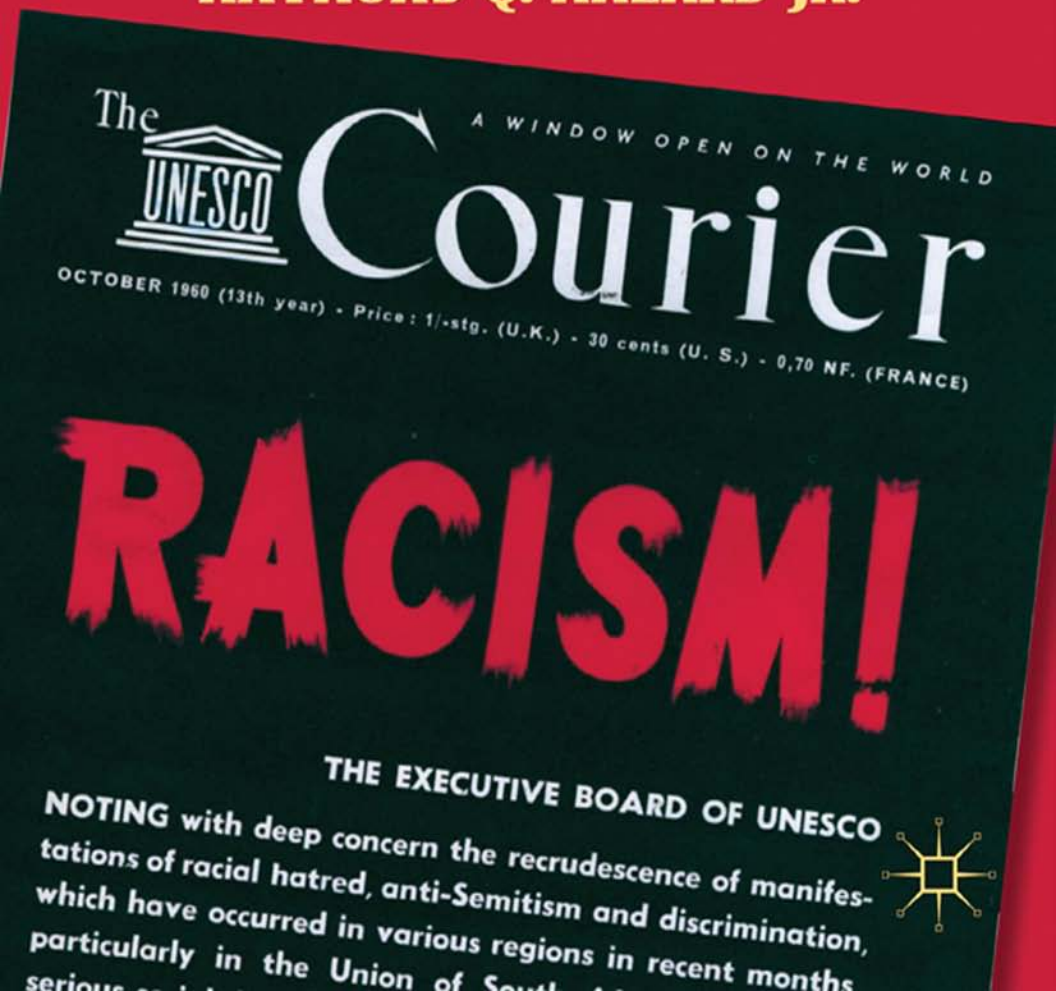
POSTWAR ANTI-RACISM

The United States, UNESCO, and "Race," 1945-1968

ANTHONY Q. HAZARD JR.



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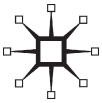

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This book is dedicated to the life and memory of my father, Anthony Q. Hazard Sr. (December 15, 1952–March 9, 2005)

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Introduction

"Race" occupies a particularly striking place in the realm of ideas and sociopolitical forces in the twentieth century. As a concept that is at once scientifically invalid and culturally dominant, "race" has undergone changes that challenged American society to recalibrate the various ways of thinking about human difference. However, in the early twenty-first century continuities are clearly present in the ways many Americans understand "racial" and cultural difference. Despite the social, political, and scientific reexamination of "race" that occurred over 50 years ago, one only needs to briefly consider the passionate responses and cultural significance of Barack Obama's emergence as president of the United States of America to witness the ongoing salience of "race" in the ways Americans understand political affiliations, cultural practices, and the significance of biological difference vis-à-vis skin color.

More broadly, World War II marked a nexus of the reexamination of "race" in both the United States and across the globe. From 1941 to 1945, US military and political leaders engaged in a war very much defined by "racial" struggle in Asia, Europe, Africa, and the United States. While colonial subjects throughout Asia and Africa increasingly clamored for independence, victims of systematic racism in the United States continued pressuring the federal government for civil and human rights. On the battlefronts of Asia and eastern Europe, racialized warfare added intensity to already life-and-death struggles. The US home front then became a composite site of these various struggles, as Japan's "racial" otherness took center stage in public discourse as political commentators juxtaposed the racism of Nazi Germany against American "democracy."[1]

Debates in the discipline of anthropology, led particularly by Franz Boas, his scientific colleagues and students, contributed greatly to this reexamination of "race" in the United States. Ideas about the biological and cultural inferiority of people of "color" had come under attack in the decades leading up to the war. Commonplace assumptions concerning human difference that had bridged the scientific with the lay, from the country's inception, underwent intense and consistent interrogation by

a select group of scholars and civil rights activists in the early twentieth century.[2]

By many recent accounts, the famous United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Statement on Race, released to the international public on June 18, 1950, represents the culmination of this intense interrogation, shift, or "retreat of scientific racism." The historiographic and analytical attention garnered in recent years by the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race is well deserved, but only highlights the tip of the proverbial iceberg of UNESCO's import to the global politics of "race" following World War II.

A central claim of this book is that the interconnected histories of the UN specialized agency UNESCO and the US government mark a primary site of the international articulation and practice of anti-racism in the postwar period. As the nation-state that rose to unmatched political and economic power immediately following World War II, the United States commanded a huge role in the formation of the United Nations, UNESCO, and the articulation of anti-racism in the postwar period. The immediate vogue of a kind of top-down, reactionary anti-racism during and just after the war helped spawn a global campaign against racism that arguably manifested more rhetorically than substantively, and involved heated debates and political strategies in which a working concept of "race" remained a composite part.

Understanding full well the global implications of racism in the United States during World War II, federal leaders began implementing rhetoric akin to prominent anthropological critiques of classical racism. During the war, high-ranking officials in the US government began publicly articulating an anti-racist position that refuted the biological superiority and inferiority of various "races." These same officials also began promoting the country as a nation striving for equality and the elimination of "racial" bias.[3] Yet despite this surge of state-supported anti-racist rhetoric, civil rights and anti-colonial activists maintained trenchant critiques of racism in the United States throughout the war and decades immediately following. These social and political tensions provide the context of this study, a context involving various political stakeholders who in some cases articulated competing notions and visions of anti-racism. This book approaches anti-racism as a major factor in international and transnational politics. Along with international institutions and governments such as the United States, organizations and individual activists involved in black diaspora politics in particular put forth additional brands of anti-racism in the postwar period. This convergence of political factors, actors, and scientific critiques of "race" and racism I describe here places this book in conversations that span the history of anthropology, social history, and diplomatic history.

In recent decades diplomatic historians have employed cultural methodologies in order to include categories of "race," gender, and culture in their studies.[4] While such methodological developments have made headway in expanding the field, historians still call for more attempts to incorporate the study of "race."[5] This book traverses new terrain in that exploration by making plain the interaction of scientific discourses of "race" with the newfound superpower status of the United States and its official relationship with UNESCO. In addition, cultural internationalism became a large part of the United States' diplomatic efforts following the war, with UNESCO as a primary site of action. I intend to show that more than an effort at fostering international cooperation through cultural activities, the US government promoted cultural internationalism in the domestic sphere in order to promote and project an anti-racist sensibility.[6]

As historian Akira Iriye points out, the practice of cultural internationalism is "inevitably bound up with the notions about culture that prevail in a given time and place."[7] The time and place under consideration in this book centers on the United States' international role as the leading democracy following the defeat of the Axis powers, yet in this book I am not as concerned with how "American" constructions of cultural difference emerged and circulated. Rather, I attempt to uncover how the US government, in its utilization of cultural internationalism vis-à-vis UNESCO, reveals the elements of prevailing notions of cultural (and racial) difference circulating in an international context. For "culture," scholars across disciplines, including cultural anthropology and diplomatic history, recognize how the postwar period witnessed the birth and deployment of "modernization" as a hierarchical understanding of cultural and "racial" difference, used initially by "western" powers to expand and secure the global economy.[8] As modernization appears in this story, it provides an additional location to tease out the challenges of a "western" superpower engaging the so-called third world under the guise of an anti-racist doctrine. While these moments are rendered selectively, they nevertheless underline the ongoing racialization of "culture" under the guise of "racial liberalism."

The rise of anti-racism in the postwar period was due to shifts in the scientific discourse of "race" as well as the political exigencies of the black freedom movement and the "Cold War". Throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, anthropologist Franz Boas led the charge in charting a response to the established tenants and practices of eugenics and other forms of scientific racism on both sides of the Atlantic.[9] By World War II, many of his students including Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Melville Herskovits, and Ashley Montagu, along with other scholars in

the burgeoning field of human genetics, solidified a scientifically valid response that undermined blatantly racist science.[10] The growth of population genetics after the rediscovery of Mendelian genetics contributed an equally significant measure of scientific evidence to mandate a referendum on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century biological determinism.

While this body of scholarship proclaims the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race as the culmination of these shifts, in the main, this scholarship was produced without the benefit of archival research specific to UNESCO and the US government.[11] Moreover, the 1950 Statement (and subsequent 1951 Statement) functioned not "as a moment of closure" but rather "ushered in an era of old and new debates about the use of race as an analytic category in science."[12] By utilizing those specific archives, this project makes a unique interjection in the historical study of anthropology and science more broadly, while situating an analysis of that material within the global politics of "race" during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

The debates on anti-racism in this period took place behind closed doors in Washington DC, in the hallowed halls of universities, and in America's top media outlets at the time, newspapers. In addition to UNESCO archives, State Department records and newspapers allow this story to move between the private government sphere and public discourse. Local and nationally circulated newspapers, including the efforts of the black press in its "golden age" of diasporic activism, show that UNESCO operations were of consequential concern for Cold War politicos, civil rights supporters, scientists, and ordinary American citizens.[13] Americans of all walks of life followed UNESCO, participated in programs, and debated the role of UNESCO in American democracy. From California to Connecticut, from south Florida to the Rocky Mountains, UNESCO impacted the ways Americans pondered and configured civil and human rights, nationalism, and America's role in contemporary globalization; all issues tied up in the tricky reconstruction of "race" following World War II.

Writing "Race"

"Race" is not a valid scientific category within the human species, but rather a way of thinking, speaking, and categorizing people according to arbitrarily designated physical characteristics. These constructed groups often intersect with social groups that share cultural practices and longer histories of racialization. In the United States, for example, while designations such as "negro" and "mulatto" arose within the context of chattel slavery to secure social boundaries that reflected economic standing and power, members of those very groups created solidarities out of the experiences wrought by social institutions and structures. Such solidarities

indeed relied on sociopolitical identities that were both cultural and "racial." So while "race" is scientifically invalid, the concept nevertheless has existed, as anthropologist Audrey Smedley puts it, as a "particular worldview" used to perceive, interpret, and deal with human differences. The worldview of "race" is perpetuated contemporarily, "as much by the continued use of the term in our daily lives and in the media as it is by the stereotypes to which so many of us have been, often unconsciously, conditioned."[14]

Of course, discussing "race" without using the concept's attendant language is impossible, but qualifying an understanding of the concept is absolutely necessary in exploring its history. In this book, I consistently place the term in quotation marks in an effort to destabilize its seemingly commonplace understandings by underscoring the fact that "race" is, as many contemporary commentators agree, "a metaphor for something else and not an essence or a thing in itself, apart from its creation by an act of language."[15] As a ubiquitous set of ideas and deeply constructed half-truths, "race" continues to wreck havoc on the lives and life-chances of people all over the globe. Therefore this project attempts to simultaneously provide a history of "race" while undercutting its legitimacy as a way of categorizing human beings.

As a historically situated investigation of "race" this project is made possible and given its import by the real-life uses of "race" and the racialized oppression that has defined American life since the country's birth. Contemporary racialized oppression and social inequality continue to highlight prevalent uses of "race," while "racial" difference is also now successfully packaged and sold under the guise of celebratory ethnic identities.[16] It is this particular circulation of "race," along with the looming racialization of biomedicine and applied genomics, that shaped the original research question that resulted in this book: What happened to "race" in the second half of the twentieth century? Following the horrors of the Holocaust, the reemergence of Pan-African political activism, and the apparent triumph of Boasian anthropology, what are the specific shifts and continuities in conceptualizing "race" and understandings of racialized difference in the early twenty-first century? This book provides a necessary piece to that complex puzzle.

The Framework: Postwar Anti-racism

As historian Herbert Aptheker and sociologist Becky Thompson have shown, anti-racism is as much a part of US history as chattel slavery and Jim Crow. Aptheker defines anti-racism as the conscious rejection of racism, both as an idea and as a practice, and the rejection of the belief in "racial"

superiority or inferiority.[17] More recently, social geographer Alastair Bonnett defined anti-racism as several forms of thought and practice that seek to confront, ameliorate, and eradicate racism.[18] Bonnett's addition to reconstructing the history of anti-racism in the United States critically engages transatlantic anti-racism, from the 1960s onward. Bonnett points to the tensions of "race" within contemporary anti-racism, which prevent a unified set of political actions and anti-racist discourse. Within anti-racism the status of "race," Bonnett argues, rests upon competing yet sometimes overlapping claims to universalism and relativism, which both seek equality for all cultures, ethnicities, and "races," despite the widely held position that "race" and racism result from intellectual errors.[19] In taking cue from these authors, this project focuses on investigating anti-racism as a historical phenomenon, rather than a recent pedagogical intervention that has occurred across Europe, Canada, and the United States, shaping contemporary multiculturalist approaches to education.[20] However, Bonnett's assessment of the racializing proclivities of contemporary anti-racism is instructive. For Bonnett rightly points to the ongoing salience of "race" witnessed in political (and cultural and educational) projects in the late twentieth (and early twenty-first) century.

Immediately following World War II, "race" as a hierarchical worldview was not laid to rest despite the rhetorical and practical strategies of anti-racism. The repudiation of racism led by the United Nations, UNESCO, and the United States failed to fully address the theoretical fallacies and structural aspects of "race." That result can be explained in part by the fact that "race" had been constructed in such a way that the idea continued to lend "meaning to a host of terms and expressions, to myriad aspects of life that would otherwise fall outside the referential domain of race."[21] Only after World War II did state and nonstate actors across the globe profess the ills of racism with the assistance of academic disciplines that had provided foundational elements of commonplace racialization. What arose then in matters of "race" was a contested political space in which various stakeholders attempted to determine the boundaries of debates about social justice, human rights, and empire.

In sum then, *postwar anti-racism* can be described as a theoretical periodization marked from 1945 through the late 1960s, in which the following phenomena occurred: (1) the rise and prominence of civil rights, anti-colonial, and human rights activism supported by state and nonstate actors; (2) the US government's struggle to maintain ideological supremacy and global hegemony in a world that no longer accepted blatant biological determinism; (3) an increasingly intense and widespread challenge to biological determinism in the anthropological and biological sciences;

and (4) the establishment of the United Nations and its specialized agencies as international anti-racist bureaucracies. The period of *postwar anti-racism* is defined by the ongoing convergence of these four trends, which resulted in the prominence of anti-racism in the global arena. The process and dynamic of postwar anti-racism was first and foremost uneven and contradictory. Various stakeholders articulated different notions of anti-racism, they engaged in divergent forms of activism and protest, and grappled in different ways with American power in both the domestic and global setting.

