communicating,

but also serve as much as possible as a place for just debate to deepen mutual understanding and the free exchange of objective truths. At the very least, through innovations in technology, the communication structure led by commercial industries should help to renew educational, intellectual, and moral solidarity for a more just and peaceful global society.

The new conceptualization of education should be one that seeks “education as ethical praxis for social justice,” one that cultivates global citizenship to promote global sustainable development. Education should not be confined to institutionalized frameworks as a structural or functional tool. It should be more autonomous, liberal, and creative enough to serve as a source that nurtures global citizens. Peace, the dream of postwar pacifists who agonized over every word in the Constitution, but in the end, that only achieved ‘a barrier to peace though accumulated education.’ At that point, we will need to be confident that education is a pleasant journey to peace.

D. Korean National Commission for UNESCO and Education Efforts for Peace

South Korea joined UNESCO as its 55th member on June 14th, eleven days before the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Through the UN Korea Reconstruction Agency, UNESCO led the nation through reconstruction and the Korean National Commission for UNESCO has served as Korea’s conduit for education, scientific, and cultural connection to the international community. UNESCO’s basic educational promotion plan linked the government’s compulsory education with all literacy education in 1950. We must move beyond the government-led education system, the lifelong learning society’s education created an explosive civil society learning network from the 1990s. APCEIU helped to establish international understanding education, which promotes diversity, engagement, and peace. Sustainable development education and global citizen education became the medium through which discussions of new citizenship in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools took place. Perhaps UNESCO’s global education agenda, with the active participation of civil society alongside government public support, is most effective in introducing, implementing, and serving as a mechanism for South Korea.

However, despite achievements, the internal and external levels of tensions surrounding Korea is like no other. The peninsula, for one, is still divided and remains a war zone always on the brink of possible military calamity. The Korean War is perhaps the first significant artillery attack against intellectuals’ post-World War II peace promotional efforts. Unfortunately, the scars of war are still somewhat fresh. Isn’t this where UNESCO’s efforts at using education to overcome war and forge peace most urgently needed? It was hoped

that the collapse of the Berlin Wall that unified East and West Germany as one, ending the ideological Cold War and the consequent dissolution of the Soviet Union, had presaged a coming peace on the Korean peninsula. But that prophecy remains a distant reality. Beyond military tensions, the historical conflict between South Korea and Japan is skin-deep and, like acne, sensitive to the environment and troublesome. Today's increasing preoccupations with social diversity are seen as the source driving political, economic, and cultural conflict. In this light, UNESCO's unfinished goals are the keys to realizing Korea's social peace. Praised as a country with one of the highest global education levels, Korea needs 'new meanings' of education that make it possible for those in such struggles to live together. To this end, I would like to briefly offer several paths that the Korean National Commission for UNESCO can focus on in the future.

First, the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, having watched Korea rise from the scars of war, can take a symbolic role with its fundamental education included within the global agenda as a testament to its contributions to social development. Aside from the paradigm of seeing education as economic growth that is economists and political leaders stress, we should provide new perspectives on the role education plays in socially and culturally integrating communities.

Second, Korea is geographically symbolic when it comes to global peace implications. The Korean National Commission for UNESCO should pay close attention to peace on the peninsula with the inclusion of North Korea. Education will play a significant role in forging peace and easing tensions between the two ideologically divided countries. Peace education could contribute to alleviating tensions on the peninsula, encouraging progressive steps between both sides to contribute to forming more civil society. The Korean National Commission for UNESCO should emphasize the role of education in postwar processes of unification, a concept that has become a political term, and should strive to make education serve a peace-gearred role.

Third, the core of education innovation lies within learners. Learning is the power to change. However, when learning is locked within formal frameworks, it is difficult to engage in authentic learning because of excessive competition. The global education agenda that UNESCO presented to heighten social participation and transformation must strive for 'new meanings' beyond flowery and pleasing rhetoric. Amid talks of diversity, a 'culture of learning' in which cultures communicate betwixt and between one another to reveal tensions and conflicts is needed.

Fourth, while global citizenship education is nothing new, we still lack the means of truly realizing it. The Korean National Commission for UNESCO must reveal the different levels of global citizenship to Korean citizens and show signs of its improvement. The recent rise in the number of UNESCO schools should serve as decent venues from which to promote

global citizenship. More discussions will no doubt be needed on what and how activities can effectively spread it.

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Achievements and Objectives of UNESCO's International Scientific Cooperation for Peace

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I. Introduction

With deepening global problems related to low birth rates, aging populations, polarization in society, energy, climate change, and the environment, scientific and technological innovations (STI) have become key to global responses. Europe announced a “mission-oriented innovation policy,” which aims to address social challenges linked to industrial development and follows its Horizon 2020 strategy. Japan has also responded with its “Society 5.0” strategy, which tackles global warming, an aging population, and polarization problems.

Social values and responsibilities have emerged as crucial elements of innovation policies. The heart of innovation policies has moved on from economic growth and industrial development towards sustainable society and technology, addressing social issues, and improving the quality of life. In Europe, in particular, the social roles and responsibilities of science are actively discussed through the European Union’s concept of Responsible Research and Innovation (RRI).

Against the above backdrop, it is necessary to reflect on UNESCO’s scientific cooperative activities and the evolving new roles it must play as an international organization. In this article, I examine the achievements and challenges relating to UNESCO international cooperative activities and offer suggestions for the roles of UNESCO and the Korean National Commission for UNESCO in the future.

II. Reflections on the achievements of UNESCO’s International Scientific Cooperation

1. The History and Achievements of UNESCO’s Programmes in Natural Science (SC)

1) Activity Phase I

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945 as an international organization concerned with science, along with education and culture. Although in its earlier days the organization began with the name “United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization,” it still addressed science, though this field was part of the cultural section. During the 1942-1945 preliminary and negotiation meetings to establish the organization, scientists and scientific advocacy groups pushed to add “science” to the name, insisting that science had a culture of its own that set it apart.

During the first session of the General Conference held in November 1946, the Committee on Natural Science presented the following items as part of its mission: (1) to establish a world-wide network in each of its field of competence; (2) to sponsor and

support scientific associations; (3) to organize and operate an international clearing house for scientific information; (4) to support the work of the United Nations and its specialized service; (5) to inform the general public in all countries of the international implications of scientific discoveries; and (6) to create new forms of international scientific cooperation (Finnemore 1993).

The early works of UNESCO in the field of natural science had several unique features.

First, UNESCO recognized science as an important tool of national development, and worked to build capacity through supporting scientific research and training. UNESCO's early science program emphasized the role and value of science focusing on basic / applied sciences and engineering and related sciences.

Second, the organization aimed to raise public awareness of science and technology. Such promotional efforts drew on media outlets via TV and newspapers, science museums, publications, and public campaigns. Under the belief that the public did not have the adequate knowledge to understand and participate in scientific activities, the Organization relied mainly on the 'public understanding of science' model (PUS). This model involved professional scientists promoting scientific knowledge and activities among the general public.

Third, the organization actively assisted member states to establish governmental institutions in charge of science policies. It also helped to establish regional research centers in Latin America and contributed to the establishment of regional networks aimed at promoting joint research. Additionally, the European Institute for Particle Physics (CERN) and the International Centre of Physics (ICTP) were established to promote joint research efforts and strengthened capacities in member states (Kim Eun-young, 2018).

Fourth, the Organization supported developing countries in their efforts to build capacities in terms of human resources, institutional infrastructure, and technology, through workshops, seminars, training courses, information and human resource exchanges, research and equipment support (Kim Eun-young 2018). The perception of science and technology as crucial factors in national development and economic growth has helped to justify and promote active support.

2) Activity Phase II

After the 1970s and 80s, UNESCO's scientific activities expanded efforts aimed at sustainability, including issues related to water, energy, and ecology. Accordingly, the role of science has become a significantly influential component of international cooperation aimed at improving the conservation of the environment and natural resources. These incipient stages of UNESCO science activities had several distinctive features.

First, the organization focused global attention on concepts related to sustainability that

went beyond economic growth and developmental frames of thinking (e.g., environmental conservation). Conservation of the environment and natural resources extended beyond basic / applied sciences and engineering, and was adopted into international programs that promoted international cooperation. In the marine sector, for example, the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) and the International Hydrological Project (IHP) are in place, while for other areas of action, the Man and Biosphere Project (MAB), and the International Geoscience and Geoparks Programme (IGGP) play crucial roles in research and preservation of geological resources (Kim Eun-young, 2018).

Second, the organization promoted cross-border cooperation to facilitate the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In particular, it established international and intra-national science programs in areas that benefit from cooperation and joint research primed to solve common problems and forge international cooperation on issues such as use of marine resources, water conservation, biodiversity, and geological heritage.

Third, from the 1970s, UNESCO's humanities and social sciences sectors served as major actors in the promotion of ethical reflection on modern social developments and in establishing and supporting related ethical policies such as those on human rights. Even without legally binding power, the established international norms encompassed in the Declaration of Bioethics and Human Rights (2005) and the Declaration of Principles of Climate Change (2017) have served as guidelines for the activities and policies of member states (Kim Eun-young 2018).

Fourth, efforts have been made to promote sustainable development of people and communities living in Biosphere Reserve areas and UNESCO Global Geoparks, as well as to conserving their natural resources. Biosphere Reserves contribute to cooperation between neighboring countries through such conservation efforts, while Global Geoparks are a means through which local governments can develop communities while preserving geological diversity. Such activities have been utilized as a model for the sustainable development of local communities (Kim Eun-young 2018).

2. A Critique of International Cooperation in UNESCO's Science Programmes

First, UNESCO's activities in sciences have followed a linear model, under which science is believed to lead to national development and economic growth. This model merges strategies from a handful of talented scholars to support such areas as biotechnology and information-communications technologies. However, as a result of the science and technology sector's supply-focused preoccupations, insufficient investment has been given

to the issues of actual use and diffusion of science and technology, technologies in society, and the parallel construction of society with technology.

Second, while there has recently been more of a focus on sustainability, integration of natural sciences and humanities, and cooperation between researchers, practitioners, and politicians, the consideration of end-users and the people on the field is still lacking. More specifically, while sustainability has garnered more attention, implementing it and efforts towards strategizing its implementation are still inadequate.

Third, UNESCO's role as a principal agent of transition has been relatively weak. Due to political circumstances and the interests of Member States, UNESCO's scientific activities have often been aimed at short-term rather than medium- to long-term transitions. UNESCO needs to transform itself into a 'transition lab,' in which it establishes a vision for a systematic transition, experiment with, study, and disseminate new ideas, and take an active role in solving the problems we face today.

Fourth, there is a need to change the focus of scientific activities that have been based on a deficiency model. This need is primarily due to the general rise in access to higher education, the birth of educated citizens through the Internet, and the advent of active consumers/users. The traditional presumptive notion in the sciences and the media that experts need to shape 'ignorant' citizens into experts through education no longer suffices. As is clear from recent 'Living Lab' efforts, these same citizens are participating in ways that extend beyond mere subjects of passive education.

III. Future Directions of UNESCO's International Scientific Cooperation

1. Active Responses to Social Challenges

UNESCO has endeavored to support the development of science and technology through education and R & D support. The assumption is that scientific and technological development leads naturally to economic and social development.

The above causative assumption has been the basis for scientific and technological development not only in UNESCO but in many individual member states. However, the results have starkly differed from the assumptions and expectations. Even with the remarkable advances in science and technology of the last three decades, the problems facing our society remain unresolved. Instead, socioeconomic polarization has deepened, climate change continues, and the world remains mostly unprepared to address problems of aging societies. In other words, people started to have doubts about whether the advancement of scientific technology could bring about socio-economic development and

better lives. In particular, the unprecedented financial crises that rocked the world in 2008 had a decisive influence on changing the perception of the international community, leading to an era of the 'New Normal.'

In this New Normal, new trends in science and technology policies have also begun to form. Transcending the conventional view that emphasized fast development of scientific technology, discussions began on a concept of "good innovation," pursuing economic growth, social integration, and ecosystem protection together. These discussions do not concern "exclusive innovations" that deepen polarization and climate change, but rather "inclusive innovation" that reduces social gaps and actively responds to climate change. As the discourse on the directionality of scientific development. This change in scientific and technological activities has led to a normative turn in values.

Owing to this shift in framework, a new perspective on scientific innovation is arising not only in South Korea but also around the world. First, the paradigm in R & D policy that focuses on supplying science and technological knowledge is moving toward innovation policies focused on problem-solving and enhancing the quality of life. Efforts are also being made to integrate subjects, fields, and areas that have hitherto been excluded from scientific innovation into the processes of science and technological innovation.

The above changes are reflected in the emergence of South Korea's "Social Problem-Solving R & D Projects" and "People's Life Research" in 2010, both of which helped to frame new categories for research and development in the country. These new modes ask, "what is the scientific technology for?" and explores the so-called "undone science." This goes beyond what has been accepted as conventional science, and looks at scientific technology from a new perspective that includes the perspective of the general public.

Such projects differ starkly from existing science and technology activities. They aim at improving the quality of people's lives with practical solutions to social challenges. Citizens and experts working on social problems collaborate to better define and solve problems. In addition the projects aim to conduct R & D for the purpose of problem-solving, not simply for publication and patents.

A case in point is the European Union's new mission-oriented policy. The EU presents a mission-oriented innovation policy as a critical policy direction in the 9th Framework Programme (2021-2027) and introduces the SDGs as a crucial social responsibility.

In 2018, the EU published a policy report by Professor Mariana Mazzucato entitled "Mission-Oriented Research and Innovation of the European Union."¹ This report argues

1 "Mission-Oriented Research and Innovation in the European Union: A Problem-Solving Approach to Fuel Innovation-led Growth."

that innovation policies should respond to social challenges facing the EU and international community. It sets social challenges as core goals of innovation policy and addresses social responsibilities that should be dealt with as the SDGs as the foundation. The EU stresses that such innovation policies are foundational to sustainable development and the growth of science and technology.

In terms of its objectives and processes, mission-oriented innovation differs starkly from traditional mission-oriented policies related to such projects as the lunar landings, cancer eradication, or defense research. With traditional policies, states and experts set goals with technical clarity. In contrast, with the new mission-oriented policies, their objectives are ambiguous because they have social and technical implications.

In addition to the above, the participation of citizens at the site where social problems are actually occurring determines the key goals and missions, as opposed to top-down decision-making of experts and governments. Key stakeholders participate at the site of problems to set goals alongside officials and experts. Rather than the top-down “strategic planning” of experts and public officials who are focused most often on achieving specific policy goals, an “evolutionary approach” provides opportunities for stakeholders to participate.

The composition of research projects also take an approach in which the existing technology and industries are integrated to propose a ‘task’ that needs to be completed to tackle a social issue, or a state of being that needs to be achieved by problem-solving. These processes produce innovations that solve social problems while creating new areas for growth and new markets. The structure for these projects is broadly as follows: challenge►task►linkage of related industries and sectors►implementation of R & D tasks.

One social challenge has been the effort to improve the social health and well-being of citizens. The goal of halving the social burden of dementia patient management by 2030 is one example of note (See Figure 1). To this end, interaction and convergence are necessary between those in the medical field, the social services sector, the general service sector, technology sector, consumer goods sector, and even design professionals. Other examples of R & D and innovation projects that are being carried out include projects to develop technologies related to the diagnosis of Alzheimer’s, the use of A.I. for patients’ physical and mental emancipation, and standardization of social services. The series of events in Figure 1 illustrates how mission-oriented R & D projects are implemented.

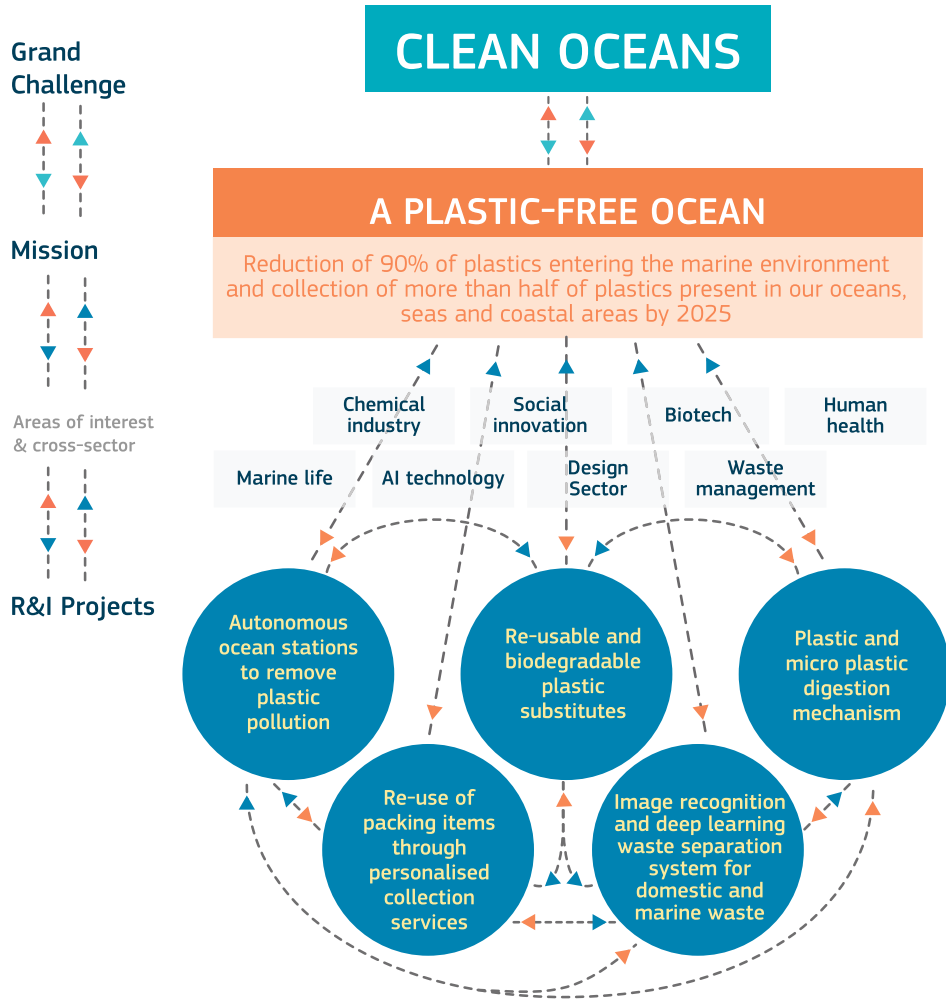


Figure1 Mission-Oriented R & D Innovation

2. The Transformation of Sustainable Social and Technical Systems

In recent years, the world is facing increasing challenges associated with polarization in society, aging societies, and energy issues. These are not simple problems that citizens must tackle in their daily lives; they are integral to technical and institutional frameworks at national and international level. They are a matter of daily life and a structural problem at the systems level.

Various attempts have been made to address the above problems but have mostly

been carried out through fragmented means or at the expense of existing systems, with unintended results. A system innovation must aim at changing the system itself. It must necessarily convert the current unsustainable social and technical systems in ways that transform them into completely new systems. These new systems must move beyond normalized sciences, technologies, industries, infrastructures, cultures, laws, institutions, and lifestyles which comprise the existing system.

Take today's familiar car-based transportation system, which uses carbon energy, works through a combination of automobile-related science and technologies, industries, oil refining, refueling, road systems, transportation systems, insurance systems, and other such automobile-related cultures. As current environmental problems such as climate change, fine dust, energy depletion, and traffic accidents occur with increasing frequency, the sustainability of this transportation system is questionable. Under the theory of social and technological conversion, solving this problem requires a shift away from carbon use altogether—not merely upgraded efficiencies in its use. Instead we should be considering the establishment of transportation systems that do not generate greenhouse gases, soot, and fine dust, and the building of housing near jobs to reduce transportation needs, together with the laws, institutions and infrastructure required for these.

Innovation of a system, however, is not created through mere breakthrough innovations and policies alone. It happens gradually when “niches” of systematic innovations, which carries the buds of a new system, become expanded and linked, branching out into new fields. In light of this knowledge, end-results are now discussed as the product of innovations that take place over 30 years or roughly a generation. Over this period, injected niches that are strategically managed produce change alongside existing systems and eventually lead to the formation of new systems.

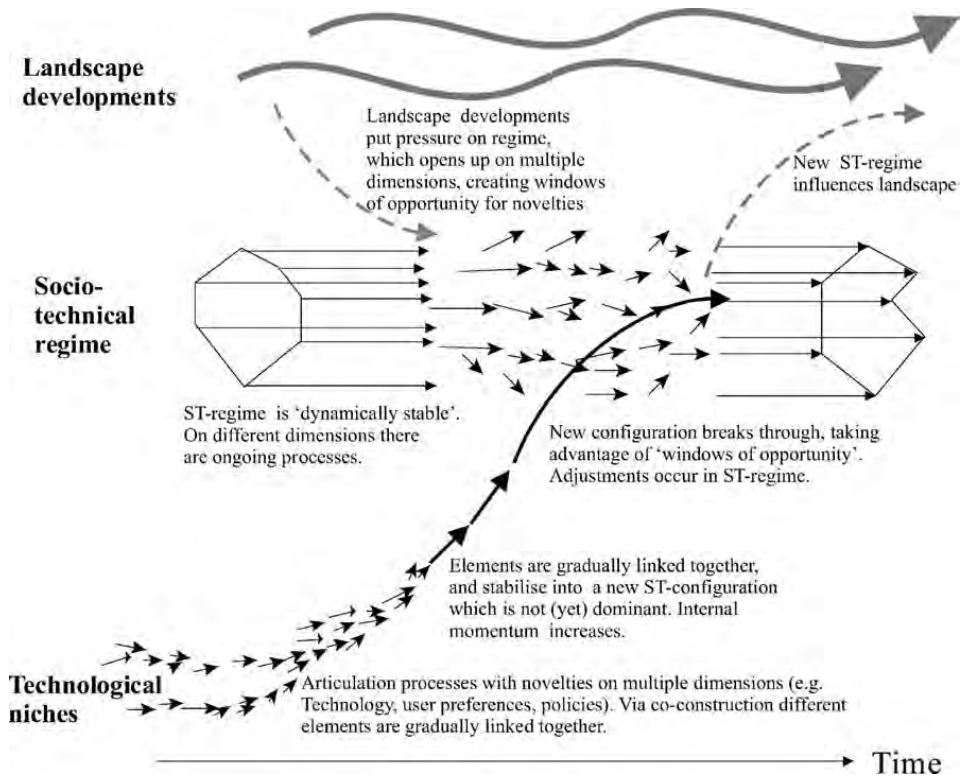


Figure2 Social and Technological System Conversion

3. New Perspectives on UNESCO's International Scientific Cooperation Activities

UNESCO's international cooperation in science and technology needs to be in line with the trends mentioned above. Beyond international cooperative activities aimed at developing science and technology activities themselves, such cooperative activities must respond to global challenges associated with energy and the environment, urbanization, polarization, societal aging, and climate change.

