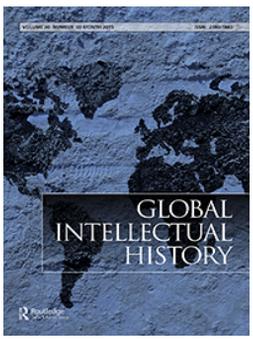

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Changing the concept of race: On UNESCO and cultural internationalism

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ABSTRACT

From 1945 and the following 25 years UNESCO – the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – was, as a hub for cultural internationalism, at the heart of a dispute in international scientific circles over the correct definition of the concept of race. In the wake of World War II and the Holocaust this was the core of UNESCO's many post-war mental engineering initiatives and essentially a dispute about whether the natural sciences or the social sciences should take precedence in determining the origins of human difference, of social division, and of the attribution of value. The article provides an overview of the work on race carried out by UNESCO, examines the measures it took to combat racism and pays attention to their political and social impact. It demonstrates how UNESCO played a major part in imposing a new post-war view of man, but also that the impact differed from country to country and had a focus on problems in the U.S. and South Africa. Not before 1960 did it gradually begin to have a more global approach and impact.

KEYWORDS

UNESCO; cultural internationalism; conceptual standardization; race; ethnicity

> 'UNESCO came out with a study', Reverend Jesse Jackson recalls, 'that said that blacks – at that time Negroes – were not inferior, and there was no fundamental genetic difference between blacks and whites. We were determined in our differences by social conditions'.

The renowned American civil rights activist was a twenty-year-old university student from North Carolina when he became aware of the work done by UNESCO – the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization – to combat racism, and it made a deep impression on him and others in the civil rights movement: 'We went around the South giving speeches, holding up the UNESCO study, saying that blacks were not inferior. A world body had studied and concluded that we were not inferior. It was a big deal. UNESCO, a world body – not some Southern segregated school, not some Southern governor, not even the President – UNESCO said we were not inferior'.[1]

What was clearly an intellectual landmark in the eyes of Jackson has until recently not provoked much scholarly literature, and the showdown with people's thinking in terms of race has rather been explained by historians as an immediate post-War response to the Holocaust.[2] However, changes in attitudes and general conceptions rarely happen overnight. It is simply impossible to eliminate particular ways of thinking among a large number of people unless a comprehensive foundation has been laid in the form of

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information countering existing belief systems and offering new, meaningful, common ground for thinking and acting.

According to American historian Akira Iriye, the dangers of racism and violent nationalism in the twentieth century made politicians and scholars throughout the world embrace the spirit of internationalism, and in the book *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (1997) he demonstrates how exchanges of ideas and persons through scholarly cooperation and through the efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding was crucial for the creation of an environment of solidarity that could form the basis of lasting peace. He holds up UNESCO as the single-most important international organization promoting cultural internationalism in the wake of World War II and highlights an array of the organization's efforts to foster international cultural cooperation, from the creation of an international language to student exchange programs. He does not, however, seem to be aware of UNESCO's efforts within the field of race.

Other scholars have dealt more specifically with UNESCO and what the organization itself initially believed would eventually become one of its single-most important contributions to peace-making in a world still very much characterized by segregation and colonialism: the measures it took to combat racism. But these undoubtedly important scholarly contributions are characterized by a focus on either UNESCO's work in-house or a focus on the subsequent impact in the U.S. alone and not on a global scale.[3]

This article is an attempt to combine the many insights and my own archival findings in order to uncover to what extent UNESCO can be seen as a global coordinating hub for cultural internationalism when it comes to its efforts of dealing with racism, and to explain the observations by taking a closer look at who took part in this mental engineering or conceptual standardization initiative and their national and academic interests.

The centre of attention is the formulation of UNESCO's statement on race of 1950 and its subsequent updates up until 1967. The article focuses on three different practical aspects of this work: 1) The organization's recruitment of the professionals supposed to formulate and update the statements to see why they were selected while others were sorted out, 2) the practical dissemination of the race statements and their content with a focus on what particular member states were main targets, and 3) the political and social impact of the statements in the member states.

In this way the article altogether offers, in narrative form, a case study of global cultural internationalism in the making.[4]

1. The UNESCO Spirit

The extent of the Nazi violence during World War II led to a widespread recognition among national leaders of the need for political leadership on a global level, assisting the birth of the United Nations in October 1945. The new organization's task was to ensure collective security and defend human rights through military, economic and social measures, and the latter quickly led to a declaration of human rights based on the principle that all human beings – regardless of their differences – were equal and shared the same fundamental rights.[5]

But there was at the same time the recognition that peace could only be maintained if it was based on a genuine solidarity between people, and to achieve this end, in November 1945, forty-four countries agreed to the establishment of UNESCO. The

constitution's preamble formulated the task of the new specialized agency: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'.[6]

UNESCO soon established its domicile in Paris and initiated its work. However, it turned out that it was far from all kinds of knowledge that were considered beneficial to the maintenance of peace. This was expressed by the organization's first Director General, British biologist Julian Huxley, in his manifesto for the organization, in which he identified what he called 'scientific world humanism' as the organization's principle. According to Huxley, some disciplines were more likely to dismantle the idea of inequality and promote equality than others and should be given higher priority. At the forefront were the social sciences, whose practitioners had been active in criticizing racism before and during World War II. Huxley believed they mastered the arguments that could be used in the organization's combat against human inequality since, as a biologist, he had himself already done his own studies on race in the 1930s and believed that, by promoting such views, they would trickle down through the educational system.[7]

Already by the end of the 1940s, UNESCO had founded a number of world-wide associations in the fields of economics, law, political science, and sociology to encourage these disciplines to work in accordance with the ethical standards of the UN system. The associations were supported economically, and their members often invited to carry out projects or serve as advisors for the UN system.[8]

Even when Huxley was no longer heading UNESCO, his thoughts continued to map a direction for the organization. That was still the case when UNESCO at long last adopted its first official program in 1950 with the overall purpose of promoting almost anything that was believed to lay the foundation of a peaceful world – including the free exchange of ideas and knowledge throughout the world. 'No attempts to better the lot of man can meet with success unless they take account of his environment. UNESCO must therefore place social sciences in the foreground of its field of study', it proclaimed.[9]