Outline

The story of *postwar anti-racism* begins roughly during World War II and the founding moments of UNESCO in 1945, and ends with the crucial reevaluation of postwar anti-racism by the UN in 1968. In 1967 and 1968 UNESCO and the United Nations responded to the global politics of "race" by reissuing pronouncements in favor of human rights and against racism. These were the final international efforts of the United Nations and UNESCO to engage the basic premises and assumptions of state-supported anti-racism within the global context of clear US political and economic dominance. The historical events and trends of decolonization and civil rights together diminished internationally in the late 1960s, just preceding the decline of US dominance of the Fordist global economy in the early 1970s.[22]

Chapter one, "Early Postwar Anti-racism: UNESCO in the 1940s," explores the public discourse in the United States on UNESCO to gather how the organization's position of anti-racism was presented, and how "race" and cultural difference were defined during the formative years of UNESCO. More specifically, this chapter centers on the United States National Commission for UNESCO (USNC) through a detailed account of the commission's first three national conferences in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cleveland, and an additional regional conference in Denver. Press coverage in the United States of UNESCO's general conferences between 1946 and 1949 are also discussed in this vein. This chapter ultimately places UNESCO in the United States within the specific framework of anti-racism by demonstrating how these national and regional conferences defined the goals of the organization for the American public in terms of state-supported anti-racism. It argues that in the main, public debates on UNESCO in the late 1940s defined state-supported anti-racism as a liberatory discourse, rightly used in the service of justifying American hegemony.

Chapter two, "Science and Politics: UNESCO Studies 'Race,'" focuses on UNESCO's attempts to solidify and disseminate the scientific premises of postwar anti-racism in the early 1950s. Employing an international group of anthropologists, sociologists, and biologists, under the direction of their Department of Social Sciences UNESCO produced two statements on race in 1950 and 1951, and a series of short pamphlets authored by individual scholars from various disciplines on questions of "race" and racism. The focal point of analysis is the scientific arguments concerning biological definitions of "race" within the human species. Between the developing fields of evolutionary biology and population genetics, anthropological discussions of "racial" categorization reached an impasse that began to redefine physical anthropology. Within the context of international politics and UNESCO, these anthropological developments are scrutinized for their retention of biology in discussions of "racial" difference. Under UNESCO auspices, anthropologists rejected core scientific tenets of classical racism even as they confirmed the validity of "race" as a biological category.

During the early 1950s, virulent anti-communism in the United States played out through public debates on the goals of the United Nations and UNESCO. A noticeable portion of US citizens and some members of the legislative branch of the federal government viewed the United Nations and UNESCO as enemies of the American state, American "cultural values," and the democratic capitalist "west." In major cities such as Los Angeles, UNESCO programs and publications were banished from the public school system, and the American Legion spurred on by members of Congress investigated UNESCO as a subversive organization. In various US cities the organization was considered a part of a communist conspiracy to undermine the power and even existence of the US state. Chapter three, "UNESCO under Fire: Anti-communism and Anti-racism," explores the political and social tensions evident in the controversy surrounding UNESCO's anti-racist efforts. Vehement opposition to UNESCO in the United States revealed the political, social, and cultural contradictions of Cold War internationalism.

Responding to the eminence of communist and socialist movements in Asia, the USNC focused heavily on bridging the alleged cultural divide between the Euro-American "west" and the Asian "east." As an arm of foreign policy enacted by the US State Department, the USNC teamed up with scholars to hold a handful of conferences on "eastern" cultures and peoples in the mid-1950s. These conferences and the publications that resulted from them attempted to articulate a wholly positive anti-racist perspective that actually reflected hierarchical assumptions about "racial" and cultural difference. Chapter four, "Anti-racism and Orientalism,"

argues that the "east" was not characterized by UNESCO and the USNC in ways that supported nuanced understandings of cultural difference, but rather in ways that fit with prewar and wartime notions that rendered the entire continent as inferior and exotic. By examining UNESCO conferences and publications on southern and eastern Asia during the 1950s, this chapter makes plain the ways in which UNESCO and the USNC orientalized the "east" in the name of anti-racism.

While the early 1960s witnessed an increased focus on cultural internationalism by US leaders, it also witnessed an unprecedented challenge to US dominance of the United Nations and UNESCO due to successful decolonization and civil rights efforts. The shift in UN and UNESCO projects toward the increasingly intense and controversial subject of "race" reflected such change. Chapter five, "Resurgent Black Diaspora Politics and UNESCO," details UNESCO's renewed focus on "race." This chapter examines UNESCO's major publication on racism in its October 1960 issue of the *UNESCO Courier*, USNC efforts to focus on Africa at its 1961 national conference in Boston, and an additional UNESCO publication on racism in 1962. Despite the US government's efforts, its dominance of UNESCO began a downturn that reflected successful challenges to its policies and ideological tactics at home and abroad.

Chapter six, "Radicalization and the Collapse of Postwar Anti-racism," documents the continued engagement with "race" in the United Nations and UNESCO due to the continued violence of racism and colonialism in the 1960s. UNESCO's reexamination of the biological grounds of "race," and its concerns to address the issue of racialized nationalism that arose within the context of the very anti-racism the organization had espoused for two decades highlights a distinct rupture within postwar anti-racism. This final chapter explores that rupture which occurred in the late 1960s.

The larger implications of this project concern the idea of "racial" difference following World War II. By using postwar anti-racism as a framework to examine the United States' imperative of global dominance, this project lays bare how "race" informed the early contours of contemporary globalization. The specific ways that postwar politics and scientific discourses of "race" informed each other are uncovered and shown to be constitutive elements of both American hegemony and struggles against it. In this contested political space, the use of racialized identities continued to overshadow growing doubt of the scientific legitimacy of "race" in the latter half of the twentieth century.

1

Early Postwar Anti-racism: UNESCO in the 1940s

During World War II, the US government began integrating its foreign policy efforts with the operational goals of the soon-to-be United Nations and UNESCO.[1] At times subject to severe criticism in the public domain, supporters of the new organization were nevertheless successful in spreading UNESCO's brand of cultural internationalism and anti-racism across the United States. From the time Congress approved US participation in UNESCO in 1945 through 1949, cities including Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, and Denver hosted well-attended regional and national conferences on UNESCO, while supporters from coast to coast organized local chapters to publicize and carry out UNESCO's mission of educational improvement and "cultural understanding" across "racial" and national boundaries. During the formative years of the United Nations and UNESCO, the convergence of the US government's foreign policy concerns, critiques of Jim Crow and colonialism, and the bourgeoning cultural salience of the Cold War established the contours of postwar anti-racism in its early iteration.

The United States and UNESCO: Top Down

The US government successfully planned for economic stability by directing the organizational arrangement of the United Nations, the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund. In wartime meetings with the Allied powers, including those at Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, the United States took the lead in determining changes in currency values for all member states of the World Bank. Although all delegates agreed that the main function of the World Bank would be to guarantee loans made by private institutions for long-term development projects after the

war, the United States clearly established itself as the leader by making the largest monetary contributions to the bank and securing 25 percent of the votes within the organization.[2] Through negotiations at Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods, US leadership attained unmatched power in the major international financial apparatus, therefore solidifying control over the process of modernization in central and south America, along with soon-to-be decolonizing areas in Asia and Africa. A similar seizure of power occurred in the organizing of UNESCO.

The United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization came to fruition upon the completion of its Constitution in November of 1945, and the subsequent ratification of that Constituion by the original 20 member states in November of 1946. As an outgrowth of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIIC), UNESCO defined itself and its goals beyond its predecessors. Founded as the executive body of the International Commission for Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations in 1925, the Paris-based IIIC focused on intellectual exchange, while CAME limited itself to educational exchange between the wartime Allies. Following its first meeting in London in 1942, CAME soon invited a US delegation to take part in its sessions through the end of 1945, and expanded its operational goals to include war-torn and underdeveloped countries. Secretary of State Cordell Hull appointed the US delegation, which included such notables as Congressman J. William Fulbright and Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish.[3] As early as April 1944, the US State Department began receiving reports from the CAME delegates that described the goal of the meetings as drafting a "constitution for a United Nations Organization for Educational and Cultural Reconstruction." The constitution for what would become UNESCO had been drafted at two "Open Meetings convened by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and the American Education Delegation," yet both meetings had been "presided over by Congressman Fulbright."[4] MacLeish, whose exact turn of phrase would later make up the preamble of UNESCO's constitution, contributed greatly to the final version of the entire constitution.[5]

Along with President Truman, State Department officials successfully made certain that UNESCO would operate within its vision of an acceptable world order.[6] This was quickly made clear by the jousting that ensued over the election of UNESCO's first director general in 1946. Since UNESCO's organizing conference in November of 1945, discussions between UNESCO's member states had taken place concerning the election of its first director general, despite Assistant Secretary William Benton's assumption at the close of the conference that the US

government could nominate the director general if it desired to do so.[7] President Truman's choice, former US attorney general Francis Biddle, did not receive much support leading up to the election, while Britain's imminent biologist and executive secretary of UNESCO's Preparatory Commission Julian Huxley stepped forward and gained "considerable support."[8] From his personal conversations and observations, Benton concluded, "[A]lthough enthusiasm for Huxley" was "modest at best, enthusiasm for Biddle" was "nil in spite of considerable efforts to generate support."[9] MacLeish then argued to Benton that "the best chance of defeating Huxley" lay in the United States pledging full support to a third candidate from a "small country."[10] Ultimately, delegates elected Huxley first director general of UNESCO with stipulations from the US delegation that his term would be limited to two years rather than the requisite four, and the deputy director general position would be awarded to a US citizen. But even this compromise of sorts had been "an unhappy choice" from Benton's perspective.[11]

US dominance of UNESCO in its early years was never in doubt however, in part because no other member state "had the financial capacity and institutional dominance to shape the organization's agenda and principles."[12] As former US representatives to UNESCO Walter Laves and Charles Thomson reported, from 1946 through the 1950s, the United States contributed over 30 percent of UNESCO's total budget.[13] In addition, by October 1946 Assistant Secretary Benton had proclaimed US dominance of UNESCO. Before the international dinner of the American Hospital Association in Philadelphia, Benton asserted that the US State Department had taken the lead in UNESCO, but there remained "a long way to go before this new instrument of United States foreign policy will be operating on the scale that will be necessary if the chief aim of the United States foreign policy is to be achieved."[14]

Benton's talk in Philadelphia also served to justify American hegemony, couched in a similar anti-racism espoused by federal leaders during the war. On this point Benton deserves to be quoted at length:

> In the first place, by helping other people to improve their health and way of life we create conditions favorable to the development of freedom and democracy, and this is the surest and most direct way to work against war… By advising on electric-power development mining techniques, and transportation we are creating the means by which other peoples can better help themselves. In the second place, even from a purely selfish national point of view, investment of technical skill abroad pays high dividends. When living standards are raised abroad, a greater flow of trade with the United States is automatically promoted. Other countries can buy our automobiles and refrigerators only if we help increase their efficiency

> and thus their prosperity by sharing our technical and scientific skills with them. Finally, by sharing our skills we build up a true understanding of America, the kind of understanding that promotes good neighbors in times of peace and firm friends in times of crisis. In working with us, the peoples of other countries learn about us as a people-our attitudes, our objectives, our national character and way of life. They come to know our democratic Government, our legal procedures, and our respect for individual liberty.[15]

Situated within Benton's rather blunt description of the US utilization of UNESCO in the realm of foreign policy are telling assumptions about Benton's understanding of cultural difference. Benton not only equated democracy with modernization, but drew national boundaries around mental attitudes, technological innovation, and understandings of personal and civic freedom.

Benton's hope "that the peoples of the world" would be "willing to tolerate differences because they understand them," painted a bleak picture for the application of cultural internationalism.[16] Cultural difference for Benton was inherently problematic. It represented barriers that needed to be "tolerated" once properly explained or understood by members of given cultures. In its early postwar stages, this discourse of tolerance reflected an evasion of the fundamental issues of racism "by hiding behind definitions of racism in narrowly biological terms." Benton articulated a notion of tolerance that "at once celebrated and qualified" human diversity as presenting implicit barriers.[17] Whatever American culture might have been for Benton, he clearly posited the unique nature of the national community and its ability to mass produce goods and share its "automobiles and refrigerators."

Walter Laves, who served as deputy director general of UNESCO from 1947 to 1950, and Charles Thomson, the director of the UNESCO Relations Staff in the State Department, commented, "[T]he scope and structure of the [UNESCO] program, initially overloaded and confused" became increasingly clarified in the 1950s.[18] Laves and Thomson also stated that the US "attitude toward UNESCO has been an assumption that the function of the United States was primarily to give rather than to receive." The US delegations to UNESCO in this early period "often brought an enthusiasm and optimism lacking in most other delegations" because as President Truman stated to Congress in 1946, "[I]f we can exchange educators with all the countries in the world, and send ours to those countries to show our viewpoint, it won't be long until we have the world situation as we have it in the 48 states."[19] From UNESCO's earliest days, US leadership undoubtedly viewed the organization as a primary

venue to implement cultural internationalism. And as the organization came to fruition, public discussions of the organization's goals and purposes ensued across the country.

UNESCO in the Public Eye

Coverage of the UNESCO's final organizing conference in November 1945 began immediately in a few widely circulated newspapers in the United States. Two days after the close of the meeting, the nationally circulated *Christian Science Monitor* made its readers aware of the results of the conference, along with UNESCO's aims and the contents of its constitution.[20] On November 17, 1945, the *Monitor* printed the full Preamble and Article 1 of UNESCO's constitution, which made plain the anti-racist thrust of UNESCO's cultural and educational mission:

> The governments of the states parties to the constitution on behalf of their peoples declare that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed: That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war: That the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races.[21]

The *New York Times* alerted readers that William Benton had recently returned from the organizing conference in Paris and would soon submit a proposal to Congress, which outlined the "country's participation" in UNESCO.[22] In mid-December the *Washington Post* declared that "in seeking to spread the gospel of truth" in defeating "ignorance," UNESCO had begun moving head-on against "prejudice and bigotry" that sometimes assumed the shape of propaganda, "hatred, suspicion, jealousy and illwill."[23]

Similar press coverage that stressed the beneficent nature of UNESCO's activities appeared consistently throughout the summer of 1946. In February John Beaufort of the *Christian Science Monitor* interviewed Archibald MacLeish at his New York residence. Despite the MacLeish's readying to move into a new home, the former librarian of Congress agreed to speak with Beaufort about UNESCO's prospects. In the interview MacLeish championed UNESCO as "mankind's defense" against

international mistrust and fear, while Beaufort concluded that cultural sharing "as designed by the architects of UNESCO's constitution" would be "revolutionary" in bringing about international understanding.[24] In March the *Monitor* described UNESCO as a "permanent part of the world organization dealing with education and culture, with its roots so deep that every teacher and every school can make its voice heard" in securing supplies and necessary funds. And by July the *Monitor* had publicized UNESCO's plans to attack illiteracy.[25]

The year 1946 also witnessed the *New York Times* run stories in praise of UNESCO's potential. In January the *Times* quoted William Benton as stating, "UNESCO . . . must seek to enlist the full cooperation of the press, radio and motion pictures if it is to succeed in its purpose of getting the peoples of the world behind the peace." According to *Times* coverage of hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on April 3, Benton urged further support of UNESCO. Summarized by writer Benjamin Fine, Benton's testimony stressed UNESCO's goals in education and cultural exchange as bringing together "peoples of the world" so they might "strive to progress together toward a better life."[26]

From the close of UNESCO's organizing conference in November 1945 and its initial General Conference held one year later, support for UNESCO emanated from the highest reaches of US government and continued to shape public conversations about the organization. Before UNESCO's first General Conference, the United States had to formally approve and organize its own permanent body of representatives to the organization. Called for by UNESCO's constitution, the formation of national commissions by each of the original member states was heeded by Congress in 1946, when it drafted a joint resolution that determined the composition and terms of the United States National Commission for UNESCO (USNC). On July 30, President Truman finalized the terms of US membership in UNESCO by signing Public Law 565. The law set membership of the USNC at 100, with 60 members to be representatives of "principal national voluntary organizations interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters," an additional 10 members directly employed by the federal government, 15 by state governments and local municipalities, and the final 15 chosen at large. The Department of State exercised "discretionary authority within the Federal, State and local, and general categories." On the initial national commission, one-third of the members were appointed for one year, one-third for two years, and the final third for three. Following that initial three-year period, all 100 members would have three-year stints.[27]