The above signifies a possible paradigm shift in international cooperative activities—a new approach that focuses on the implementation of the SDGs set by the UN as the core goals for human society. As policy expands to respond to social challenges with science, the scope of international cooperation in science and technology also expands. The response to global social challenges becomes the agenda for international scientific cooperation. Such work is carried out following the global agenda and in line with UNESCO's particular

competences for dealing with climate change, biodiversity, disaster risk response, water management, nature conservation, and bioethics.

UNESCO's international scientific and technological cooperation activities have focused on several areas and functions of the SDGs, such as education and culture. However, in this regard, these activities are limited. The paradigm shift in science and technology with innovative policies, however, has led to a more diverse and widespread impact of the global agenda and the SDGs. It is necessary to create a new agenda for international cooperation that is effective for today's world—not merely its past. Cooperation between international organizations is desirable in this regard. This cooperation is especially crucial in considering the necessities that accompany new projects that are today still in their early stages.

Addressing these challenges require the aforementioned “innovation of the system,” rather than cooperation on individual challenges or one-time projects. Such revolutionary changes require significant changes in science, technology, and industry, and similar changes in the related laws and institutions that govern them. As a result, projects must be carried out with the ultimate aim of creating a new social and technological system. Supported by this process, new projects that UNESCO plans to pursue must explore and experiment with sustainable social and technological systems through “niche innovations.”

This context provides UNESCO with an opportune moment to promote itself as a platform for regional and organizational innovation projects at the international level that seek to change the global vision and promote systemic change. It has the opportunity to play a leading role in linking and directing not only UNESCO projects but also projects of member states and other international organizations. It is essential that UNESCO take charge of organizing the relevant actors, including businesses, to create a new vision of systemic innovation grounded in the Organization's steadfast commitment to the SDGs.

In summary, in terms of both social and technical innovation, UNESCO can offer a new vision for international cooperation in science and technology and can serve as a platform bringing together industry and other actors to respond to social challenges in this new era.

IV. Future Tasks for UNESCO and the Republic of Korea

1. Operation of International Exchange and Cooperation Programs for R & D Projects that Respond to Social Challenges

R & D is emerging in South Korea as a new means for addressing social challenges. Such R & D projects are aimed at trying to solve problems related to fine dust, plastics, public safety, and environmental and energy issues. A paradigm shift in science and technological

innovation policies is also underway in the country.

The social problems and challenges that these projects target are global in nature, and urgent. Therefore, motivation for cooperation and interaction at the international level is relatively strong. International cooperation is necessary to explore better ways to solve socially complex problems. This cooperation includes the conducting of joint research and analyses of social problems along with experimenting with regionally-specific solutions. In particular, for R & D projects that have been successful domestically, international joint research is needed to create regional-specific projects that attend to the characteristics of projects overseas. With the confirmation of the effectiveness of alternatives, such efforts are easily applicable and expandable to the global level. Because there is little to no international cooperation for research projects that tackle social issues, there is ample room for UNESCO and the Republic of Korea to pursue new projects.

UNESCO-led international cooperation projects can help R & D to solve both domestic and international research projects to tackle social issues. Since these projects are based primarily on new goals and mechanisms, UNESCO can help to justify their activities. This direction could assist in overcoming impediments to existing R & D projects that center on the opinions of experts and are directed solely at economic growth. UNESCO can serve as the base for such social R & D problem-solving projects.

Furthermore, UNESCO can contribute to clarifying the prospects of achieving the SDGs through international cooperation and contribute to shaping a new outlook on domestic social problem-solving projects. By promoting cooperative projects relating to the SDGs at global level, UNESCO can help to increase the meaning and status of such projects.

2. Promoting International Programs for Science and Technology—Civil Society Partnerships

Responding to social challenges through the use of R & D and policies related to it requires collaboration with civil society. Civil society contributes not only to the development of policy solutions by shaping views on social problems but through participation in the process of review and testing of solutions. In the past, such efforts were entirely in the hands of specialists and their related networks. However, as new forms of research projects that tackle social issues are on the rise, public participation in the realm of science and technology is increasingly a topic of interest. Civil society not only understands science and technology these days but also has emerged as an influential actor in “co-creation” of scientific and technological achievements. Recently, based on ‘living lab’ activities (a user-driven innovative model), citizen science has become more inclusive, with citizen

participation alongside experts. Citizens create new knowledge in collaboration with experts and inject their knowledge based on daily life lessons.

Based on today's trends, UNESCO should push toward civil society participation through science and technological-citizen participation in international cooperative projects related to scientific research and education. With so few programs that push for such participation, UNESCO can help to pursue international cooperation projects in ways that differentiate itself. Working with a new network inclusive of civil society at the international level can serve as UNESCO's new asset. Such efforts will help set the future direction for international scientific research cooperation.

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Peace in Central Asia: Prognosis and Solutions for UNESCO's Silk Road Project

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I. Introduction

The UNESCO World Heritage programme is so well-known that its meaning needs no elaboration. Over the last decade, public interest in World Heritage has been growing in the Republic of Korea and in other Asian countries, and World Heritage has become the representative name for cultural projects.

The original purpose of the World Heritage programme was to let humankind work together in preserving and managing cultural heritage that could not be limited in ownership to just one country. In other words, the programme was meant to showcase the cultural impact of different countries, as well as emphasize the value of universal cultural heritage, though in fact, such universal values had ossified to some extent by the 1990s.

\Paradoxically, however, unexpected problems arose after Asian and other Third World countries became active participants in the World Heritage programme in the 2000s. Emerging countries, with their economic revival, managed and promoted their own cultural heritage competitively, seeing heritage as part of a 'nation-first cultural policy.' A fitting example was China and North Korea's spat over national representation regarding the inscription of Goguryeo tombs on the list—a diplomatic scuffle that eventually ended¹ in 2004 when China and North Korea chose to inscribe their tombs separately. However, the phenomenon of using cultural heritage as a tool of governance remains an issue with the potential to mire World Heritage in inter-state conflict.

Such squabbles as the one above, where countries use World Heritage sites as tools for competition, clearly exceed UNESCO's purview. UNESCO thus recommends serial and multinational inscription as a means of dampening the extent of such conflicts. Regardless, pressures from nationalism, culture, and commerce give rise to changes in the tools of competition between countries, which continuously limits UNESCO's conflict reduction efforts. Reflecting on these changing dynamics and exploring how World Heritage sites cause international conflict, this paper examines the post-Goguryeo period Silk Road that links China and Central Asia, in order to review the current status of the UNESCO World Heritage programme, and suggests possible solutions to the issues that have arisen within it.

1 China nominated some of the tombs in the Jilian area as "Capital Cities and Tombs of the Ancient Koguryo Kingdom," while North Korea nominated them as "The Complex of the Koguryo Tombs." The two were geographically adjacent, and culturally identical. The only measure of difference would be the modern demarcation. This clearly showed the limitations of UNESCO's World Heritage programme in the face of modern politics.

II. The Nature of the Problem

The various cultural programmes of UNESCO have contributed significantly to preserving world peace and cultural heritage. Particularly noteworthy is the role these programmes have played in Asian countries that have risen economically since the 1990s and the CIS countries of the former Soviet Union. These countries use UNESCO programmes as a means of promoting their countries' diverse cultural heritage globally.

Cultural heritage in Eurasia has faced several new challenges since the opening up of the former Soviet bloc. Until the 1990s, all cultural assets in the Soviet Union were regarded as Soviet cultural heritage regardless of country of origin. Thus, the newly independent countries have had to re-evaluate their cultural heritage represented by the Silk Road. China, meanwhile, is currently expanding its Belt and Road Initiative, using its economic and cultural influence across Eurasia. In contrast, as cultural heritage projects related to the Silk Road gradually shift towards a new direction, Russia and Mongolia find themselves in relatively disadvantaged positions, but are only passively responding to these changes.

Another issue is that the perception of the traditional Silk Road remains plagued by an image created by centuries of Western-led research that persists today. This research often argues that the Silk Road's long history must have had roots in the West or in the efforts of people of Western descent. While clearly the first herders were from western Eurasia, and undoubtedly of European origins, stretching this interpretation to serve as the essence of the Silk Road's legacy and significance is nothing more than Western-centric exaggeration and verges on racism. Westerners who traveled east through Eurasia along the Silk Road are often described as "fearless Western explorers ready for death"; conversely, when Asians traveled in the opposite direction, their sacrifices were dismissed with descriptions such as "spawn of the devil" or "yellow peril." The situation reinforced the image of the Silk Road as a mere trade route linking Rome and China, which obscures the fact that its civilization was shaped by Central Asian people. The area was only later given the name of the Silk Road following Chinese and Western encroachment.

This study focuses on the Silk Road as a stark example of UNESCO's recent crisis for several reasons. The first reason is that the ethno-nationalistic tendencies of the former Soviet countries are effectively manifested in their cultural heritage. The second is that the Silk Road, which passes through multiple countries in Eurasia, is the epitome of multinational cultural heritage. Third, the Silk Road has been a place of political and economic contention between superpowers for the past 150 years, a phenomenon referred to as the "Great Game" between Great Britain and Russia. With Soviet influence in the 20th century and China's latest Belt and Road Initiative in the 21st century, the Silk Road has become the place of competition among powerful nations, rendering the name Silk Road

somewhat paradoxical. The fourth is that the Silk Road is a prime example of an area in which South Korea is actively involved. From the previous administration's Eurasia Initiative to the current New Northern Policy, Eurasia has continuously garnered attention regardless of its heterogeneous political hues. On his three-nation state visits across Central Asia, South Korean President Moon Jae-in remarked, in all of his speeches, on the cultural values and national connections forged with Korea through the Silk Road. This historical approach is noteworthy for its consideration of not only Korea but of the sentiments of other countries. In other words, the Silk Road is not merely a World Heritage site reminiscent of the past, but something that actively gears countries towards modern political and economic cooperation.

Contemplating the complex inscription process surrounding the Silk Road and examining the associated problems and possible solutions offers a good opportunity for review of UNESCO's World Heritage program, which has become a source of contention not only in Central Asia but also around the entire globe. By studying the problems that arose in the process of inscribing the Silk Road, and considering if and how South Korea could work with UNESCO on a solution to such problems, it is possible to view the Silk Road as an opportunity to change the UNESCO World Heritage programme from a source and symbol of conflict to one of communication.

III. The Value of the Silk Road as World Heritage

If the research on the Silk Road in the past century comprised unilateral efforts by imperialist countries looking to occupy Eurasia, the research in the 21st century focused more on the competition between newly independent states in Eurasia and China, whether to gain historical legitimacy or to gain hegemony in the area. Another reason that the Silk Road sparks conflicts between various nations is due to the Silk Road's nature. The route's lack of distinct spatial-temporal demarcations gives rise to concerns about arbitrary boundaries in inscribing the Silk Road as a World Heritage site. At the 38th World Heritage Committee in Qatar, the Silk Road was inscribed as "Silk Roads: the Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor," a multinational inscription nominated by China, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan in 2014. This new distinction, however, excluded Uzbekistan, traditionally at the heart of the Silk Road, connecting Samarkand, Khiva, and Tashkent. The decision naturally provoked a backlash from other Central Asian countries. Additionally, this decision completely disregarded the "plains route" that runs through Siberia and Mongolia. As such, the Silk Road, which had served previously as a symbol of peaceful exchange and co-prosperity of cultures in Eurasia, had become the center of a multinational controversy.

1. 2014 Inscription of the Silk Road²

The Silk Roads: Routes Network of Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor, inscribed in 2014, covers an expansive road that spans approximately 5,000 km, as well as the artifacts surrounding it. It starts in Chang'an, the ancient capital of the Han and the Tang Dynasties, which corresponds to today's Xi'an, and extends to western Kazakhstan and Zhetysu (Семиречье in Russian) in modern-day Kyrgyzstan. Its temporal scope ranges from the second century B.C.E to the 16th century C.E., or from the Han and then Tang Dynasties to that of the Ming.

Few scholars refute the Silk Road's significance as a World Heritage site. It served as a crucial hub for cultural exchanges in trade, religion, faith, science, and art. However, the Silk Road differs from previously listed World Heritage sites as a "continuous and multi-national" area with multiple sites (see Pic 1). As shown in the map (Pic 1), the Silk Road World Heritage site measures 42,000 hectares (ha) and is 5,000 kilometers long. The great majority of its sites (22 out of 33) are located in China, while Kazakhstan has eight of the sites and Kyrgyzstan three (see Appendix). Within China, 12 of the sites are located in the country's central region, while four are located in Gansu and six in Xinjiang. In terms of their character, the sites in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are ancient oasis cities, while in China there are several fortresses (4) and Buddhist relics (6). In general, these sites appear less the relics of the traditional Central Asian Silk Road than traces of powerful ancient Chinese dynasties having made their way to the Silk Road. There was a significant emphasis on the role of ancient China in the selection process of listing the Silk Road as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

"Thirty-three sites along the corridor include capital cities, palace complexes of various empires and Khan Kingdoms, trading settlements, Buddhist cave temples, ancient paths, posthouses, passes, beacon towers, sections of the Great Wall, fortifications, tombs and religious buildings. The formal system of posthouses and beacon towers provided by the Chinese Empire facilitated trade, as did the system of forts, caravanserais and way stations operated by states in the Zhetysu region."

² <https://www.worldheritagesite.org/list/Silk+Roads#locations> <http://www.silkroads.org.cn/EN/>



Figure1 Geographical distribution of Silk Road World Heritage, the largest series of World Heritage sites in the world. Source: <http://www.silkroads.org.cn/EN/>

The above highlights the role Central Asia's Zhetysu region played as an axis between the Chinese Empire and the West. In particular, even though there are references to the Silk Road dating from the second century B.C.E. to the 16th C.E., the historical sites of Zhetysu are traceable only between the 9th and 14th centuries C.E., which significantly reduces the scope of Central Asia. Additional examples of the emphasis placed on China's role is the selection of silk as the core item at the center of trade and the view of Jang Geon(張騫, ?~BC114)'s efforts of "Western border construction"³ as part of the Silk Road's beginnings.⁴

2. The Selection of the Silk Road as World Heritage (2007-2012)

As mentioned above, the 2014 selection of the Silk Road as a World Heritage site was unprecedented in terms of the site's geographical expanse and the variety of relics included. However, the range of the Silk Road far exceeds this area and covers a much

3 The original text is the *Söyöckh'akkong of Taewanyöljön* as it appears in "Sagi" by *Sama-cheon*, referring to the occasion when China single-handedly branched out into today's Xinjiang and Central Asia.

4 Viewing Jang Geon's activities as the beginning of the Silk Roads is a major omission of the role of Central Asia. The Silk Roads are not just a single road, nor did they suddenly appear out of nowhere. The history of the Silk Roads is the history of the people that cultivated a living on the tough environment for the past 500 years, not just of the small number of people that traversed it (Kang In Uk, 2018).

wider expanse of Eurasia. Moreover, as demarcation is ambiguous, countries freely and expansively interpret their influence and connections to it. One example of this expansion is the recent discussions in South Korea aimed at forging a Gyeongju-Silk Road Initiative. There have even been efforts to expand the extent of the Silk Road to maritime-Silk Road initiatives. Such expansions in the concept of the Silk Road make its use as a means of defining heritage increasingly tricky. A brief review of the ten meetings leading to the Silk Road's listing in 2014 provides evidence to this effect.

First Meeting⁵ — October 2005 (Almaty, Kazakhstan), “Sub-Regional Workshop for the Follow-up on the 2003 World Heritage Periodic Reporting Exercise for the Central Asia Region.” Held to re-evaluate the cultural potential of Central Asia, to improve understanding of preservation and management of heritage, and to devise detailed action plans for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan attended.

Second Meeting — August 2006 (Turfan, China), “1st UNESCO Stakeholders Consultation Workshop on the Silk Road World Heritage Nomination.” UNESCO investigated possibilities for listing the caravan route in China's Shanxi Province's Kashgar, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in August 2003 and July 2004. Later in November 2005, a periodic reporting exercise was conducted in Almaty, Kazakhstan, followed by a regional meeting that was held to adopt an action plan for the World Heritage Convention.

The conference outlined preservation and management efforts on the Silk Road while identifying it as World Heritage. It also explored possibilities for registration of the Silk Road on the World Heritage List as one continuous site despite it covering more than one country's heritage. In fact, redefining the common understanding of the Silk Road is crucial to determining the direction of the entire World Heritage programme. The Silk Road is more than a single route. Rather it is a network that connects routes for East-West exchange.

Third Meeting — October 2006 (Samarkand, Uzbekistan): “2nd UNESCO Sub-regional Workshop on Serial Nomination for Central Asian Silk Roads.” China actively supported the selection of historical sites in the Central Asian region for one single listing. In other words, both China and Central Asia together pushed to register the Silk Road, emphasizing the role of Central Asian countries—a comprehensive approach that included all of the Silk Road and sites located between China and the Mediterranean Sea.

5 The numbering here is an arbitrary order put in by the author to go over the process of inscribing the Silk Roads as a World Heritage site. Any other comments about the meetings hereafter will also go in accordance with this numbering for convenience.

Fourth Meeting — April 2007 (Dushanbe, Tajikistan): “3rd UNESCO Sub-Regional Workshop on the World Heritage Serial Nomination of the Silk Roads.” Based on the results of the first three meetings, this meeting focused on identifying possibilities for a serial registration and on discussing a political agreement among central Asian authorities.

Fifth Meeting — June 2008 (Xi’an, China): “3rd UNESCO Sub-Regional Workshop on the World Heritage Serial Nomination of the Silk Roads.” This was an extension of the fourth meeting and noted the scope and practical significance of the Silk Road. The meeting set out to prepare a structured route to a serial listing as a World Heritage site, encompassed in its “Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the Silk Roads Site.”

Sixth Meeting — May 2009: “5th UNESCO Sub-regional Workshop on the Serial World Heritage Nomination of the Silk Road.” This meeting reviewed the progress of the action plan adopted in Xi’an, June 2008.

Seventh Meeting — November 2009 (Xi’an, China): “1st Meeting of the Coordinating Committee on the Serial World Heritage Nomination of the Silk Roads.” The coordination committee (composed of two representatives from each participating country) was established. The ICOMOS International Conservation Center-Xi’an (IICC-X) was selected as the secretariat for the committee. This meeting was the first to be led practically by China, after the decision to push for the serial inscription. Standards were created for document preparation, concrete plans and mapping, provisional listing, and the scope of the coordinating committee.

Eighth Meeting — May 2011 (Ashgabat, Turkmenistan): “2nd Meeting of the Coordinating Committee on the Serial World Heritage Nomination of the Silk Roads.” A review of preparedness was undertaken and an “Ashgabat Agreement” was drawn up concerning the transnational cooperation on the Silk Roads Serial Nomination Project and review the draft research proposals from ICOMOS.

Ninth Meeting — March 2012 (Tashkent, Uzbekistan): “Expert Members Meeting of the Coordination Committee Silk Roads World Heritage Serial and Transnational Nomination.” The final version of the ICOMOS thematic study was reviewed and finalized as the basic system for the serial listing. In addition, at this meeting, a joint effort for an initial serial listing was made between China, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, captured in the “Silk Roads: Initial Section and Network of Routes of Tian-Shan Corridor.”

Tenth Meeting — September 2012 (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan): “Third Meeting of the Coordinating Committee on the Serial World Heritage Nomination” This meeting aimed at preparing documents for the World Heritage listing and administrative ‘harmonization.’ Each participating country made a provisional list and conducted a comparative analysis of each historical site.

3. Special Aspects of the Silk Road World Heritage Nomination Process

1) A Sinocentric Silk Road

The previous section’s review of meetings concerning the Silk Road nomination shows the multinational nature of the Silk Road, where the interests of several countries are intertwined. The most significant feature of the Silk Road’s nomination is China’s leadership in this multinational effort. China undoubtedly played a pivotal role in the nomination, though the project began as a joint initiative of several Central Asian countries. In 2009, at the seventh meeting, China was established as the head of the coordinating committee, and ICOMOS in Xi’an was selected as the secretariat. Then, unexpectedly, at the ninth meeting, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan were excluded from the joint efforts towards the serial listing. In other words, while the Silk Road World Conference began as a Central Asian initiative, by the seventh meeting, China had taken over, and at the ninth meeting, it was confirmed that China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan would pursue transnational nomination.

At the end of the day, we can only surmise that the nature of the Silk Road World Heritage propelled the changes above (the criteria for selection of the sites being decided only afterward). In fact, the Silk Road’s caravan routes are concentrated primarily in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, not Kazakhstan. The caravan routes merely pass through the Zhetysu region south of Kazakhstan (Biapakov 2017). Kyrgyzstan is also a relatively small mountainous area, similarly situated. Even with the co-listing of these two countries, China’s share of the historical sites included in the entire Silk Road Heritage site is overwhelmingly high.

The second feature is that the majority of China’s historical sites in the listing are sites in central China, which have fewer direct connections to the Silk Road. China’s central plains area was not on the main agenda for any of the ten meetings outlined above. Even in China, Xi’an and Xinjiang regions led the discussions. But later, the final decisions included not only Xi’an but also Luoyang (former capital of the Han Dynasty), which pushed the nature of the site discussions from Central Asia to China’s dynastic legacy. These changes in the scope and character of the Silk Road are easily captured symbolically in the list itself. A review of ratios shows that China accounts for 70 percent of the total 33 sites, with 22 in

all. This figure is an overwhelming amount in comparison to Kazakhstan's 25 percent of the total number and Kyrgyzstan's mere five percent tally. In addition, there is a clear distinction between the types of the historical sites. Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan's sites are all vestiges of ancient cities in oases. In fact, the remains of these two countries' sites are the epitome of the traditional image of the Silk Road as oases in the barren desert along the caravan route. China also has four such oases but these only account for 18 percent of China's Silk Road sites. Moreover, these four fortresses were commonly used as bases for invading Central Asia⁶, which is quite different than their counterparts in Central Asia.

The third is that site selection took place centering on China. This is evident in religious sites as well. Traditionally the four major religions along the Silk Road are Buddhism, Maniism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorianism. However, all eight religious sites listed as Silk Road World Heritage are Buddhist sites located in China. The impact of Buddhism in East Asia cannot be doubted; however, considering that the Silk Road is an embodiment of exchanges between civilizations, opinion could vary.

Fourth, the Silk Road World Heritage listing has become somewhat of a symbol of Chinese culture. A case in point is images of the Great Wall of China as a representation itself of the Silk Road. While the Great Wall is a World Heritage site, its inclusion as a part of the Silk Roads World Heritage may deviate from the original meaning of the Silk Road.

China conducted a "Great Wall Protection Project" (長城保護工程) from 2005 to 2012. The "Great Wall" covered by this process is different from the Great Wall that we are familiar with, which was inscribed as a World Heritage site in 1987. The Great Wall as inscribed in 1987 refers to the set of walls that stretches from the Shanhai Pass along the



Figure2 Kizilgaha Beacon Tower and Wall Sign

6 Pukchönggosöng were ruins located in the Tang Dynasty Pukchöngdohobu period (702-790). With the Kyohago Castle, there were in the center of Kharashahr (Ch'asaguk) established between 640-685 under the Ansödohobu (the Protectorate General to Pacify the West). Koch'anggo Castle is also a representative site that incorporated Ansödohoburo during the Tang Dynasty.

border between Liaoning and Hebei provinces in the form of a fortress wall. However, through the Great Wall Protection Process the wall suddenly increased in length to 21,196.18 km, with 43,721 related areas (Hong Seung-hyun 2014). Its regional scope extended from Heilongjiang Province to the Uighur Autonomous Region west of Xinjiang, effectively encompassing all modern China's territorial boundaries. This new concept of exceeded commonly known concepts of walling—including complex constructions such as watchtowers, beacons, and guard posts. Criticism ensued over this expanded concept, which neighboring countries had difficulties accepting.