2. A Global Dilemma

An important issue in the post-war era was colonialism, and the objective of promoting self-determination was included among the purposes of the UN in the Charter's preamble. However, delegates from the Philippines, Brazil, Egypt, India, Panama, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Venezuela – as well as lobbyists from the American National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a range of other organizations and activists – also pressed for a position on racial discrimination. That brought to the Charter a fundamental change, namely the notion of everybody being equal 'without distinction to race, sex, language, and religion'.[10] Hence, UNESCO's preamble also specifically mentioned 'the doctrine of the inequality of men and races' as one of the problems the organization had to combat.[11]

On December 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted, while the Brazilian ethnographer Arthur Ramos – an outspoken critic of racial inequality in South America – was approved as head of UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences, with special responsibility for its new race project. Ramos formulated the details, and at UNESCO's fourth General Conference in September 1949 the member states agreed upon three goals: to study and collect scientific materials concerning questions of race,

to give wide diffusion to the scientific information collected, and to prepare an educational campaign based on this information.[12]

Ramos immediately began designing the paper that would form the basis for a statement endorsed by scientific authorities from around the world. The initial steps were taken in close cooperation with the UN's Human Rights Division and in the spirit of its preceding memorandum by claiming that racial hierarchies were a social construct and that the consequences of racial inequality were profound not only in human but also in economic terms.[13]

To adjust and approve a globally agreed statement of this kind, Ramos invited a team of ten scientists all of whom were recruited from the marginal group of anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, and ethnographers who perceived the race concept primarily as a social construct. Most of these had at some point either been affiliated with the scientifically marginalized groups of cultural anthropologists, that were mostly students of Franz Boas at Columbia University in New York, or had carried out studies in South America, where certain countries were often cited as examples of how people of all kinds could live peacefully together. Among them were Claude Lévi-Strauss, the French ethnographer from Musée de l'homme in Paris, Edward Franklin Frazier, the American sociologist from Howard University in Washington, and Ashley Montagu, professor of anthropology from Rutgers University. Montagu was already widely known in the U.S. at the time as an outspoken critic of racial inequality. A physical anthropologist by training, he was now invited to represent biological views on the concept of race alongside the Spanish-Mexican professor of anthropology, Juan Comas – also a prominent critic of racial hierarchies. Altogether, these men were expected by UNESCO to come up with 'a global scientific consensus on race'.[14]

In October 1949, less than two months before the meeting, Ramos died just 46 years old. As an emergency measure, the American Robert C. Angell, professor of sociology from the University of Michigan, took over as acting director of UNESCO's Social Science Department. Angell hastily arranged the meeting, though he was not an expert on race and unable to finalize Ramos' outline for the statement. Montagu agreed to do the job, and with his sudden intervention in the writing process, the immediate control of the content and the ability to set the agenda slid out of the hands of UNESCO.[15]

3. Race – A Social Myth

In December 1949, the panel met at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. The central argument of Montagu's draft proved to be in line with Ramos' paper in asserting that mankind belonged to a single species, but in some areas Montagu went further than it had been Ramos' intention. The draft was his attempt to create a single, universal rejection of the concept of race, which he found scientifically indefensible, and he was convinced that, by discrediting the concept, UNESCO would effectively prevent any racial theories for being used for political purposes in the future.

UNESCO had a number of external people to read the preliminary results, among them Julian Huxley, Gunnar Myrdal, Otto Klineberg, and Joseph Needham, all well-known critics of racial inequality and involved in various fields within the UN and UNESCO. Its conclusion, however, that race was entirely a social myth made shocking reading for some of them. Huxley in particular was dissatisfied with certain passages

that he found too dogmatic or provocative. He suggested that Montagu revised the statement so that the concept of race was not reduced solely to a myth but dealt with the fact that people did at least look different in different parts of the world. If the statement only addressed racial differences that had social or cultural origins and could be dismissed as 'pseudo-racial', or if it was too negative in its design, it would not last for long and at worst would damage the reputation of UNESCO.[16]

Montagu promised to make the statement 'bomb proof'. Meanwhile UNESCO created a new unit entitled the Division for the Study of Race Problems under its social science department. Montagu immediately put himself forward for the new post, and several other names were considered. The post was, however, given to the Swiss-American ethnographer Alfred Métraux in April 1950. Métraux already knew the organization very well from within – and was even described by Julian Huxley as the 'UNESCO Man'– and he knew several of the experts on racial issues through his profession.[17]

In July, Montagu's final version was complete. It began by stating that all people belonged to the same biological species. There were indeed several different groups with distinct physical characteristics, but the differences between them were small and insignificant in the context of the overall similarities. From a biological point of view, one could therefore consider a 'race' – Montagu added the quotation marks – as a population characterized by certain overlapping features that were associated with the frequency and distribution of hereditary facilities and were a result of geographical or cultural isolation. These differences and their role were often over-estimated and seen as more fundamental than was the case, so that national, cultural, religious, geographic, and linguistic groups had been called 'races' on false premises. As a result, the idea of racial superiority was unscientific, and the statement recommended that the race concept was replaced by the concept of 'ethnic group'. This concept made more sense scientifically, because people gravitated into marriage and procreation on the basis of cultural similarities and subjective feelings of belonging to the same culture, which were crucial for the spread of individual genes. This meant that culture steered human biology and not vice versa.[18]

Due to Huxley, however, the statement ended with a passage stressing that equality between ethnic groups should not be understood to mean that all individuals were necessarily equally well-equipped in intelligence and character. This grandson of Charles Darwin's loyal defender, T.H. Huxley, preferred to believe that history was a continuation of the general process of evolution that would eventually culminate in a unified world, and on that basis he recommended that people stick together.[19]

This *Statement on Race* was published on July 18, 1950 and accompanied by a press release with a headline proclaiming: 'No biological justification for race discrimination, say world scientists: Most authoritative statement on the subject'. A second press release, which explained the statement's historical background, declared that 'race is less a biological fact than a social myth', while the *UNESCO Courier* promoted the news as 'the scientific basis for human unity'.[20]

4. UNESCO in Retreat

The first statement on race was undeniably an intellectual landmark, and UNESCO estimated that the arguments legitimizing racial prejudice and racial discrimination would collapse and disappear by themselves as the news spread.[21]

The statement received much publicity. An inventory of the press clippings that UNESCO managed to collect in the year 1950 shows that it was mentioned in 133 news articles, 62 in-depth articles and leaders, and in eight major news reports from all over the world. In addition, there was some radio publicity and the distribution of the thousands of copies of the statement itself. 'Whenever it is, whatever form it takes, racism is an evil force, and to the extent that UNESCO can kill it by the truth, it will do good', the *New York Times* proclaimed.[22]

Nevertheless, it soon appeared that the environmentalist statement went beyond what mainstream scientists accepted as factual evidence about race, and it could most certainly not be said to represent a universal definition of race at the time. By failing to involve a selection of physical anthropologists – and especially any with a wide reputation – in the preparation of the statement, its authors found that it simply lacked the support of those who considered themselves as the most obvious experts.