As the joint resolution passed in the House in May and the Senate in July, the *New York Times* reiterated UNESCO's hopes "to promote world

peace and harmony by encouraging interest in educational and cultural matters."[28] One day after President Truman signed Public Law 565, the *Times* quoted Truman as stating, "The Government of the United States will work with and through UNESCO to the end that the minds of all people may be freed from ignorance, prejudice, suspicion and fear, and that men may be educated for justice, liberty and peace. If peace is to endure, education must establish the moral unity of mankind."[29]

Two weeks later *New York Times Magazine* featured a story titled "To Teach the World How to Be Free." The author, philosopher and US delegate to UNESCO's founding conference in November of 1945, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, mimicked the UNESCO "intellectuals" he characterized as "on fire" and "aflame with the eagerness for the success of the United Nations enterprise." Meiklejohn continued in dramatic fashion, "[T]hese devotees of education, of science and of culture had enrolled themselves as willing servants of that tremendous undertaking of world organization which is now afoot, upon whose success or failure now hangs the balance between human peace and human catastrophe, between freedom and slavery, between love and hate." Positing democratic freedom as a universal goal, Meiklejohn yet pointed out the exceptional nature of American democracy. Again describing events at UNESCO's organizing conference, Mieklejohn stated, "[I]t quickly became evident that teachers from other lands believe, as strongly as we of the United States do, in democratic freedom for all mankind. Without hesitation they adopted the goal that all human beings, *irrespective of climate, status, race, sex, or any other normal differentiation*, shall be equally educated." Yet according to Mieklejohn, pragmatism guided the teachers from other lands, as "they did not expect that goal to be reached tomorrow. They have suffered too deeply of late to indulge in utopianism. And yet, for the minds of the teachers of humanity, the ringing words of our Declaration of Independence are as true in Java and in Poland, in Greece and in China, as they are true for us."[30]

Less colorful coverage of UNESCO and the USNC continued as its September conference approached. The *New York Times* and *Christian Science Monitor* correctly described the USNC as the sole advisory board to the US State Department on UNESCO matters, and praised it as the citizenry's link to the government concerning UNESCO's field of operations.[31] As the first USNC meeting neared, the State Department invited USNC members residing in or near Washington, DC to take part in preparatory sessions, in order that the structure and goals of the meeting be set.[32] This preparatory committee met on September 9 and 18. Upon the opening of the official national meeting on September 23, 68 of the 100 appointees were in attendance. The three-day meeting accomplished

three main goals according to Archibald MacLeish: clarifying the functions of UNESCO, solidifying the structure of the USNC, and appointing an American delegation to UNESCO's first General Conference.[33] From the meeting also came a ringing endorsement from President Truman as Benjamin Fine reported in the *New York Times*. "The President emphasized" wrote Fine, "that the national commission could make the 'greatest contribution in the history of the world to the welfare of the world as a whole, if it really goes at it in the spirit that is intended.'"[34]

Washington Post coverage of the USNC's initial meeting provided a few sparks, highlighted by a letter to the editor from USNC members Luther Evans, Waldo Leland, and Justin Miller. Involved with UNESCO from 1945, Librarian of Congress Luther Evans had a stake in defending UNESCO and the USNC against claims by a *Washington Post* editor that they embodied "the soft-spoken ways of peace" and would be bent to the will of the State Department and "parrot" its programs. The letter closed strongly, reassuring readers that "a spirit of real democracy" guided the commission's initial meeting in which "the State Department cooperated fully to conform with and encourage that spirit."[35] Yet the *Post*'s early criticism of UNESCO would later be confirmed with the election of Luther Evans to the post of director general in 1953, which critics at UNESCO would come to view as "yet another manisfestation of American dominance."[36] From its inception "the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO linked the foreign-policy establishment to a network of organizations devoted to the implementation of UNESCO's cultural agenda" and "approved for UNESCO service only those truly representing 'an American point of view.'"[37]

The USNC pressed forward with its mission of promoting UNESCO and its aims as a common good for American citizens and people around the globe. Days before the first General Conference in Paris, other prominent figures would voice further support for UNESCO. George Shuster, president of Hunter College and one of five alternate delegates to the General Conference, remarked that the conference may well be as important as any held since the end of World War II.[38] A chief delegate to the General Conference, Archibald MacLeish added a highly optimistic *New York Times Magazine* article on November 17. Titled "If We Want Peace, This is The First Job," MacLeish's piece argued that UNESCO embodied the road to "a positive and creative recognition of the community of the human mind regardless of differences of race, nationality, language, ideology or religious faith." Seeking reader support, MacLeish asserted, "[S]uch a positive and creative understanding as made this nation possible and has kept it whole and strong despite the religious and racial ideological differences of its citizens."[39] Here MacLeish attempted with this wholly

inaccurate assessment to represent racism and other issues of difference as ideological rifts that had been adequately managed and hadn't struck at the very fabric of American society. These timely issues were not tackled in the broader public conversation surrounding UNESCO until after the first General Conference, where "vibrant hopes and strong expectations for promotion of genuine peace marked the opening at the Sorbonne."[40] Throughout the meetings that took place from November 20th to December 10, steady coverage of the conference held to the previous public discussions of UNESCO's positive potential.[41]

Black Diaspora Politics and the Black Press

In January 1947 during a talk at the opening session of the National Social Welfare Assembly in New York City, Archibald MacLeish hailed "the success" of the first General Conference as a "fact of extraordinary importance," while William Benton shared the opinion of the US delegation "that the Conference as such was an outstanding success."[42] However the internationally circulated *Chicago Defender* chose to "refrain from passing judgment" on the conference and UNESCO as a whole, until it tackled tough questions other media outlets had failed to register.[43] While commending the aims of UNESCO in early 1947, the *Defender* queried,

> Will UNESCO seriously tackle the problem of education for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America? Will it attempt to eradicate the gross inequality in educational facilities allocated, for instance, by the Union of South Africa, for the minority white population and the majority African population?…Moreover, will UNESCO seriously undertake the re-education of many so-called "civilized" peoples, peoples, for instance, who have been infected by the poison of racism? Will it influence the removal from textbooks of slurs against Negroes, Jews, and subject-peoples in the colonies? Will it attempt to extirpate the pro-Fascist bias in present-day Anglo-American newspapers, books, radio programs, moving pictures?[44]

The *Defender* wagered that even if UNESCO pursued its goals in an honest fashion, the organization was bound to encounter "the bitter opposition of every imperialist government, not to speak of opposition from certain unenlightened sections of ecclesiastical organizations."[45] Just a month later, the *Defender* captured the comments of the newly appointed president of Fisk University on the subject. Sociologist Charles S. Johnson, who had been appointed to the USNC in September 1946, was also chosen to represent the United States as an alternate delegate at the initial General Conference.[46] At the meetings of the American

Sociological Society in Chicago, Johnson offered a rather positive assessment of the conference proceedings and UNESCO as a whole. However, Johnson did agree with the *Defender*'s position that "minority, immigration and colonial problems" offered the "greatest challenge to the effectiveness of UNESCO" and constituted "the real elements of danger facing a world striving eagerly for peace and security."[47]

The *Defender* soon after ran a story that claimed "the entire United Nations Organization, and particularly UNESCO, labors to give reality to the Atlantic Charter and other altruistic documents."[48] Mindful of the challenges at hand, the *Defender* provided its readers cautious hope in UNESCO's potential to accelerate the struggle for civil rights and decolonization. The *Defender*'s commentary in 1946 was only the beginning of a long engagement of the black press with UNESCO happenings over the next two decades. Throughout UNESCO's early period, additional black press outlets such as the *Philadelphia Tribune* ran columns specifically devoted to covering UNESCO events and clarifying the organization's role and import to international diplomacy and peace.[49] In UNESCO's early period, the main thrust of discussions about UNESCO was less critical, focusing on its potential for securing peace and promoting anti-racism.

The Conferences of 1947

In 1947 the USNC attempted to spread the work of UNESCO around the country with two national conferences in Philadelphia and Chicago and the first regional conference in Denver. Though these conferences were also in preparation for the second General Conference of UNESCO scheduled to take place in Mexico City during November, they reflected the USNC's desire to "affect more people" by holding events in "various parts of the country."[50]

Newly appointed chairman of the USNC Milton Eisenhower presided over the second conference in Philadelphia on March 26 and 27. The president of Kansas State University and brother of future president Dwight Eisenhower, Milton called for subsequent conferences to be larger and command more press coverage. To that end, the USNC solidified plans to hold a regional conference two months later in Denver.[51]

According to newspaper coverage, the Philadelphia meeting became more than business as usual for the national commission. A row over a proposed project to study budding "tensions" between Russia and the United States divided the USNC and incited delegates from various local, state, and national organizations. The proposal to "study tensions conducive to

war" according to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*'s front-page story, "electrified more than 1000 delegates at the final general session" of the conference.[52] "A burst of applause greeted" the surprise proposal by Mrs. Sporborg of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote the *Christian Science Monitor*.[53] According to the *Washington Post*, Assistant Secretary of State Benton discounted the proposal, which ended the meeting in disagreement.[54] While the issue of such a study had been "tabled" for the moment, the divergent opinions expressed at the meeting signaled an increase of Cold War antagonism in the broader discussion on UNESCO in the United States.[55]

During the conference, Benton and Eisenhower reasoned that a study of tensions remained improbable as long as Russia refused to become an official member of UNESCO and work toward peaceful cooperation.[56] Apropos to this conflict, USNC vice chairman Edward Barrett asserted on a Philadelphia radio station that UNESCO "could accomplish much in the first years without Russia and that Russian presence" might "cause major complications." The "'free flow of information,' internationally, would conflict with Russian internal policy."[57] Simply put, during the conference USNC leadership predetermined that within the context of UN and UNESCO activities, Russian policy had been responsible for tensions between the two countries and represented a major barrier to the free exchange of ideas and the cultural improvement and understanding of the world's peoples.

The conference still managed to provide a forum for USNC leadership to characteristically urge support for the democratic, anti-racist UNESCO.[58] Indeed "it was fitting" according to the editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "that the City of Brotherly Love should be chosen for this momentous meeting, whose noble objective must enlist the sympathy and support of all our peace-loving people." The *Inquirer* editor described UNESCO as having a "direct bearing on the world peace and progress" by working to "dispel the prejudices that make for war."[59]

The usual positive incantations of USNC leadership and the row over Russia overshadowed voices concerned with civil rights and decolonization. Not mentioned in the mainstream newspapers or discussed in any detail in the USNC's published report to the State Department, members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) recommended that UNESCO study closely "stereotyping of Negroes, and omission of their contributions" to American society. According to both the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* and *Chicago Defender*, Julia Baxter, speaking for the NAACP, threatened that the "foreign press must continue to play up lynchings, discrimination and other problems faced by Negroes here" as long as racist representations

persisted in American school textbooks.[60] Though not highly publicized, the NAACP's challenge to the USNC at the Philadelphia meeting reflected a larger strategy employed from the early days of the United Nations organizing conference in 1945.[61] The NAACP sought to challenge racism in the United States by using the United Nations as a forum to indict the racialized order upheld by the state. And tellingly, as one of the original organizations approached by the USNC in 1946, the NAACP maintained two representatives on the commission.[62] This arrangement reflected the State Department's concerns to engage anti-racism, and provided the NAACP with consistent access to the various levels of UNESCO activities in the United States. The NAACP's critical engagement at the Philadelphia conference foreshadowed what would soon take place at the regional conference in Denver.

Scheduled for May 15–17, the *Denver Post* began reporting on the regional meeting a week before it opened. The *Denver Post* informed its readers of the one thousand representatives from Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah, and Wyoming slated to attend. In more specific local news, the paper reported that John M. Elkund, president of the Denver Federation of Teachers and vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, had been appointed to represent the latter organization at the conference.[63]

Denver Post associate editor Lawrence Martin also helped to set the stage for the conference. Martin's piece juxtaposed what he called "the common man" with professors and diplomats whose language was often "foreign to commoners." Martin meant not to "slam" professors or diplomats because they were "like all God's creatures useful." He sought instead to remind them how they could be useful to "the common man." For Martin, UNESCO's regional conference offered the perfect opportunity for the professors and diplomats to make "most ordinary folk" feel that they belonged to UNESCO and that UNESCO belonged to them. Martin remained hopeful but questioned if UNESCO in "practical usefulness" would "reach men's understanding" and "increase their good will by broadening their opportunities to know." Martin clarified his cautious optimism as he continued, "UNESCO can do a mighty service" if it operated on a practical level suitable for the people it had been "created to serve, perhaps to save." "These mountain and plains delegates," wrote Martin, "can contribute greatly" to UNESCO's "virility by infusing into their programming and planning the directness and vigor in which westerners traditionally deal." Martin hoped the conference would speak to "the common man" in "plain and realistic language and give itself meaning, substance and value in relation to his life, liberty and pursuit of happiness."[64] The USNC's report on the conference deployed the "common

man" theme as well, writing, "UNESCO is not exclusively or even mainly an organization for specialists," ordinary citizens had come together for "UNESCO-a people's movement."[65]

With Chairman Eisenhower presiding, the Mountain-Plains regional conference opened to a ringing endorsement from Colorado governor Lee Knous. "UNESCO is the password to peace," the governor announced to the opening session of over fifteen hundred delegates, "we all know the password, now let us use it."[66] "Brother of the famous general" as the *Denver Post* described him, Milton Eisenhower stated it "is my deepest hope that during the next few years we will see a series of international agreements and events that will insure the four freedoms" with the help of UNESCO, for people around the world.[67] On the second day of the conference, associate editor Lawrence Martin reported, "[T]he emphasis, in plenary sessions and workshop conferences, is all on the practical and feasible." The "prudent approach" of USNC leaders overshadowed the "starry-eyed visionaries" and "dreamers" who might've expected immediate miracles from UNESCO activities.[68] The *Denver Post*'s top editor also chimed in, confirming that "earnest community leaders, representing all branches of popular activity, are laying the groundwork of what in the long run may offer the strongest hope of world peace-tolerance and understanding." For "if we can discover" the editor continued, "at this grassroots level, how to improve our understanding of alien peoples and how to help them understand us, then we perhaps may erase some of the tragic differences which lead to war."[69]

The theme of anti-communism raised at the Philadelphia conference two months earlier reappeared on the final day of the regional conference. Paul Porter, former observer in Greece for President Truman, announced to the Conference that "American interests" in making UNESCO work and securing the Truman doctrine were "identical with [the] welfare of the Greek people in resisting [the] spread of totalitarian methods" because "the Greeks, as a whole" were "devoted to basic democratic ideals."[70] Engulfed by Nazi Germany during World War II, Greece descended into civil war involving communist forces and the official Greek government in 1946. With the support of the United States and United Kingdom, the anti-communist forces emerged victorious in 1949.[71] Although the relationship between anti-racism and anti-communism remained a tricky one, at this early juncture in the life of UNESCO its leaders in the United States made clear the two processes had become intertwined because they both opposed social and political oppression, and ideally rested on basic democratic principles.

Challenging the US government and its citizens to live up to those same democratic ideals was a major theme of the conference as well,

though not widely covered by the national press. The *Denver Post* and *Chicago Defender* picked up the story. "A proposal to insure human and civil elimination of all color and caste systems throughout the world, passed at the regional conference," and was "being drafted for submission to the national UNESCO meeting at Chicago" scheduled for September 1947. A second resolution in the proposal struck the possibility of holding UNESCO-related meetings "in any city or town where delegates were exposed to color or racial discrimination." In introducing the proposal to the Denver conference, Rev. C. Townsend Tucker, president of the American Anti-Prejudice Society, put bluntly the larger context of the proposal: "We have earned the right to full citizenship. The white people erected the barriers, now it is they who must take them down."[72]

In its report the USNC concurred that the "recognition of the brotherhood of man" was a recurrent theme. Its report demonstrated that the proposal against racism garnered wide support during the conference. Women's civic groups, youth groups, representatives from elementary schools, and religious leaders all worked to shape the proposal, which USNC leaders from the State Department accepted. As a whole, the plenary section on women's civic groups submitted, "we must destroy the obvious assumption of superiority on the part of majority groups, and the obvious discrimination—economic, social, educational, and otherwise against minority groups." Youth workers and educators argued that "world unity could come out of the pressing desire of the human race to escape destruction by atomic age weapons, and that a main road toward this unity was a world-wide program to reduce ethnocentrism in all cultures." However, the delegates also recognized that "the attainment of such a goal involved great difficulties because of the often contradictory nature of the diversities." Religious leaders also confirmed "the program of UNESCO in church, synagogue or temple must therefore include such practical elements as the elimination of all racial discrimination from the life of the local religious group and its neighborhood" and "the inauguration of activities which draw all religious, racial, economic and cultural elements of the neighborhood into cooperative endeavor to attain common spiritual goods."[73]

The first of its kind to be held in the United States, the regional conference at Denver offered the western United States a close-up view of UNESCO's potential, and the USNC and State Department an opportunity to lay the groundwork for "cooperative activities on state-wide and local levels." At final count 1,944 delegates attended, including 97 from outside the region, representing all levels of education and government. Women's and veterans' organizations along with medical boards, university presidents, and deans from across the country attended. The USNC

rated the conference an effective gathering that exemplified UNESCO in action. In the *Denver Post* Lawrence Martin enthusiastically concurred that the conference "must be rated a big success," and concluded that "the conference was, in fact, so remarkable in so many ways that it deserves another look."[74]

The first regional conference in May of 1947 was a microcosm of a broader context that increasingly defined the political issues surrounding UNESCO in the United States during the late 1940s. Those willing to articulate the realities of racism and Cold War antagonisms often confronted the ostensibly positive possibilities of educational and cultural exchange, while leaders from Washington lauded the goals of top-down anti-racism.