2) The Omission of Countries Central to the Traditional Silk Road

With the emergence of China as the center of the Silk Road World Heritage listing, other countries that were the traditional centers of the Road were completely omitted. Russia, which accounts for most of Eurasia, along with Mongolia, which includes most of its grasslands, have played no part in the nomination process of the Silk Road World Heritage from the outset. The Silk Road is understood to be the trade route that runs through Eurasia, which typically includes Eurasia's "plains route." At the very least, some means of reflecting the diverse views on the Silk Road and its definition is necessary. It is questionable why these countries did not participate in the 10 rounds of discussion about the nomination referred to earlier.

In addition, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan were excluded despite their traditional positions at the center of the Silk Road. Although the listing was a serial listing, only China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan were included. Uzbekistan's Samarkand, Bukhara, and Khiva are seen as central to the caravan and trade route of the Silk Road World Heritage classification. It is inconceivable that Uzbekistan was completely erased even symbolically from the Silk Road, despite Bukhara being separately listed as a World Heritage site in 1993. Turkmenistan and Tajikistan were also excluded.

An academic approach to defining the Silk Road World Heritage site produces similar outcomes. If Russia and Mongolia are excluded, both of which are far north of the caravan route on the traditional Silk Road, then logically, Kazakhstan should also be excluded. And if Uzbekistan, the caravan route's leading country, is excluded then Kazakhstan should again be excluded. The fact that, despite this, the Silk Roads as a World Heritage sites include not only sites of China but also those of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, naturally gives rise to potential for conflict between countries.

3) Dynamic Eurasian Contemporary Politics

The Silk Road's World Heritage listing is nestled within the context of countries' national interests in the Silk Road and the political power dynamics of Eurasia. As mentioned above,

China's influence over the Silk Road project has pushed the project beyond the mere matter of a World Heritage site listing to its state-run Belt and Road Initiative.

China's Belt and Road Initiative refers to the combination of the economic Silk Road that connects China, Central Asia, and Europe, imagined as a single "Belt," and the "Maritime Silk Road" that connects Southeast Asia, Europe, and Africa as another single "Road." The land-based Belt Initiative was first presented on September 7, 2013, when China's President Xi Jinping visited Kazakhstan. The maritime initiative was mentioned in a speech during Xi's visit to Indonesia on Oct. 3, 2013, which empowered the Silk Road's nomination and listing as a World Heritage site later in 2014. With China's capital and immense human resources, the Silk Road Heritage project has naturally been absorbed into the politics of the country's Belt and Road Initiative.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, archeological data served as a viable means of identity construction in Eurasia. This corresponds to the re-emergence of what the Russian historian Lev Gumilev dubbed "pan-Eurasianism" in mid-20th century. This concept highlights Russia as the center of Eurasia as opposed to the periphery of Europe (Kang In-Uk 2016). Russia had also begun exploring notions of its nation having origins in the Silk Road's Eurasia.

Central Asian countries also sought independence outside of the purview of Russian influence embodied in the idea of Pan-Turkism (also Pan-Turanism). This concept emphasizes the superiority of the Turkic culture in Eurasia, expanding from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Altai to the Saha of eastern Siberia (Yakutsk). According to Pan-Turanism, it is not China to the east from which the Silk Road was born but rather the offspring of the Turkic tribes and their oases and trading hubs in Central Asia.

As detailed above, the Silk Road World Heritage site of 2014 had moved far from its simple multinational serial site beginnings. It was now the site of power politics throughout Eurasia. Countries have replaced traditional notions of the Silk Road with newer concepts that aim at Eurasian influence, such as China's Belt and Road Initiative. As such, the 2014 World Heritage site designation, which was nominated somewhat arbitrarily, is likely to become the source of conflict between countries with starkly different intents from those of its initial selection.

IV. Proposed Pre-emptive Resolutions: The Republic of Korea as Mediator of Silk Road Cultural Heritage Disputes

The issues surrounding the Silk Road transcend the scope of the World Heritage programme, and are closely connected with national strategies. Therefore, efforts should be

made to eliminate inter-state conflict when it comes to the Silk Road's serial inscription and similar cases in the future. Implementing and achieving this goal can be accomplished with a third, neutral party such as South Korea.

As the Silk Road stands at the center of international power struggles, it is clear that it must return to its role as a messenger of peace and coexistence, with emphasis on inter-regional exchanges and dialogue. It is part of UNESCO's purpose to take an active role during such events. It is my firm view that the Republic of Korea can serve as a capable mediator in this regard. South Korea's particular merits are as follows: 1) it is free from the 20th century imperialistic preoccupations with the Silk Road; 2) it has no history of sovereignty-based contentions or aggressive actions in the Eurasian region; 3) it is a donor nation that provides support to several countries with ODA projects; 4) it has ample experience and history in the reconciliation of conflicts over cultural heritage with other countries in East Asia. South Korea's role as mediator in this regard is also currently underway through collaborative efforts between the Korean National Commission for UNESCO (KNCU) and Seoul's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). To accomplish this role, KNCU should work with academia and the MOFA to offer practical resolutions, while playing a coordinating role.

This role not only strengthens UNESCO's legitimacy as an international cooperation organ but also positively impact the Moon Jae-in administration's New Northern Policy. Below, I would like to suggest several appropriate measures.

1. South Korea's Active Participation

The recent participation between South Korea, China, and Japan on the Silk Road Belt is noteworthy. Timur Dadambaev (2018, 2019) recently published books examining South Korea and Japan's economic participation. He found that while South Korea financially aids the Belt, Japan's role was relatively low-cost and conducted primarily through indirect power influence on the Silk Road World Heritage project. Japan has taken the role of an intermediary in Silk Road listings, increasing its influence through the "Standardization and Procedural Support for the Transnational Serial Inscription of Central Asia's Silk Road" and the "Central Asian Silk Road"⁷ projects.

Conversely, South Korea offers economic help, distributing ODA funds to various

7 Published originally in the "Support for documentation standards and procedures of the Silk Roads World Heritage Serial and Transnational Nomination in Central Asia" and executed over a three-year period (Nov. 2010- Nov. 2013).

countries attached to the Silk Road. For South Korea to actively participate in the World Heritage project in this region, it needs to form a stable network for the operations of experts under the leadership of KNCU. Several things are needed to allow KNCU to carry out this role.

First, a clear understanding of the geographical and cultural genealogies of the Silk Road and its complex role as the nexus of Eastern and Western civilization is necessary. Second, a comprehensive understanding of Russian scholarship is a must. While English and Japanese texts have become commonplace in South Korea, an enormous amount of useful data has accumulated in Russia over the past century. Ultimately, Russian works will pave the way towards UNESCO's progress with the Silk Road project. Third, an understanding of the dynamics within Central Asia, along with Russia's and China's interests in it, is necessary. This investment will help to consider the deeply rooted and complex political relations between Muslim countries, Russia, and China—all of which affect research on cultural heritage in this regard. Simply put, we need continuous exchanges of information and networking with local experts in archeology, art, and history, working alongside experts in contemporary politics and diplomacy. Fourth, there is a need for the technology for joint excavations and infrastructure for research on cultural artifacts. We must consider, from the perspective of each Central Asian country, what benefits a joint excavation mission with the Republic of Korea may produce, and act accordingly. Fifth, cultural heritage projects must be linked to overall cooperation in the field of culture as an end in itself. If fluid cooperation between KOICA, ICOMOS, and other related government agencies and universities undertaking Eurasian projects is achieved, then great results can be expected.

2. Development of a Silk Road Programme by South Korea

The 2014 Silk Road World Heritage listing involved the sites of oasis cities that linked the trade route between Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and China. "Silk Road" denoted this connection, but also an intra-regional relationship between Central Asia and China. The project itself is unique in that it promoted cooperation between countries to promote and express their cultural heritage and representation equally. In this regard, I would like to present a concrete example of a project that South Korea could take the lead in.

The first item is the development of a new route on the Silk Road. South Korea's participation would not add much value to current and previous efforts, which have already produced tangible results due to the enthusiastic work of the relevant countries. In contrast, a new route might be a welcome alternative. This new route would include previously marginalized countries, namely a Bhutan-Nepal-Tibet route.

The second is participation in the development of specific routes that lead to South Korea. In this way, South Korea can play a more active role in global cultural projects with the added benefit of strengthening UNESCO's impact domestically. Korea has long worked to link the city of Gyeongju with the Silk Road. However, there is currently almost no international recognition of these relics as having connections to the Silk Road. Against this backdrop, there are clear limitations in how local governments (in this case, the governments of North Gyeongsang Province and Gyeongju) participate in the Silk Road as such. Under the UNESCO Silk Road Initiative, cultural exchanges between the Shandong Peninsula and the exchange routes to China and Balhae-Shilla of pre-modern Korea have produced relics that should be analyzed and compared.

Korea is seen as remote when it comes to the Silk Road. Put differently, this implies that Korea is able to view the Silk Road from the most objective point of view. Since the dissolution of the USSR, several countries have set on using the Silk Road for competitive projects, which have inevitably led to conflicts of interest. Therefore, the Republic of Korea should look at the situation objectively, from various countries' points of view, as a third party that can lay the groundwork for them with academic, economic, and technical advice. South Korea may play the role of a hub that can build the framework of a Silk Road project, and train researchers by working with countries related to the Silk Road in developing joint projects. This would be an appropriate way for South Korea to become a center for training professionals from different regions.

V. Conclusion: The Republic of Korea as Coordinator of the Silk Road World Heritage Project

From an archaeological and historical standpoint, the Silk Road is neither a road nor a sudden manifestation in contemporary politics. The history of the Silk Road is one of a people who have borne harsh conditions for nearly 5,000 years. A countless number of people in the western region are spread out hidden across the long history of East Asia. They are the real life of the Silk Road, not the temporary sojourners on it. The Silk Road is not the cultural heritage of any one country, but of many. Instead of using it as a symbolic acknowledgment for specific countries, we should see it as a nexus of exchange in world civilization.

This paper has looked at how the Silk Road, which was once valued as a hub for civilizational exchange, has ironically become a center of international conflict. As an alternative, this paper proposes that South Korea and its experts become facilitators, with KNCU coordinating their efforts. The Silk Roads as a World Heritage site, inscribed in 2014,

is merely a small part of the actual Road, and is a serial inscription, which therefore makes it an on-going issue. The Republic of Korea needs to become an active participant in this issue. While the basic principle of the Silk Road is exchanges among civilizations, a focus merely on these exchanges alone inevitably leads to the exclusion of many relics and sites. Instead, the Silk Road is a prime example of the “diversity of cultural heritage” that has been a recent focus of discussion.

The last point to emphasize here is that the foundation of the Silk Road is flexibility. While encompassing the diverse values of multiple nations, the Silk Road has come to be used to promote economic development in China, and as a tool to fortify nationalism after many CIS countries gained independence. In other words, the Silk Road houses two paradoxical values: universal values and nationalistic pride. In some ways, all World Heritage may be the pride of a particular country and a universal asset at the same time. Given today's situation where UNESCO is burdened with the task of cultural exchanges and peaceful coexistence in the age of a new hegemonic competition, the Silk Road hopefully offers a way out of these numerous dilemmas.

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The Evolving Communication and Information Sector, and Future Strategies for the Republic of Korea

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1. Understanding UNESCO's Communication and Information Sector

There is an idiom in Korean pronounced *ilyeopjichu* (일엽지추(一葉知秋), which means “when a leaf falls, you know that autumn has arrived”. In a larger sense it means that a single clue can be a useful measure to sum up the whole. Such a measure can also be useful for understanding the status of the Communication and Information (CI) Sector at UNESCO. On July 11th, 2019 the UNESCO homepage displayed an announcement about the establishment of a “Global Media Defense Fund”. The announcement said that the United Kingdom and Canada had donated funds to protect journalists in conflict areas, and that Director-General Audrey Azoulay had offered her congratulations at the event. Another piece of news was about “Global Media and Information Literacy Week”. This event aimed to give citizens the awareness to be able to filter out false information or news containing “hate and discrimination” by themselves. Outside of this were also introductions to the “Memory of the World” activities in the conflict zone of Palestine and the International Conference on Preservation of World Languages in Cyberspace. Every one of these parts of the website demonstrates the formidable importance of the CI Sector in activities organized by UNESCO, where it participates as a partner, or when working with non-governmental organizations and intellectuals. This observation also holds true when looking at the steps taken by the CI Sector and its partners.

UNESCO's name itself only includes the words Education, Science, and Culture. Though not an independent area at the time of its launch, the Department of Mass Media was created following a proposal by the United States. The idea behind it was that for international peace and development a change in people's consciousness was needed, and in order to effect this an active usage of media such as TV and radio was required. The idea found much sympathy. The United States, now an absolute power, argued for the “need to ensure that anyone desiring information is able to freely use it”, against which there was no great backlash. The name of the department was changed in 1967 to the Sector for Communication, followed by another change in 1977 to the Sector for Culture and Communication. There is a deep connection here to a number of changes in perception that accompanied it. The first of these is the waking up to the fact that culture, until then seen as subordinate to politics and economy, was a relatively autonomous field and an essential element of a nation's community. The next was the increased awareness that communication, thought to be a neutral “means” that formed a group's identity and conveyed necessary information, was in fact a means to realize the power relationship of control and submission. Related ideas were spread widely such as Dependence Theory, wherein a country remains economically dependent on powerful countries even after independence, and Cultural Imperialism, in which cultural products reinforce a colonial

consciousness.

In the 1990s, with the entry into a unipolar system centered on the United States, a name change for the sector was inevitable. The word “culture”, which had been negatively highlighted as subordinating the mind, returned to its original position. The terms “information” and “informatics” took its place, and the name of the sector was also renamed to the CII Sector (Sector for Communication, Information, and Informatics). A sort of cleanup began at this time. Activities related to journalism were classified as “communications”, and integrated into the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC). Legal and policy support for this task was established such as support for the establishment of media companies aimed at diversity of public opinion, education and exchange for journalists, and freedom of speech. Areas outside of news such as movies, entertainment, and literary works, as well as science, medicine, and energy-related technologies, were classified into the field of information.

The leadership of Philippe Quéau stood out in this process. Appointed as sector chairman in 1990, he laid out his basic policy under the following three points: (1) Information, as the common assets accumulated through human history, should be easy to access and utilize by anybody, (2) Exceptions should be applied to copyright for usage in science and education, and (3) A joint declaration of the international community on information ethics and information access rights is necessary. Activities related to information ended up organized by the Information for All Programme (IFAP), an undertaking whose main tasks were Information Literacy, Information Preservation, Information Ethics, and Information Accessibility. It was frequently active in representing the positions of developing countries in relation to the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). It was particularly active in relation to the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) Agreement, in which access to information was considered a private, not a public property.

In 2001, UNESCO’s headquarters underwent a reorganization in which it integrated “informatics” and “information” into one. The acronym for the sector also lost the “I” of Informatics, changing from the existing CII to CI. Role duplication was cited as the reason for the change, but the real intentions were a little different. The issues raised in the field of informatics were in direct conflict with the vested interests represented by the United States, and had a deep relation with the raising of the “inequalities in the information order” issue, which had once been taboo. The stage for this was the Intergovernmental Bureau of Information (IBI), launched in 1961. A group of scientists from France, Spain and Italy warned that, if informatics were to be monopolized by a handful of countries and large corporations in the future, it would expand side effects in the international community such as disproportionate development and technological dependency. This was in line with the

arguments made by Mustapha Masmoudi, a representative to Tanzania in the 1970s, who spoke of his “concerns about information colonialism”.

It was not that there was no alternative. It would have sufficed to establish the knowledge and skills to store, process and classify information as a common asset of mankind, followed by aiding individual countries to build their own independent information infrastructure before this information infrastructure was fully established on a global level. The Declaration of Mexico on Informatics, Development and Peace, adopted in 1981, was the result of this. But this demand, which had even been called the “new order of informatics” movement, was frustrated by groups with vested interests in the enormous military security, political, and economic interests that they knew were to be gained from the command of global information. The series of changes that began with the New Communication Strategy in 1989 and were organized into the Knowledge Society agenda in the 2000s had taken place in this environment. It was similar to ignoring the root cause of a disease and treating it with painkillers alone. Issues such as the adverse effects of a monopoly on digital technology, the digital divide, and undermining information sovereignty had since moved away from the sphere of concern. Promises had been made to scientists in developing countries to expand educational opportunities and make partial transfers of technology, but it was nothing in comparison to a full policy for development of the information industry.

2. Key issues, now inflection points: historical agenda evolution

There have been countless agendas along the path walked by the CI Sector over the past 60 years. Sometimes there was competition, other times cooperation, with agendas seemingly destined to last, but much of the time they would appear only to vanish again. Many factors were at play here, but two stand out in particular. Perhaps many would select as the most important variable the infinite expansion of media technology and changes in the information ecosystem over the last half century. But this view is only correct in terms of technological determinism. The most influential factor in the agendas, the most deterministic factor, has been the change in power relations in the international community. Agendas swung back and forth when the hegemony of the United States was overwhelming, then when it retreated, and when it strengthened again. Just a little understanding of the context will be enough to grasp why.

In contrast to the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the headquarters for UNESCO is located in Paris, France. Its structure is such that is unable to free itself from the political, economic, and cultural sphere of influence of the

headquartered country. In comparison to New York, Paris is much closer to Africa and the Middle East, with an active human exchange between them. The European countries and the United States are united by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military alliance, but there are internal conflicts whose strength varies depending on the strength of the alliance with the US. It suffices to remember the reasons behind France, Germany, Sweden and others advocating for a European defensive forces in 2018 after the United Kingdom made the decision to leave the European Union. The leadership quarrels between the United States and France were also fierce. France served as the “balancer” between a number of southern European countries as well as second-world countries represented by the Soviet Union, and the third world that led the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Outside of the period immediately after the war when its need for aid was urgent, France has never wanted to see the US play the sole role.

One other factor is the unique decision-making structure UNESCO holds. It is first important to note that there is no veto power held by particular nations as is the case with the UN Security Council. UNESCO, which has the General Conference as its highest governing body, is a sort of collectively guided system. While the influence of individual governments has expanded since 1954, one should keep in mind that UNESCO has been a group of scientists, technologists and media specialists from the outset relatively free from political interests. Their agenda setting was not led by the “logic of power” of national backgrounds, but through “competitive discourse”. UNESCO at the time was not so much a diplomatic stage for the meeting and parting of national interests and foreign policy, but something more akin to an “arena of the intellect”. It is also against this background that internationally respected intellectuals, as authorities from each field, were main actors on the UNESCO stage.

The free flow of information

No one is wise enough to know both the beginning and the end of a thing. However, someone with a given goal will develop a blueprint, increase their capacity, and firm up the will to achieve it. This is the situation the United States faced shortly after the war ended. “How to prevent another war from happening? What will the United States do if someone has to show leadership?” The United States concerned itself with these issues even before making the decision to join the Second World War. The starting point for this was War and Peace Studies, which began in 1939. This project, funded by \$350,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, carried out studies on the situation “after the war” with the participation of government and military officials, legal figures and scholars centered around

the Council on Foreign Relations. The result was the creation of a sort of post-war blueprint for the international community that spanned the four sectors of economy and finance, military security, politics, and territory. The background behind the US proposal to create a Department of Mass Media in UNESCO, established as a specialized organ for the UN, was not unrelated to this. The US had already started the Radio Research Project as early as 1937, and the experience of pushing large-scale propaganda activities in South America was an extension of this.

The US Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, with Nelson Rockefeller in charge at the time, collaborated with the private broadcaster CBS to intensively “inject” items such as news, movies, music, and advertising in South America. It was only natural that the US, which through this experience had confirmed the effectiveness of media, would look to use it in the rebuilding of the international community. It was also the background to “freedom of information” having become an inviolable sanctuary, beginning in 1946 with the UN’s approval of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press. Related laws and policies followed. In 1948, the Smith-Mundt Act, aimed at those overseas who aimed to “provide sound and impartial information about the United States”, was passed. The next year, in 1949, President Truman proposed the Point Four Program. The story behind it was that the United States would share its achievements in agriculture, industry and public health with underdeveloped countries to aid in their development and advancement. There was no cause to oppose it, nor any force to check it.

The period after the war was a time when everyone needed the aid of the United States for their recovery. The Soviet Union, which claimed that China, not Taiwan, should be a permanent member of the Security Council, was absent from the United Nations. The major positions with decision-making authority also were dominated by the United States. In 1953, Luther Evans was serving as the Director-General of UNESCO. Also, in 1952 Henry Cassirer was appointed as the first chairman of the Department for Mass Communication. Julian Behrstock, who would be the American representative for the “freedom of information” sector, also joined the ranks. Secretary of State for Public Affairs William Benton called it a “Marshall Plan of Ideas”. American scholars who had led psychological warfare during the war provided the necessary discourse and strategies here. Harold Lasswell, who was head of war communications under the Library of Congress, was one of them. He was the figure who proposed the so-called “S-M-C-R-E model”, which sums up the five elements of communication as Source, Message, Channel, Receiver, and Effect, and led propaganda in the so-called “Campaign for Truth”. One aspect of such activities carried out by the United States can be ascertained from Korea, the largest beneficiary of the war of division.

After the war, Korea was one of the hardest places in the world in which to live. The physical infrastructure such as factories, land, and buildings, steadily built up during the

period of Japanese occupation, had been reduced to ashes in the war. Not only were there no broadcasting facilities for TV and radio, but even good facilities capable of printing newspapers or books did not exist. For South Korea, UNESCO's aid along with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNCRA), the US International Cooperation Administration (ICA), the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation was like sweet rain after a long drought. The aid was concentrated on textbook printing factories, foreign language schools and new life education institutes that fell under the building of information infrastructure, as well as development of rural leaders and vocational education. A flood of "educational, scientific, and cultural" materials, with freedom of information as the object, poured in. Educational documentaries categorized under the topics of health, hygiene, women, vocational training, agriculture, and literacy brought necessary practical knowledge during the reconstruction after the war. Including a South Korean edition of Reader's Digest, magazines such as Huimang (Hope), Jayu Segye (Free World), and Sasanggye (World of Thought), secretly funded by the CIA, became "windows" to the world. Exchange programs for bureaucrats, soldiers, scholars and journalists were also an effective channel for the disseminating of information.