Criticism appeared in the British newspaper *The Times* in July and again in the magazine *UNESCO Courier* in July-August 1950. It was formulated by the English anthropologist William H. Fagg, editor of the prestigious journal *Man* and president of the British Royal Anthropological Institute. Fagg expressed his disagreement with the conclusions of the statement, which he characterized as 'the Ashley Montagu Statement of Race published by UNESCO', and he was considering setting up his own panel of experts that would formulate a new statement.[23]

Fagg's objections did not make much of an impression on the organization until October 1950, when a new volume of *Man* appeared. It turned out to be a collection of critical observations on the UNESCO statement written mainly by British and American anthropologists. The criticism was directed against its ideological attempt at eliminating the concept of race at all costs in order to promote universal brotherhood. The articles defended the concept as a meaningful biological category, as opposed to the concept of ethnicity, which, according to the critics, had nothing to do with hereditary issues. The division of mankind in white, black, and yellow categories seemed to have a particularly large fan club.

It is worth noting that the criticism was not directed against the overall spirit of humanity in the statement. It is also worth noting that the concept of 'racialism' – understood as racism in the present sense of the term – turned up several times in the articles, supporting the thesis that most racial theories promoted inequality and discrimination. In this regard, UNESCO's work had already had an impact.[24]

The debate caused renewed publicity, and UNESCO later concluded that the 'dogme raciste' was one of the most talked-about topics in the news media over the following months. Since its release the statement had been the subject of some 500 news stories, reports, and columns in newspapers. Mainly Western. But it was far from all positive press, and the American cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead, a staunch supporter of UNESCO's race program, wrote an alarming letter to Alfred Métraux urging the organization to come up with immediate countermeasures, otherwise its work was in danger of being discredited and ridiculed. She also indicated that Montagu exploited the crisis to its own advantage by writing a book about the work on the statement in which he claimed the honour of having composed it. This work came out in spring 1951 under the title *Statement on Race: By Ashley Montagu.*[25]

Métraux and UNESCO's Director-General, Jaime Torres Bodet, therefore recognized the need to have the statement revised by assembling a new panel of experts.

5. Race – Without Political Implications

Every society is connected and bound together via the existence of a common language with common concepts that form and define people's perception of the world. But as German historian Reinhart Koselleck pointed out, concepts should never be understood or treated as constants. They tend to change content over time, because political action consists of the struggle to define, redefine and defend concepts as well as exclude alternative understandings as long as language shapes people's thinking and actions. In other words, concepts are historical and a concept can have several meanings with widely differing consequences during its lifespan.[26]

That seems obvious with regard to the concept of race, which is no longer able to convince many people about the justification of slavery, colonialism, and genocide. The problem is that the idea of the constant progress of history and science for some people still provides a model for the development of racial theories, which says that eighteenth century anthropology must have been more racist than that of the nineteenth century, and the proclivity towards racism has diminished continuously. However, if you study the phenomenon closely, you discover that the histories of racialism (the belief that humans are naturally divided into races) and racism (the belief that some races are inherently superior) are not necessarily the same. On the contrary, racism was just one of several possible forms of racialism and its popularity did not culminate before the first half of the twentieth century. Therein, even though the concept of race has been in constant use and had the same appearance over the centuries, it is not a sufficient indication of the stability of the meaning. Here one must look at its conceptual history.

The race concept first appeared in the fourteenth century and was used by Spanish merchants to describe what they encountered in the surrounding world on basis of differences in skin colour. Later, in wake of the Renaissance, the concept was used by naturalists preoccupied with systematizing God's Creation and paved the way for the foundation of anthropology. However, according to Koselleck, the most important change of many Western concepts came with the gradual eradication of religious content during the Enlightenment, which came to include that humans were no longer seen as entirely equal children of God. This was first reflected in the writing of the German philosopher Christoph Meiners, who suddenly included mental differences and formed the basis of a hierarchical system. In 1783 he created a 'Rangsystem der Rassen' and claimed that slavery, which had so far been seen as a necessary evil, suddenly had a scientific basis. That provided a way to interpret history as an expression of conflicts between people with different physical characteristics and mental capabilities – and to make political use of the race concept. From the 1850s the number of chairs in anthropology therefore went hand in hand with European colonial expansion, and made racism one of the most influential ideologies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries culminating in the Holocaust. It was deconstructing or reconceptualising this widespread way of thinking UNESCO was dealing with.[27]

Métraux began to piece together a new group of experts to address the critique of the first statement. Meanwhile there was a lively discussion going on particularly in the U.S.

and South Africa – the two countries that felt they were the main targets – about the race concept, and UNESCO's motives were being questioned.