The conference's successes were clear. Interest in UNESCO piqued, as wide participation propagated the growth of UNESCO back to local communities across the nation. The first state "permanent 'grass roots' UNESCO commission" formed in Kansas before the year was out, under the leadership of Milton Eisenhower.[75] In anticipation of the pacific regional conference slated for May 1948 in San Francisco, the Southern California Commission for the UNESCO conference came to fruition under the leadership of the president of Pepperdine College, a provost of UCLA, and the assistant superintendent of education for the state of California.[76] In addition, John W. Ervin, who had represented USC at the pacific regional conference, led the formation of the University of Southern California School of Law UNESCO council.[77] The year 1948 also witnessed the New England regional conference in Boston during September. Eisenhower led the successful conference that focused on world peace through education, and spreading the message of "global betterment" through UNESCO.[78]

The second national conference of the USNC in Chicago in September of 1947 also focused on the spread of education in the cause of peace.[79] The "rehabilitation of educational facilities in war-devastated countries" was priority number one for the conference, and that message went across well in the press.[80] Writing for the *New York Times*, the Pulitzer Prize winning foreign news correspondent Anne O'Hare McCormick repeated the grass-roots theme so prevalent in local discussions of Denver's regional conference. Reporting from Chicago, McCormick raved, "[T]he unique character of UNESCO among the various subsidiaries of the United Nations is strikingly brought out at the meeting of the National Commission being held here this week-end." "UNESCO excites more interest in this country in more unexpected places than any other specialized agency," she continued. Celebratory yet insightful, McCormick added about the USNC, "[T]his is the first time a group

of citizens has been set up by law to counsel the State Department on questions of foreign policy." Her prescient assessment concluded that "for although educational, scientific and cultural affairs are supposed to be nonpolitical, it would be hard to find a field more political today than the field of ideas. UNESCO operates just where the obstacles to international cooperation are toughest."[81] McCormick echoed State Department sentiments and those of President Truman, yet the political aims of UNESCO projects at the Chicago conference and through the 1940s, remained couched in terms of US beneficence in education, culture, anti-communism, and anti-racism.

These themes would go on to dominate coverage of the second General Conference of UNESCO held in Mexico City in November 1947. Throughout the conference delegates from Poland and India accused the United States of controlling UNESCO and using the organization for its own political purposes. Responding to Director General Julian Huxley's opening statement that UNESCO couldn't function "with full effectiveness in the presence of fascism, imperialism, intolerance, suppression of freedom or exaggerated nationalism," Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan of India accused UNESCO of being "merely an Anglo-American concern."[82] According to Jules Du Bois of the *Chicago Tribune*, the scholar and future president of India "attacked the disproportionate representation on the UNESCO secretariat, saying that 514 of the 557 employees were from western Europe, the United Kingdom, and the United States." The delegate from India then criticized Director General Julian Huxley for excluding "Latin Americans from the secretariat." Radhakrishnan also demanded that UNESCO's program for 1948 include the circulation of "folk songs" and "works of art" that approached parity with the "effortless superiority of American and European culture."[83] Du Bois of the *Tribune* focused more on the Polish delegation's claims, referring to Poland as a "Red Parrot" on "the soviet eastern European team."[84] The *Washington Post* and *Christian Science Monitor* ran stories about the Poland-US clash, but failed to mention the indictment leveled from India.[85]

The *New York Times* commented heavily on the November conference, providing more objective coverage. Seasoned foreign correspondent William Carney explained that the aims of the US delegation led by Milton Eisenhower included securing the unrestricted flow of information across national borders around the world. Poland opposed the US proposal because it argued the United States would use such an agreement to disparage eastern European countries and monopolize "cultural reconstruction aid in accordance with its own political objectives."[86] However accurate the Polish delegation's analysis of US policy in UNESCO might have been, accusing the United States of cultural imperialism was

antithetical to the rhetoric of cooperation and cultural internationalism established as guiding principles of UNESCO and exemplified by the United States.

Cold War confrontations immediately became an indelible part of UNESCO in its early years. As William Preston, Edward Herman and Herbert Schiller describe it, "[A]lmost before the ink had dried on UNESCO's constitution, some of its founding members" struggled for influence in the organization with "their discordant national interests and political ideologies."[87] Within two years of its establishment US representatives "increasingly sought to apply to UNESCO the instrumental approach to cultural relations that was taking hold across the spectrum of US cultural and public diplomacy."[88] Whether in terms of controlling UNESCO policy in "underdeveloped" nations or blaming communism for UNESCO's limitations to achieve international cooperation, US officials in UNESCO had a clear agenda during its nascent period. An "elusive hope" seems to characterize properly the outlook on UNESCO of its genuine supporters among the US citizenry.[89]

Public Criticism and "Americanism"

For those outside of the State Department and other DC officials who looked suspiciously at UNESCO and the entire UN apparatus, their voices found space in the public discourse as well. In one instance, a retired US Army general explained to Congress that UNESCO was designed to break down the faith of US citizens in the American government and dilute their loyalty and expressions of patriotism to American institutions.[90] Amid preparations for the 1947 USNC national conference in Chicago, an editor at the *Chicago Tribune* described supporters of UNESCO as "do-gooders" who sought to spread "one world propaganda" in public schools. The editorial of March 29 admonished the previous national conference in Philadelphia for asking schools to "lay more emphasis on the doctrine that this is one world."[91] Robert Young of the *Tribune* wrote that UNESCO called for a "global slant" in American textbooks. Another *Tribune* article discussing longtime UNESCO devotee Archibald MacLeish called for a Congressional investigation of "pink MacLeish and his pink pal."[92] Suggestions that UNESCO was "soft" on or in favor of communism were commonplace during Julian Huxley's leadership from 1946 to 1948.

Huxley's execution of organizational goals was hardly the focal point of public discussion, rather "his pronounced liberal and progressive views" which had been "the cause of not a few controversies in academic

circles" took center stage.[93] Huxley's avowed atheism reared its head at the national conference in Philadelphia, when a speaker from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America deemed Huxley's recent book on UNESCO "repugnant to church people."[94] Despite publishing it, the UNESCO preparatory commission disclaimed the short booklet. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Huxley's election as director general had been the result of political compromise rather than an indication of UNESCO's support for his anti-religious views.[95] Nevertheless, Huxley could not get out of his own way when it came to the complexities of anti-communism and nationalism. In the summer of 1946 Huxley gave a talk in London in which he advocated regional spheres of operation for UNESCO in the place of national action. Huxley recommended the decentralization of UNESCO into ten regions around the world, grouping eastern Europe and the Soviet Union together as one region and north America as another. This suggestion by Huxley may have alarmed more patriotic US citizens, because it warned against those regional spheres becoming instruments of "a 'new type of regional and cultural nationalism or from falling under the too exclusive influence of a powerful nation.'"[96]

Huxley's legitimacy as leader of UNESCO was further undermined when John Grierson, former head of the Canadian National Film Board, was named his advisor in February 1947. The *Chicago Tribune* followed this story closely, reporting that the US State Department refused Grierson a residential visa. Grierson had been a witness in "the Canadian-Russian spy case concerning the atom bomb" a year before the refusal of his visa application.[97] Coverage of this story culminated in a September editorial. Titled "Enemies Within the Gate," the hyperbolic commentary claimed "the appointment of John Grierson as propaganda director" for UNESCO "demonstrates how [the] U.N. can be used to get undesirables into this country," and moreover "provides the gateway for outright spies" into the United States behind the protection of diplomatic immunity. When interviewed about the situation, American deputy director of UNESCO and native Chicagoan Walter Laves said that he was not aware "if Grierson is a Communist" and had only learned of Grierson's appointment to UNESCO through the press. Laves also stated that whether Grierson was "a Canadian, a Briton, or something else" was not important because nationality "really doesn't matter in UNESCO." The *Tribune* editor's response was scathing. "Here is the perfect embodiment of the American internationalist outlook that it would be desirable to subject the republic to a supra-national world government," wrote the editor. "To some Americans," namely, UN and UNESCO supporters, "nationality no longer counts." Focusing again on Huxley, the *Tribune* editor blasted,

> Grierson, however, owes his appointment to Julian Huxley, a left-wing Briton who is director general of UNESCO. When a Briton can confer freedom to roam the United States on any other foreigner, suspect as he may be, a great many Americans will doubt that nationality "doesn't matter." They will feel that their government ought to make it plain that this is their country, not UNESCO's.[98]

The *Tribune*'s comments on UNESCO while inflammatory were a part of recent and very thorough coverage of the organization. Throughout 1947 the *Tribune* reported on numerous UNESCO happenings and speaking engagements in the Chicago area, indicating the organization's increased popularity in the second largest city in the country.[99] As the theme of anti-communism became a composite part of the organization's public face in 1947, the controversy accelerated UNESCO's presence in public political discourse. Ardent anti-communists viewed anti-racism and cultural internationalism as a threat to the racialized order and deeper social fabric of the United States. However, for more pragmatic State Department officials, anti-communism and anti-racism comprised part of a broader international political strategy.

Closing of the Early Years

Major UNESCO conferences in 1948 and 1949 became sites of intense debates concerning the interrelated issues of postcolonialism, civil rights, and Cold War confrontations. The election of Julian Huxley's replacement as director general is illustrative of the political wrangling at the 1948 conference. The election, which carried the "many ambitions" of member states involved, was kept under tight wrap from the press. Despite the efforts of US delegation leader George V. Allen, the names of those nominated for the post remained undisclosed as the elections took place. Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico won an easy victory for director general in a contest in which it was "virtually certain that neither an American nor a Briton" would be chosen.[100] The election of UNESCO's executive board chairman fell out of the presumed Anglo-American alliance, going to India's Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Reporting from Beirut the writers at the *New York Times* explained, "[I]t is no secret here that the United States has favored the choice of an Asiatic for one of the higher posts as a means of broadcasting the organisation and avoiding the accusation of Anglo-Saxon domination."[101] A different interpretation offered by a writer at the *Christian Science Monitor* suggested that "the influence of South American delegates" in UNESCO was on the rise, as foretold by the election of Torres Bodet and the successful proposal of conference

delegates that Spanish be added to French and English as UNESCO's working languages.[102]

What was most telling about the Cold War tensions that emerged at Beirut was the extent to which the United States was unsuccessful in its attempts to shape the outcomes of the conference. According to Graham, "A postcolonial caucusing bloc was able to secure the director generalship for their preferred candidate Jaime Torres Bodet."[103] Walter Laves and Charles Thomson of the US delegation agreed, writing, "not infrequently he was able to mobilize the support of the Latin American and Arab 'blocs.'" As UNESCO insiders, Laves and Thomson also pointed out Bodet's sophistication as a French speaker schooled in "western" diplomatic procedures and higher education. They acknowledged that "the outstanding characteristic of Torres Bodet was the high degree to which he appealed to both the economically less developed and the more developed countries" that nevertheless "had an abiding concern for the services which UNESCO might perform for the peoples of less economically developed countries."[104] Despite what universal appeal Torres Bodet embodied, press reports characterized Bodet as a representative of "the view of many South American delegates" who felt the work of UNESCO had been "concentrated too much on countries which sustained damage during the World War II," and who demanded "a greater share of the organization's resources for their own backward masses."[105]

Cold War rivalries at the 1948 Beirut meetings manifested in other ways as well. Immediately preceding the conference, the *New York Times* reported that Archibald MacLeish stated, "Russia was waging a better 'cold war' than the United States." MacLeish asserted that "UNESCO must 'speak out' to break the paralysis of the 'cold war'" because "it was not enough 'in a world of iron curtains and police committees' merely to raise a lofty standard to which the 'honest' could repair."[106] US chief delegate George V. Allen would go on to tell attendees that UNESCO could "tolerate every idea except" communist intolerance, and that "human understanding could develop only in democratic societies."[107] *New York Times* and *Christian Science Monitor* writers described the General Conference as one in which the United States solidified its plans to break through the "iron curtain" of communism propped up by Soviet Russia. Covering the failed reelection bid of Czechoslovakia's executive board member and plans to spread UNESCO's work to occupied Germany and Japan, opposition to American democracy took a rhetorical hit in the press. "Steps to lift cultural levels in many parts of the world, and thus to strengthen the basis of peace" were hailed as successful at the Beirut meetings.[108] In addition, reports of violent protests outside the Beirut meetings implicated "ten alleged Communists." The *Christian Science*

Monitor picked up an Associated Press story that reported the demonstrators had "been sentenced to serve two months in jail on charges arising from a bullet-spattered demonstration" during the November conference, "which no Russian delegates attended."[109] Not a member state of UNESCO until 1954, the Soviet Union repeatedly made its way into press coverage of UNESCO in the United States.

In a 1949 report that argued Russia provided a keen challenge for UNESCO principles and operations, Henry Sowerby of the *Christian Science Monitor* offered an "effective antidote" for the insecure conditions created by communist threat. To counter Soviet Russia's educational system and propaganda efforts, Sowerby proposed UNESCO publish a "textbook that was international in scope, that could be made available to schools and colleges in all democracies-a universal manual for liberty, to function as an element of cohesion for all free countries."[110]

By the end of the 1940s, much more than Cold War concerns had become evident in the U.S. government's struggle to utilize UNESCO as both a domestic and foreign policy tool. The impact of decolonization on the 1948 General Conference and elections of UNESCO leadership, coupled with civil rights pressures posed a noticeable challenge to what Preston, Herman and Schiller call the "victorious ethnocentrism" of UNESCO's founders. As they argue, UNESCO "had been established as a kind of club of the rich and powerful West intent on institutionalizing traditions and practices that had been a part of their own modernization."[111] Attempts to explain away the ethnocentrism of modernization rested on the idea that cultural difference and not biological or "racial" inferiority caused "underdevelopment" or "backwardness."[112]

The passage of the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 added to modernization's anti-racist pretensions. The United Nations had grounded its philosophy of "international cooperation" by "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." The 1948 Declaration of Human Rights similarly embodied the principle of "non-discrimination," asserting that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, property, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, birth or other status."[113]

Having been closely involved with civil and human rights issues since the war, Eleanor Roosevelt remained well aware of domestic and international criticism of racism in the United States, and articulated a cautious yet hopeful notion of anti-racism as the 1940s came to a close. In 1949, at the national conference of the USNC in Cleveland, the much-admired former first lady gave a sobering assessment of racism in the United States.