New World Information Order (NWIO)

Most of the newly-independent countries that became sovereign around the 1960s are still not prospering, and do not show the prospect of prospering any time soon either. There are many places where the internet is just a dream, and even telephone communication is in short supply. What could the problem be? Taking a look at what lies beneath the example of South Korea, which is seen as an exemplary case, we are provided with some clues. What first stands out is the uncomfortable truth that lies behind the mask of "freedom of information". For these newly independent countries with poor information infrastructure, the idea of freedom of information is nothing more than pie in the sky. The reason for this: information for them is not freely exchanged so much as it is unilaterally imported. On the surface the information is packaged under an objective and fair exterior, but "political" mass information is what makes up the news. In many cases, the reporting of the same issue in the United States is done in a polar opposite manner in Russia. It has the merit of being free, but it ends up being consumed in accordance with the point of view intended by the producer. Viewed positively, it is the "sharing" of values from the same point of view, while viewed negatively it is closer to brainwashing. If such "intended information" did not affect people's lives it would not be an issue, but the reality is not so tame. When a war takes place it is the peoples of countries in conflict zones that end up taking the bullets, while for

the Western media the threat of war is a tasty dish. Media companies motivated by profit tend towards the posture of “stopping negotiations and spurring on war” rather than “spurring on negotiations and stopping the war”, because war makes more money than dialogue.

Movies would seem to be a different case, but proliferation of American tastes is now an issue. Traditions and fine customs quickly collapse, with Western worldviews and values taking their place. The criteria for understanding the international community and distinguishing between friends and enemies are affected as well. Livelihoods are also affected. Movies make money, and many people make a living by them. If there were no Korean movies, the large number of directors, actors, and related businesses in South Korea would not exist. As of 2017, the South Korean film market was valued at KRW 2.3271 trillion (about \$2 billion USD). Of this, KRW 1.7 trillion comes from movie theater sales, and KRW 430 billion from television and video. Not part of this number are other products related to films: clothing, toys, games, theme parks, trademark rights, music copyright, and the like. But even in South Korea, with its healthy film industry, the weight of US-made films is overwhelming. The list of film releases that recorded the highest number of viewers in South Korea includes domestic releases, but also includes such films as *Avengers: Endgame*, *Avatar*, *Avengers: Infinity War*, *Interstellar*, *Frozen*, *Bohemian Rhapsody*, *Iron Man 3*, and *Captain America: Civil War*.

In another sector, namely the information and communications new technologies sector, which includes home appliances and communications equipment, computer hardware and software, the situation was even worse. The information and telecommunications industry requires a high level of technology and capital, while professionally-educated personnel is needed as well. Most emerging countries start from a point totally different from developed countries, leading them to more and more dependence on imports and a widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. It was not that alternatives did not exist, but developed countries, centered on the United States, did not take kindly to “intervention” by the governments of emerging countries. From their point of view, the issue was clear. If a small nation similar to South Korea in the past begins to make vehicles and TVs it would lead to increased competition, which is liable to worsen profits through oversupply. It is against this background that “Modernization Theory” spread through UNESCO. Works such as Walt Rostow’s “*The Process of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*” and Daniel Lerner’s “*The Passing of Traditional Society*” served as references. But reality differed from theory. Particularly problematic was the attempt at a mechanical application of the experience of the US.

In 1967, the first meeting for the G-77 took place. Algeria, which had won independence from its struggle with France, was the host country. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which aimed at staying apart from both the capitalist and socialist camps, adopted the

Charter of Algiers. 77 developing countries called with one voice for special measures to ease the gap between them and advanced nations. It turned out that while the economy grew steadily after the Second World War, the economic gap between developed and underdeveloped countries had only grown wider. The Prebisch-Singer hypothesis was also presented, according to which inequality deepens as developing countries export primary commodities such as coffee and rubber while advanced industrial countries export high value-added goods. Voices were raised calling for an improvement in the imbalance of the international economic order, centered on the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) at the UN. The gist of these voices was as follows: “Regulate and control multinational corporations that propound market freedom to influence the laws and policies of smaller countries”, “Allow nationalization of major industries that had been seized through colonization”, “Do away with discriminatory tariffs on developing countries”, and “Transfer technologies needed for national development without restriction”. In 1974, the agenda for the New International Economic Order (NIEO) was passed at the UN General Assembly. A reassessment of “culture and communication”, which had been seen as only a means of development, had taken place.

The New Delhi Declaration emerged in July of 1976. This declaration was concerned with the issue that the flow of information was controlled by very few countries, and that their views were unilaterally realized. It criticized AP (Associated Press) and UPI (United Press International) in the United States, AFP (Agence France-Presse) in France, Reuters in the UK, and Tass in the Soviet Union, claiming that these media outlets did not issue accurate and balanced news about the international community, but only “negative” and “non-contextual” information about the Third World. In November of 1978, the Mass Media Declaration was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference. The declaration contained the points that “the voices of the oppressed peoples should be spoken, developing countries should foster media able to represent their position, and more responsible reporting based on press ethics should be conducted”.

UNESCO’s internal situation was also conducive. Representative of this was that a Secretary-General from the Third World was appointed for the first time. 1974 was the year when M’Bow from Senegal took office after René Maheu from France. During the days of M’Bow as Secretary General, UNESCO advocated for the New World Information and Communication Order, with aid from intellectuals such as Herbert Schiller from the United States, a critic of cultural imperialism, and Jan Hamerlinck from the Netherlands, who warned of subordination to informatics. Not just slogans were made during this time, but also a blueprint for what to do. The result of these efforts is well illustrated in the MacBride Report, which was adopted in 1980 by the General Conference. Notable content in it included the items “Distributing a wide range of high-quality information and ideas in a

balanced manner”, “Ensuring diversity of sources and channels of information”, “Carrying out appropriate media promotion policies for each country”, and “Respecting the cultural identity of each country”. Outside these points, it also included the following content: “Developed countries should have a broader understanding of the politics and culture of developing countries, transfer funding and technology without compensation, and protect the cultural industries of less developed countries.”

But despite all these justifications, there was no power to carry them out. The New World Information Order (NWIO) movement in the end was hit with a backlash. The center of this backlash was the United States. In 1976, the World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC) was founded. This was a council of 44 media organizations around the world, but more than 80% of them were American. The WPFC was later integrated with Freedom House, which plays a figurehead role in US foreign policy. The WPCF had two main goals. Summed up, they were: to monitor discussions at the level of international organizations that threatened freedom of information, and to support media and journalists that resisted the censorship and regulations of authoritarian governments. The international situation was not at all favorable. In May 1980 Yugoslavia, which had led the Non-Aligned Movement, began to fall apart. In 1982 a foreign debt crisis began in Mexico, also pulling in South American countries such as Argentina and Brazil. Following this, in 1984 the US government declared its withdrawal from UNESCO, followed by the United Kingdom and Singapore. Having lost some 30% of its total budget, UNESCO’s very existence was under threat. After Gorbachev took office in 1985, the Soviet Union also began to collapse.

Information Society

In the 1990s, the CI Sector (at the time called the CC, or Culture and Communication Sector) was at a turning point. The changes largely took place in three areas. The first was the political dimension. The United States had left UNESCO on December 31, 1984, stating that it was withdrawing for the following reasons: “UNESCO is overly politicized, focuses on solving problems through state intervention instead of by private initiative, and is laxly managed.” It did not forget to issue a warning aimed at third world nations, telling them they “should no longer rely on the Soviet Union, a country that has no more financial contributions to make”. In the international community, the United States is the only country that can change the “rules of the game”. The headquarters of the United Nations is located not in any neutral country, but in New York. The United States pays the largest amount of contributions and shoulders the special operating costs of its affiliated agencies. It also possesses an overwhelming influence on the decision-making process for the UN

Secretary-General. Not only are the IMF and the World Bank located right next to the White House, but the U.S. also holds the only veto. Inside UNESCO, there was a need to reduce US backlash and find a way to induce it to participate.

In the UNESCO General Conference in 1989, the three basic principles of “freedom of information, freedom of speech, and pluralism” were reaffirmed. Meanwhile, the principles of “balanced information” and “securing the right of smaller countries to speak” were relegated to a sort of “let's work on that some more first” position. No mention was made of supporting national initiatives to foster informatics either. An earlier cleanup had taken place, in 1984, in which the Intergovernmental Informatics Programme (IIP) took over the role. With IBM, Microsoft and Hewlett Packard, the leaders in the field, participating in the IIP, from the point of view of smaller countries there was no reason to refuse.

The second change in the CI Sector took place at the “normative” level, with the aim of applying a multi-stakeholder model. As indicated in the name “New World Information Order”, a “new order” implies a negation of the past. The name contained the sense that something had gone wrong, and that one party had been treated unfairly. The extension of it was the sense of imperialism, subordination, and domination, which had made developed countries, classified as “offenders”, hesitant to participate. The countries that were never at a disadvantage in the post-war order did not show much interest. UNESCO thus chose to bring some ventilation to the room by reviving the “principles” similar to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that all parties had agreed upon. For example, the statement that “freedom of information should be extended to the whole international community” is contained in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also attracted interest in information sovereignty based on the content in Article 22. The gist of it was that “Everyone, through his or her country's own effort and international cooperation, and in accordance with the way each country is organized and the resources it possesses, is entitled to the economic, social and cultural rights absolutely necessary for self-dignity and personal development”.

This last is a change made on the level of discourse. A wide variety of fields are included in the word “information”. For example, information that was uncomfortable for developing countries was “political” news in the propaganda of the great powers. On the other hand, information on science, technology and medicine needed to rebuild a country was never rejected. Indeed, they requested that the great powers provide such information unconditionally and at an affordable price. A problem was that in the CC Sector at the time, aspects of culture such as religious views, values and lifestyles were treated in the same way, as “general information”. For example, tangible Korean cultural assets such as traditional houses, temples, pagodas, as well as intangible cultural assets such as talchum mask dances, pansori epic chant, and the game yut nori are not subject to free distribution.

Of course, some do have an “informative” aspect such as the Hunminjeongeum Haerye, a book made to teach the hangul script for the first time, the Tripitaka Koreana and the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty, but here it is better to classify them as culture (assets). The new title for the sector, namely “CII” in place of “CC”, was the outcome of such discourse. Media and content related to news was dealt with in the field of communication, while traditional culture, cultural events, tangible and intangible assets ended up returning to the “culture” sector. On top of this, “informatics” included technology for transmitting and storing information, communication equipment and facilities, and the know-how needed for the maintenance of communication systems. Areas such as traffic and weather information, medicine, science and technology, literary works, music and paintings were all classified as “information”. A group had also been formed to lead the sector’s transition.

Without the United States and the United Kingdom, the leadership in UNESCO shifted to Europe and Japan. In terms of interest and capacity regarding the information society, the Third World had yet to find its voice. With UNESCO’s being headquartered in Paris the influence of France was also a factor. If France were able to succeed in acting as an arbitrator, it could maintain awareness of the Third World and soften the discontent of the United States. A consensus had also been formed that, in order to reduce political undertones, non-governmental or private organizations should lead the way instead of governments. However, not only was the direction of the evolution of Information Communication & Technology (ICT) not ready, not even blueprints for the information society were prepared. The cooperation and leadership of experts filled this gap. One of the decisive figures was Philippe Quéau, who served as director of the CI Sector from 1990 to 2003.

What does information need to be? This was the question that Quéau continued to pose with the conscience of a scientist. A few hypothetical situations serve to demonstrate just how weighty a question this was. Supposing that a particular medical drug were to be controlled by a particular group, what would happen? What would be the side effects of not being able to access the writings of writers, artists, scholars, and religious people from the Communist as well as the Third World? To what extent should we guarantee the rights to technology, writings, and works of art that were developed through such enormous time and effort? Can fair competition truly exist between those proficient with the internet and cell phones and those who do not use information and communications technology at all? And if someone spies on your email, steals into your bank account and withdraws your money, exposes your privacy and makes money off of it, how should it be dealt with? In our current age in 2019 the answers are clear, but in the 1990s this was all new ground. The two principles forming the rough sketch of the information society were drawn from such questions. One of them was information access rights.

The right to information included points such as information being a public good that anyone can “access”, similar to water and air, that appropriate educational opportunities must be provided to those unable to access it properly, and the joint responsibility for information as the common heritage of humanity. Other assertions related to this principle are the movement that called for open access to computer programs monopolized by a few firms, the claim that exceptions to intellectual property rights should be made for educational and academic purposes, and the construction of facilities such as libraries to expand public access to information.

The second was the principle of information ethics, or INFOethics. Information is money, and can also be a means of power. The situation becomes worse when a monopoly on information is held by a very few. Defamation or invasions of privacy can occur at a moment's notice, while malicious information distributed for specific political purposes can lead to a collapse of public order. It was necessary to find ways to prevent illegal leaking of scientific knowledge and technology, to prohibit profit-motivated genetic manipulation or the selling of biological information. This was the background to the International Bioethics Commission (IBC) in 1993, and the World Commission on the Ethics of Scientific Knowledge and Technology (COMEST) in 1997. However, if the government were to take a direct role, it could undermine freedom of information. The best method is one where mature citizens provide voluntary regulations based on ethics. This is easy to understand when one thinks of everyday conversations. The purpose of communication is to understand one another, to discover the truth through free discussion, and to build consensus. In a flood of distorted information, false information or far-fetched arguments, communication becomes impossible. Deciding who is qualified to participate in a conversation can also hinder effective communication. Those lacking education, money, and status must also all be able to say their part on an equal footing. Abusive language, emotional outbursts, and interrupting others should be avoided. The concept of INFOethics extends this ethics of communication to cyberspace where states, non-governmental organizations, interest groups, and private companies are included as targets of application.

Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

On the 20th of October 2005, the UNESCO General Conference adopted the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. As a “once in a generation event” it carried a special significance. It was first and foremost an occasion to ascertain the setback in U.S. influence. The United States had had a clear goal at the time

when it left UNESCO in 1984. It was looking for a result similar to the one in 1976 when it had successfully tamed the International Labour Organization (ILO), but the result this time was diametrically opposite. The principle of “cultural exception”, which argues that cultural products should be excluded from free trade, was strengthened as it met the principle of diversity. Hollywood, the world's leading cultural industry, sought the aid of the government, and the U.S. returned as a Member State even to the point of repaying all its outstanding arrears. Voices were raised that the passage of the agreement would have “placed restrictions on the freedom of information and allowed dictatorships to exploit culture as a tool of control”, but the international community did not accept this. The overwhelming majority of the 148 countries voted in favor, with the United States and Israel the only countries in opposition. UNESCO, which had been concerned about its very existence, had confirmed its *raison d'être*, its reason for being. At the same time that it represented the underprivileged in the international community, it also fit well with its founding purpose which pertained to solutions to common interests through collective intelligence. It was also an outcome of having solved some of the age-old questions that had been posed since the time of the NWIO. The convention was filled with such items as the recognition of sovereignty over cultural policies, support from the international community to foster the cultural industries of smaller countries, and more balanced cultural exchanges. In this way, one can roughly summarize the three factors that led to the “consensus of the century” on cultural diversity.

The first of these is the reassessment of the relationship between “culture and development”. In 1980 the Brandt Report was released. The report was researched and put together by the Brandt Commission, chaired by former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, in order to find solutions to the issue of Global North-South gap. The report, under the title “North-South: A Programme for Survival”, first pointed out that “The strategy of driving development by transplanting Western culture led by the United States is problematic.” The report also discussed the necessity of active stakeholder cooperation for the success of international aid, and the important role that indigenous culture plays in this process. It said that a new approach was needed that respected tradition, existing values, religion, and lifestyle.

A more sophisticated discussion of culture followed in 1982 at the World Conference on Cultural Policies. This meeting led to a consensus on a number of principles relating to culture. One of them was that “All development must be based on the cultural values of individual societies, and must correspond with the greatest respect for the character of its members and the needs of the communities to which they belong.” The next was that “All cultures are equal, and all have the right to defend the culture of their own country, which is the core of their collective identity.” Another one that found recognition was that “As cultural

diversity is not a factor of division but a creative energy, cultural issues should be included in all development projects.” With the emphasis on the importance of culture, UNESCO’s activities naturally came to the fore. Following the proclamation in 1988 of the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997), the founding of the World Commission on Culture and Development was decided at the General Conference in 1991. The Our Creative Diversity report, released in 1995, was the result of this committee.

The second factor was the concern for cultural ecosystems in the global village. The variety of coexisting fauna, flora, and microorganisms makes forests into wonderful places of recreation. Culture works in a similar way. In order to preserve cultural ecosystems, the first thing to avoid is homogenization. This makes sense when one considers the situation where, following the logic of capitalism, only content such as violence, sports, and travel is consumed in large amounts. The same context is seen where the importing of Hollywood movies, pop songs and jazz and the like lead to a rapid disappearance of traditional cultures. The idea that a culture that can be shared and enjoyed together must be a rich one is an essential condition for the activation of a cultural ecosystem. It is as if books in a library are well stocked across various categories, including country, gender, language, and genre. The formation of an external environment in which cultural ecosystems can thrive is also essential. Cultural ecosystems cannot exist on their own. They are closely intertwined with political, economic, and social systems. Looking back at history, one can see that when order was maintained and stability reigns, culture flourished as well. However, possessing such conditions is harder than it would seem. It requires the equipment to quickly produce movies, albums, and books, along with facilities such as movie theaters and libraries. It requires human resources with the capacity to do creative work, economic support to relieve them of the worries of needing to make a livelihood right away, as well as widespread groups of consumers with discernment and taste. But the reality of the Third World was nothing like this. With the principle of “freedom information” in place, an intervention by developing countries to actively foster cultural industries was not easy. The note in the convention that “the international community has an obligation to aid smaller countries” and the specifications regarding cultural sovereignty are precisely due to these considerations.

The last factor was a “bread and butter” one, namely the economy. The view a country has on free trade depends on the situation of that country. A country confident in its ability to compete will, of course, wish to see more items liberalized for trade. Smaller countries with a later establishment date will demand protection until they have attained a minimum level of competitiveness. Even if forced to open up their markets, they will protect domestic products by raising tariffs or setting up non-tariff barriers. If a country is unable to gain a surplus through international trade, the remainder will eventually have to be made up through debt. The periodic financial crises in South America, Africa and certain

other countries are linked to the failure to reduce trade deficits. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), signed in 1947, was the first commitment on this front. GATT aimed for a “substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and to the elimination of discriminatory treatment in international commerce”. Among the provisions of the agreement, two places mention cultural content.

The limiting of days for the screening of foreign films, known as a screen quota, is contained in “Article IV: Special Provisions relating to Cinematograph Films”. A clue to cultural sovereignty is also contained in Article XX (f). Here it states that a government may intervene “for the protection of national treasures of artistic, historic or archaeological value” if they are threatened. Strictly interpreted this only applies to high-level culture, but its range of application gradually expands into other cultural products as well. In 1988, the Canadian government developed this provision into a policy of “cultural exclusion” when signing a free trade agreement with the United States. In the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) as well, which came into effect in January 1995, “audio-visual” content is classified as an exception. With the governments of Canada, Australia and France promoting cultural protectionism on this basis, the discourse on “cultural diversity” is united here. The watershed conference for this was the International Network on Cultural Policy in 1998, held in Ottawa, Canada. Ministers of culture from some 40 countries, including Brazil, Iceland, Mexico, Poland, Tunisia, and even the United Kingdom, which had once left UNESCO, gathered together to proclaim the “expansion and protection of cultural diversity”. Following this, the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 2001. Article 1 of the declaration stipulates “cultural diversity [as] the common heritage of humanity”. Article 7 on cultural heritage names it “the wellspring of creativity” that “must be preserved and enhanced”, while in Article 10 is stressed the necessity of “international solidarity...to establish cultural industries that are viable and competitive.”

World Summit on the Information Society, WSIS

The seeds sown by the information society agenda blossomed with the WSIS. The debate was led by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), headquartered in Paris. In 1998 the ITU proposed a summit on the field of information, sponsored by the UN. The summit, which ended up developing into a large-scale event involving parties such as UNESCO, UNDP and UNCTAD, was approved at the UN General Assembly in 2001. The first summit, held in Geneva in 2003, was attended by delegations from 175 countries. The second summit was held in Tunis in 2005, where three themes emerged as issues. The first of them was the “digital divide”. This issue, which was spreading through the internet after having

first been raised as part of the first information society agenda, had become a sort of a hot potato. It touched on intensified inequality between countries, individuals, and groups in their opportunities for access to information, information equipment literacy, and information production and distribution capacity.

Even a small glance at the fields of digital activity quickly reveals the seriousness of the “gap” issue. Those with a computer or smartphone can use them to access libraries and public archives around the world through the internet. Using social networks, one can send and receive desired information in real time, and carry out necessary tasks. A single credit card also allows payment anytime and anywhere, without needing to visit a bank. In this setup the group that holds the information gets smarter, while the group without it falls back, a bit at a time. Freedom of expression in the digital world, once monopolized in the past by powerful groups and the media, has also expanded. Even those lacking education and power can tell others of their injustices. However, if the opportunities for digital access themselves are limited in the first place, their position becomes even weaker than it was in the past. Companies like Facebook, YouTube, Google, Amazon, and Netflix did not even exist a short while ago. Countries and individuals that are neglected in the digital world are now excluded from economic activity altogether.

The second issue raised through INFOethics is the “digital dilemma”. This issue pertains to rapid digitalization that gives rise to new problems, and raises opportunity costs through issues such as defamation and illegal surveillance. Many people use Facebook to communicate with others and come into contact with new worlds, easily sharing news both big and small that takes place every day. But it carries with it a concern: as the scale and breadth of the connection with the world grows, so does the possibility for invasion of privacy. Due to the nature of digital information, a trace left online that cannot be deleted can eventually become a nightmare for those concerned. Unintentionally left comments or photos or videos from unknown sources can lead to irreversible hurt. While online banking and payments systems are convenient in many areas, if used carelessly their users may find themselves victims of cybercrime. Expanding this to the international community shows the issues to be just as numerous. The vast amount of digitally stored data can be illegally leaked at any time, and the costs that must be paid to protect intellectual property rights also continue to increase. The monopolization of “big data” by a small number of companies and countries is also another problem. Without proper monitoring or punishment for wrongdoing, the possibility for abuse of such data for economic or political purposes is great. Illegal eavesdropping through smart TVs, self-navigating cars and laptops is also a serious issue.

Another controversial issue is the management of the internet. The internet is a product of the Pentagon. Paul Baran, who devised a “distributed network” that could survive a

nuclear first strike by a hostile power, is part of the US Air Force think tank known as the RAND Institute. The development of TCP/IP (an internet protocol suite), which sets out a number of rules in the exchange of large amounts of information, was also done at the Pentagon, at the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). The word ARPANET, known as the prototype of the internet, was put together by removing the D (Defense) from the acronym DARPA, followed by appending NET, from network, to the end. The Internet Architecture Board (IAB), which became an independent public institution in 1992, was also founded by DARPA. In such a situation, it was inevitable that the US government would be deeply involved in key decision making processes on the internet, including the International Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). However, the internet had already become a shared asset of the international community, and there was no choice but to prepare for the case where the U.S. government, alone or on a whim, were to shut down domains or block access. The fact that domain addresses were only in English was also a restriction on the right to information. The Tunis summit reached an agreement on the necessity for a shared response to these issues on the level of the UN, and the Internet Governance Forum (IGF) was launched in 2006.