Métraux realized, therefore, that UNESCO should not replace the old statement with a new, a move which would give the impression that the organization had a political agenda that was manipulating the scientific facts, and which would undermine its legitimacy. Instead, Métraux asked Ashley Montagu to participate in the design of the new statement, even though he had proved difficult to work with. This would give the impression that UNESCO would only be strengthening the existing declaration by providing a 'supplement' designed by biologists. Montagu agreed because he wanted to put his stamp on the new statement, but this time Métraux left it to the American geneticist, Professor L.C. Dunn from Columbia University, to formulate the outcome.[28]

The other experts on the panel were, like Dunn, all renowned Western and mainly English-speaking scientists. In order to make sure that the second statement would not differ too much from the first, UNESCO clearly stated this time that the aim of the statement was to be the foundation of a 'campaign against racialism' and 'the abatement of racialistic ideas by the propagation of truth in the form of the findings of science'.[29]

The 12 scholars met in Paris in June 1951, and, as expected, there was substantial disagreement between them. By December 1951, Dunn had incorporated the many comments. The main conclusion of the first statement was retained since the experts agreed that all people had the same origin and were fundamentally equal. But on other issues the new statement seemed rather vague, since the intention was to make it both politically and scientifically watertight this time. For example, it did not make much use of the race concept. On the other hand, it did not reject the concept and acknowledged that it did make sense to divide humanity into three main races, black, yellow and white, as long as the division only was claimed to hold true for physical and not for mental differences.[30]

The second statement was a clear retreat from the first since it came up with a way to retain race as a meaningful category, which then received official approval from UNESCO. But at the same time the concept of race was defined in a non-racist way by rejecting the notion that mental traits could be used in classifying races, which was a reinforcement of the first statement and directly opposed to Huxley's approach. In that way the concept of race lost its potential to legitimize racial discrimination and could form the basis of UNESCO's efforts to combat 'the evil of racism'.[31]

The main conclusions were immediately leaked to the press, so that UNESCO could take into account any criticisms before releasing the statement. At the same time, it was circulated for comment among some one hundred scholars from mainly Western countries to ensure that they could familiarize themselves with the content. This turned out to be a highly effective strategy. UNESCO received several letters, most of which accepted the statement without comment, though there were others that were bitterly ironic or even aggressive.

The claim that the statement was an expression of doctrinaire thinking, however, came mainly from German anthropologists, and Professor Walter Scheidt from Hamburg saw it as cold premeditation on UNESCO's part to get German anthropologists to comment on the statement when any criticism would be interpreted as relapse into Nazi ideas. Scheidt was right in the sense that the German objections caught Métraux' eye and

made him reproduce the objections in a special supplementary chapter in the printed version of the statement. This way the world could see what kind of dangers it was still facing.[32]

Some of the comments were incorporated, and in April 1952 the final *Statement on the Nature of Race Differences* was published. The statement came out in several languages, and Métraux made sure that it was reproduced in full in the British journal *Man* as well as in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* and in the French *L'Anthropologie*.[33]

UNESCO was obliged to go further than simply reviewing the scientific fact of race. The content needed popularization to educate the public. A number of recognized researchers were invited to write about race, and the following years UNESCO launched three series – *The Race Question and Modern Science, The Race Question and Modern Thought,* and *Race and Society* – to combat racial inequality. Each of the series consisted of a number of small pamphlets. Including Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Race and History* from 1952, which sought to avoid an interpretation of cultural differences as an expression of inequality, seeing it rather as an expression of diversity developed under the influence of historical events.[34]

Métraux claimed in 1952 that UNESCO's pamphlets on race were the organization's best-selling publications, and today Lévi-Strauss' work is still considered to be the best-selling book of the organization's entire history. Nevertheless, the pamphlets came out mainly in French and English, and for some of them also in a few other languages, and they did not seem to be very effective for educational purposes in the short run. They had problems reaching the 'man in the street' in most of the member countries. This was because they were written in foreign languages for most people but also, as a study from New York University showed, because they were too difficult to understand. The reader required at least a high school degree to grasp the contents.[35]

Maybe it was naively optimistic to think that UNESCO could resolve conflicts and tragedies on a global scale only by disseminating the knowledge of Western researchers. In the long run, however, the publications proved their ability to infiltrate national education systems in several, but still mainly American and European countries, because they were written by recognized scientists, were discussed and used in leading scientific journals, and represented a stead bombardment of publications that at least physical anthropologists had to deal with. In the early 1950s the pamphlets represented a substantial proportion of all the new titles published in the U.S. in the field of anthropology, and in the late 1950s the pamphlets had been translated into 13 languages and printed in more than 300,000 copies.

Slowly the discipline of anthropology changed its content. The number of anthropologists that based the career on physical measurements or family studies was reduced, and those that were left began to characterize themselves only as physical anthropologists and not just anthropologists. Their subject became a sub-discipline. According to the historian Robert N. Proctor, as a result of UNESCO's authority as a worldwide organization the campaign against racism worked so effectively that the race concept was left without a politically useful content. Now even paleoanthropologists could only refer to the human diversity of the prehistoric man with a certain amount of anxiety.[36]

Conversely ethnographers and cultural anthropologists grew in numbers and espoused the concept of anthropology as a science providing clear evidence that culture rather than race was becoming the unifying concept in mainstream anthropology.

So, in Western anthropology UNESCO's cultural internationalism clearly had an impact.[37]

6. UNESCO in Court

All UNESCO's member states had to have a national commission in order to call conferences for the discussion of matters relating to the activities of the organization, and to distribute material coming from UNESCO. In most European countries, the commissions worked efficiently, the organization was popular in the aftermath of the war, and only few of them had problems convincing politicians and educational boards to use the publications issued by UNESCO. In November 1951 the Assembly of the French Union adopted a proposal to publicize the statements on race and to include them in school syllabuses, and many other European member states revised school textbooks in accordance with the guidelines of UNESCO with West Germany and the Scandinavian countries taking the lead.[38]

But the statements were not received in an equal manner in all member states, and mainly attracted the attention of scholars and educationalists in countries, where there was already a lively debate about the use of the race concept. That was not least the case in the U.S.

A national commission to UNESCO had already been set up in the country, since it had evident national interests in helping to shape an organization with the power to influence international cultural attitudes in the post-war world. The commission consisted of one hundred members from all states and professions, and they agreed that the most effective way to eliminate racial prejudice and diminish discrimination in the U.S. was through progressive education of the public. Thus, the statements of 1950 and 1951 were distributed and were used and taught in 're-education' workshops in schools and churches all over the country.