Speaking to the conference delegates and thousands of Cleveland locals, the "dynamite public figure" Roosevelt hoped "that we will make our country the democracy, the real democracy, that we have given lip service to for so many years. The Declaration of Human Rights," she continued, "may help to give us an atmosphere in which we can all work together for a better peace."[114] Roosevelt contextualized her urging of living up to democratic ideals within the Cold War, arguing that Russia had been playing a waiting game that demanded the United States demonstrate to the world that its democracy offered more than any form of communism.[115] The *Chicago Defender*'s coverage confirmed Roosevelt's adequate handling of the "race" question and Cold War concerns at the conference. According to the *Defender*, "The difference between the U.S. and Russia was illustrated by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt during her keynote address" at the UNESCO conference. Before an audience of nine thousand, Roosevelt stated that "we can know our failures, and those of us who care can work to improve our democracy."[116]

Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk augmented Roosevelt's commentary on the state of anti-racism in American democracy by calling on UNESCO supporters to defeat the "ruthless and reactionary ideology" of Soviet Russia (figure 1.1). Rusk "ended by saying that surely the world which

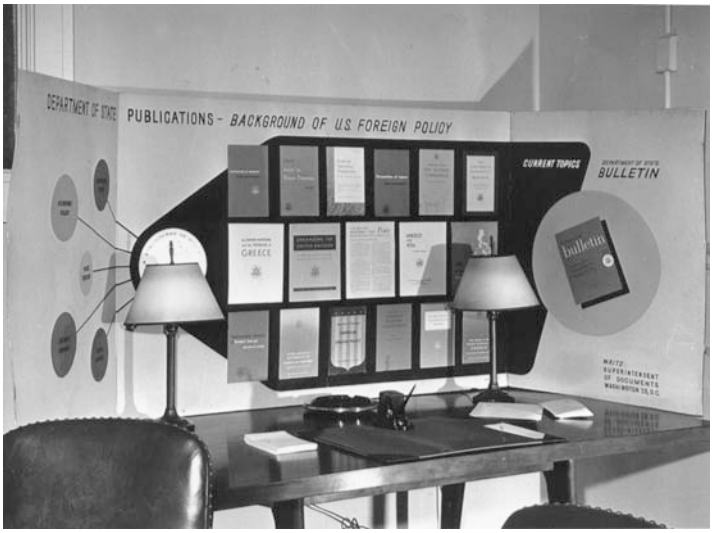

Figure 1.1 Display of US State Department Publications at USNC National Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, April 1949. Courtesy of National Archives Still Picture Branch, College Park, MD.

formed ranks against Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo can form solid ranks now against aggression, or against tyranny, or against disease and poverty." Rusk's comment recalled World War II as an American-led conflict to defeat fascism, communism, and racism. UNESCO's current efforts had been made comparable and instrumental in curing disease and poverty in the underdeveloped or third world.[117] Thought by his contemporaries to possess genuine affinity for the emerging third world, Torres Bodet seconded Dean Rusk's statement about the US and UNESCO's roles in modernization. "History shows," Bodet submitted, "that wherever the few are too highly educated, and the many too ignorant, there tends to arise energetic individuals or groups whose minds are a terrifying mixture of ignorance and education, of intelligence and brutality, of savagery and progress."[118]

Conclusion

From the perspective of US leadership, addressing issues of international cooperation in educational, scientific, and cultural fields remained key to its broader political economic goals in the global setting. Rather than approaching the rise of the third world as "cold war neutralism," U.S. officials understood that anti-racism and anti-communism professed through the United Nations and UNESCO would serve their ends of stabilizing soon-to-be-emerging markets and economies. Federal leaders also enlisted UNESCO in their larger efforts to control the pace and success of civil rights activism. Through its conferences, spokespersons, and publications, the USNC and UNESCO also promoted modernization and the idea that specific cultural groups remained behind Anglo-American levels of cultural development. The US government's moral rejection of racism contributed to the ongoing defining of various social groups as biological "races," though it attacked discrimination on the basis of "racial" difference.

Establishing the specific ways it would use cultural internationalism to solidify its new position as global superpower was at stake for the US government. Defining the terms under which the problems of racism, imperialism, and poverty would be discussed remained paramount to actually fixing them. Despite brief and slight inroads by civil rights and anti-colonial critics, in the late 1940s, the US government successfully utilized UNESCO in that venture.

2

Science and Politics: UNESCO Studies "Race"

The story of UNESCO's famous Statements on Race of the early 1950s is one wrought with behind-the-scenes politics, intellectual debates, and confrontations between strong personalities. On one hand, the origin of these statements was a reflection of the United Nations' genuine concern to advocate anti-racism with the help of scientific knowledge. On the other, the result of the effort to produce the statements, their circulation, and responses to them reveal a great deal of uncertainty about "race" among scientists, politicians, and ordinary American citizens at a time when "race" stood at the center of the preeminent social and cultural issues of the day. To augment the anti-racist philosophy that grounded the United Nations and UNESCO, the UN Social and Economic Council followed the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights by assigning UNESCO the task of defining "race" in order to support the idea that racism was morally unacceptable and unsupported by science.[1]

By 1950, many national political leaders sought the benefits of anti-racism in global perceptions of American democracy and foreign policy while being far from committed to ending racism. According to Rayford Logan, chief advisor to the NAACP on international affairs and a member of the USNC from 1947 to 1950, the State Department refused suggestions offered by the USNC to promote human rights, while most members of the advisory committee itself "did not want to deal with issues related to race."[2] Such a sentiment of avoidance was not something the State Department successfully pushed on the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

During its sixth session the UN Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution asking UNESCO "to consider the desirability of initiating and recommending the general adoption of a programme of disseminating scientific facts designed to remove what is generally known as racial prejudice."[3]

The United Nations and UNESCO were interested in a direct engagement with authoritative scientific knowledge, rather than leaving the claims of anti-racism to the rhetoric of democratic morality. This chapter chronicles UNESCO's efforts at tackling the concept of "race" in the early 1950s.

In 1950 and 1951 UNESCO published two statements on the biological aspects of academic debates concerning "race." These statements were supplemented by the publication of a series of short books grouped under the title "The Race Question in Modern Science." Ten booklets comprised this UNESCO series authored mainly by anthropologists and biologists who also contributed to the production of the 1950 and 1951 Statements.[4] UNESCO's venture into science in the early 1950s served to define the scientific basis of anti-racist positions articulated by the United Nations and UNESCO in the wake of the Holocaust and within the broader political milieu of the immediate postwar period.[5]

The initial statement was the result of a conference of scholars who met from December 12 to 14, 1949, at UNESCO House, Paris (Panel One). The second statement came out of a similar conference convened again in Paris at UNESCO House, from June 4 to 8, 1951 (Panel Two). For many scholars providing historical examinations of the statements, the initial statement of 1950 represents a major shift, a culmination in the building of an anti-racist consensus in the sciences.[6] While this recognition may be an important one, it leaves the details of UNESCO's efforts untouched. The organization's early work on "race" represents a major moment in the history of "race" and racism that has been overlooked. This chapter reenters the scientific discourse of "race" at that postwar moment. Within UNESCO's efforts, defining "race" was a tremendously difficult task for two international panels of scholars. UNESCO's studies of "race" in the early 1950s provided uncertain definitions of "race," though scholars agreed that current scientific knowledge refuted biological justifications for racism. Examining the details of this scientific consensus provides an entry into the internal struggles within the postwar effort in the social and biological sciences, which have yet to be resolved.[7]

The 1950 Statement, Preparations

Distinguished poet Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico, Julian Huxley's replacement as director general of UNESCO, spearheaded the task of collecting and disseminating scientific information concerning problems of "race;" a task assigned in an approved resolution confirmed during the Fourth General Conference of UNESCO in Paris, 1949. The three-part resolution instructed the director general "to study and collect scientific

materials concerning questions of race; to give wide diffusion to the scientific information collected; to prepare an educational campaign based on this information."[8]

Brazilian anthropologist Arthur Ramos, head of UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences, embarked on the task by issuing invitations to ten scientists in October 1949. Preceding the inception of the project Professor Robert C. Angell, sociologist at the University of Michigan, had been appointed acting head of UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences following the unfortunate and untimely death of Ramos on October 31, 1949.[9] Professor Angell had worked closely with Ramos on questions of "race," and was therefore a logical successor on this particular project.[10]

Historian Elazar Barkan has suggested that the composition of the initial committee still strongly reflected Ramos's specialization in the social sciences, and his interest in "race" as a social construction.[11] However, early correspondence between Ramos and Howard University sociologist E. Franklin Frazier reveals a slightly different story. In October of 1949, Ramos informed Frazier of UNESCO's plan to call together an "inter-disciplinary" committee of experts representing physical anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and ethnology "to draw up a preliminary definition of race."[12]

After the completion of the first two statements, UNESCO officials claimed that the sudden death of Ramos led to the disintegration of an interdisciplinary panel for the initial statement. Providing context for the initial statement, UNESCO claimed, "[T]he scanty representation of the biological sciences on the committee must be attributed to the sudden death of Dr. Ramos and to last-minute withdrawals."[13] The committee for the 1950 Statement was overwhelmingly represented by sociology and sociocultural anthropology, with only two of the eight, Juan Comas of Mexico and Ashley Montagu of the United States, representing physical anthropology. However, Robert Angell compelled the committee to deal directly with biological conceptions of "race."[14] Angell composed a working paper for the December 1949 conference that included three main objectives: to define "race," to reexamine the present knowledge in light of the determined definition, and to propose future research in this area.[15] With those defined objectives and the composition of the first panel of scholars, the project was clearly set to cross disciplinary boundaries.

Immediately following the conference, concerned observers in the United States began publishing articles on the developments at UNESCO. In late December the *Atlanta Daily World*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, and *Norfolk Journal and Guide* all reported that E. Franklin Frazier had chaired the three-day conference in Paris, in which participants were asked to "work out a definition of race in the modern world."[16] On December 31,

1949, the *Chicago Defender* reported that the "task of the group" was to study and define "race" from an interdisciplinary point of view," and "to furnish a starting point from which work can be initiated toward eliminating prejudice."[17] Three weeks later the *Defender* followed its rather benign initial report with a pithy take that spoke to the global politics of "race" at mid-century. The *Defender*'s January 21, 1950, piece titled "Race, Color, and You Guess the Outcome," informed readers that the "United Nations' announcement that it will launch world-wide scientific study of races and racial relations as part of fight against minority group discrimination was pounced upon" by a Soviet UN delegate who argued that educational projects to stamp out Jim Crow were insufficient." The *Defender* warned that the "U.N. colored bloc will do necessary needling to upset any pussy-footing," and closed by reminding the "United States" that it "will look silly protesting race oppression elsewhere" in the "face of continued racial segregation within her own borders."[18] Clearly, writers and editors at the *Defender* understood the inflammatory possibilities of UNESCO's studies on "race." The US State Department had felt the negative impact of discussions on racism within the United Nations, and decided to watch closely developments within the Department of Social Sciences at UNESCO.[19]

UNESCO's approach to its work on "race" did not directly critique the present state of American democracy. The founding documents of the United Nations and UNESCO guided the organization's foray into scientific debates. The preamble to the constitution of UNESCO declared that World War II had been caused by a belief in the "inequality of men and races" obviously focusing on Germany as the quintessential protagonist of racism and racialized violence. UNESCO had declared itself the "international institution best equipped to lead the campaign against race prejudice and to extirpate this most dangerous of doctrines."[20] The organization announced that it would make clear to the wider public the conclusions held in various branches of science and social science, in order to reduce racialized thinking. The political focus of UNESCO's work was never in doubt, and one of its early leaders announced so loud and clear.[21] Anthropologist Ashley Montagu commented, "[O]nly if our deliberations," speaking of the UNESCO committee, "had taken place at Auschwitz or Dachau could there have been a more fitting environment to impress upon the Committee members the immense significance of their work."[22] Montagu rightly pointed out the dramatic setting of the initial meeting at UNESCO House located on the Avenue Kleber in plain sight of the Arc de Triomphe. At that time UNESCO House was in fact the former headquarters of the Nazi military during its occupation of Paris during World War II. In prefacing the original statement on "race,"

no mention was made of the United States or colonialism, and a clear rejection of anti-Semitism seemed to underline the entire effort.

What is also clear about the 1950 Statement is that one scholar, who was Jewish, and approached "race" from an interdisciplinary perspective, directed the effort to compose the statement. Trained under Franz Boas and the four-field approach, Montagu incorporated insights from cultural, physical, and linguistic anthropology and archaeology to study "race." According to anthropologist Pat Shipman, "Montagu was selected for the UNESCO task probably because he was already known for his books and articles, both scholarly and popular, on race. He was a highly visible warrior in the war against prejudice and 'racialism,' as racism was often called at the time . . . so Montagu was an obvious, if ironic, choice."[23] Ironic because Montagu was not only a student of Franz Boas, the leading anti-racist anthropologist of the early twentieth century, but he was also of Jewish descent as were Boas and a number of his students at Columbia University. In 1905 Montagu was born Israel Ehrenberg to a working-class Jewish immigrant family in London's East End. After entering the undergraduate degree program in anthropology at University College, London, Montagu changed his name to Montague Francis Ashley-Montagu. His strategy had been to deflect the anti-Semitism prevalent in England at the time, and to assume an aristocratic persona. Montagu's Jewishness, however, remained common knowledge in the scientific community and may have even lent itself to "a heightened sensitivity to possible racism that" drove "his professional life."[24]

Again, of the eight scholars on Panel One, only Juan Comas of Mexico and Ashley Montagu represented physical anthropology.[25] From the time of the initial conference at UNESCO House, which took place on December 12–14, 1949, Montagu revised the 1950 Statement three times after receiving criticism from thirteen scholars representing genetics, physical anthropology, sociocultural anthropology, and psychology.[26] UNESCO then officially published it on June 18, 1950.

Publications and Reactions

As anthropologist Pat Shipman related from her 1991 interview with Montagu, he actually composed the statement. Shipman writes, "As Montagu remembers the meeting, the committee was unfocused talking endlessly in circles. He impatiently burst out with his point of view and the committee asked him to write out a draft statement. By 1 A.M. he had completed what became the working draft, which was discussed and then submitted to a broader panel."[27] In scientific circles, mainly among

detractors, the 1950 Statement became known as the "Ashley Montagu Statement."[28]

Released to the press on July 18, 1950, the statement elicited fairly positive responses. The *Chicago Tribune*, *New York Times*, and *Christian Science Monitor* all reported that science did not justify the myth of "racial" superiority, and that "racial intermarriage" was not harmful. Other findings of the 1950 Statement related to readers included the claim that the term "race" was commonly misused in scientific and lay circles, that "inherited" intellectual capacities of various "races" were basically equal, and that only three "races" actually existed. Those were "Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasoid."[29] The *New York Times* added a day later, "[T]o eliminate 'race' as a scientific term is a step toward ending it as a myth that dictators and movements use as political instruments to gain and exercise power." This critique of "race" stemmed from a discussion of "the Nazi era" and "echoes of it now and then from behind the Iron Curtain" rather than contemporary racism within the United States, colonialism, or the complicity of American scientists in advancing the practice of eugenics throughout the early twentieth century.[30] Unlike the Baltimore *Afro-American* and *Chicago Defender*, the *New York Times* offered no commentary on domestic politics, civil rights, or decolonization. The *Afro* harkened back to the "twisted thinking of many inductees" whose army service during World War II had been colored by the "myth of racial superiority" and the degradation of segregated units.[31] A shot at Washington came directly from Chicago as the *Defender* announced that "UNESCO called the 2,000-word report submitted by the scientists the most authoritative statement of modern scientific doctrine on the subject of race that has ever been issued and the most far-reaching and competent pronouncement of its kind ever made." The *Defender* claimed that the statement cheered "interracial marriages" and added for good measure, "Scuse me while I SOS that fleet of race-baiters in the United States Congress."[32] An additional story appearing in the same issue of the *Defender* reported that Montagu and the panel "recognized only three races."[33] The *Pittsburgh Courier*'s summary of the statement included the same information on the existence of "three races," just as the larger New York, Chicago, and Boston papers had.[34] All of the reports accurately assessed the unequivocal position of the statement on the matter of science refuting any biological justifications for racism.