3. Lasting contradictions and the choice for Korea

In contrast to UNESCO's headquarters, the main activities of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO include "international cooperation and developmental cooperation", with the word "information" omitted. In the Republic of Korea's Act on UNESCO Activities, which was enacted in 1963 and went through several revisions, "Communication and Information" (CI) has almost no presence at all. Article 2, which defines "UNESCO activities", contains only references to "related fields such as education, science, and culture", and "other activities to realize the purpose of UNESCO". The items found in Article 1, paragraph 2 of the UNESCO Constitution, namely "all means of mass communication" and "to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image" are not found in its provisions. The content on "authorities in the fields of education, science, culture and mass communication" originally included in the configuration requirements for the committee is also now gone. The sector is now integrated into "culture and information communication", and only has limited activities such as "media literacy, promotion of digital literacy, cyber violence prevention, promotion of internet universality". With certain phrases and words excluded from the legislation, it appears that not only was CI not an urgent problem, but also not an important area for South Korea on the domestic front. However, South Korea has meanwhile been a direct CI stakeholder all this time in the issues that have

been raised.

The issues of the New World Information and Communication Order movement, are still valid today. Negative news stories about the great powers are minimized, and the minor errors of the weak are exaggerated. As an example, the problem of illegal torture by the United States at Guantánamo Bay or Abu Ghraib prison was topic for a time, but reports on the human rights problems of Syria and Venezuela, which contain many factual errors, are a “continuous concern”. There is much evidence that Korea is no exception to this phenomenon. As the division of the Korean Peninsula continues, the Peninsula has become a favorite topic for the subject of war. Voices calling for peace and coexistence, and conflict resolution through dialogue, are ignored. News that encourages war, demonizes North Korea, and reports harsh economic sanctions as a natural occurrence is a common sight. Cultural imperialism is ongoing as well. Pentagon-backed films such as Pearl Harbor, Jurassic Park, Transformers, and Iron Man are shown on movie screens around the world. The United States has a near monopoly on the internet’s main websites in terms of visitor size and influence. Freedom of information is enjoyed by a very few large powers, while the large number of smaller countries only have the freedom to choose from what to consume. This is a one-way flow that is very far from the balanced flow needed for coexistence and understanding, which are the cornerstones for peace. As a result, smaller countries have no respite from its side effects such as political instability, the destruction of cultural sovereignty, and economic loss. The problem of spillover caused by the development of radio and satellite is also getting worse. The Voice of America and Radio Free Asia are media that the American people until just a few years ago were not able to access, but were already familiar in Korea. Programs such as “Free North Korean Broadcasting”, “Daily North Korea Broadcasting”, “Daily NK”, and “Free Joseon Broadcasting”, backed by the National Endowment for Democracy with close relations to the CIA, have long been obstacles to overcoming division.

Great powers also control the minimum knowledge necessary for progress and economic development via patent rights. Even scientific and medical knowledge, which are common products for humankind, are often blocked by foreign policy. The undermining of information sovereignty is not an issue that South Korea can avoid. Edward Snowden's revelation of PRISM is a prime example. His revelation concerned illegal international intelligence gathering that took place in common between the “Five Eyes” member countries, namely the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The discussion on a “transparent and fair control of the internet”, which was held at WSIS, is a major concern for South Korea. ICANN as it currently stands is now likely to be swayed by US unilateral policy at any time. If the ROK-US alliance is adjusted in the future, the disadvantages faced by North Korea and Iran may come a lot closer to home.

Everyone encounters a “window of opportunity” in life. States are no exception. South Korea is an ally of the United States, but is also routinely targeted by the propaganda of this great power, and is a country that is concerned about the undermining of its information sovereignty. This country is experiencing a rare stroke of luck in 2019. First of all, from the US withdrawal from UNESCO it no longer needs to “view the world from the shoulders of giants”. On the international stage that UNESCO represents, this is the first time since the partition of Korea that it will have the opportunity to judge and act for itself. National sentiment has also matured enough to properly judge the nature of the problem. The conditions for active participation, postponed for the last 60 years, are also ripe. As a party to division, South Korea is well aware of the importance of communication for peace. It has also accumulated CI-related technologies, public knowledge and know-how that it is able to share with the international community. South Korea also uses the “collective leadership system” in UNESCO’s decision-making structure in a positive way. This is why we need to confirm the importance that the CI Sector holds within UNESCO, identify the context of the issues surrounding it, and find a new role for South Korea in which it can play a leading part.

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A Comparative Study of UNESCO Activities in Member States

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I. Introduction

If UNESCO were to ask member states their opinion on solutions to the tasks it currently faces, they would likely provide a variety of answers, since ideas on the vision that UNESCO should hold and the direction it should go, as well as the methods to achieve this, are as varied as the diversity found in the 193 member states that make up the organization. One thing is clear: with the spread of national priorities and the shaking of the solid foundation of multilateralism, there is a growing tendency for countries to project their concerns and interests on to UNESCO projects. This trend is also easily seen in the steadily growing number of messages from member states at the UNESCO Executive Board and the General Conference that caution and warn of increased politicization. However, as also noted in last year's study, since it is difficult in reality to completely exclude the interests of individual countries from multilateral diplomacy, what is needed instead is the wisdom to project this spirit into the activities of the organization in a harmonious manner¹. A domestic driving force is required for a country to continue to participate in multilateral diplomacy, and member states' domestic politics, one of the sources of this drive, is one aspect from which they can never free themselves.

Within UNESCO member states proactively set the organization's agenda and play active roles in various fields such as education, science, culture, and communication. In these activities are reflected the traditional concerns of the relevant country, as well as new domestic interests. From agenda setting and forming public opinion to donations of funds in trust and human resource support, methods of agenda promotion also vary widely among member states.

For this study a number of member countries that actively suggest and promote key topics were selected, in order to determine the perspectives of member states on UNESCO, and accordingly the priorities of activities and the specific status of their implementation. The study also looked at how each country cooperates with other member states, the UNESCO Secretariat and national actors in the process of pursuing their visions and strategies. The subject fields of the study were selected from the fields of science, culture, and communication. The education sector, in which the Republic of Korea is most active in terms of agenda participation and trust fund donations, was excluded. France, a leader in the issue of artificial intelligence (AI), was the main target country selected for the science sector. Italy, which has long been active in the protection of cultural heritage, was selected for the culture sector. For the communication sector, the main target countries selected

1 한경구 외, 2018, "변화의 시대, 한국의 유네스코 협력 비전"(서울: 유네스코한국위원회), p.36.

were Austria, which leads groups for the protection of journalists, and Canada, which demonstrates an active participation in the sector. In the comparison of member states, the Secretariat's vision for its structure and cooperation with member states was also investigated.

A qualitative survey was conducted from July 16 to 18, 2019 at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris with representatives from the permanent delegations and national commissions of the surveyed member states, as well as the UNESCO Secretariat, with additional questions asked based on answers to a set list of common questions that had been distributed in advance². The main questions in common included questions asking about the tasks facing UNESCO and their solutions, organizational awareness, and ideas for strengthening the organization, through which each member state's view and vision of UNESCO could be seen. Strategies to promote the vision of each member were also investigated through questions on vision and activity priorities and the background for their selection, specific promotion content, and cooperation plans. The following is a summary of the findings for each member state and the Secretariat, sorted by question.

II. Member states' vision and strategy for UNESCO activities by sector

1. France

Vision for UNESCO priorities

The home country of UNESCO's current director-general Audrey Azoulay, France is actively involved in various UNESCO reforms, cited without hesitation the "Strategic Transformation"³ as UNESCO's biggest agenda at the present time. Alexandre Navarro, Secretary-General of the French National Commission for UNESCO, cited artificial intelligence (AI) and girls' education as suitable areas within the Strategic Transformation framework for UNESCO to create visible results. Particularly with regard to AI he stressed that UNESCO was the most appropriate organization able to deal with the issue in ethical terms, and that through "AI ethics" UNESCO would be able to position itself as the "conscience of the world".

2 Much aid for the field survey was provided by Cho Dong Joon, a member of the research team and professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University. Professor Cho participated in various areas of the work, including drawing up the questionnaires for the qualitative survey and conducting on-site surveys, and consultation for the analysis.

3 See <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/strategictransformation> (accessed 2019.8.31)

View on strengths and weaknesses of UNESCO

Secretary-General Navarro cited two major strengths of UNESCO. The first is the strong brand value it has gained by overseeing the “moral conscience” area within the United Nations, while the second is the power of its vast network of organically interlocked national commissions, civil society organizations, and Category 1 and 2 Centers. However, he pointed out the deepening of politicization, the weakening of the tradition of unanimity, falling confidence in multilateral cooperation, and reductions in the organization’s finances as its greatest weaknesses.

Navarro also stressed that, in order to overcome these weaknesses, UNESCO should set new priorities and focus on representative projects, and strengthen its role in establishing international standards such as conventions, recommendations and declarations, while at the same time working with partners to secure the budget.

France’s priorities for UNESCO activities

France stated that its relevant government ministries, domestic UNESCO networks, and civil society organizations are working together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French National Commission in order to align their priorities with UNESCO’s program priorities as much as possible. Under this policy France has selected its main topics of interest among the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including the agenda for education (SDG 4), Africa, youth, women, biodiversity, AI, prevention of extremism, and freedom of speech. In addition, France has made irregular strategic donations in consultation with relevant ministries to budgets for projects of interest, the promotion of which reflects themes or methods France has traditionally held an interest in, such as French comics (*bandes dessinées*).

Meanwhile, France aims to join the UNESCO Executive Board for the 2019-2023 term in order to participate more actively in UNESCO activities, and plans to run for several intergovernmental committees as well.

Internal and external cooperation

France collaborates with regional groups through *La Francophonie*⁴ and the Geneva Group⁵, and is actively involved in the network of national commissions in Europe. It also promotes

4 <https://www.francophonie.org/> (accessed 2019.8.31)

5 An informal gathering of major UN donors who provide 1% or more of the budget. South Korea has been a full member since 2006. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). <http://www.thegenevagroup.net/cms/home.html> (accessed 2019.8.31)

bilateral cooperation via MOUs with member countries such as China, Tunisia, South Korea, and Mali.

An active cooperation is taking place with the UNESCO Secretariat as well. France stated that it was working in collaboration with the Secretariat in areas such as “publication of brochures on the role of the national commissions” in order to “expand the contributions of national commissions to strengthen UNESCO activities”.

In addition, together with the UNESCO Secretariat, France is actively promoting cooperation with domestic NGOs and private actors such as UNESCO clubs through activities such as holding meetings on regulations for civil associations. France is establishing a cooperative framework by holding regular general meetings and concluding agreements with domestic associations. Cooperation with professional groups has also been promoted, where it cited continued irregular discussions with 45 UNESCO chair professors by field.

2. Italy

Vision for UNESCO priorities

Massimo Ricardo, Italy’s Ambassador to UNESCO, stressed that the most important task for UNESCO at the moment considering its fiscal pressure is for the Secretariat to demonstrate to member states “how important UNESCO is and why it is needed”. In the same vein, he also mentioned the high importance of talking with and building trust between member states in order to drive the Director-General’s “Strategic Transformation” reform initiative.

View on strengths and weaknesses of UNESCO

Italy sees the issue of how UNESCO will play its vast role in the midst of its financial difficulties as its largest concern, but also believes that it can become a strength whereby the difficulties can act to spur on greater cooperation between various fields. Italy’s advice is thus for UNESCO to depart from the traditional approach, and to consider how best to promote cooperation between various sectors. In addition, in order to strengthen the role of UNESCO, it should focus above all on the SDGs, while giving deep consideration to how its experience acquired over time can contribute to achieving them.

Italy’s priorities for UNESCO activities

Italy is already very active in the field of cultural heritage. In recent years it has contributed to the adoption of a UN Security Council resolution on the protection of cultural heritage in conflict situations. With the Assistant Director-General for Education at UNESCO being

from Italy (as of 2019), Italy is working to support education as well. The field of science also appears to have fairly high importance in terms of activity at Italy's domestic Category 2 Centers (two in number) and contribution to irregular budgets. While Italy considers UNESCO to be the most important organization for cultural diplomacy, it has said that its basic policy is to be active in all of UNESCO's areas.

Italy explained that its UNESCO activity priorities are mainly led by UNESCO-related departments at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but in a process involving close consultation with other relevant ministries such as the Ministries of Culture, Education, and Environment. In addition, there currently appears to be large domestic interest in topics such as "culture and food," which allow for mutual cooperation across a number of fields⁶. Food has already been addressed in many of UNESCO's active projects related to creative cities, biosphere reserves, and intangible cultural heritage, and can also be linked to the issue of immigration. This makes it an interesting topic in the promotion of "interdisciplinary cooperation", one of UNESCO's strengths. The inclusion of food as one of the themes of this year's Milan Expo was also said to have been done in this context.

Internal and external cooperation

Ambassador Ricardo also spoke of the forming of a "Group of Friends" based on major topics of interest for Italy, to collaborate on an issue by issue basis. A quote of his sums up his view: "If you are pursuing a good idea, you will always find other member states to pursue it with you."

Italy has a close working relationship with the UNESCO Secretariat, particularly in the cultural sector. Here, UNESCO and the Carabinieri (the gendarmerie of Italy, with a special organization in charge of cultural property) have long worked together for the prevention of illegal trade in cultural property, and this year in October a 50th anniversary exhibition was held at UNESCO Headquarters.

The domestic response to UNESCO activities is also fairly enthusiastic. Regional communities and politicians have particularly high expectations on topics such as heritage, and the Italian president also shows a direct interest in projects such as creative cities. Italy recognizes the political, cultural and diplomatic importance of UNESCO in all areas of education, science, and culture.

6 Italy also submitted an agenda item at the 206th session of the Executive Board in the spring of 2019 entitled "Culture and Food: Innovative Strategies for Sustainable Development" (206 EX/40).

3. Austria

Vision for UNESCO priorities

Austria stated that the most important task for UNESCO, in spite of its financial difficulties, is to increase its effectiveness in the field and to promote the meaning of UNESCO. Anna Maria Baumgartner, Attachée to the Permanent Delegation of Austria to UNESCO, stressed the necessity to focus on what UNESCO can accomplish within the UN's system, and that member states should actively participate in the efforts by the Director-General in order to set priorities.

View on strengths and weaknesses of UNESCO

Austria mentioned UNESCO's great significance as being the only UN agency with global training programs in education, water resource sciences and communication, a fact also mentioned in the UNESCO Assessment Report published last spring by the Multilateral Organization Performance Assessment Network (MOPAN) for 2017-2018. Austria believes the expansion of democratic society and strengthening of access to information, related to SDG 10 (equality) and SDG 16 (inclusive society), to be areas in particular where UNESCO's role was not well known, but that freedom of speech, journalist safety, and expanding media access are areas that are clear strong points for UNESCO⁷.

Austria pointed out the lack of finances, manpower shortages, and competition with other UN organizations as UNESCO's major weaknesses. Austria also noted that in the "UN-Water family" as well, even though UNESCO has long operated the International Hydrological Programme (IHP) and Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), it lacks visibility among its competitors and is mentioned last.

Austria's priorities for UNESCO activities

At present, Austria is most concerned with the issue of safety for journalists in the larger field of communication. It stressed that UNESCO is in charge of issues of journalist training, safety and freedom within the United Nations, which is also closely related to UNESCO's participation and implementation of the SDGs. Key examples mentioned were the Director-General's issuing of statements when a journalist is attacked, and the provision by the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) of training

7 For the report discussing the links between UNESCO and the SDGs see MOPAN Secretariat, 2019, *MOPAN 2017-2018 Assessment: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*, pp, 44-45. The full report may be downloaded at <https://en.unesco.org/system/files/unesco2017-18assessmentreport.pdf> (accessed 2019.8.31).

programs for journalists.

The background for Austria's concern for journalist safety comes from its deep involvement in multilateralism in conflicts between the East and West during the Cold War after World War II. It mentioned a number of examples of this involvement, such as having attracted one of the offices of the United Nations to Vienna, its tradition of humanitarian law, the Vienna Human Rights Declaration (1993) and participation on the UN Human Rights Council, activities that led to a greater interest in promoting human rights in the field of communication.

In addition, in the field of culture Austria has been interested in protection of world heritage and wartime cultural property (Austria has even joined the second protocol (1999) of the 1954 Hague Convention), and stated that it plans to concentrate its capabilities on areas in which it is able to provide its own expertise⁸. Other areas of focus mentioned by Austria are the International Hydrological Programme (IHP), Man and the Biosphere (MAB), and bioethics in the field of science, communication between cultures and the Coalition of Cities against Racism in the field of humanities and social sciences, and global citizenship education, education for sustainable development (ESD), and education on the Holocaust in the field of education.

Internal and external cooperation

Austria has led unofficial "Groups of Friends" on journalist safety issues since 2016. It actively comments on relevant topics at IPDC meetings or at the Executive Board, and also organized an event on safety for women journalists in June 2019. Austria does not make many irregular budget contributions, but said that it is currently considering making special budget contributions for this issue. It also works closely with related NGOs to expand participation by civil society and private companies, and holds an interest in publicity through social media as well. In addition to the cooperation through the Groups of Friends, Austria also actively participates in regional cooperation with other member states.

Regarding UNESCO governance, Austria expressed no plans to enter the Executive Board (where it served as a member from 2011 to 2015), and said instead that it seeks cooperation and solidarity with other members of the Board, while urging the Secretariat to continue its efforts for its issues of interest. On the other hand, it has strategic candidacies in other UNESCO intergovernmental bodies on the governmental level, and at the UN level it

8 Australia held the vice-chairpersonship for the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, followed by membership on the Cultural Diversity Convention's Intergovernmental Committee in 2005, and serves on the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property (ICPRCP).

is focusing on the Human Rights Commission and an entry into the Security Council (2026).

Regarding activities for domestic cooperation, Austria mentioned that while its National Commission is not a governmental organization (with only the Secretary-General appointed by the Ministry of Education), it plays an important role in connecting UNESCO and civil society and in aiding UNESCO activities to take root domestically. The Austrian National Commission provides support for the operation of expert networks such as the UNESCO Chairs, the MAB Council and IHP Council, and is in close cooperation with projects concerned with other issues such as cultural diversity and journalist freedom as well. Meanwhile, as a government department, the UNESCO Sector at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs oversees domestic activities.

4. Canada

Vision for UNESCO priorities

Dominique Levasseur, Head of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, pointed out that UNESCO is not known as a particularly active organization in Canada and that in the future it needed to build trust and become a more visible organization in the field. She said that in this process, it should also look for ways to further strengthen its links with the United Nations. Levasseur emphasized that the realization of such a vision would require above all the promotion of technical cooperation among the various member states and related institutions, as well as a raising of awareness of UNESCO's activities. She also emphasized the need to be wary of "deep politicization" in the organization of UNESCO, and that she believed that the Director-General was handling the issue well.

View on strengths and weaknesses of UNESCO

Canada cited UNESCO's "handling too wide an area" as its greatest weakness. This is seen as having made it difficult for one department to oversee and take charge of UNESCO's various affairs, and the main cause for the weakening of links between UNESCO and domestic actors. As education is carried out at the local level and not at the national level in Canada, though local governments consider education to be a national agenda and have ratified cultural conventions, they do not recognize education as part of cultural development that can be linked to domestic issues. In the scientific field as well, there are few governmental agencies related to UNESCO outside of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), none at all for the humanities and social sciences, while for the field of communication at least the National Library plays some role. On the other hand, the issue of safety for journalists has recently emerged as a concern domestically,

where Canada is active in holding events with the United Kingdom on freedom of the press and discussing with the Secretariat funds for the safety of journalists.

Canada emphasized that in order to invigorate UNESCO activities it was necessary to first demonstrate the capacity and health of the organization. To this end, UNESCO has a need for more robust statistics to increase business efficiency and to avoid competition with other UN agencies such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Canada advised that though the small budget had resulted in a reduction of UNESCO's activities in the field, the impossibility of increasing the budget in all sectors made it necessary to set priorities for the role of the organization and to focus on its capacity.

Canada also mentioned the withdrawal of the United States as a member as another issue for UNESCO to solve. As a result of the withdrawal, UNESCO is discussing AI issues without the presence of one of the leading nations in the field, while discussions of human rights are also inevitably limited without one of its typical defenders.

Canada's priorities for UNESCO activities

Levasseur demurred on selecting one field as most important for Canada among the fields covered by UNESCO, and mentioned undertakings in each sector in which Canada is interested. First mentioned was the field of education, where strengthened capacity in the field to implement SDG 4, collection of statistics for monitoring, global monitoring, girls' education and comprehensive sexual education were among the important issues. In the field of science, Canada was said to be most interested in the IOC with its work on water issues, as well as open science advisory discussions, and the status of women scientists.

In the cultural sector, Canada explained that it was currently preparing to ratify the Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (2001), but had suspended entry into the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) due to indigenous issues. It is also active in the Convention on Cultural Diversity (2005), which it has joined, and is aiming to include digital representation in the implementation process as well. In addition, Canada also said that it was active in the World Heritage Convention (1972), the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970), and the recently ratified second protocol of the Hague Convention (1964).

In the humanities and social sciences, the Canadian National Commission participates in the Coalition of Municipalities against Racism and Discrimination, and actively publishes brochures on the status of scientists. In the field of communication, it participates in the IPDC and holds interest in issues such as documentary heritage, journalist safety, media literacy and discrimination against women journalists.

Canada also explained that priority is being given at the National Commission level to participation in the “Strategic Transformation” and in raised transparency, budget execution, and regional office reform, and that it was involved in weighing in on these points at UNESCO’s governance meetings as well.

Financially, Canada has provided some funding for statistics, monitoring, and education, and has recently made contributions to the Safety of Journalists Fund and Elimination of Racial Discrimination Fund. However, active voluntary contributions are not a possibility due to domestic law that restricts government departments from directly contributing funds to UNESCO, where in the case of the Department of Canadian Heritage (Canada’s Department of Culture) it allocates budgets to the National Commission to allow related activities to take place.

Internal and external cooperation

As a co-chair of the Geneva Group, Canada works closely with the main group members. It also explained that while it is active in the Groups of Friends, it does not tend to participate in agendas related to political issues. It also holds active interactions with member countries of La Francophonie, and recently held a competition for global youth on scientific theory.

Canada said that it was working closely with the UNESCO Secretariat on several undertakings, including the event in June for women journalists and a conference on global media. Some other examples of active collaboration given were the participation in commemorative events for the Year of Indigenous Languages (2019), as well as additional IOC events for women and indigenous peoples.

Domestically, UNESCO work (as work related to one of the UN’s specialized agencies) is handled within Global Affairs Canada (Canada’s Department of Foreign Affairs), while for legal and human rights issues the Permanent Delegation is in charge with government support. Canada also collaborates with NGOs and experts through its National Commission, and actively participates in school and youth networks, as well as the UNESCO Chairs program.