But in the U.S. this did not happen without resistance. Wesley C. George, professor of anatomy at the School of Medicine at the University of North Carolina was one such critic. 'The real purpose', he declared, 'is to indoctrinate people, somewhat clandestinely, with the particular ideologies of those directing the re-education'. That was apparently done by the national commission controlling the distribution of information by giving 'favorable press to party-line books'.[39] An outspoken American segregationist of the time also criticized the fact that so many UNESCO employees were students from Columbia University, meaning that they were environmentalists and members of what he referred to as the Boas cult. 'The public had some familiarity with a majority of these names', he later recalled. 'Almost all the tracts on race distributed by UNESCO and similar organizations were authored by them, as were most of the books and articles available in bookstores and on newsstands. Their views were often aired on network television and radio. But their personal backgrounds were not so well known'.[40]

The U.S. sentiment towards UNESCO became even more hostile when Dwight D. Eisenhower came to power in 1953. The administration announced that the United States had decided to abandon the UN human rights declarations, since it harboured communistic ideas.[41]

In the years that followed, anti-Communism in the U.S. manifested itself in public debates on the goals of the UN and UNESCO, and a noticeable portion of U.S. citizens

viewed the two organizations as enemies of the American state. Some were afraid that the organization would be used as a brainwashing weapon during the Cold War, and in Los Angeles UNESCO publications were eventually banished from the public school system in 1953. This successful fight of 'patriotic' groups soon led to apprehension among school administrators all over the country concerning the use in public schools of any of UNESCO's publications, regardless of their content.[42]

The U.S. in these years was not only a country that attracted attention for its democracy but also for discrimination on the basis of skin colour, and in the American South, theories of white supremacy were still particularly prominent in ideological and institutional forms. But the 1950s were also the time in which many of these attitudes changed as a result of the outcome of several legal cases on racial segregation conducted by the NAACP.

These cases are important for many reasons. One relates to the role played by social scientists. Thurgood Marshall, the head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, used them as consultants to give advice regarding the current scientific position on the issues being debated, and from 1950–1952, a number of prominent social scientists were called in as witnesses and were heard at the lower courts.[43]

At the beginning, the defence drew heavily on the ground-breaking research on race and intelligence conducted by Otto Klineberg, who was called in as a witness in one of the cases on educational segregation – the Briggs case in South Carolina – and who would testify that there were no differences in intelligence among the races.[44] Through his involvement, Klineberg saw the opportunity to promote the work of UNESCO, which had for a long time used social scientists, and at a meeting in Paris in August 1952 he and fourteen other prominent psychologists expressed their full support for UNESCO's work on race, which had 'not only scientific interest but very important practical implications'.[45]

From now on, as the cases on segregation reached the U.S. Supreme Court, the outcome of UNESCO's race program would play a more visible role. In 1953 a social science statement on the effects of segregation was presented to the Supreme Court by the NAACP. It was signed by 32 American social scientists. Among the names were several actively involved in the work of UNESCO – including Otto Klineberg now Head of UNESCO's Division of Applied Social Sciences. The signatories had come to a consensus that enforced segregation was psychologically detrimental to members of the segregated group as well as to those of the majority group, and they claimed that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence were not well founded. The statement came to form the basis of many of the questions to which the Supreme Court Justices addressed themselves during the final hearings of the civil rights cases.[46]

One of these was the historic decision in the Brown v. Board of Education case of 1954, which settled the question as to whether segregation was a form of discrimination that was prohibited by law. Here UNESCO's work was referred to by the defence as the newest available scientific evidence, and when the Chief Justice later argued that social scientific evidence had been the cornerstone of the court's decision, he specifically mentioned the first UNESCO statement and a couple of the pamphlets. 'We have come too far not to realize that educability, and absorption and adoption of cultural values, has nothing to do with race. What is achieved educationally and culturally, we now know to be largely the result of opportunity and environment', he concluded.[47] In other

words, separating children in public schools on the basis of race was discrimination and thus unconstitutional. This milestone decision by the Supreme Court marked the end of legalized racial segregation in public schools and had an immediate effect on one-third of the American states.[48]

The decision made it absolutely clear, also for laymen, that social scientists – with the authority of UNESCO – had become both mental and social engineers. The extent of the attention paid to them during the trials diminished the authority of biological arguments and confirmed the impression that segregation was of a political character.

Pro-segregation organizations did their utmost to question these decisions by linking UNESCO and other 'liberal' organizations with the Communists, and by saying that the Supreme Courts ruling was 'based on bias, misinformation and a distortion of scientific evidence'.[49] A handful of American social scientists – with Otto Klineberg in the lead – in 1957 felt it necessary to address the resistance by making a new joint statement on racial inequality. It highlighted the two UNESCO statements on race alongside the former American social scientist statement, and repeated the views on mental characteristics and their environmental causes. 'These statements still stand, and in our judgment represent the consensus among experts who have studied this question as objectively and as scientifically as is at present possible'.[50]

6.1. Dealing with South Africa and West Germany

The U.S. was not the only country that was subject to a special effort from UNESCO to promote its race programme. In South Africa, controversies over race and intelligence had been going on for decades, and conclusions pointed in very different directions. Systematic studies of comparative abilities of various racial categories were carried out by the state-supported South African Council for Educational Research, and this council claimed that the educability of 'the natives' was limited due to their inferiority when compared with European pupils of the same age. They could not, therefore, derive proper benefit from education. The South African Institute of Race Relations, a private organization based in Johannesburg, was, on the other hand, sceptical, claiming that these studies had numerous errors and inconsistencies and were based on false assumptions.[51]

Despite its *de facto* segregation, South Africa had become a member of UNESCO in June 1946, and the issue of race did not arise as a problem until the ideology of white supremacy was institutionalized with the apartheid laws of 1948, making South Africa the only country in the world with an official racist policy. In July 1948, the South African government accused UNESCO of interference in 'domestic matters' by distributing material that included views on race that conflicted with the apartheid ideology within the borders of the country, and the government acted by refusing to spend further money on its national commission, which was soon to be described as 'practically dead'.[52]

UNESCO's race programme inevitable struck at the heart of the apartheid ideology, and the tactic employed by UNESCO headquarters was to move carefully in order not to cause South Africa to withdraw from the organization. The country's continued membership allowed the organization to operate legally within its borders, where the material coming from UNESCO was now being distributed by the South African Institute of Race

Relations under the leadership of Quentin Whyte, who was one of the country's more outspoken liberal and humanitarian voices.