In late July the *Philadelphia Tribune* and *Los Angeles Sentinel* released similar reports that claimed that the UNESCO statement proved "the equality of all races."[35] The *Norfolk Journal and Guide* followed up those accounts of certainty with a strongly worded piece of its own. "Every reputable scientist in the world has long since acknowledged the falsity of the claims of

race supremacists," the piece began, "whether they be prejudiced Americans or Hitler-led Nazis." Extending its comparative analysis, the Norfolk paper remarked, "[I]n South America, for instance, the minority whites arrogate to themselves all the privileges and reduce to serfdom or worse all others." The piece concluded that UNESCO had helped to "kill racism by giving another lethal dose to the myth of innate superiority or inferiority of any race."[36]

In early August a writer for the *Philadelphia Tribune* provided additional commentary on the import of the UNESCO statement. Capturing the broader positive sentiment surrounding the statement's publication, the *Tribune* writer argued that "respectable scientists" and "well informed laymen of reasonable intelligence" had for "some time" rejected scientific racism. "Those who still honestly believe in the basic inherent inferiority of the so-called colored races," the writer concluded, "today are usually either ignorant or else emotionally committed to the doctrine."[37]

In sum, the media reports expressed the statement's unequivocal position on the matter of science refuting biological justifications for racism. However the majority of the reports equally gave the impression that biological "races" did in fact exist, though limited to three. The apparent "myth" that the statement debunked was the belief that scientific justifications for racism were valid.[38] Yet these discussions in the black press highlighted social activists' ongoing and keen awareness of scientific debates on "race." In 1950 in fact, the NAACP utilized Boasian environmentalism (regarding intelligence) in successfully arguing the Supreme Court cases *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* (1950) and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950). This same approach, of claiming that lower measures of "negro" intelligence had been shaped by the conditions of interpersonal and institutional racism, would later be used in the famous *Brown* victory in 1954.[39]

Such a utilization of environmentalist arguments in the 1950 Statement certainly brought into a wider conversation, the relevance of science to the battle against racism. However, environmentalism was not groundbreaking, and two newspapers pointed to that fact. Reflecting on the long history of anti-racist science throughout the early twentieth century, the *Baltimore Afro* stated, "[T]here is nothing new in the UNESCO announcement because anthropologists, biologists and other allied scientists have been saying the same thing for years." The *Christian Science Monitor* added that UNESCO's findings were "hardly a new discovery" because "American and British sociologists and anthropologists have been saying this for a long time."[40] Both papers were correct in their assertions, but the major point of the statement's publication according to the *Christian Science Monitor* was that it gave the scientific findings "added authority and prestige." At bottom, the media reports did not view the 1950 Statement as a conceptual leap forward concerning "race."

While UNESCO feted the "historic declaration" as a "weapon" to "all men and women of goodwill" engaged in "the good fight for human brotherhood," U.S. officials seemed to calmly accept the statement.[41] Margaret Kaine of the UNESCO Relations Staff, State Department, wrote to Arthur Compton, US counselor on UNESCO Affairs in Paris, that he "might be interested" in the *New York Times* summary of the statement. Charles Thomson of the USNC also invited Compton's attention to the US "Congressional Record for September 7, in which Senator Hubert Humphrey" had "inserted the statement released by UNESCO which was drafted by experts on race problems meeting recently."[42] As mayor of Minneapolis during World War II, Humphrey aroused stirring support for the ideals of anti-racism during the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Humphrey's civil rights advocacy continued in the early postwar period and echoed in his support for the United Nations and UNESCO.

Humphrey encountered no opposition on the floor of the Senate upon submitting the statement for inclusion in the Congressional Record as he announced in September 1950, the "United Nations has produced a most significant scientific document relating to our democratic creed." For Humphrey, the statement proved "conclusively again once and for all the basic Judaic-Christian concept of human brotherhood expressed politically in the democratic truth of human equality." Unanimous consent to publish UNESCO's Statement in the Congressional Record followed.[43] This acceptance of the statement was likely due to Humphrey's rhetorical maneuvering and the currency of anti-racism in Washington, rather than a wholesale rejection of structural and interpersonal racism. Humphrey argued that the statement upheld the anti-racist principles that defined American democracy, and the senator's analysis on that day outweighed any willingness to openly defend racist beliefs held by his colleagues.

A USNC executive committee report in November 1950 actually lamented the reduction of interest in "the projects on racial tensions, which unfortunately" had "been de-emphasized just as they were attaining some degree of prestige and usefulness."[44] Within the State Department as well, the 1950 Statement did not present a challenge to the order of business in the realm of "race." Government officials may have even viewed the publication of the statement as an opportunity to confirm its anti-racist position domestically and internationally. And while the State Department had been given "veto" power over the selection of American scholars chosen to compose the second statement in 1951, it did not find it necessary to exercise those powers. Top official Charles Thomson also informed the State Department that the 1951 Statement would "be cast in such heavy scientific terms that it will not be easily

understandable by the general public."[45] UNESCO's additional pamphlets on "race" were on the whole viewed as benign products according to one State Department official who inquired if UNESCO could prepare news releases and reviews of the upcoming pamphlets.[46] But specifically concerning the 1950 Statement, its reception in top American political circles compared little to the battles that ensued within scientific circles in the United States and Britain.

The initial statement issued by the UNESCO panel of 1949–1950 began thus: "[S]cientists have reached general agreement in recognizing that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*." The statement immediately carried this point further by discussing the role of environment in changing populations within the human species, by way of "the drift and random fixation of" genes, hybridization, and natural selection.[47] In point one of the initial statement, the panel suggested the importance of categories of "race" derived from pseudoscientific data, relating how phenotypic differences came about through many successive generations of genetic drift, hybridization, and natural selection. In short, "genetic drift" refers to the random altering of specific gene frequencies in particular geographic populations. "Hybridization" refers to the breeding of members from differing geographic populations, which contain genotypic and phenotypic differences due to natural selection. "Natural selection" refers to differential reproductive success, or the ability of an organism, in this case humans, to reproduce living offspring that survive to the age of reproduction and thus perpetuate the survival of the species, as all organisms within a given species have relative fitness or reproductive success. Reproductive success is encouraged by the selection in nature of genotypic and phenotypic characteristics that are necessary for survival of an organism in response to its particular environment. "In these ways" the 1950 Statement claimed, "groups have arisen of varying stability and degree of differentiation which have been classified in different ways for different purposes." Here Panel One alluded to the dangers and misconceptions of categories of "race" and the implications for the practice of racism. The panel suggested that historically, "racial" classifications had been arbitrarily composed for specific political purposes.

The 1950 Statement contained 15 points in all, stressing various contentions including the lack of scientific "proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same."[48] This critique of the Intelligence Quotient/Race fallacy began with Boas in the early twentieth century, and continued in the work of Ruth Benedict and Otto Klineberg, the latter a consultant for the 1950 Statement. In Klineberg's

1935 publication *Race Differences*, dedicated to Boas, he wrote, "In the field of racial psychology no other problem has attracted so much attention as the question of the inherent intellectual superiority of certain races over others," yet he argued that the extensive literature collected since the rise of intelligence testing during World War I supported the idea that differences in IQ were due to "environmental, or non-racial, factors."[49] Klineberg did not fall short of the politicization of "race" studies characteristic of Boas and his many students, adding toward the end of *Race Differences* that "if the material collected in this volume were accepted as demonstrating the absence of any valid proof of racial differences in intelligence or character, it might conceivably lead to a more favorable attitude toward groups usually regarded as inferior. In time there might even be a change in race relations."[50]

Montagu followed suit in 1942 with *Man's Most Dangerous Myth*: *The Fallacy of Race*, acknowledging his intellectual genealogy and concrete assistance with the content of the book. Montagu stated, "Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of the Department of Anthropology, Otto Klineberg of the Department of Psychology, have read the following pages in manuscript, and have made many suggestions for its improvement."[51] Chapter 7 of *Man's Most Dangerous Myth* titled "Psychological Factors" took the environmentalist and equipotentiality position established by Boas, and would go on to comprise a significant portion of the arguments articulated in the 1950 Statement. As described at the time, environmentalism and equipotentiality worked in tandem to suggest that across so-called races or ethnic groups, human capacities for intellectual development were equal, but that social factors served to deter and assist development in individuals of various social groups. Key social factors would have included educational opportunity, socioeconomic background, psychological and other related influences of racism on individuals and particular social groups.[52]

The environmentalist perspective loomed large in the 1950 Statement, a portion of which read thus: "Whatever classifications the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education." The idea of equipotentiality was present in point nine as well: "Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same."[53]

Points six and fourteen of the 1950 Statement caused the most consternation among the scientific community. The content and spirit of points six and fourteen have recognizable origins. Point fourteen began, "The biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished. For all practical social purposes 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth."[54] Montagu had deployed "race" as a myth in *Man's Most Dangerous Myth*. In the early chapters of this work the term "race" not only appeared in quotation marks as an attempt to undermine the epistemological status of the term, but Montagu also referred to "race" as "nothing but a whited sepulchre" that "in light of modern field and experimental genetics is utterly erroneous and meaningless," a "myth and a delusion."[55] Montagu did not stop there, pushing for "race" to "be dropped from the anthropological as well as from the popular vocabulary, for it is a term which has done an infinite amount of harm and no good at all."[56] Point six stated just as plainly that "it would be better when speaking of human races to drop the term 'race' altogether and speak of ethnic groups," a position borrowed from Julian Huxley and Alfred Haddon's 1935 publication *We Europeans*.[57]

Huxley and Haddon's work focused on Nazism and nationalism. As such, the authors suggested that with ideas of nation, language, culture, and "race," lamentable confusion existed. Their approach utilized Huxley's expertise in the bourgeoning field of population genetics, which at the time had began casting doubt on the validity of biological "race" theory. The neo-Darwinian synthesis of Darwinian evolutionary theory and Mendelian laws of genetic inheritance formed the basis of population genetics. Informed by these new studies of genetic inheritance and change in human populations, Huxley and Haddon had moved to exorcize "race" from scientific discourse.[58] They wrote that "the word 'race,' as applied scientifically to human groupings, has lost any sharpness of meaning," so it was therefore "very desirable that the term *race* as applied to human groups should be dropped from the vocabulary of science."[59] Again, on the basis of population genetics, in referring to national and linguistic groups, Huxley and Haddon suggested that "such groups are so little stabilized, show such obvious lack of homogeneity, and betray their mixed origin so unmistakably that the word *race* as applied to them is entirely misleading. The term *mixed ethnic group* is probably the best to use."[60]

We Europeans provided Montagu with the language for an epistemological interrogation of long-standing biological theories of "race" and demonstrated the impact of the neo-Darwinian synthesis on science in Britain and the United States. This impact is evident in the 1950 Statement, as the Montagu-driven effort shifted from the language of "race" to that

of "populations" and "human groups." When speaking of biological difference, the 1950 Statement referred to evolutionary factors and biological histories of various populations. As historian of science Nancy Stepan has shown, in Britain population genetics, comprised of "the integration of Mendelian genetics and natural selection theory took three decades to achieve," and "by 1950 the field was well established."[61] While in the United States the fundamental tenets of population genetics were established and outlined between 1930 and 1950. Among the key publications in the development of population genetics stood Theodosius Dobzhansky's *Genetics and the Origin of Species* (1937). Dobzhansky like Huxley contributed official criticism to the 1950 Statement and served as a panel member for the 1951 Statement.[62] Dobzhansky joined the faculty of Columbia University in 1939, and subsequently worked for many years with Montagu and Leslie Clarence Dunn, another contributor to the UNESCO Statements, on matters of "race" and population genetics. Montagu was very endeared to Dobzhansky and Dunn, and took to affectionately calling Dobzhansky "Doby" as they mourned the loss of their friend and colleague in 1974.[63]

Aware of how crucial population genetics had become to any discussion of "race," Montagu accordingly sought assistance with the 1950 Statement in this area. Montagu contacted geneticist Curt Stern, who at the time of the initial conference and production of the 1950 Statement was a faculty member at the University of California, Berkeley. Stern had just published the six-hundred-page treatment of the *Principles of Human Genetics*. In his congratulatory letter, Montagu praised Stern's work writing, "[S]uch a book has long been needed, and someday, when I know enough about the subject and the book, I hope to use it as the basic text for a course in human genetics." Montagu enclosed a confidential second draft of the 1950 Statement to Stern, and asked him to read it "very critically" and "make such suggestions for its improvement" as Stern "thought desirable." Montagu asked for the critique in three weeks' time, and Stern obliged.[64] The confidential draft Stern received had been read and commented on by Otto Klineberg, Julian Huxley, Joseph Needham, Gunnar Myrdal, Gunnar Dahlberg, Theodosius Dobzhansky, and L. C. Dunn. Stern stated in his reply to Montagu that points one and four of the statement were too "involved" or complex, unclear, and reliant on negative presuppositions rather than affirmative evidence. In short, Stern's concerns rested on the "underlying atmosphere" of the statement as a document of "certainty" while the language of the statement was very uncertain. Though it is not clear, the possibility exists that Montagu heeded Stern's suggestions. The published version of June 18, 1950, consisted of fifteen points, while the second draft shown to Stern consisted of eighteen, and contained more difficult scientific language concerning population genetics.[65]

A month following the meeting of scholars, Robert Angell alerted Montagu to the status of the statement. Angell noted that "there are so many criticisms from so many angles that I am going to try and digest them myself first before sending them on" to Montagu.[66] One of the key criticisms came from Julian Huxley, who informed Angell that he needed to face the facts of "the origin of the main racial groups, and their very considerable distinctness." Huxley went on that "if we must not overemphasize the distinctness of human groups, neither must we minimize or shut our eyes to the extent of the genetic differences between them. As regards physical characters, this is obvious."[67] Huxley was content to fit his confirmation of biological "races" with the position that population genetics understood clines to be gradient "races" or "ethnic groups," which were distinct enough to be categorized in biological terms. Angell told Montagu that Huxley's position was "too severely genetic," would not have been accepted by the committee, and suggested that Montagu had "gone too far in the direction of stating that we know that genetic factors have nothing to do with temperamental and mental characteristics." Angell closed the letter sternly, telling Montagu, "[I]n the last analysis, you must speak for the whole body of scientific investigators in this field, and not for yourself alone. This is a tremendous task," Angell continued, and he hoped Montagu would "lean over backward in trying not to ride any particular hobbies" of his own, which were "not generally accepted" by his "fellow scientists."[68] Initially, Angell felt compelled to reestablish his authority in the process of the production of the 1950 Statement. Despite Montagu's major role, Angell clarified that "the Statement that comes out will be a UNESCO statement, and not the statement of the Committee of experts. It will stand as the pronouncement of the Social Sciences Department, representing the director-general. I shall therefore have to take the final authority."[69] Following discussions with director general Jaime Torres Bodet, Angell then relinquished control to Montagu, informing him that "everyone has agreed that we have no right to insist on any changes whatsoever" because the committee was "called together as an expert committee and is entitled to submit a statement as you think it should be (figure 2.1)."[70]

Before publication of the statement, the director general approved it with caution after "long discussions" with his assistants. Bodet denied Angell's request to put the statement before the upcoming UNESCO General Conference for approval because of possible "endless bickering" over the lack of universal national and religious representation in the statement's composition.[71] Angell agreed that there might be considerable problems with putting the statement before the General Conference, as he expressed to a representative of the division of Human Rights at the

Figure 2.1 UNESCO director general Jaime Torres Bodet addressing Ninth Meeting of USNC, National Conference, Washington, DC, May 1951. Courtesy of National Archives Still Picture Branch, College Park, MD.

United Nations. Angell informed the division of the statement's approval by the director general, but that they should "easily understand why" it would not be put before the upcoming General Conference in Florence, Italy.[72]

Despite the emergence of population genetics and anti-racist perspectives in Britain and the United States, all reputable scientists did not deem "race" obsolete, and therefore Montagu's interrogation of "race" as a scientific category proved to be controversial. In addition, many scientists reacted harshly to the 1950 Statement because the panel, lacked representation from physical anthropology and genetics. Upon the statement's release these remained the major points of contention among American and British scholars.