III. Perspective of the UNESCO Secretariat

Vision for UNESCO priorities

Charaf Ahmimed, Director of the Strategic Transformation Sector, which is leading the current reform of the Secretariat, stated that the environment for multilateralism has changed in recent years, in light of which member states are making special efforts to further support the values of UNESCO. With regard to the SDGs in particular, he added that the Secretariat

would provide active support to UNESCO during the remainder of the implementation period⁹ to allow it to contribute to their achievement. Ahmimed also introduced the “Strategic Transformation” proposed by Director-General Azoulay in the spring of 2018 as the Secretariat’s largest issue. Its essentials are to focus on project implementation (strengthening cooperation between the SDGs and sectors), to raise UNESCO’s position in intellectual dialogue and exchanges in the international community (girls’ education, AI, scientific ethics, etc.), and to streamline organizational operations (greater implementation speed, increased effectiveness, improvement of local networks such as regional offices, etc.).

Ahmimed believes the task of the Secretariat to be the provision of high quality analysis and proposals to allow member states to determine project priorities, and that the priorities of most member states appear to be reflected in most programs to date. However, given the importance of contributing to the SDGs as a UN organization, UNESCO, like other specialized organizations (ILO, UNICEF, etc.), needs to view the SDGs as the main priorities. He added that financial capacity is another important item to keep in mind when deciding priorities.

View on strengths and weaknesses of UNESCO

As also noted in the MOPAN report, the Secretariat sees UNESCO’s greatest strengths as its role and function in setting standards, as it has the largest and most active network in each field, and the trust from governments and civil societies. UNESCO’s role in standards is a unique one, and its leadership in education is another great strength. He also expressed the expectation that UNESCO, as a specialized organization for education, science, and culture, would be able to find opportunities in various fields through UN reform and implementation of the SDGs.

On the other hand, large challenges cited for UNESCO to overcome are the large number of project areas, the scope of projects, and scarce financial and human resources. He pointed out in particular that the fundamental challenges to multilateralism are a reminder to UNESCO of the need to demonstrate its reason for being, namely to prove its importance and necessity as an institution.

The Secretariat stated that a capacity building of the Secretariat needed to first take place in order to address these tasks. At the same time, he also stressed the need to actively promote project results and raise UNESCO’s visibility, not only among its member countries but also to academia, youth, and regional communities, and that this also needed

9 The implementation period for the SDGs set by the UN is from 2016 to 2030.

to be linked to increased financial contributions.

External cooperation

Through its more than 30 intergovernmental committees, UNESCO works by sector with the cooperation and budgetary support of member states. The Secretariat said that in the process of driving the Strategic Transformation, creating additional value and adapting to new environments, it is making every effort to coordinate and reflect the different expectations of various member states.

The Secretariat also noted that the National Commissions serve as a rich network that is unique to UNESCO, and that the amount of cooperation with the National Commissions is gradually increasing. In reality, the National Commissions play an important role within the member states in advocating UNESCO's values and increasing visibility, as well as in influencing policy decisions on the national level. In addition, the Secretariat mentioned that it is working on cooperation with a network of experts that includes UNESCO NGOs (an estimated 50% of UNESCO's budget is implemented in cooperation with NGOs), universities, and educational institutions. Cooperation with private companies is still at an insignificant level, which is attributed to the different project implementation speeds and expected roles between private companies and UNESCO. The Secretariat noted that cooperation with private companies could serve as a good point of reference for UNESCO in terms of budget and methodology.

IV. Overall conclusion and implications

Despite the fact that financial difficulties represent UNESCO's largest dilemma at the moment, it must still carry out its organizational role in a wide range of areas including education, science, culture, and communication. It is analogous to having to set a number of train cars into motion with only enough fuel to move a car. This point is one on which all member states participating in the survey agreed. Without a concentrated focus and hard choices, UNESCO's dilemma may remain unresolved. As a result, the most urgent item for UNESCO at the moment can be said to be the setting of priorities. It is necessary to set up a reasonable, transparent, and "UNESCO-like" measuring stick in order to restructure its projects and budget. Such a process will also have to reflect sufficient concern and thought for the strengths of the organization, the concerns of its member countries, and UN-wide global priorities such as the SDGs.

Though UNESCO is surrounded by massive challenges, its future is not all dark. This is because UNESCO as an organization carries a special advantage difficult to find in other

organs. Regarding the organization's strengths, France referred to UNESCO's unique realm as the "conscience of the world", Italy spoke of possible cooperation between various sectors, and Austria pointed out areas such as communication where it differentiates itself from other UN organizations. The Secretariat also mentioned its leadership and standard-setting roles in various networks and the field of education. On the other hand, there was unanimity in seeing UNESCO's broad role as both a strength and a weakness. This was the common opinion of the Secretariat and the member states that participated in the survey. Until it grows into a "highly visible organization", as phrased by Canada, one of the most important tasks for UNESCO seems to be how to use its aforementioned advantages to supplement and overcome these simultaneous strengths and weakness.

The method and process by which member states prioritize UNESCO activities was also of note. In their UNESCO activities member states go through a common process of "national consultation" that reflects their individual concerns. The member countries have approached their vision by projecting it into the areas of strength for UNESCO: France through its active cooperation with the agenda of the Director-General, who is also French, Italy through topics that straddle disciplines and receive enthusiastic domestic interest such as "culture and food", and Austria in the field of communication, with its long interest in human rights. Canada has also recently reported to be working closely with other member states and the Secretariat in the communication field, as domestic interest in freedom of the press and the safety of journalists continues to increase.

On the other hand, member states have been shown to use a number of strategies to support or disseminate their "topics of interest". Summarized, they are: (1) Introducing agendas at governance meetings, (2) Seeking partner countries and driving Group of Friends activities, (3) Holding events with the Secretariat and partner countries, (4) Holding related domestic events, (5) Irregular contributions to UNESCO's budget, (6) Running for election in governance bodies and related intergovernmental committees, (7) Representation in the Secretariat. Each member was shown to have used different strategies depending on the situation or the resources available. In this process, the Secretariat also demonstrated effort to reflect the concerns of member states under the "Strategic Transformation" agenda of reform.

This comparative study, which looked only at a very limited number of member states, clearly carries major limitations. Such limitations originally stem, however, from the difficulty in attempting to sum up the diversity found amongst member countries, whether in terms of perspectives and evaluations of UNESCO or more specific activities. Nonetheless, the survey of these member countries offers clear meaning in seeing through real cases what visions and strategies these states bring to the multilateral stage known as UNESCO, as well as in seeing how these visions and strategies are reflected in projects both domestic

and international.

For the Republic of Korea in particular, which has had an inseparable relationship with UNESCO over the past 70 years, I believe the results of the study offer a good opportunity to reflect once again on the country's vision, strategy, and driving force in respect of UNESCO. What are the current challenges for UNESCO, and what expectations does the Republic Korea have for it? The time has come to consider the nexus between these two questions, and what shoots may spring forth from it.

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Competing Peace Concepts at the UNESCO

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I. Introduction

The risk of organized violence among human groups has been a constant since the advent of humankind. A series of archaeological analyses on human remains show that organized violence was carried out frequently in the Paleolithic age, and rampant in the Neolithic age (Ghose 2013; Keely 1996, 174). Though the severity and frequency of organized violence tend to decrease in the human history, the risk of violence is still high. The number of militarized interstate disputes amounts to 2,586 in the world from 1816 to 2010, if military threats, mobilizations, and hostile deploys, and aggressions are counted (Correlates of Wars Project 2014). Since the 20th century we have seen a decrease in the frequency and intensity of interstate warfare. However, as the frequency and intensity of civil wars tend to increase, the risk from violence has not substantially decreased yet.

The founding of the UNESCO is based upon human efforts to avoid another devastation after World War 2. From the 2nd Sino-Japanese Wars in 1937 to the end of World War 2 in 1945, nearly 24 million combatants were killed, while 50 million civilians perished directly in connection to wars. While roughly 3% of the world population were killed in the last world war, leaders and intellectuals searched for ways to achieve peace. Various measures to prevent wars such as collective security and disarmament were discussed in earnest: the protection of human rights and the promotion of economic development were reviewed as means to displant the seed of wars. While the other methods focused on military or socio-economic factors related to wars, the UNESCO introduced an unconventional way: constructing the defences of peace in the minds of men.

This paper is made up of three parts. First, it will examine the UNESCO's approach to achieving peace in comparison to several dominant methods. The UNESCO's approach traces back to the Enlightenment. It greatly differs from conventional practices for peace at that time. Second, it will review the evolution of the discourse of peace in the UNESCO since its inception. There were disagreements over how to achieve peace at its earliest stage. The Cold War brought a schism to the shaky consensus right after World War 2. The entry of newly independent states into the UNESCO decreased the mutual understanding of peace among its members, as the new comers did not share the experiences of World War 2. New comers tended to regard economic development as a major path to reduce structural violence, while the founders emphasized intellectual exchange and mutual understanding to reduce mitigate ignorance and mistrust. Third, it will examine the process where various approaches to peace converged into the "Culture of Peace" within UNESCO and its future development.

II. Conventional Approaches vs. UNESCO's Unconventional Approach

Wars were perceived as a “social problem to be solved” in the Age of Enlightenment, while they had been thought to be one of acts related to divine punishment or a natural way to resolve disagreements between political communities in the pre-Enlightenment era. As humans’ perceptions on wars changed, a variety of initiatives and policies were contrived to maintain peace as the condition where wars were absent in the Age of Enlightenment. This section will classify various policies for peace into several categories in the modern era and review the UNESCO’s method for peace in comparison with them.

1. Three Conventional Peace Approaches

Since the Age of Enlightenment initiatives to create a war-free state based on human reason may be largely divided into three categories. First, the supremacy of a strong state was proposed as a way to peace. This peace approach traces back to the argument of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who identified Pax Romana with the good governance by emperors in Rome. Roman emperors had the supreme authority (auctoritas) to guarantee political social concord and the supreme executive power (imperium) to have civil order. Also, they served as the highest priest (pontifex maximus) to bring religious harmony (Parchami 2009, 25). When good emperors governed Rome, whose power overwhelmed other political entities around the Mediterranean and made it into an inland sea from 27 B.C. to 180 C.E, Rome enjoyed the unprecedented peace and economic prosperity. Peace proposals based on the supremacy of a state with good rulers were not acceptable, when there was no comparable empire to Rome; they were espoused by near hegemonic states such as Britain in the 19th century and the United States in the mid-20th century. The Hegemonic Stability Theory, which links hegemony and stability of the international order, is an exemplary discourse to identify a strong state’s supremacy as a factor for peace.

Second, the balance of power among states was advocated as a cause of peace. This approach traces back to the inter-city relationship in the Ancient Greece. When the balance of power was maintained among competing political entities, the uncertainty of warring was high and wars became less likely in the eyes of a couple of prominent historians in the Ancient Greece. As absolute monarchies coexisted in the Age of Enlightenment, peace

proposals based on the balance of power was considered as realistic policies.¹ Britain in the Age of Enlightenment often attempted to maintain the balance of power in the continental Europe, preventing the emergence of a hegemon in Europe to challenge the its security (Pirenne 1963, 429). Peace through the balance of power was customary in the diplomacy among European nations in the 18th and 19th century; it had a steady presence in the 20th century. This practice of maintaining peace based on the balance of power led to the Balance of Power Theory.

Third, a community's collective response to threats was introduced as a way to peace. Nations often provide assistance to their peer states under attack, when they and their peer states share common goals and a common identity. In particular, the historical experience in which European nations united through the medium of Christianity in opposition to non-Christian threats passed down as a community consciousness among European states. There were various peace proposals based on the European community consciousness, even when absolute monarchies coexisted. Immanuel Kant's "Perpetual Peace," which advocated the formation of a federation and the development of international civil laws among republics and proposed a way to peace based on a community's collective response to threats to any member of the community, is one of various peace initiatives based on this long-standing European intellectual tradition (Kant 1983[1795], 112-120).

The three conventional approaches to peace have given inspirations to specific policy proposals for the implementation of "peace as the absence of wars" at historically important junctions. For example, the victorious nations of World War 1 accommodated some aspects of each conventional approach in constructing the post-World War 1 order. The community-based peace approach was reflected into the establishment of the League of Nations; peace based on the balance of power was partially projected into the formation of multi-ethnic nations such as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to cope with the resurgence of Germany, though it was not consistent with self-determination, one of the key principles in the post-World War 1 order; peace based on the supremacy was incorporated into the policy to keep Germany under international control.²

1 The policy to keep a state from overgrowing was called as even "the general rule." When it becomes stronger "by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like, it becomes more able to annoy" its neighboring states (Bacon 1838 [1612], 276).

2 Germany was restricted to have only 100,000 men in the army and six battleships. It was not allowed to have any submarine nor combat airplane; it was not allowed to conscript soldiers in the post-World War 1 era. The victors of World War 1 tried to keep Germany from resurging by restricting its military capacity in a limited level.

2. World War 2 and the UNESCO

The experiences of World War 2 have linked peace with issues of culture, science, and arts. More specifically, the ideologues of the Axis powers claimed that their racial superiority was supported in the realm of culture. In the propaganda of the Axis powers culture was the sum of the intellectual creations of the human race and included a variety of intellectual activities such as science and art. The propagators of Nazism alleged that all fine culture had originated with the Aryans³ and culture was the demarcation between the civilized and the barbaric peoples.

All the human culture, all the results of art, science, and technology that we see before us today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan. ...He (the Aryan) is the Prometheus of mankind from whose bright forehead (intellectual force) the divine spark of genius has sprung at all times, forever kindling anew that fire of knowledge which illumined the night of silent mysteries and thus caused man to climb the path to mastery over the other beings of this earth. ...From him originate the foundations and walls of all human creation (Hitler 1943[1927], 290).

In the discourses of the Axis countries, their cultural superiority was the basis that justified their start of World War 2 and the acts of cruelty. Because they considered that the culture created by the “Aryans” would be degenerated through mixing with “inferior races”, the Axis powers justified actions preventing inter-racial marriages and even persecutions against the “inferior races.” Quasi-scientific racism that was prevalent in the Axis countries and the crimes against humanity committed by the Axis Powers during World War 2 were an extension of the idea of Aryan cultural superiority.

The propaganda activities by the Axis countries have linked peace with issues of education and mass media. Education was regarded as a propagandistic process and mass media were used as a tool of propaganda in the Axis powers. Groundless racism, cultural supremacy, prejudice and hatred for “inferior races,” justification for acts of political cruelty, and mass mobilization were achieved through education and media. In the Axis countries, education and mass media were part of their war machine.

The establishment of UNESCO has reflected the efforts of the Allies to restore education, science, culture and mass media as tools for peace. The direct origin of the

3 The Japanese were defined as “bearers of culture” (Hitler 1943[1927], 170-171). They were often called “Aryans of the East”, “Honorary Aryans”, and “Herrenvolk (ruling race) of the Orient” in Nazis discourses. Italy defined itself as a “descendant of the Aryans” (Zimmerman 2009. 119-120).

UNESCO was the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, first held on November 16, 1942. The Conference was organized by Allied ministers of education to counter German propaganda during the World War 2 and eliminate the remnants of Nazism in education. The Conference discussed the development of a consultative body to construct an educational environment to prevent the reemergence of Nazism or Fascism in the long run. Recognizing that denazification was not simply a task for the area of education, the Allied ministers of education suggested the establishment of an international organization covering culture, science, mass media, and intellectual exchange.

The founding fathers of the UNESCO declared that wars begin in the “minds of men.” Ex ante differences (between human groups) are located at the very first stage in the whole process from the seed of wars in the minds of men to the outbreak of wars. Though it does not clearly identify the cause of the differences among human groups, the UNESCO Constitution seems to imply that different ways of life at the group level are the primary source of differences which might eventually link with the outbreak of wars. Differences are the starting point in the causal chain of war, but differences themselves do not necessarily lead to conflict.

At the midpoint of the causal chain from differences to conflict, the UNESCO Constitution focuses on the ignorance of “each other’s ways and lives” as a common cause of suspicion and mistrust. When they do not know other groups’ different ways of life, people may judge other ways of life as undesirable and may have even prejudices against others. Ignorance and prejudices may lead to suspicion toward others and even mistrust. Ultimately, suspicion and mistrust in conjunction with difference may end up wars. Likewise, the ignorance of the a priori and neutral differences between human groups may link with the outbreak of wars.⁴

Furthermore, the UNESCO Constitution points to the two intervening variables in the outbreak of World War 2. One is the denial of the democratic principles of human dignity, equality, and mutual respect. The Axis powers, based on quasi-scientific racial theories, did not accept the dignity of “inferior races” and did not recognize equality between human groups. As they applied their racism at the individual level, the Axis powers denied democratic principles such as human dignity, equality, and mutual respect. The acts of cruelty by the Axis powers during World War 2 were a result of the denial of democratic principles at the individual level.

4 Realists have been critical toward the UNESCO’s causal chain from differences to wars. Wars often take place between human groups that are geographically close to each other and know each other well, where knowledge of the other cannot be seen as leading to peace (e.g. Niebuhr 1950, 4-5).

Figure 1 The Causal Chain of Wars in the UNESCO Constitution



The other is the propagation of racial theories by the Axis powers. Those who justified Nazism or Fascism based on quasi-racial theories actively utilized mass media and education to indoctrinate people with their false beliefs. The Axis powers provided biased information that would incite emotional and unreasonable responses from those who often had difficulties in making rational judgments. The propaganda by the Axis powers was a link for them to seize power and mobilize the masses to carry out World War 2 (Hitler 1943[1927], ch.6).⁵

In sum, the outbreak of World War 2 was the culmination of the Axis powers' efforts to maliciously take advantage of the pre-existing differences in ways of life at the national level, people's ex ante ignorance of the different ways of life and groundless prejudices against other groups by propaganda and education. As they did not have enough information about other nations to make reasonable judgments, they were easily swayed by pro-Nazi or Fascist movements that maliciously propagated racial theories. More specifically, social forces related with Nazism and Fascism provided false information on other human groups to those who had the ignorance and prejudices. People came to be familiarized and supportive to the two belief systems. After they got people's support, Nazis and Fascists took advantage of ex ante democratic procedures and destroyed them. They utilized mass-media and education to justify their war efforts.

The founders of the UNESCO sought to prevent wars by building "defences of peace" in the minds of men. They envisioned the "defences of peace" in the minds of men by (1) mutually understanding and respecting differences in ways of life between a priori existing human groups, (2) overcoming ignorance and prejudice with objective inquiry and education on the truth, (3) actively educating on diversity and democratic values, (4) preventing the mass media from being used as a tool for propaganda, and (5) aiding people in making

5 Nazi propaganda was not based on scientific truth, but an intentional act that drew attention of the public to specific aspects, processes and needs to imprint first impressions in the mind (Hitler 1943[1927], 179).

reasonable judgments through intellectual cooperation to raise mutual understanding.⁶ Contrary to the Axis powers that used education, science, culture and mass media as part of their war machine, the Allied powers aimed to (1) promote the mutual respect of diversities in cultural issue-areas, (2) overcome ignorance and prejudices through the search for truth and intellectual cooperation in science issue-areas, (3) cultivate world citizens by the pursuit of mutual understanding and promotion of inclusiveness in educational issue-areas, and (4) encourage the exchange of objective information in communication. These efforts ultimately aimed to build the defenses of peace that would oppose wars in the minds of men.

III. Changes in the International Order and the Transformation of the UNESCO

While the Allies launched UNESCO as an international organization governing education, culture, science and media based on their experiences in World War 2, the Cold War and the emergence of newly independent states brought changes in the post-World War 2 international order. The two factors have transformed UNESCO. This section reviews how the two changes in the post-World War 2 order have transformed the UNESCO's discourse and budget allocation.

1. Changes in the Post-WW2 Order and New Discourses at the UNESCO

The cooperation among UNESCO member states rapidly deteriorated, even before three years passed since the UNESCO's launch. The UNESCO and the United Nations have been influenced by the internal discord in the post-World War 2 order, as the former is a specialized agency of the latter which the wartime alliance among the Allied had evolved into. As the United Nations was created on the presumption that the fault-line between the victorious and defeated nations of World War would last for a long time, the cooperation among the victors was essential for the organization to function effectively. However, a fundamental schism among the victors of World War 2 began to emerge at the United Nations in 1947, evolved into the Cold War, and eventually restructured them into the two blocs.

6 UNESCO's "defenses of peace" shares similarities with the "enlightened conscience" dreamed of by intellectuals. As an example, Leo Tolstoy criticized the support of the "enlightened men" for the Russo-Japanese Wars of 1904 and argued that the "enlightened conscience of mankind" must fight against the darkness oppressing humanity (Tolstoy 1904, 175).

As the presumption for the UN's genesis disappeared in the late 1940s, the United Nations found itself paralyzed. The joining of more Communist states to the UNESCO in the 1950s polarized the UNESCO too.⁷ Issues friendly to Communism such as economic inequality and social tensions began to be mentioned at the UNESCO. Though it managed fend off challenges by the Communist bloc in the 1950s based its numerical dominance, the Western bloc could not make a majority at the UNESCO since the 1960s. The inter-bloc competition deepened at the UNESCO.

The emergence of newly independent states changed the landscape at the UNESCO. Newly independent states that had been colonies prior to the end of World War 2 got their independence and started to join to the UNESCO in the mid-1940s. The new comers to the UNESCO, which did not share the experiences of World War 2, formed a majority at the UNESCO. While most of the UNESCO's founding states shared the common denominators of liberal democracy, the victory in World War 2, and developed economies, most of the newly independent countries shared the common denominators of political authoritarianism, colonial experiences, and underdevelopment. Under UNESCO's "one country, one vote" decision-making rule newly independent countries relied on their numerical dominance to project their agendas to the governance of the UNESCO.

Newly independent countries and the Communist bloc sought to project issues related with social inequality and injustice into the UNESCO's agenda. There were slight differences between the two blocs. The former bloc focused on the differences between developed and underdeveloped as well as colonial issues; the latter bloc paid attention to the conflict between capitalism and socialism. However, as they assigned the causes of social inequality and injustice to the capitalism in the developed world, the two blocs jointly tried to link peace issues with structural violence and cooperated each other to lead the UNESCO to eliminate some aspects of structural violence.⁸ From the 1950s the UNESCO came to link peace issues with structural violence; it raised the need to study social tensions as a precursory indicator of wars. (UNESCO 1950, 18-19). The frequent keywords at the UNESCO in the 1940-50s such as peace and mutual understanding gradually lost their popularity in the 1960s. The UNESCO resolution in 1962 to participate in the United Nations

7 Poland (renamed the Polish People's Republic in 1947) and Czechoslovakia (renamed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1948) participated in the founding of the UNESCO in 1946. Cuba joined to the UNESCO in 1947, Hungary (renamed the Hungarian People's Republic in 1949) in 1948, Yugoslavia in 1950, Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine in 1954, Bulgaria and Romania in 1956, and Albania in 1958.

8 When the allegation that the UNESCO was under communist influence was often raised in the early 1950s, the US Department of State even attempted to confirm this allegation through in-depth interviews with staff at UNESCO (US Department of State 1953).

Development Decade: A Programme for International Economic Co-operation [UNGA Res 1710 (XVI, 19 December 1961)] symbolically demonstrates the change at the UNESCO.