The first half of the 1950s passed with tolerant diplomacy. However, as a result of the general criticism levelled by UNESCO, the country finally decided to withdraw from UNESCO with effect from December 31, 1956.[53]

But even though there remained substantial problems relating to race in South Africa, the U.S. and in some of the former European colonies, there was also an optimistic confidence in the impact of the existing information. Anti-Semitism no longer dictated official policy in any country, and few people believed that there would ever be another Holocaust. By the end of 1956, UNESCO therefore closed its race division, and the following three years passed without the organization taking any major initiatives concerning the question of race.[54]

But on Christmas Eve, 1959, swastikas were smeared on a new synagogue in Cologne in West Germany. The incident triggered a wave of similar incidents across West Germany, and in January 1960 there were, according to UNESCO, between 2000–2500 anti-Semitic incidents in about 40 countries – which included everything from large demonstrations to depictions of swastikas in schools and churches. It was a surprising and remarkable phenomenon.[55]

The United Nations decided to condemn the many manifestations of anti-Semitism and recommended that UNESCO immediately took precautions to tackle the problems, by addressing their causes and motives.[56]

UNESCO and Alfred Métraux would therefore once again be dealing more extensively with race. Among the organization's first visible activities was the publication of a pamphlet on racism, which was translated into all languages and subsequently distributed in schools in all members states, while behind the scenes the organization tried to persuade ministers of education of all nations to launch revisions of textbooks in order to promote mutual understanding. In December 1960, the UNESCO General Conference also adopted two anti-discrimination documents as a result of a demand by several of the new member states of the post-colonial world that wanted standards of what constituted equality of opportunity in education regardless of race, sex or religion. One of these documents was a convention.

Other initiatives from UNESCO included the republication of their entire series of writings about race. This was issued in 1960–61, which was the point at which the young Jesse Jackson became aware of UNESCO's work. The organization also launched a thorough investigation of the causes of modern anti-Semitism – a comparative study of ethnocentric attitudes of young people in Britain, France, and Germany carried out by the German sociologist Max Horkheimer.[57]

6.2. Setting the Record Straight

Expressions of racial prejudice had made it clear to the United Nations that action had to be taken. In December 1962 the General Assembly adopted three resolutions on race. One of them requested the Human Rights Commission to draw up proposals for a legal binding convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and religious intolerance.[58]

During the preparation of the convention, UNESCO was asked to convene a panel of experts to re-examine the concept of race in the light of scientific advances of the previous years and to make a new and updated statement. This took place at a time when Alfred Métraux was about to retire, to be replaced by the young Spanish anthropologist Francisco Benet – an acquaintance of Métraux and a student of Margaret Mead at Columbia University.[59]

Benet's first task to choose the scientists for the meeting, which was not an easy task given the many conflicts generated by the race concept, and the fact that old stereotypes seemed constantly to be re-appearing in anthropology in various forms. One of the proponents of such theories was Carleton S. Coon. Coon had been trained in physical anthropology at Harvard University, which represented the antithesis to the cultural anthropology of Columbia University, focusing on the definition and study of race rather than on its dissolution.[60]

In 1962, he had published his major work, *The Origin of Races*. The book claimed that the human species was divided into five races with differing physical and mental characteristics, and contained the thesis that humans had separated into these racial groupings at the stage of Homo Erectus and had evolved into Homo Sapiens separately and at different times, the white race reaching this stage 200,000 years before the black race. It was easy to see that the segregationists could use Coon's book as a defence of their claim that African-Americans were unfit for full participation in American society.

Coon's deep-rooted suspicion of cultural anthropology was shared by his cousin, Carleton Putnam, the founder of Delta Airlines, who had published several articles and speeches based on the assumption that African-Americans were biologically inferior. Coon helped his cousin with information on the relation between brain size and intelligence and similar topics, and Putnam's book *Race and Reason: A Yankee View* received widespread acclaim from segregationist leaders. Coon's own book was selling widely in the U.S. By September 1963, it had sold its 30,000th copy and its basic assumptions had been incorporated by the publishers of *Life* magazine in a special volume on human evolution. Coon had become impossible to ignore in any debate on human origins.

In Paris it had been decided that the signatories of the third UNESCO statement should not be the same as those who signed the first two, and Benet went to various conferences to familiarize himself with the leading experts and to discuss the upcoming meeting with them. Most of the researchers were concerned about involving Coon, so Benet decided to pay him a visit and in October 1963 he spent a day in his home in Massachusetts and decided to involve him.[61]

The fact that Coon was due to take part caused particular concern, just as Montagu's participation had done many years earlier, and, as had happened in the 1950s, it was decided to divide the convention in two. The first part, which would include the controversial physical anthropologist from New England, would be about biological aspects of race, while the second would extend the scope so that a new statement would focus on both the biological and the sociological aspects. The drafting and signing of a joint statement would thus be left to the sociologists a couple of years later, so that UNESCO had a chance to see what came out of the first meeting before going public with the statements.[62]

In August 1964, the so-called 'reunion' took place at The Palace of Friendship in Moscow. A total of 22 physical anthropologists and geneticists from 16 – mainly Western – countries attended.[63]

Coon arrived and took an active part in the discussions. But during the meeting the agenda suddenly changed according to Coon and it was decided that they would have to 'vote about who was brighter than whom'. Everybody but Coon held up a hand in the support of racial equality. 'When two Africans and one Hindu, both highly intelligent and friendly scientists, looked at me, I may have wiggled a finger or two involuntarily. The whole thing was getting ridiculous … When I came home I discovered that the newspapers had included me among the signers, and the telephone began ringing: 'Why the hell did you do that?''[64]

The approved paper began, as the earlier statements had, by claiming that humanity belonged to the same species. The experts were also unanimous in rejecting the concept of inferior and superior races, and they agreed that all people had the potential to attain any level of civilization. They even introduced an alternative to the concept of race, namely the concept of 'population', as it was used in human genetics to cover smaller groups with a certain frequency of the various genes, reducing the concept of race to a term confined to daily usage. Finally, the paper pointed out that it was common cultural values that determined people's choice of partner and which therefore guided the biology, and that the differences between the achievements of various peoples could be explained only by their cultural history. Soon after, a publication – *Proposals on the Biological Aspects of Race* – circulated in English, French, Russian and Spanish.[65]

A year later the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was adopted. Its goal was to ensure that all people had equal treatment by obliging member states to prohibit and punish racial discrimination. With this convention, the definition of racial discrimination was extended to include discrimination based on cultural difference, and in the wake of its implementation in national legislation, discrimination was criminalized on a global scale, and to this very day it represents the principle legal text against racism and racial discrimination in UN member states.[66]