The journal *Man*, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, first published the statement in its October 1950 issue, inviting "British (and other) anthropologists to send their detailed observations to the Hon. Editor for publication in the following issues."[73] Anthropologist William Fagg claimed that the statement appeared "on its face to merit consideration by British physical anthropologists, for (although physical anthropologists by no means predominated on the drafting committee) its main thesis-that there is no biological foundation

for racial prejudices-is essentially a statement in physical anthropology." The editor made clear the objections to the statement of those within the British physical anthropological community, who obtained copies from the Ministry of Education, upon its publication on July 18, 1950. Professors Le Gros Clark, Fleure, Harris, Dr. Orman Hill, Sir Arthur Keith, Dr. Moran, Miss Tidesley, Mr. Trevor, and Professor Zuckerman comprised the dissenting group. According to Fagg, each of these British physical anthropologists made comments in their replies, which "made it perfectly clear that certain passages in the Statement were far from commanding universal agreement; none was ready to give unqualified assent to it." Fagg went on to describe the statement as "too simplified," and suggested that the "fourth meeting of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences projected for 1952 will furnish a suitable occasion for 'the most authoritative statement of modern scientific doctrine on the controversial subject of race that has ever been issued.'"[74] Fagg's suggestion directly challenged the authority of the statement and the expertise of its crafters, namely, Montagu. In his opposition to Montagu, Fagg stopped here though, and donned the garb of anti-racism, making clear that

> a briefer statement, on which the chief anthropological societies, representing nearly all the world's physical anthropologists, could agree, would be of much greater effect than the present document in combating racial prejudice, and the Royal Anthropological Institute whose own origins in 1843 were closely connected with the anti-slavery movement, will assuredly wish to make a full contribution in this cause.[75]

In this rhetoric, Fagg aligned the British anthropological community with the politics of anti-racism. This is significant because Fagg was one of many to question the validity of claims made in the 1950 Statement, suggesting that political motivations superseded scientific facts, and drove the effort and outcome of the statement itself. Even for those among Montagu's staunchest critics then, a certain spirit of anti-racism curried favor.

Subsequent commentary on the 1950 Statement appeared in *Man* in the form of personal correspondence from scholars including Dr. H. V. Vallois, professor at the Museum of Natural History and director of the Museum of Man in Paris, H. J. Fleure, W. C. Osman Hill of the Zoological Society of London, K. L. Little, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh, Donald Hager of Princeton, A. De Froe, Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, and Cedric Dover.

Fleure agreed with Fagg's criticisms in that the statement "towards questions of race could have been improved" but is however "of considerable value." Fleure reiterated the possible practicality of the division of human populations into the "Negroid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid" categories, but warned, "there is danger here" because of the possibility that laypeople might think such classifications were genetic.[76] At least a decade before the publication of the statement Fleure had expressed skepticism concerning the utility of "race" in science and criticized the multiple definitions of "race."[77] Osman Hill of the Zoological Society of London argued in his letter that "the conclusions of the 'experts' all appear to be misguided opinions of a particular school of anthropologists whose assertions appear to be motivated by wishful thinking." Hill questioned the validity of key assertions in the initial statement declaring, "[E]ven if it were true that there is 'no proof that the groups of mankind differ in intelligence, temperament or other innate mental characteristics,' it is certainly the case that there is no proof of the contrary."[78]

British social anthropologist K. L. Little disagreed with the statement in his letter, stating that he considered it "somewhat unsatisfactory. Certain of its statements and conclusions suggest a philosophical or ideological doctrine rather than a 'modern scientific' one." Little also questioned the proposal of the statement to substitute the phrase "ethnic group" for "race." He wrote that "by continuing to instruct the public in the proper anthropological use and meaning of 'race' as a group concept that we can best clear up the confusion over what is culturally acquired and what is genetical."[79]

Fagg made sure to point out that French physical anthropologist Henri Vallois had been excluded from the initial UNESCO conference, though he resided and worked in Paris. Although it is unclear if Vallois took his exclusion as an affront, Vallois's critical response to the statement was unequivocal. His letter to *Man* stated plainly, "[F]or the existence of races within the species of Man is an incontestable biological fact."[80]

Donald Hager of Princeton University furnished a reply to Vallois and Hill in the April 1951 issue of *Man*. Hager contributed to the initial statement by offering criticisms to the third draft. Hager contended that Vallois and Hill were speaking from the tradition of classical physical anthropology, arguing that almost all of Professor Hill's comments were based on "the gratuitous assumption that 'races,' in fact, do exist; and that they exist as rigorously defined, genetically homogenous, and discrete entities."[81] In addition Hager concurred with Montagu regarding the "race" and IQ debate. Hager continued, "Moreover, Professor Vallois and Hill do not appear to be aware of the obvious difficulties in attempting to correlate physical differences with mental differences."[82]

These conversations highlighted the rift that existed within anthropology concerning "race" at mid-century. The existing ruptures in methodology and theoretical perspectives were not simply Boasian cultural anthropology in the United States and British social and physical anthropology. As scholars have demonstrated, environmentalism had become influential in Britain by the 1930s, while classical formalism had not completely disappeared in the United States.[83] These twin developments in the United States and Britain overlapped in such a way that criticisms of the statement were similar on both sides of the Atlantic.

The United Kingdom's national commission deplored "the fact that UNESCO" had issued and "given wide publicity to a document on Race which" did not "command the support of leading physical anthropologists," and welcomed the announcement of a second meeting to revise the statement.[84] Discussing Montagu with Margaret Mead, newly appointed director of UNESCO's Social Sciences Alva Myrdal admitted that she was "conscious of a certain element of truth in the criticisms" and was "anxious to invite the physical anthropologists to make a constructive contribution in order to strengthen UNESCO's campaign against race prejudice."[85] Writing to fellow anthropologist Alfred Metraux who worked under Myrdal as head of the division for the study of "racial questions," Mead described Montagu as a "maverick who has made himself tremendously unpopular," though Mead found herself on occasion defending the statement.[86] Metraux agreed with Myrdal and Mead, stating that he had long been aware of the dangers of Montagu's "exhibitionistic demeanor," and, "from the outset," had been "painfully conscious of the weak-point of the Statement."[87] Metraux was pleased to alert Mead of the Director General's decision to convene a second panel. He felt that a "great many trouble and money might have been saved if Dr. Ashley Montagu would have listened to the sound and reasonable recommendations of some very prominent men."[88]

William Fagg agreed, announcing, "[R]eaders of *Man* will not be unaware of the antecedent of the new meeting. It is a direct result of the severe criticism aroused, notably through the columns of *Man*, by the Statement" originally published in July of 1950.[89] Fagg set the stage for the 1951 Statement by continuing the attack on the initial statement and Montagu's leadership in the production of the 1950 Statement, in which "only two of" the panel members "had any pretensions to competence in physical anthropology." Moving to dismiss Montagu altogether, Fagg wrote of the second conference,

> In so brief a meeting, there will of course be little scope for any modification in the course of discussion of the views of individual members; it is

> unlikely that anyone who had long upheld the view that race is a myth would suddenly be converted. Therefore we may expect that the meeting will concentrate on questions of fact rather than of terminology.[90]

Fagg would not have his way, as Montagu ended up the lone representative of the initial statement to attend the second conference from June 4 to 8, 1951.

The panel for the second conference was chosen "for preference, from among those who had expressed disagreement" with the 1950 Statement, from the standpoint of physical anthropology and genetics.[91] Swedish geneticist Gunnar Dahlberg was one of the few scientists who had provided official commentary on the first statement before its publication to take part in the second conference in the summer of 1951. Dahlberg has been recognized as "the only renowned human biologist outside the English-speaking world" in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and was thus invited by Metraux to take part in composing the second statement.[92] His main research interests included the application of statistical methods to various problems in human genetics. By 1950 Dahlberg had positioned his scholarship politically, publishing an English translation of the anti-Nazi monograph *Race, Reason and Rubbish*, in 1942. This insightful work addressed issues ranging from social and scientific definitions of "race," to the lack of expertise in Mendelian genetics in the sciences. Dahlberg clearly doubted the scientific validity of "race" at that point, as *Race, Reason and Rubbish* demonstrated. Speaking to Nazi anti-Semitism and the war in Europe, Dahlberg wrote, "Even the differences between nations seem to be trivial ones. The hatred between them, now driving Europe to destruction, cannot be justified by appeal to inherited differences established by scientific research."[93] Dahlberg also aligned himself with an environmentalism that was unsure about the equal intellectual potential of the various "races" as he claimed, "[D]ifferences of culture and social life exist, and we may have occasion to emphasize them, but there is no proof that they are connected with inherited differences between the peoples concerned," but "we do not know what might happen if negroes were treated as social equals with access to the same privileges as white men."[94] The final chapter of *Race, Reason and Rubbish*, titled "The Jewish Question," pointed to the broader political concerns of the book.

In May of 1951, Dahlberg alerted his longtime colleague and friend L. C. Dunn, to the invitation extended him by UNESCO to work on the 1951 Statement. Dahlberg did not enjoy traveling much, and seemed to maintain a curious ambivalence for Paris. In 1945 Dahlberg suffered a stroke that resulted in right-sided hemiplegia and severe impairment of his speech. He experienced recurring physical pain until his death in

1956, and was bound to a wheelchair during the final decade of his life. With comedic sincerity, Dahlberg wrote to Dunn, "I have just come from the town where all rich Americans like to go when they are dead. I had a good time in Paris and found that I begin to learn to go around a little better."[95] Dahlberg expressed interest in attending the second conference, but only if Dunn would attend. His wife Stina confirmed his cautious intentions three days later, writing to Dunn and his wife Louise that "I am so glad that Gunnar has decided to go to Paris himself, if you will be there."[96]

Dalhberg had actually received the UNESCO invite in February, and responded by proposing Dunn and Dobzhansky for the second conference. UNESCO officials informed Dahlberg of the tentative composition of this second panel of experts, which included Dunn "and Dobzhansky, Krogman, Shapiro, Haldane, Mourant, one from Italy, Nachtsheim from Berlin, possibly Schlaginhaufen from Switzerland and one from Spain or Brazil."[97]

By May 9 Metraux had the line-up with some changes, as he diligently pressed Dunn to attend the second conference. Ashley Montagu was added, along with Zuckerman and Trevor from Britain, and Vallois from Paris.[98] The Swiss, Spanish, and Brazilian candidates had been removed as possible attendees. Metraux had begun recruiting Dunn in late February to attend the second conference, but sought Dunn's participation in lieu of Dobzhansky, who had a previous engagement scheduled. Metraux wrote again quickly, stating the necessity of "a representative of the Dunn-Dobzhansky team" to be present at the second conference.[99] By the end of March Dunn agreed to attend, to the delight of Metraux. Dobzhansky's participation was still in doubt at this point, though he did ultimately make arrangements to attend the June conference.

In the early 1940s, Dunn and Dobzhansky had worked together closely with Franz Boas at Columbia, exploring the significance of genetic science to the anti-racist cause. In *Heredity, Race, and Society* (1946), Dunn and Dobzhansky suggested that historical schemes of "racial" classification failed to adequately place individuals in specific "races." They also identified the instability of scientific classifications made clear by the various numbers of "races" recognized by different scientists. And "most importantly," according to evolutionary biologist Joseph Graves, "Dunn and Dobzhansky critically examined the concept of 'pure' race."[100] Dunn and Dobzhansky demonstrated that geographic populations considered to be "races" had not been isolated to an extent that prevented the exchange of genetic material between various localized groups. It is from this critical perspective of the developing field of population genetics that Dunn and Dobzhansky contributed to the second statement. The second time around, Dunn replaced Montagu

in the role of rapporteur of the UNESCO proceedings, therefore making his role rather prominent, but not to the degree Montagu's had been in formulating the 1950 Statement. As the second meeting approached, Metraux informed contributing scholars that they were on the eve of a "great" and "big battle."[101]

The 1951 Statement and the Scientists

The new committee composed of "representative physical anthropologists and geneticists" convened at UNESCO House, in Paris, from June 4 to 8, 1951. Five geneticists and seven physical anthropologists comprised the second panel.[102] The second statement titled "Statement on the Nature of Race and Race Differences" was released to the public on September 1, 1951. According to the editor of *Man* William Fagg, the journal received permission to publish the preliminary draft of the 1951 Statement accompanied by L. C. Dunn's notes, but was then asked by Dunn to hold off publication. The editors of both *Man* and the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* accepted Dunn's request, which was due "to an intervention by the Mass Communications Department of UNESCO" wishing to postpone publication of the 1951 Statement.[103] Dunn's notes, which amounted to a narrative report of the discussions and conclusions reached at the second conference, were then published in *Man* in November. However the journal's editor made clear that Dunn's report was provisional, rather than the definitive final draft of the 1951 Statement.

Despite these efforts to postpone releasing it, the 1951 Statement ended up in public circulation in September.[104] In an odd twist, Alfred Metraux of UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences claimed that he "certainly did not realize, however, that Dr. Montagu proposed to publish the Statement itself so soon and in a magazine not of scientific character," referring to the *Saturday Review of Literature*.[105] Metraux claimed he approved an article written by Montagu that contained "the gist" of the 1951 Statement soon after the June conference. Montagu contended that "Dr. Metraux gave his assent" to have the second statement published immediately and went to the lengths of putting him "in touch with the Department of Mass Communications, which Department actually, very kindly, typed the manuscript" and "raised not the least objection to its immediate release."[106] Montagu's letter hardly assuaged the scientific community, as the British contingent to the second conference joined the fray. Haldane, Mourant, Trevor, and Zuckerman signed a letter in stern criticism of Montagu, refusing to acknowledge the validity of the statement until revisions had been made and agreed upon by all members of

Panel Two.[107] Ultimately, as Pat Shipman states, "the sum total of the criticism of Montagu in *Man* was so hostile that Montagu resigned from the parent organization, the Royal Anthropological Institute."[108]

The 1951 Statement was officially released and published by *Man* in June of 1952, one year after the second conference convened, followed by the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* in September. From June 1951 to May 1952, Metraux cautiously lead the effort to garner criticisms of the second statement from numerous scientists from various countries. As the member of the Department of Social Sciences charged with leading this second effort, Metraux had been terribly concerned with producing a statement that would have the approval of a larger international body of scientists, as compared to the 1950 Statement. According to UNESCO, a group of 96 physical anthropologists and geneticists were then invited to give official criticism to the 1951 Statement. Over approximately a year's time, 69 scientists replied by letter.

Two weeks after the second conference concluded, Metraux wrote Dunn thanking him for his "magnificent contribution" to the enclosed "final draft of the Statement, as it came out of the discussions." Metraux continued, "[T]he general feeling here is that a good job was done and that we can now go ahead without exposing ourselves to criticisms on the part of scientists."[109] This feeling didn't last long however, as Metraux indeed exposed the second statement to wide critique. By October of 1951, Metraux and Dunn began receiving letters from scientists who had reviewed the 1951 Statement in detail.[110] Between the June conference and October, Montagu and others brought about the aforementioned controversy by publishing the 1951 Statement in September. This episode could have invoked Metraux's change of heart regarding the necessity for wide circulation and criticism from the scientific community, for the purpose of overriding any authoritative association of Montagu with the second statement. As Larry Reynolds and Leonard Lieberman remark, "Montagu was the pioneer in challenging the race concept, but his position remained almost entirely unsupported by his colleagues for decades."[111] Montagu's polarizing anti-racist position was readily apparent to UNESCO leadership and those involved with the 1951 Statement, as most were critics of the 1950 Statement. Interestingly enough, Dunn had personally sought the advice of Montagu on revisions of the second Statement in July, two months before the publication fiasco.[112] Dunn's motivation in this matter is not clear, but it is unlikely Montagu's opinion was highly sought after at UNESCO. In fact, as Shipman related from oral interviews with Montagu, he had been omitted from the second conference until Theodosius Dobzhansky objected and vocalized strong support for Montagu's inclusion.[113]

It is clear that Metraux successfully solicited numerous criticisms in the months following the June conference. Updating Dunn after returning from Brazil to UNESCO headquarters, Metraux had been "engaged in analyzing and compiling the many suggestions and criticisms" received "from about sixty geneticists and anthropologists to whom the text of the new Statement had been submitted." At this point in January 1952, Metraux's confidence in the authority of the second statement had greatly diminished. He remarked to Dunn, "[T]he range of opinions, from enthusiastic indorsement to sharp or ironical rejection is so wide that I have lost hope of publishing a document which will rally all scientists."[114]

Dunn shared his disappointment with the statement as well, telling Metraux that the months of revision had not helped to clear up its "fuzzy prose," which needed more "thorough-going revision." Dunn supplied Metraux with his own updated version of the second statement, and suggested he circulate it among the 1951 conferees along with the official revised version, to have them chose one for official publication.[115] Metraux replied that he would circulate both Dunn's version and the official version, but would not suggest they choose one out of ethical neutrality.[116]

From January 1952, Metraux had incorporated criticisms in revising the second statement himself. By February he shared with Dunn that he felt "harassed and sick" and wondered if it was time to return to ethnographic fieldwork in South America, or take "any professorship, even in Kansas."[117] By March the work of revising the statement and dealing with difficult personalities was causing him headaches.[118] Ultimately, Metraux regretted circulating the 1951 Statement in such a broad manner because he thought it more ideal to have the sole responsibility for the statement lie with the conference attendees. After completing major revisions in February, Metraux would have had the statement published in the March issue of *Man* if it weren't for additional objections by two of those attendees.[119]