“Considering that one of the decisive conditions for rapidly overcoming any harmful social and economic consequences of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is the eradication of illiteracy and the training in the shortest possible time of adequate national personnel for the development of the national economy and culture, Conscious of the continuing need for UNESCO’s services to these ends, [the General Conference] Authorizes the Director-General to continue and to intensify his efforts in this direction. ...particular attention should be paid to the problems of overcoming educational, scientific and cultural underdevelopment of countries which have recently won their national independence or are endeavouring to attain it.” (UNESCO 1962, 79)

The New International Economic Order and the New International Information Order were popular topics at the UNESCO in the 1970-80s. While they argued that development and underdevelopment were structurally intensified by unfair terms of trade, newly independent countries and some South American nations tried to project their interests into the international economic order and the international information order at the United Nations system. The New International Economic Order, a visionary economic order which developing countries pushed for at the United Nations (UNGA A/Res/S-6/3201, 1 May 1974), claimed (1) that developing countries possessed the right to control and regulate the activities of multinational corporations operating inside their borders, (2) the right to nationalize the assets of multinational companies on terms advantageous to them, (3) that producer countries of primary commodities could form their own council such as the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and (4) that the trade conditions between primary commodities and industrial goods needed to be changed, and that technology transfer from developed to developing countries was required. Following the suit at the United Nations, the UNESCO also passed a resolution at the 18th General Assembly in 1974 to contribute to the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The new economic order remained a topic up to the late 1980s.⁹

The New World Information Order, the other side of the new international order for developing countries, was initiated by some developing states at the UNESCO. In 1969

9 Resolutions that directly mentioned the “New Economic Order” were consistently made up from the UNESCO’s 18th General Conference in 1976 to the 22nd General Conference in 1983. The term showed up again in the 24th General Conference in 1987 for the last time; it disappeared since the 25th General Conference in 1989 for good.

at a press conference sponsored by the UNESCO, a criticism was raised that information moves in one direction from developed to developing countries (UNESCO 1970, 8-14). This criticism evolved into claims at subsequent meetings that information disparities were linked to “neocolonialism” and the “free flow of information” became a key topic at the UNESCO. The term “New Communication Order” first appeared in a resolution at the 20th General Conference of the UNESCO in 1978. The UNESCO resolution pointed out that “the present communication order in the world is far from satisfactory” and mentioned the necessity for a “new information and communication order.” Since then, the term “new information and communication order” consistently appeared in resolutions up to the 25th General Conference in 1989.¹⁰

2. Keyword Change at the UNESCO

The frequency of some keywords at the UNESCO’s resolutions is a good indicator of the changes at the Agency. As the UNESCO serves as a major discussion forum, the analysis of the discourses at the Agency will show the Agency’s changes. In order to find the changes at the UNESCO, this section checks the frequency and ranking of keywords at the Agency’s resolutions from 2nd General Conference in 1947 to 39th one in 2017 (See Appendix). The topic analysis gives five findings. First, although there are slight changes in ranking, “education” and “science” carry greater importance than any other keyword. Education is the most frequent topic in the UNESCO’s resolutions, placing first 33 times, second 4 times, and third once. Science is the second most popular keyword, placing first 4 times, and second many times. Culture is in the 3rd place. It places first 2 times, and third in many times. This finding implies that the three key issue-areas of the UNESCO have been dominant over the rest issue-areas.

Second, “economy” and “development”, which are friendly topics for developing countries, have appeared frequently at the UNESCO resolutions since the 1960s. Since

10 The New International Information and Communication Order and the New International Economic Order are inter-connected, as (1) media are influenced by an economic order under the control of large capital, (2) information is created in areas where science and technology are developed and moves toward underdeveloped ones, (3) media spread ideas that are friendly to commercial interests. The two orders share their emphasis on “self-reliance” (Pavlic and Hamelink 1985, 25-46). Galtung, who presents “imperialism” as an analytic framework linking structural violence, economics, and information, argues that social inequality and conflict are managed through the media at the final stage of imperialism (Galtung 1971, 94-98). Developing countries accepted Galtung’s argument, projected it onto the UNESCO and attempted to establish a new international order.

appearing in third place in the 11th General Conference in 1960, “development” has consistently placed third or fourth, and second place since 2005. The ranking for “economy” has fluctuated along with that of “development.” The term was popular at the UNESCO resolutions in the 1960s, entering the top ten list by the early 1980s, then showing a decline after the mid-1980s. Technology has always shown up in the list, but the meaning associated with it has changed over time. During the 1940s and 1950s technology had been mentioned as an object of intellectual exchange, but since the 1960s it has been more associated with the field of economic cooperation.

Third, “culture” has shown up twice in first place. It began in third place after the establishment of UNESCO, but was surpassed in the 1960s by “development.” This change traces back to the entry of newly independent countries to the UNESCO, which focused on economic issues rather than cultural ones. Culture showed up frequently from the mid-1970s and has become popular since the end of the Cold War. It was in second place for ten years since the end of the Cold Wars and placed first at the 33rd General Conference in 2005. Since the late 2000s it has been on a weaker footing than economy, but continues to hold third place.

Fourth, “information” and “media” have gone through ups and downs. After the establishment of the UNESCO, these two terms began in fourth place and then gradually declined. As the denazification of the media progressed, which was one of the US top priorities after the end of World War, the interest in mass media declined. In the 1970s, developing countries introduced the “New International Information Order”, raising the interest in information and bringing it up to 4th or 5th place. The two terms’ connotation had changed greatly. While totalitarianism had been linked to information and media in earlier days, from the 1970s the terms were linked to control and inequality.

Fifth, while intellectual cooperation and exchange had been major considerations for the creation of the UNESCO, these issues had lost their importance within the UNESCO. “Exchange” stayed in the frequent keyword list for a long time, though the emphasis of the exchange moved from prominent figures to youth. The exchanges among intellectuals were carried out intermittently in the 1940’50s and later phased out. In the age of the internet, the easy access of ordinary citizens to knowledge has reduced intellectuals’ roles even further.

The frequency ranking of the keywords at the UNESCO’s resolutions coincide with the order (education, science, culture) among the major issue-areas at the Agency. The topic analysis of the UNESCO’s resolution from 2nd General Conference to 39th one shows that education, science, development, technology, and communication occurred in order. This finding implies that the institutional legacies of the Agency have been preserved. On the other hand, economy and development brought in by newly independent countries

Appendix Keywords' Frequency Rank and "Peace"'s Rank

Rank Session	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Peace's rank
2	education	science	information	culture	development	technology	exchange	economy	wars	media	14
3	education	science	culture	information	exchange	technology	understanding	development	freedom	economy	18
4	education	science	technology	information	culture	economy	development	exchange	understanding	freedom	17
5	education	science	culture	information	exchange	technology	development	freedom	understanding	research	13
6	education	science	culture	technology	information	economy	development	exchange	research	peace	10
7	education	science	culture	technology	information	development	research	social science	exchange	media	16
8	science	education	culture	development	information	technology	exchange	media	social science	understanding	13
9	education	science	culture	technology	development	information	research	exchange	media	social science	14
10	education	science	culture	exchange	technology	research	information	development	media	social science	14
11	education	science	development	culture	technology	research	information	economy	exchange	social science	17
12	education	science	development	technology	culture	research	economy	information	media	exchange	15
13	science	education	development	culture	technology	research	economy	information	media	exchange	13
14	education	science	development	culture	technology	research	information	media	economy	social science	13
15	education	science	development	culture	technology	research	information	media	economy	social science	12
16	education	science	development	culture	technology	research	information	media	social science	economy	11
17	education	culture	science	development	information	technology	research	media	peace	respect	9
18	education	science	culture	development	technology	research	information	economy	peace	media	9
19	education	culture	development	science	technology	economy	information	peace	research	freedom	8
20	education	culture	science	development	technology	information	economy	media	research	peace	10
21	culture	development	education	science	media	information	technology	economy	peace	research	9
22	education	culture	development	science	technology	information	media	peace	research	understanding	8
23	education	development	culture	science	information	technology	peace	understanding	research	women	7
24	education	culture	development	science	technology	information	peace	women	understanding	research	7
25	education	development	culture	science	technology	information	media	peace	research	women	8
26	education	culture	development	science	information	technology	women	research	media	peace	10
27	education	culture	development	information	science	democracy	peace	women	technology	media	7
28	education	culture	development	peace	information	democracy	science	women	media	technology	4
29	education	culture	development	information	research	science	freedom	technology	peace	exchange	9
30	science	education	culture	development	information	technology	knowledge	research	peace	media	9
31	education	culture	technology	science	development	information	diversity	media	knowledge	respect	11
32	education	culture	science	development	information	technology	media	knowledge	diversity	research	17
33	culture	education	science	development	information	technology	diversity	research	knowledge	respect	15
34	education	development	culture	science	information	technology	research	knowledge	media	equality	12
35	education	development	culture	science	information	technology	knowledge	research	peace	media	9
36	education	development	culture	science	information	peace	technology	knowledge	research	media	6
37	education	development	culture	science	information	technology	knowledge	equality	media	peace	10
38	education	development	culture	science	information	technology	research	knowledge	media	equality	11
39	science	education	development	culture	research	information	technology	knowledge	media	equality	11

show the changes that took place at UNESCO. After they had become the majority, newly independent states and developing states appear to have projected their interests into the Agency's resolutions.

3. The Changes at the UNESCO's Budget

The changes at the UNESCO may be found in its budget allocation. The transformation of UNESCO as an implementation mechanism may be seen in the budget records, if happened. Figure 1 graphically shows the changes in each major program's budget from the 2nd General Conference in 1947 to the 39th in 2017. The numbers in the figure represent the percentage of each major program's budget as part of the total proposed budget in each session.

There are five important findings in Figure 1. First, intellectual exchanges have not been a major program anymore since 1962. As its founding was closely related with the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (1926-1946) and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (1926-1940, 1945-1946), the UNESCO treated intellectual exchanges as a major program. However, programs related with intellectual exchanges were fragmented into the other major programs. It reflects the Agency came to put more emphasis on the exchange of youths and technicians rather than intellectuals and notables. Intellectual exchanges become minor activities in each major program.

Second, education has taken the largest budget share for most times. It was once in the second place right after the inception of the UNESCO due to the urgent need of the denazification in the communication sectors of the former Axis countries. After the urgent needs of denazification were met in the UNESCO's early session, education has taken the lion's share of the Agency's budget. The education budget increased much in the 1960s, as developing and developed countries reached an agreement that the development of human resources and economic growth through education reduce social conflicts and lead to peace. Although its budget share has declined since the Cold Wars, education has been the most important issue-area.

Third, the budget of communication has shown significant fluctuations. The United States argued for the inclusion of communication as a major program, though there was no much interest from most European counterparts. When the United States pushed for the denazification in the communication sectors of the former Axis powers, communication had a large budget. It was even in the 1st place in the first two sessions. However, as the denazification progressed and the US discontent and suspicion with the UNESCO grew, the budget of communication decreased. In the 1970s, as developing countries introduced the

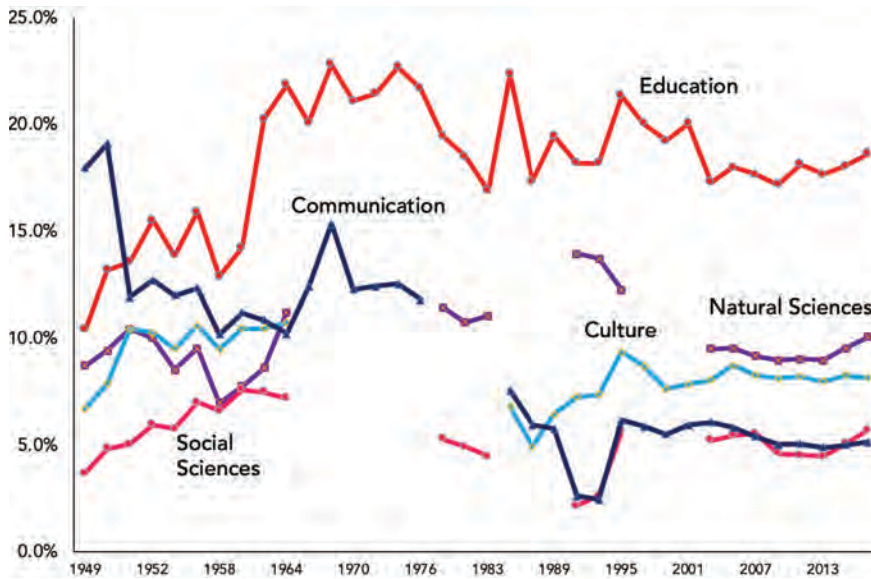
“New World Information and Communication Order” into the UNESCO, communication’s budget share decreased further; the communication’s budget shrunk even further in the 1980s after the United States left the UNESCO. The contrast between the high frequency of several keywords related with communication and the decline of communication’s budget share in the 1970-80s implies that the “New World Information and Communication Order” was a storm in a teacup.

Fourth, culture has been in the third or fourth place for most sessions since the UNESCO’s inception. When the memory of the destruction of cultural heritage in World War 2 was strong in early sessions, culture had a large share of budget. In the 1960s and 1970s, the importance of culture as an issue-area declined. Also, the boundary between culture and sciences became blurred. Natural sciences seek objective knowledge and universal truth, while social sciences find relativities across societies and the endogeneity of culture in social phenomena. As social sciences and culture are interlinked, it is difficult to separate social sciences from culture. In the mid-1980s culture became more differentiated from social sciences, and culture’s budget share increased as the Cold War came to an end.

Fifth, social sciences do not carry as much weight in budget as they do in the discourse at the UNESCO. The budget for social sciences is one third of that for natural sciences. While the natural sciences have increased their budget share by their link to economic development, social sciences have lied in between the two inconsistent directions: seeking objective and universal truth and promoting the coexistence of social diversities. The ambiguous nature of social sciences thus prevented them from having a large budget share.

Taken together, the institutional legacies of the UNESCO survive in general. Education, science, and culture rank first, second, and third respectively in the UNESCO’s budget for most times. In contrast, communication and intellectual exchanges have become marginal. Intellectual exchanges have lost their status as a major program; communication’s budget share decreased much, as the US engagement in the UNESCO lessened.

Figure 1 Budget Share of Major UNESCO Programs



IV. Conclusions

The UNESCO's way to peace is quite distinct from the conventional approaches. The founders of the UNESCO shared the memory of the destruction in World War 2. They perceived peace as the absence of wars and tried to use some mechanisms of the Enlightenment to interdict the causal chain from ignorance to wars. More specifically, they relied on the education for people to know different ways of life and mutually respect cultural diversities; they promoted sciences to tackle ignorance of different ways of life, which is likely to lead to suspicion and mistrust toward other peoples; they tried to prevent communication and mass media from being utilized as tools of vicious propaganda. They tried to build the "defences of peace in minds of men" to forestall the outbreak of wars.

In contrast, newly independent developing and communist countries have put a relatively greater focus on the elimination of structural violence and social equalities that keep people from meeting their basic needs. This approach is connected to "positive

peace.”¹¹ The two blocs aimed to resolve the inequalities in the international community through the promotion of the New International Economic Order and the New World Information and Communication Order. Their advocates for the two new orders were resonant in the UNESCO in the 1970-80s.

The bifurcation between the UNESCO's initial approach and the two blocs' has been resolved in the post-Cold War era. Witnessing the frequent outbreak of civil wars and interstate wars in the post-Cold War era, the UNESCO tried to incorporate both negative peace and positive peace into one framework. In 1992, the UNESCO Executive Board coined a new term, “a peace culture based on universal values that respect life, freedom, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and gender equality,” and proposed a “Culture of Peace Programme for United Nations Peace-keeping” (UNESCO Executive Board 1992). The UNESCO Executive Board argued that UN peacekeeping operations should promote regional reconciliations and cooperation among groups involved in disputes rather than the mere condition of the absence of wars and called for the incorporation of peace culture into UN PKOs.

The UN General Assembly responded to the proposal by the UNESCO Executive Board, and requested that the Secretary-General cooperate with the UNESCO “to submit a consolidated report containing a draft declaration and programme of action on a culture of peace” (UNGA Res/A/52/13, 15 January 1998). The United National General Assembly designated the year 2000 as the “International Year for the Culture of Peace”, adopted a program which included (1) a culture of peace through education, (2) sustainable economic and social development, (3) respect for human rights, (4) gender equality, (5) democratic participation, (6) understanding-tolerance-solidarity, (7) participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge, and (8) international peace and security (UNGA Res/A/53/243, 13 September 1999). In this way the comprehensive concept of the culture of peace incorporates the competing peace approaches. More specifically, peace through education, understanding-tolerance-solidarity, and participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge are closely associated with the UNESCO's initial approach for peace; sustainable economic and social development is related with the peace approach which emphasizes the elimination of structural violence; respect for human rights, gender equality, and democratic participation are associated with the approach of ‘positive peace’; international peace and security is the core of ‘negative peace.’

11 Galtung made the terms of “positive peace” and “negative peace.” The former refers to the state of harmony among social groups whose basic needs are satisfied or the condition where structural violence is absent; the latter is the condition where wars are absent (Galtung 1969). His taxonomy has been influential in peace studies as well as peace movements.

The UNESCO's 'culture of peace' has difficulties in providing a clear definition of peace, as it encompasses a variety of positions on peace. The term incorporates competing peace discourses at the UNESCO in its 70-year history. Meanwhile, the term has a strength in covering a number of aspects of peace at the same time. In recent times the UNESCO has aimed to promote the 'culture of peace' in Africa. As this term keeps changing, it is difficult to predict what the term will bring for peace. The UNESCO founders' proposal to construct "defenses of peace in the minds of men" still evolves.

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Conclusion: Expectations for UNESCO and the direction of the Republic of Korea's contribution

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I. Introduction

Global society experienced two world wars in the first half of the 20th century; wars such as never seen before, born from the physical competition and confrontation pursued to expand the political influence of nation-states that emerged along with the process of competitive industrialization in the West. While technical powerhouses based on industrial competitiveness acquired great military power from their accumulated capital, the clash between these military forces ultimately resulted in a devastating destruction of human society. Turning its back on the fierce competition and confrontation based on industrial capabilities and strong military forces, UNESCO was founded by the pioneering awareness and efforts of intellectuals to expand mutual understanding through exchanges in education, science, and culture, and to realize the universal human value known as peace.

The UNESCO Constitution states the background for the creation of the organization as follows: "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. ...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."

UNESCO, founded under such universally sympathetic principles, is now facing great difficulties, both internally and externally. Military conflicts at the global level similar to the First and Second World War have not been observed since its founding, but physical conflicts of local military forces continue in the form of a four-dimensional war. This is evidenced by the continued expansion of United Nations military interventions over the past 70 years. Meanwhile, the proliferation of the "neoliberal paradigm" led by developed countries such as the United States has in part expanded the role of the multilateral system, including the expansion of the functions of international financial institutions, but with the expansion and structuring of the function of regional cooperation mechanisms, it has tended to expose mutual tension and exclusivity rather than cooperation with existing multilateral systems. The United States, which has left UNESCO again for political reasons, continues to run a foreign policy through unilateral trade and financial pressure that is counter to the popular flow of neoliberalism. After having created the diplomatic sphere known as "public diplomacy" to improve its national image and allow its image as a self-righteous police state to fade, the United States is no longer interested in soft foreign policy. The strongest

nation in the world has cast its membership aside and left the financial difficulties of the organization in its wake. Naturally, UNESCO's power has weakened.

Internally, UNESCO is surrounded by many difficult challenges and much criticism. Major donor countries of the past, such as the United Kingdom, do not recognize the "excessively bureaucratic, unprofessional, and weak on policy" UNESCO as an important partner (최동주, 2011). Criticism has also been raised that UNESCO, in the excessive pursuit of ideal and formal rationality, has "lost the essential background behind its founding". Perhaps UNESCO's past was "a difficult tightrope walk in the attempt to find a balance between realism and idealism" (임현목, 2018).

Enhancing the efficiency of UNESCO, an agency that has pursued the universal human value known as peace, is seen as very important and perhaps indispensable. However, it is not easy to expect a resolution in the short term to the difficulties in raising UNESCO's overall competitiveness. In the process of improving the function and rapidly increasing the utilization of the organization, care should be taken to avoid weakening or undermining its fundamental values. This is because, unlike other specialized policy organizations, the achievements that UNESCO pursues in areas such as education, science, and culture must be the result of an effort to seek long-term and fundamental change.

UNESCO now finds itself at the crossroads of a different fate. The debate on the "constitutionalization of world order" has continued, one that emerged as the normative proposition known as the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) through the agreement of the UN member states. The concept of peace, which had been discussed in terms of resolving or preventing conflicts between countries, has shown a change in its fundamental nature with the integration of sustainable development values which each member country is responsible for achieving. The achievement of the SDGs and the process for doing so will thereby be a constitutionalization of the world order; in other words, a process that reflects the wishes of member countries in anticipation of the emergence of a world government. In this sense UNESCO, which has carried the reason for its existence in the realization of globally prevailing values, may not be standing before a crossroads so much as before a new opportunity.

The next chapter of this study will review the role UNESCO should adhere to as a "provider of universal values" in the progress towards a constitutionalization of the world order and discuss the direction member countries should take toward the SDGs. Chapter III draws implications from various findings discussed in the previous work by several experts, and discusses the role and contributinal direction of the Republic of Korea (ROK), which has grown into a member, executive board member, and major contributor to the organization.

II. Opportunities and challenges for UNESCO: constitutionalization of the world order and UN SDGs¹

Joint efforts through the institutionalization of consultation mechanisms between countries to overcome the factors of historical challenges have taken place in the context of overpromotion of market expansion through the quantitative growth of production and consumption. Even before the founding of the UN in the form of a world government akin to a “loose bundle”, multilateral solidarity across borders at the regional level had been relatively active through the state, the agent of industrialization, in sovereign states, as well as in the private sector in the process of competition for industrialization. Since then, international policy organizations have unexpectedly been founded by intellectuals, companies and workers, rather than the state. UNESCO was founded by intellectuals to spread the values of peace based on exchanges in education, science, and culture, and it was only in the late 1960s, after the solidarity of underdeveloped independent sovereign states during the postcolonial era and the international solidarity of workers at the periphery and not the core of the market, did the efforts for international institutionalization begin to take off. This period coincides with an increase of various interests in environmental and ecological issues among national and global societies while Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss advocated for a “deep ecology”. Awareness of and efforts to seek sustainable development of global society and thereby to protect its common interests had already originally been attempted during the Cold War.

The background for the emergence of the concept of “sustainable development”, which revises the development model of developed industrialized countries that had led to environmental damage, and integrates economic development, environmental conservation and social justice in order to spark the developmental possibilities of underdeveloped countries, is as such a competitive industrialization and a distorted expansion of the market. In a time with groupings of newly independent countries taking place and the spreading of the hierarchical perception of the international community, environmental issues emerged with the “tragedy of the commons” in mind, while a debate was also sparked about governance reform for global society to solve global problems. However, the bipolar composition of the ideological confrontation that occupied the Cold War did not allow for hierarchical confrontational structures in global society through the expansion of non-alliances and the creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

1 Content regarding “constitutionalization” among the content from Chapter II is summarized and re-quoted from Choi Dong-ju (2019).