The statement of 1964 also came to play a particular role in U.S. politics since mixed-race marriages were still illegal in some states. Three years later, the U.S. Supreme Court drew heavily upon the proposals in its landmark decision to declare those laws unconstitutional, because the proposals specifically said that racial intermixture posed no danger and that there was no biological reason to ban interracial marriages – and it was emphasized that even Carleton S. Coon had approved them.[67]

In September 1967, the fourth UNESCO meeting on race took place in Paris. The meeting was arranged by Dr. Marion Glean, who was of Caribbean descent and had been actively involved in the work against racial discrimination in Great Britain, and for the first time a race statement was signed by experts from literally all over the world – including a number of representatives of former colonies. It went further in the environmentalist direction than had any of the previous statements by focusing mainly on the social causes and on motives for racial prejudice.[68]

'The revolution was now complete', as the historians John P. Jackson, Jr., and Nadine Weidman claim.[69] This is of course a rather large statement in light of the fact that racism was still very much a political reality after 1967 and that UNESCO was only a single

player in a much wider post-war showdown with the concept of race. On the other hand, UNESCO had provided the world with a series of race statements that were well-known in academic circles and continuously being referred to in court decisions. So, in that sense, the work carried out by the organization indeed paved the way for a new view of man in the post-war period by introducing a convincing and authoritative alternative to the notion that the world was inhabited by superior Nietzschean Supermen on the one hand and subordinate masses on the other. An alternative one could call UNESCO Man.

7. Conclusion

In 1997, Akira Iriye characterized UNESCO as a hub for cultural internationalism in the wake of World War II, and recent research has confirmed the impression of the organization as an excellent prism reflecting ways of thinking that became popular on a global scale and that it has sometimes even served as the initiating and powerful promotor of concepts that became popular and widely used, such as 'world heritage' and 'global citizenship'.[70]

In this article, I have sought to demonstrate another example of the proactive role of UNESCO. The articles has focused on the organization's efforts to launch a program supposed to combat racial inequality, which is not mentioned by Iriye, but which according to other scholars, placed the organization in the middle of a dispute in international scientific circles over the correct definition of the concept of race. Thus, in the article I have combined Iriye's focus on the importance of cultural internationalism for global peace-making and UNESCO's important role with the studies of the organization's work within the field of race as well as my archival findings in order to draw a conclusion as to whether its showdown with the race concept had a global impact.

What we see is that, from 1950 to 1967, UNESCO managed to issue four statements of race formulated by some of the world's leading yet simultaneously carefully-chosen scientists, most Western and all stressing human equality. The organization's preference for social scientists rather than physical anthropologists at the same time made the organization a centre of a dispute organized around the question of whether the natural or social sciences should take precedence in determining the origins of human difference, of social division, and the attribution of value. Outside of UNESCO headquarters, the statements for the same reasons caused severe criticism in a time still characterized by European colonialism, American segregation, and South African apartheid policies. Only on one occasion, in 1964, was a researcher chosen despite being overtly critical towards the organization's work and only in 1967 could the panel of scientists be characterized as truly global in its scope and composition.

UNESCO also issued a series of publications that were able to infiltrate national educational systems and which represented a steady bombardment of publications that at least physical anthropologists had to deal with. Critique of their content nonetheless only added to public awareness of the organization's work.

As the cases on segregation reached the U.S. Supreme Court, the outcome of UNESCO's race program would also play a role. This article shows that experts affiliated with the organization were on several occasions brought in as expert witnesses and that the statements on race highlighted as the newest available research, paving the

way towards the eradication of state-approved segregation in the U.S., whereas South Africa chose to withdraw from UNESCO.

In sum, the statements and the authority with which the experts spoke had an impact and came to play a major part in imposing the new post-war view of man in several countries. However, it is only after 1960 that UNESCO's cultural internationalism within the field of race can be said to focus on racism as a problem that had to be solved on a global scale. The main reasons for this was that discussions within academic circles ahead of UNESCO's race efforts had mainly been going on among Western scholars, that UNESCO failed to locate non-Western scholars, and that dealing with racism was perceived as most urgent in the U.S. and South Africa. Also the expensiveness of translating UNESCO's findings into all languages, the difficulties of promoting the content in a way that would have an impact on a larger group of people, and the lack of control over the many national environments that received and were supposed to distribute news from UNESCO made a difference. Only after a range of anti-Semitic incidents, the demands of a number of new Asian and African member states, and pressure from the UN, did the initiative gradually change. Altogether, it proved to be more difficult and to take a considerably longer time than initially imagined by UNESCO to turn a few scholar's idea of race into one with a truly global appeal and impact.

Notes

1. "Strategies and Tactics in the Struggle for Civil and Human Rights with Reverend Jesse Jackson" (interview, November 18, 2002), John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum, Boston, MA.
2. See for example Fredrickson.
3. Barkan, "The Politics of the Science of Race"; Pogliano, "'Statements on Race' dell'UNESCO"; Prins et al., "Vers un monde sans mal"; Brattain, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism"; Hazard, Jr., *Postwar Anti-Racism,* and Krebs: "Popularizing Anthropology, Combating Racism".
4. Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*.
5. United Nations. *Charter of the UN: June 26, 1945,* preamble.
6. UNESCO. *Constitution of UNESCO,* preamble.
7. Huxley, *UNESCO: Its Purpose and its Philosophy*, 8; Huxley et al., *We Europeans*.
8. UNESCO, "UNESCO and the Social Sciences," 9–10: Wisselgren, "From Utopian Oneworldism to Geopolitical Intergovernmentalism".
9. UNESCO. *The Basic Programme*, 7.
10. Glendon, *A World Made New,* 12–13; NAACP Papers, Box A640, Group II, UN-UNESCO 1950–1954, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.
11. UNESCO. *Constitution of UNESCO*.
12. UNESCO. *Records of the General Conference of UNESCO*, 22.
13. 'Activities of UNESCO' [29.10.1949], in box 323.1, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris; Committee of Experts for the Study of Racial Prejudice, SG 76/5/05, Branch Registries 1948–1959, S-0441-0401, UN Archives, New York.
14. Pogliano, "Statements on Race," 351.
15. Letter from Robert C. Angell to Ashley Montagu, November 28, 1949, in box 323.1, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
16. Letter from Julian Huxley to Robert C. Angell, January 26, 1950, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris.

17. Letter from Julian Huxley to John Skeaping, May 10, 1949, in Julian Huxley Papers: Box 18, Rice University Manuscript Collection, Houston; Letter from Ashley Montagu to Robert C. Angell, February 13, 1950, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris; Letter from Robert C. Angell to Richard Heindel, February 9, 1950, in box 45, RG 84: Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, France, Paris Embassy, at U.S. National Archives (MA).
18. UNESCO. "Statement on Race. Paris, July 1950," 30–35.
19. "UNESCO on Race," 139.
20. 'No biological justification for race discrimination', July 18, 1950, and 'UNESCO Launches Major World Campaign against Racial Discrimination', July 19, 1950, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris; 'Scientific basis for human unity'.
21. Banton, "Social aspects of the race question," 18.
22. 'Myth of Race'; 'All Human Beings', 34; Letter from Douglas H. Schneider to Alva Myrdal, October 16, 1950, and letter from Douglas H. Schneider to Max McCullough, January 4, 1951, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
23. According to a letter from Don J. Hager to R.S. Fenton, January 29, 1951, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
24. 'UNESCO on Race', 138–9.
25. Letters from Margaret Mead to Alfred Métraux, November 6 and November 9, 1950, in box 323.12 A 187, Manifestations of Racial & Religious Prejudices – Report for UN, UNESCO Archives, Paris; Montagu, *Statement on race*.
26. Koselleck, *Futures past*.
27. Hannaford, *Race*.
28. Brattain, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism," 1398; Letters from Alfred Métraux to Ashley Montagu, March 2 and March 22, 1951, in box 323.12 A 187, Manifestations of Racial & Religious Prejudices – Report for UN, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
29. "UNESCO and Race," 64.
30. UNESCO. "Statement on the Nature of Race and Race Differences," 36–43.
31. Shapiro, "Revised Version of UNESCO Statement on Race," 363.
32. Letter from Alfred Métraux to Ernest Beaglehole, February 1, 1952, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
33. Alfred Métraux to J.B.S. Haldane, April 15, 1952, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
34. Lévi-Strauss, *Race and History*.
35. Letter from Alfred Métraux to Harry L. Shapiro, February 19,1952, in box 323.12 A 102, Statement on Race, UNESCO Archives, Paris; Saenger, "The Effect of Intergroup Attitudes of the UNESCO Pamphlets on Race"; Reddick, "What Now Do We Learn of Race and Minority Peoples?," 368; Freedman, "Some Recent Work on Race Relations."
36. Proctor, "Human Recency and Race," 253.
37. Lévi-Strauss, *The Scope of Anthropology,* 7.
38. 'Activities of Member States [UNESCO]', in box 45, RG 84: Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, France, Paris Embassy, at U.S. National Archives (MA).
39. Jackson, Jr., *Science for Segregation*, 89.
40. Putnam, *Race and Reality*, chapter 2.
41. Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize*, 5–6.
42. Hazard, Jr., *Postwar Anti-Racism,* 72–73; "The UNESCO School Decision"; "Additional Discussion on Goals of UNESCO."
43. Jackson, Jr., *Science for Segregation*, 110 and 155–6.
44. Klineberg, "32 social scientists testify against segregation."
45. 'Psychologists Map Unit to Aid UNESCO'.
46. Jackson, Jr., *Science for Segregation,* 155–64.
47. NAACP Papers, Box 3, The Campaign for Educational Equality. Series C: Legal Department and Central Office records, 1951–55: 12–13. Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.

48. Marshall, "The Great Test of 'Civil Rights'."
49. Rowan, *Go South to Sorrow*, 85.
50. Klineberg, "On Race and Intelligence," 421.
51. Biesheuvel, *African Intelligence*.
52. Letter from Union Education Department of South Africa to W.H.C. Laves, July 8, 1948, in box X07.21(68.01), Relations with Union of South Africa – Official, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
53. Letter from the Embassy of the Union of South Africa in Paris to UNESCO, April 5, 1955, in box X07.21(68.01), Relations with Union of South Africa – Official, UNESCO Archives, Paris; UNESCO. 'UNESCO, the United Nations and South Africa', 17.
54. Prins et al., 'Vers un monde sans mal', 123.
55. 'Brief Summary of Interpretations Concerning the Recent Anti-Semitic Incidents', in box 323.12 A 187, Manifestations of Racial & Religious Prejudices – Report for UN, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
56. Memorandum by René Maheu, July 29, 1960, in box 323.12 A 187, Manifestations of Racial & Religious Prejudices – Report for UN, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
57. Convention against Discrimination in Education, article 1; Race and Science: The Race Question in Modern Science; The correspondence in box 323.12:342.7 SS 5701/1, Race Discrimination & Human Rights, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
58. UN resolution, no. 1779–1781, 7.12.1962, UN Archives, New York.
59. Letter from Francisco Benet to Ernst Mayr, May 5, 1964, in Ernst Mayr Papers, Box 10, Harvard University Archives; Letter from André Bertrand to Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, May 27, 1963, in box 323.1:574 A 064 (470) '64', Expert Meeting on the Biological Aspects of Race, 1964, part 1, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
60. Jackson, Jr., *Science for Segregation,* 99.
61. Coon, *Adventures and Discoveries*, 360; Letter from F. Benet to Carleton S. Coon, March 2, 1963, in box 323.1:574 A 064 (470) '64', Expert Meeting on the Biological Aspects of Race, 1964, part 1, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
62. Letter from René Maheu to U Thant, June 24, 1964, in box 323.1:574 A 064 (470) '64', Expert Meeting on the Biological Aspects of Race, 1964, part 1, UNESCO Archives, Paris.
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64. Coon, *Adventures and Discoveries*, 361–2.
65. UNESCO, *Four Statements on the Race Question*, 46.
66. 'International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination'.
67. US Supreme Court Records and Briefs, Loving v. Virginia: Brief of Amici Curiae, 388 US 1 (1967): 28. Library of Congress, Washington DC.
68. Box SHF/CS/122/1, Meeting of Experts on Race and Racial Prejudice [1967], UNESCO Archives, Paris.
69. Jackson, Jr. et al., *Race, Racism and Science*, 201.
70. Duedahl, "Introduction," 3–26.

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