(UNCTAD), and the controversial debate surrounding global governance reform for sustainable development began to take off after the conclusion of the Cold War.

Jürgen Habermas is the scholar who led such debates. Emphasizing a political response to globalization since the early 1990s, he began to suggest alternative perspectives through “global constitutionalism” and “constitutionalization of the world order”. Habermas believed there was an urgent necessity for the institutionalization of a legal and normative political framework to break that of sovereignty and law (the basis of the international order that has dominated modern times) in order to realize solidarity and cooperation in global society, through which he saw the possibility for politics to hold a function to prevent structural distortions in the economic order. His insights in several key arguments are of great importance in the effort to pursue sustainable development on the global level. Through analysis of a multi-layered order on three levels, Habermas proposed alternatives by level.

First, that a world government centered on the United Nations and innovatively expanded on the supranational level must be a single actor, and that the United Nations should be the main agent of standards enforcement on peace and human rights of the international community.

Second, because the issues of trade, finance, environment, health, and migration at the transnational level have importance for the respecting of national policy on global domestic politics, he insisted on expanding the function of regional regimes like the European Union.

Finally, individual states exercise the power to implement and enforce national law, maintaining sovereignty in the traditional sense. At the same time, there is a need to consider the multilayered environment, internalize norms on a global scale, and to comply and function as a responsible entity. He stresses the need for states to not see themselves as the subjects of individual sovereignty, but rather as members of the global community where in the end the institutionalizing of shared sovereignty is required to drive governance at the supranational and transnational level (김주형, 2018).

In discussing the changes in international development discourse, the most important change over time is the highlighting of the importance of global governance, along with the increased expectations for that role. As Thomas Friedman has pointed out, the Cold War system has been replaced by a system of globalization. According to Jan Aart Scholte, globalization is “the increase of transnational and transterritorial connections between people”, while Hans Henrik Holm and Georg Sørensen have also called it “a deepening of economic, social and cultural relations across borders” (김지영, 2017).² Entering the 21st

2 Hans Henrik Holm and Georg Sorenson, 1995, *Whose World Order?: Uneven Globalization and the end of the Cold War*, New York: Westview Press; Jan Aart Scholte, 2005, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, New York: Palgrave. Requested from 김지영(2017).

century, the United Nations set out development goals on the global level to address this issue.

First came the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), eight goals which stressed reduction of poverty in the poorest countries and the obligation for assistance for developing countries from developed countries. Following these, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted in 2015 for the development of global society over the 15 years to 2030. The SDGs were divided into 17 goals and 169 detailed goals for the balanced economic, social, and environmental development of all sovereign countries in global society. The first fifteen goals of the SDGs covered specific policy goals, with SDG 16 then emphasizing “peace, justice, and strong institutions” and SDG 17 emphasizing “global partnerships”. SDG 16 proposes to “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels” while SDG 17 proposes to “Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development”. These suggestions for an alternative are quite consistent in a number of parts with the arguments made by Hamerbas.

This change in the internal and external policy environment of individual sovereign states implies the expansion of the value of “publicness”, which had been limited to the national realm, to the global level. Based on a common understanding of publicness at the global level, the SDGs, agreed to and initiated by all UN member states, were naturally set under the premise of the state's full understanding and agreement on global publicness. It should be kept in mind that the SDGs, unlike the previous MDGs, which had mainly focused on social development, have been organized into four areas, adding inclusive economic growth, sustainable development, and peace and security. In addition, while the MDGs carried the limitation of only applying to developing countries, the SDGs have expanded their reach by applying development goals to all UN member states. In order to overcome the limitations found in the MDGs, which had been confined to existing national units, the SDGs go beyond single countries to introduce the concept of multi-stakeholder partnerships, consisting of groups such as civil society groups, private enterprises, parliaments, and foundations, as major actors. The important features of the SDGs can thus be largely reconfigured into the concepts of multi-dimensionality and universality, and the presence of multi-stakeholder partnerships. Such changes require a structural shift, including for UNESCO, in existing development cooperation governance (김태균, 2015). There is a high correlation between the constitutionalization of global society and the “governance reform” of interest enforcement agencies including the United Nations in SDG 16 (peace, justice, and strong institutions) and SDG 17 (partnerships for sustainable development). This being so, going beyond the discussion of global governance to achieve the SDGs, what are the conditions

under which the “sustainability of a sustainable development strategy” can be secured through UNESCO’s functions to pursue the value of publicness at the global level?

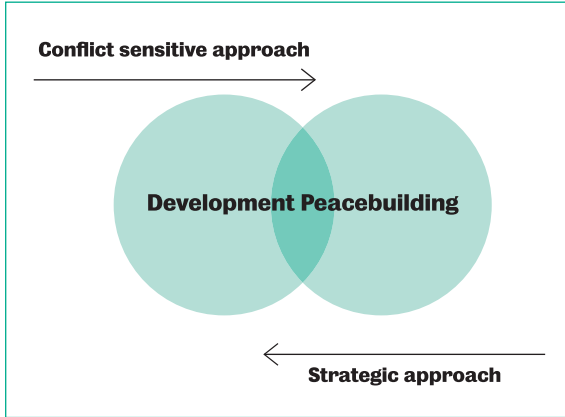
III. UNESCO’s ‘sustainable development’ and the exploration of the Republic of Korea’s role

1. UNESCO’s new policy environment³

UNESCO sees war and conflict as originating from the normative and fundamental problem of the loss of understanding and respect that stems from being “different from one another,” rooted in cultural differences. Based on this awareness, UNESCO aims to (1) facilitate international cooperation through education, science, and culture, (2) promote universal respect for justice, the rule of law, human rights, and fundamental freedoms, and (3) contribute to peace and sustainable development. As a result, UNESCO calls for a peace-friendly paradigm and vision whereby development in the areas of education, science, and culture can be integrated with world peace, rather than an approach based on developmental assistance such as emergency relief. The international community has developed an integrated strategy that links humanitarian aid and developmental cooperation with regional peace in conflict areas. Indeed, the United Nations has stated that “there can be no sustainable development without peace, and there can be no peace without sustainable development” and “sustainable development cannot be realized without peace and security, and without sustainable development, peace and security are at risk”. Dong Jin Kim (2015) has reflected these characteristics to illustrate the relationship between peace and sustainable development emphasized in the international community, as shown in the following figure. A change is called for in the concept of “peace” pursued and disseminated by UNESCO.

3 This section summarizes excerpts from Choi Dong-ju et al. (2018: 35-38).

Figure 1 Development cooperation and a peacebuilding approach, Source: Dong Jin Kim (2015)



A particular point to keep in mind is the further emphasis for UNESCO's role as an organization for "world peace and development" in the SDGs, which have taken a step further from the MDGs by including "peace for sustainable development" in SDG 16 as an objective.

From SDG 16's objective of "peace, justice, and strong institutions" alone it is not easy to infer the contribution of UNESCO, which is mainly involved in education, science, and culture. However, UNESCO states the purpose and functions of the organization based on an understanding of "world peace and development" in its constitution as follows. Article I, Paragraph 1 of the UNESCO Constitution states one of its objectives as "to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms". In addition, to achieve this, UNESCO clarifies in its functions the need to play a role to "clarify major moral, normative, and intellectual issues and establish key norms",⁴ and to "develop the human and institutional capacities of member countries".⁵ In other words, UNESCO's role has gained in importance in the future implementation of SDG 16's "peace, justice, and strong institutions" in that the goals and functions included in areas such as the UNESCO Constitution are closely aligned with the goals found in SDG 16. This means that the direction of the values that UNESCO should normatively pursue in the process of constitutionalization of the world order is clear.

4 'Functions of UNESCO' 2: An international standard setter.

5 'Functions of UNESCO' 4: A capacity builder for member states.

Fig. 1 Goals and functions of the UNESCO Constitution, Source: Reconstruction based on Maik Adombent (2017)

Goals of UNESCO

1. Promote cooperation in the international community through education, science and culture
2. Further universal respect for justice, rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms
3. Contribute to peace and sustainable development

Functions of UNESCO

1. A Laboratory of ideas: Foresee major future issues and seek related strategies and policies
2. International standard setter: Clarify major moral, normative, and intellectual issues, and establish relevant standards
3. A clearing house for exchange of information: Collect and distribute information, knowledge, and precedents; discover and test innovative projects
4. A capacity builder for member states: develop human and institutional capacity in member countries
5. A catalyst for international cooperation: carry out role as a catalyst for developmental cooperation

If new functions and roles are required for UNESCO, what should be presupposed for the new direction of policy values to meet them? First, it is necessary to convert the traditional policy performance value of “education to remove ignorance” to “human development for peace and sustainable development”. At the global level, a state’s efforts to realize the value of publicness should bear in mind that this basis for publicness is closely related to the key elements of the economic order, including production and commodities, finance and services, and the internal and external pursuit of strategies for sustainable development should presuppose a shift of the paradigm of the national development model to one that guarantees “sustainability”. In the past, economic growth indicators formed the center of the discourse on national development through industrialization and modernization, but as the multi-layered structure of global society takes form, various elements are being mobilized to assess the definition and level of development. The United Nations has assessed levels of development using the Human Development Index since first publishing the Human Development Report in 1990, focusing on health and education indicators as the top priority for sustainable economic development, while establishing the concept of “pro-poor growth”, a concept that highlights the link between development, growth and poverty reduction in the discourse on international development.

The results of various academic research form the primary basis for the widespread definition of the concept of development. In particular, Professor Amartya Sen of the London School of Economics and Political Science played a vital role in understanding development as human freedom, or the winning of it, through his famous book “Development as Freedom”. Martha Nussbaum also introduced the concept of a “capability approach”, which defines this capability as being centered on the answer to what humans can actually do and in what state they exist, and the fundamental freedom of opportunity for them to act and make choices (조이슬, 김희강, 2016). It also argues that the ultimate goal of development is to increase the capability to realize the life that an individual pursues, and that this capability should be used as a measure of development. The arguments of Sen and Nussbaum have emerged as core theories linked to international development, poverty and inequality since the conclusion of the Cold War. These perspectives mean that in order to achieve the SDGs an effort is required to gain the consent of individuals, nations and transnational private actors as global citizens at a higher level than in the past, in the process of transforming the political policy agenda based on the traditional concept of “human” rights, which had led to fragmented participation and conflicting ideas, to one centered on “human development”.

Science and technology is a sphere in which another UNESCO policy value shift is required. It is important to note that the new development environment in global society relating to the 4th Industrial Revolution, namely the revolution of science and technology, was raised at the 2016 Davos Forum following the promulgation of the SDGs in 2015. International debates on the 4th Industrial Revolution remain national propositions discussed only by the league of developed countries, but because they view technology as akin to nature, it has the effect of reinforcing the autonomy of modern technology, a target of criticism in classical technological philosophy. In such a situation, the SDGs have the problem of viewing science and technology as the most important tool for sustainable development without considering its significant impact on human life. There is thus again a need for UNESCO to expand and supplement the concept of sustainable development in a contemporary environment that provides momentum in which the relationship between humans and science and technology is being redefined. In a situation where the development of modern science and technology leads to questions about the human reason for being, there is a need for philosophical reflection on what the revolutionary development and existence of science and technology mean to global citizens, namely the individuals that make up the pillars of global governance. This is a time to reflect on the historical experience of how the international joint response to the non-political domain has been built and developed through global solidarity in in-depth discussions with philosophers, historians, and scientists.

2. Exploring the Republic of Korea's role

The ROK has assumed a role in the international community using its status and functions as a middle power, efforts that have led to many achievements. One was advocating for and helping to institutionalize the G20 to openly improve the unilateral and subordinate structure of international finance, and in this process to fully reflect the position of developing countries. It also led the Nuclear Security Summit, a council for the resolution of the nuclear security issue for global society, brought global awareness to the North Korean nuclear issue, and recently has also led a dialogue for peace on the Korean peninsula. Though it has shown some hesitation on the issue recently, it proactively proposed the mid-level diplomatic council MIKTA, taking diplomatic initiative in calling for improvement to an oligarchic international system overly focused on developed countries. Now is the time for the ROK to increase its diplomatic functions and status in a more flexible environment, one which should make its efforts to seek a more active and refined approach to UNESCO possible.

In a previous study, Ryu Seok Jin goes beyond concrete and detailed activities as a member country to classify the ROK's approaches to UNESCO as follows: as a bandwagoner, a balancer, a governance reform initiator, a moderator, and a facilitator. Others, depending on the orientation of the role played, are that of a norm entrepreneur, norm disseminator, and a model case presenter (류석진, 2018). This section will review the main content of recent intensive research conducted by individual policy area concurrently with this study, and consider how the Republic of Korea's contribution and role can be realized at UNESCO.

Professor Kim Sung-hae has conducted a critical review of policy areas in communication. He first points out that many projects and analyses linked with UNESCO's Communication and Information (CI) Sector excessively classify the Korean word *jeongbo* with "information". Explaining the negative influence that American scholarly leadership has had on past UNESCO intellectual agendas, he criticizes how US-led policies and information originating from UNESCO have led to problems such as cultural subordination and unilateral Western discourse, disrupting information infrastructure. The historical background of the New International Information Order movement in developing countries is resultantly described in detail. He also explains how the CI Sector faced three major changes, including the withdrawal of the United States after the conclusion of the Cold War, what background was behind the organization's own politically revisionist stance, and how France gained a hegemony on information in this process. Professor Kim notes how the World Information Society Summit has emerged as an important international regime in recent times, and explores how the Republic of Korea, an early member of the information society, will share

its experiences with the international community. In short, he has looked for the ROK's role as a facilitator in narrowing the digitalization gap and improving the unidirectional flow of information.

Professor Kang In Uk, who deals with the cultural field, used the case of the Silk Roads World Heritage Sites in Central Asia to diagnose the phenomenon of World Heritage as a conflict mechanism between nations, and looked at how the ROK viewed this and how it should act as a moderator. Professor Kang details the application and selection process for World Heritage listings using very specific geographic information on the Eurasian Silk Road, and criticizes the Chinese approach based on hegemony. The listing discussion process and its results are analyzed in particular detail, where he points out that Central Silk Road countries such as Uzbekistan were excluded during the discussions, which controversially, and contrary to expectations, led to Chinese heritage being included in many Silk Road World Heritage sites. Professor Kang criticizes how the Silk Road, symbolizing peaceful exchange and cultural coexistence, has become a stage for conflict and confrontation from the competition to gain historical legitimacy and the pursuit of interests for China and the countries concerned, and suggests that the ROK take on an active "moderator role" as a third party. He also notes the ROK's suitability as a moderator on the basis of its being free of a history of imperialism and invasion (which can spark conflict), the possibility for official development assistance (ODA) activities based on its economic strength, and its substantial experience in reconciling conflicts regarding history and cultural heritage. Professor Kang suggests the development of a "Silk Road Business Model" as a concrete method for the ROK to achieve this, where it would serve a role as a "norm entrepreneur" to resolve disputes and bring consensus among the countries concerned.

Dr. Sung Ji Eun, who has done a review in the field of science, focused on the points of communication between science, society and the public in pondering the possibility for science to function as a means of sustainable development. Dr. Sung emphasizes that efforts to emphasize sustainability in the field of science have grown, while ethical reflection and discourse on human rights have begun to emerge. She noted, however, that end-user science and technology sharing and policy consideration remain weak. Though the international community is active in discussing the function and role of science and technology for sustainable development, the focus remains centered on diplomatic achievements and lacks effective policy and strategy implementation. Pointing out the lack of "popularization" in particular, which implies public access to science and technology, she stresses the need for a "normative turn" in science and technology activities that moves beyond research and development for the top 5 percent to communicating science to the bottom 70 percent. She hints that the ROK, a power in science and technology, can function as a "norm disseminator" in this field. UNESCO also plays a connecting role for corporate

sponsorship for the bottom 70 percent, which also suggests the possibility for an active participation for the ROK and its global companies as facilitators. Dr. Sung introduces the efforts of the European Union to solve regional issues through scientific and technological cooperation, and emphasizes the need for efforts to change the entire social system toward sustainable development in order to solve problems such as social polarization. She also advises UNESCO to conduct such strategic experiments at the global level, and the ROK to actively participate in them. Given that the ROK's science and technology-related intellectual property value is the world's fourth largest, and that 12 of the 17 SDGs are related to science, technology, and innovation (STI), it is seen as a nearly perfect cross-cutting issue where the ROK has ample room to function as a reformer in science and technology governance.

Professor Yoo Sung Sang reviewed the process of change in the overall agenda for education at UNESCO and pondered how its educational projects should proceed from now on. While peace was the most important issue during UNESCO's earliest days, the topic of "ignorance" has emerged in the field of education, a trend that has continued. Examples of this are seen in UNESCO's continuing to "brand" educational issues and develop them into an educational agenda of basic education, lifelong learning, education for international understanding, peace education, education for sustainable development (ESD), and global citizenship education (GCED). Professor Yoo analyzes the process in which these concepts became important agendas in the international community as well as in the ROK, and critically points out where UNESCO overlooked their functional linkages despite the ties between the concepts. Criticizing GCED in particular as still lacking understanding and discussion and for having failed to be put into concrete practice, he stresses the need for more ongoing and in-depth discussions and a cautious approach in order for GCED led by the ROK to be promoted on a global scale. He points out that further discussions and research should lead to a general consensus on GCED in the international community in order to more realistically meet the intentions of UNESCO, which has led the dissemination of the culture of peace through education to realize its value, and that only then can the ROK effectively fulfill its role as a facilitator.

In the area of humanities and social sciences, Professor Cho Dong Joon examines how UNESCO's approach to achieving "peace" has changed, and reviews the process in which the various discussions and movements for peace have finally converged into a "culture of peace" as well as its subsequent development. To this end, he analyzes the topics found in the resolutions of the General Conference over the past 70 years and presents the status of and the changes to peace in the discourse of UNESCO. Regarding the changes in the concept of peace, Professor Cho first points out the clear gap in understanding between UNESCO's founding countries and developing countries that later joined the organization

as to the meaning of peace and the ways to achieve it. While the founding nations viewed the “absence of war” as peace and attempted to maintain a “warless state” through enlightenment activities in the fields of education, science, culture, and communication to eliminate ignorance and prejudice, developing countries focused their peace discussions on the “removal of structural violence and social inequality”. Professor Cho stresses that the “culture of peace” is the concept of a comprehensive culture of two perspectives on peace that have coexisted in UNESCO through changes in the international order, reflecting the internal discourse accumulated over UNESCO’s 70-year history.

IV. Proposals and conclusion

This study was conducted by several domestic experts on the topic of “UNESCO’s role for peace”. As seen in the previous section, Korean experts have made sustained efforts to explore a new role for the ROK, insisting that the value of peace defended by UNESCO should be interpreted and transformed in harmony with sustainable development for the global society. However, it cannot be denied that UNESCO as an international organization is seen in the ROK as having something of a different character from other UN agencies. One can presume that this “something of a different character” is linked to the natural color of an organization devoted to international intellectual cooperation, and if that is the case, then UNESCO should remain at the center of international intellectual cooperation under the new policy environment as well.

UNESCO, since its inception, may not have been destined to be a “specialized agency”. This is because in order to execute the values declared in the UN Charter, UNESCO has advocated intellectual reflection in a comprehensive and non-political sphere in line with cultural diversity and peace, the universal value of humankind. In addition, while the UN pursued peacekeeping in a physical and institutional direction, many UN specialized organizations have built their own core capabilities based on policy expertise. Such capabilities are unable to replace UNESCO’s innate function of pursuing intellectual reflection of universal values, leaving UNESCO’s reason for being a valid one.

The need is in fact growing for an international organization to reflect on crises in global society such as those in the economy and the environment, resource depletion, and continued conflict, and to provide a direction for humanity. Scholars, civil society organizations and others are individually looking for alternatives to the crises faced by global society, while the United Nations issues warnings centered on the Secretary-General and the group of experts from the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). UNESCO, however, as a representative organization for intellectual reflection, has not been able to present

the core values necessary in response to the global crises. Perhaps the United Nations University (UNU) could play this role, as argued by Chung Woo Tak (2011), but its functions are stagnant and expectations are low. It is time for UNESCO to reclaim its leading role in intellectual reflection to more actively prevent a “tragedy of the global society” from taking place.

A recapitulation of a report published in 2011 by the International Council for Philosophy and Human Studies is required. This report suggests an intersectoral strategy on philosophy that can lead to convergence strategies between project areas as the most important point for UNESCO, as an organization for intellectual reflection, in seeking a fundamental response to a changing environment while preserving and maintaining the value of the organization. In addition, for UNESCO to achieve this purpose through a strategic search, it sees the following efforts as necessary. First, to maintain a research function that yields a foundation of ideas and philosophies to cope with common crises in global society. Second, to lead philosophical discussion for international cooperation and to develop and disseminate philosophy oriented towards global society through public debate. Third, to create an intellectual foundation for each core project area that corresponds to the new environment. Fourth, to induce interest and educational opportunities for the general public in philosophy and the humanities. Fifth, to expand educational opportunities for member countries lacking developed philosophies and humanities in order to expand the philosophical foundation that global society will share. Lastly, to keep cultural diversity in mind, to maintain a channel of dialogue between civilizations, and to pursue ideological universality. The report emphasizes that, in order to achieve these propositions, UNESCO should actively utilize its National Commissions (the most active among UN agencies) to find a position centered on active cooperation among decentralized regional headquarters and independent research institutes, worldwide institutions of higher education, civil groups, research laboratories, and international society.

UNESCO is the international organization that the ROK is closest to. The ROK's position has been that of a beneficiary and contributor, and now it is time as a middle power to look for activities that are not based on the strategic instrumentation of the organization, but are conducted through active participation and contribution more fitting to the ROK's status. The ROK has faithfully played a role as a middle power based on accumulated experience and professional intellectual capability in international finance and international security issues. Now it is time to utilize its core capacities as a nation to make an effort to participate in the development of the organization and realize its values with UNESCO in mind as a diplomatic channel to cope with the common crises that global society faces. This effort is one that our own intellectual reflection will make possible, and the implications of this possibility can be found in the previous expert discussions and the ROK's many experiences

with UNESCO.

Research and project initiatives for projects sharing the cultural heritage of developing countries through the ROK's advanced information and communication technology, development of a unified curriculum based on UNESCO's high culture and arts education-oriented values and its dissemination to conflict areas, joint efforts and provision of technology by governments and domestic global enterprises to close the digital divide in global society, continuous intellectual cooperation and exchange for the development of global citizen educational textbooks shared by primary students worldwide, transmission and development of UNESCO's tradition of intellectual reflection through the tentatively named "UNESCO University" ... perhaps all this is not imagination, but the responsibility and duty that the ROK holds towards UNESCO.

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Conclusion: Expectations for UNESCO and the direction of the Republic of Korea's contribution

The Role of UNESCO in the Search for Peace

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