Metraux then circulated the second statement for a second time in April 1952. Dunn received his copy and responded to Metraux with concern. He wrote simply, "I find myself in general agreement with the social aims outlined in the statement, and for that reason greatly disturbed by many points in the arguments presented."[120] Metraux and Dunn agreed that Dunn submit a more readable version of the second statement for popular consumption, which prefaced the official statement in the UNESCO booklet published in 1952, *The Race Concept: Results of an Inquiry.*

In his introductory essay to the 1951 Statement, Dunn differentiated the second panel from the first. While rejecting "dogmatic definitions of race," the second group of experts were "equally careful to avoid saying that, because races were all variable and many of them graded into

each other, therefore races did not exist." Dunn's reasoning rested on the claim that "the physical anthropologists and the man in the street both know that races exist; the former from the scientifically recognizable and measurable congeries of traits which he uses in classifying the varieties of man; the latter from the immediate evidence of his senses when he sees an African, a European, an Asiatic and an American Indian together."[121] Dunn equated the validity of scientific expertise with everyday visual observations with regard to defining "race," thrusting this second statement into a position that relied on the assumption that both scientific method and folk ideas were correct in formulating biological theories of "race." Dunn and others rejected racialized hierarchies but not "race" itself. Point one made clear that contributors to the 1951 Statement agreed that "[t]he concept of race is unanimously regarded by anthropologists as a classificatory device providing a zoological frame within which the various groups of mankind may be arranged and by means of which studies of evolutionary processes can be facilitated."[122]

The 1951 Statement made explicit efforts to justify using "race" in scientific discussions by removing the political implications of "racial" classification that had been clearly implicit in historically constructing the theories to begin with. In point three, the 1951 Statement separated "race" from nationality, repeating from the first statement that cultural, religious, linguistic, and geographical groups did not necessarily coincide with "racial" groups. The second statement spoke to the issue of "mixed-race" as did the first, proclaiming that no biological justification against intermixture existed since "mixed" populations had not demonstrated any deleterious effects due to being "mixed." The second statement relied on the language of population genetics to posit that the hybridization of human "races" had been occuring "for an indefinite but considerable time," and repeated the environmentalist position of the first statement with respect to differences between social group and individual performances on intelligence tests.[123] The second statement left open the question of equipotentiality though, reading in point five, "It is possible, though not proved, that some types of innate capacity for intellectual and emotional responses are commoner in one human group than in another, but it is certain that, within a single group, innate capacities vary as much as, if not more than, they do between different groups."[124] Possibly aware of the dangers left open by this equivocation, the second statement self-consciously read in point eight that "we wish to emphasize that equality of opportunity and equality in law in no way depend, as ethical principles, upon the assertion that human beings are in fact equal in endowment."[125] The claim here was that even if some "races" or individuals were more intellectually equipped than others, racism could not

be justified by that fact. Innate "racial" inequalities were to be accepted as such, without any political, social, or other negative repercussions brought upon those groups or individuals unlucky in their "racial" heredity.

The second statement held to an anti-racist position while retaining "race" as an ostensibly benign scientific classificatory tool. In their drive for scientific rigor, the experts of the second statement overlooked the nature of "race" as a folk idea that preceded population genetics. This group failed to deal with the scientific problematic of extricating "a singular component from a total folk worldview and" transforming "it into the realm of objective, neutral science."[126]

The exclusionary approach to "race" as the domain of scientific experts limited the scope of the second statement. Ironically, of all people, Ashley Montagu's training across the fields of cultural and physical anthropology suited him well in UNESCO's endeavor to deal with the complexities of the historical nature of "race" as a folk idea and scientific concept. But he was shunned, along with others who might have contributed interdisciplinary insight in the second UNESCO effort. Oddly enough, however, the scientists of the second statement deployed a key concept in the social sciences to reaffirm UNESCO's brand of anti-racism; the idea of culture. The concept played an important part in the formulation of the 1950 Statement and the broader anti-racist project of the United Nations and UNESCO.

On to "Culture"

The founding documents of the United Nations and UNESCO both referenced culture as a key element in the quest for international peace. Practicing "tolerance" in the effort to solve international problems of "economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character" while "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" spelled out the role of culture for the United Nations.[127] For UNESCO, cultural conflict or "the ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause" of military conflict "throughout the history of mankind." Therefore securing international peace through "education, science, and culture" stood at the core of UNESCO's operational goal. Even UNESCO's early publicity in the United States focused on the role of education and culture in the organization.[128]

UNESCO's projects on "race" reflected the organization's broader utilization of culture as a major realm through which international understanding could be promoted and attained. As UNESCO attempted to

present an ideal of human universality by nullifying biological hierarchies and attaining cultural understanding, the 1950 and 1951 Statements represented human difference through a tricky conceptualization of culture that at times nodded affirmatively to both anti-racism and racialized hierarchy.

A portion of point five of the 1950 Statement read, "[M]any national, religious, geographic, linguistic or cultural groups have, in such loose usage, been called 'race', when obviously Americans are not a race, nor are Englishmen, nor Frenchmen…nor are people who are culturally Turkish or Chinese or the like thereby describable as races."[129] Here, the Montagu-lead panel wished not to confuse "race" with national, religious, linguistic, and cultural groups, but did not clarify the relationship between national and linguistic groups with culture. Point six provided clarification of this position, as it read, "[T]he cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrated genetic connexion with racial traits," reflecting the Boasian move to separate biology from culture.[130] At the same time, however, the first panel bestowed cultural boundaries on specific geographic, national, and linguistic populations. This is particularly important in light of point nine, which stated, "[G]iven similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same."[131] This portion of point nine suggested that between any given geographic populations there existed similar innate mental ability (however measured), but that cultural inadequacies of any particular group lead to underdeveloped intelligence. This approach to culture resulted in a comparative perspective situated around high/good or developed culture, and low/bad or underdeveloped culture. The statement carried this idea further in point ten. It read, "[T]he scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inhereted genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, that the history of the cultural experience which each group has undergone is the major factor in explaining such differences."[132] Again, the "cultural history" of any particular group determined the mental inadequacies of members of a population, rather than genetic predisposition. This environmentalist approach to intelligence can be traced from Boas, to Klineberg and Montagu among others.[133] But additional theoretical connections existed.

According to George Stocking, "[T]he Boasian point of view, which in 1919 had only begun to affect the thinking of social scientists outside cultural anthropology, by 1934 conditioned the thinking of social scientists generally."[134] Vernon Williams has pointed out that during

the 1930s Robert Park, leader of the University of Chicago school of sociology, had incorporated Boasian notions of environmentalism into his theoretical perspectives on culture, specifically in relation to his studies of African Americans in urban settings.[135] This genealogy of Boasian-influenced sociological theory runs from Park to his student E. Franklin Frazier, who worked closely with Sweden's Gunnar Myrdal on the Carnegie-funded research and production of the classic *An American Dilemma* (1944). Frazier had chaired the proceedings in December 1949, while Myrdal provided official criticism to the 1950 Statement preceding its official publication. Anthropologist Lee Baker states that Myrdal and Frazier characterized African American culture as pathological, owing such cultural stagnation to experiences of racism and impoverished living conditions, especially in urban areas.[136] The theories of culture then circulating at mid-century stemmed essentially from Boas in cultural anthropology and Park in sociology. These theories overlapped in their environmentalist claims, yet diverged significantly between the anthropological position of cultural relativism and specificity, and the sociological notion of legitimacy. In other words, Boas had argued that cultures should be understood in their specific historical contexts and therefore not ranked hierarchically, because cultures were, after all, relative. Park, on the other hand, held that cultures produced under conditions of duress or oppression were unhealthy or illegitimate. Both positions influenced the text of the 1950 Statement, complicating the discussion of culture and cultural difference within the Statement.

The Montagu-led group concluded to replace "race" with "ethnic group," therefore simply removing what was deemed harmful and misleading language, while confirming the classifications based on phenotype, "Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasoid," with uncounted subgroups that were "ethnic." Even with an environmentalist and equipotentiality argument of human intelligence and cultural development, phenotype still determined membership in these "ethnic groups." This is how the explanation of cultural difference in the 1950 Statement reaffirmed a biological theory of "race."

In the second statement, the "cultural achievements" and experiences were again cited as "major factors" in "intellectual and emotional differences."[137] Point five in the 1951 Statement provided further articulation of the high/low culture paradigm. Specifically, the dialogue in the 1951 Statement added the term "civilization." Point five read, "[W]hen intelligence tests, even non-verbal are made on a group of non-literate people, their scores are usually lower than those of more civilized people."[138] This assertion is highly problematic, as it designated nonliterate peoples as less civilized, foregoing any cultural relativistic position

in analyzing intelligence test results.[139] Though the 1951 Statement did not discuss culture extensively, the brief appearance of a civilizational discourse reflected the ongoing salience of racialized cultural difference among scientists.

Contrary to Pat Shipman's claim that with "the most inflammatory issues, intelligence and temperament, the scientists sought refuge in equivocation," the scientists of the 1951 Statement clearly asserted a racialized discourse of culture that owed something to unilineal social evolutionism. As codified by E. B. Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan in the late nineteenth century, unilineal social evolutionism held that cultures developed over time within a fixed system or single line, from low levels of "civilization" to higher levels. These lower levels had been described in the main as "savage," "barbarous," and "primitive," as opposed to more "advanced civilizations" possessing traditions of written language, achievements in the arts, and organization of social, political, and familial networks. This civilizational discourse had been successfully challenged but not eclipsed by Boas. He had emerged in the first half of the twentieth century, anthropologist Audrey Smedley stated, "to straddle the cultural and biological sciences with equal authority."[140] Such an influential figure had not come to the fore in Britain and France, from which seven of the fourteen members of the second group of experts hailed.

In the end, the culture concept provided the UNESCO experts on "race" a way to renounce biological justifications for racism yet justify the presence of social hierarchies. Neither statement successfully defined culture or "ethnicity" while employing the terms for the purpose of anti-racism. The statements of 1950 and 1951 had not delineated "race" and culture as distinct concepts, but rather intimately connected biological and social phenomena that continued to make "racial" difference appear natural.

Conclusion

UNESCO's early studies of "race" failed to eclipse the "race" concept while solidifying an anti-racist perspective that held, at least rhetorically, that any form of oppression and exploitation based on "race" was morally reprehensible. The postwar effort to renounce the Nazi regime established an ostensibly universalist rhetoric to guide international cooperation in bringing about peace, justice, educational opportunity, and cultural understanding. As anthropologist Donna Haraway has recognized, a so-called universal "man became thus part of the machinery for bridging the application of the Declaration [of Universal Human Rights]" adopted by the

United Nations in 1948, from the defeat of the Nazis, "to the more divisive realities of the Cold War and the dawning struggles against colonialism and neocolonialism."[141] Those divisive realities increasingly demanded that global powers grapple publicly with conceptualizations of human difference, rather than simple rhetorical claims of opposition to racism in the form of "'correct' democratic replies."[142]

"Race" according to Haraway, "could be—and politically had to be—reconstituted after World War II" because the political exigencies of the immediate postwar period called for anti-racist pronouncements from the political and scientific communities of those nation-states who defeated the purveyors of the Holocaust and whose domestic policies were being broadcast internationally.[143] UNESCO's work on "race" was produced at a time when politics called upon science to renounce racism, not "race." Racism and its practitioners were bad, but "race" was not. At mid-century, scholars in physical anthropology and population genetics still saw "race" as the primary classificatory tool, despite having been augmented by the language of "populations" and "human groups." Population genetics would play a key role in the study of "race" from the early 1950s through the 1960s, when UNESCO renewed its large-scale production of statements on "race." Amid the creation of a derogatory discourse about the third world, decolonization movements across the globe, the civil rights movement in the United States, and internal developments in the biological sciences, "race" and "racism would continue to attract the attention of anthropologists and scientists in the years to come."[144]

3

UNESCO Under Fire: Anti-communism and Anti-racism

Controversy surrounded UNESCO in the United States soon after the organization was founded in 1946. Its major branches of policy, including educational and cultural exchange, quickly became problematic for some American citizens and government officials. Federal leaders continued to foster the ideals of cultural internationalism and anti-racism while pressing for a highly tenuous cultural and political homogeneity at home. The convergence of anti-racism, cultural internationalism, and anti-communism pulled at the very fabric of UNESCO, implicating the organization in global politics at an intense historical moment of ideological, political, and military struggle in which oppression and freedom literally hung in the balance for most of the world's population.

By the early 1950s, federal leaders firmly professed human freedom and cultural understanding, while actually upholding structural racism and the expansion of a less than just global economy.[1] Despite some contentious moments in UNESCO's early years, the US government still exerted its will in UNESCO affairs vis-à-vis battles against communism and socialism.[2] However, the combination of UNESCO's focus on anti-racism, cultural internationalism, and alleged sympathy for communism threatened some American citizens and politicians in ways that clearly made the organization a catalyst for controversy. The vehement opposition to UNESCO in the 1950s revealed deep contradictions in Cold War ideology. It was not so much that anti-UNESCO forces publicly articulated racist sentiments, but rather the correlating protectionist nationalism betrayed a heightened sense of anxiety concerning America's encounters with an increasingly interconnected world abroad and the rumblings of social change at home.

Historian Gary Gerstle's formulation of civic and "racial" nationalism helps illustrate the confounding relationship between racism and Cold War ideology within the context of anti-racism and UNESCO in the United States. Gerstle describes civic nationalism as an ideological inheritance from the country's founding moments, which claims that the United States stood for "the fundamental equality of all human beings, in every individual's inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and in democratic government that derives its legitimacy from the people's consent." For Gerstle, "racial" nationalism hinges on a (sometimes mutable) notion of "whiteness," which "conceives of America in ethnoracial terms, as a people held together by common blood and skin color and by an inherent fitness for self-government."[3] What is particularly instructive here is Gerstle's contention that both nationalist traditions "imparted a clear, if paradoxical, shape," which defined "American society from the mid-1930s to the mid-1960s." While "racial nationalism lost some of it its virulence" during the 1950s, "its adherents were not yet ready to see it die."[4]

Moreover, as historian John Fousek argues, "[T]he ideology of American nationalist globalism" in the 1950s "originated in the thinking" of men who considered themselves "native-born, white Protestants." These men of "upper- or middle-class backgrounds" were "heavily represented in the nation's foreign policy elite, in the government generally, in international business, and in the media."[5] The approaches and responses of American leaders to UNESCO projects and activities during the 1950s illuminate the extant tensions within the racialized order in the United States. This, along with the accusatory sentiment that existed among portions of the American citizenry regarding alleged communistic tendencies of internationalism are examined in this chapter.

Culture, History, and Nation

On April 28, 1952, Republican representative of Idaho John T. Wood offered his opposition to the United Nations, UNESCO, and communism on the House floor. Wood outlined why he and others in the legislative branch viewed these organizations in terms of a communist conspiracy. Wood stated,

> [S]o far as the early colonies were concerned, their founders possessed an ancestry, jealous of its rights and cultural attainments, who were intensely nationalistic. These progenitors had successfully resisted numerous invasions, in groups, less developed than themselves in the art of self-government. They were more or less united in their hatred of governmental tyranny . . . and

> thus, though of mixed nationalities, they laid the foundations, not only of a unique government, but also of a new race-Americans.

For Wood, the colonial founders went "undaunted by the perils of early navigation, and their conflict with savage tribes" to create "a new milieu under which they could realize more perfect self-expression." Wood felt that UNESCO had been "given abundant authority to interfere in domestic affairs" of the United States, and threatened to make the country a "mongrelized victim of an alien and anachronistic form of government." Wood made clear his position that "only the very best deserve this America."[6] Running counter to the postwar egalitarianism that defined US support of the United Nations and UNESCO, others across the country echoed Wood's sentiments. Conspiracy theories about the United Nations and UNESCO had been articulated since the organization's inception, but by the early 1950s appeared with increased regularity and effectiveness.

Wood and others responded similarly to a new UNESCO project, the *Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind*. This historical work was to be accompanied by a pamphlet series titled "Toward World Understanding" and an academic *Journal of World History*. The project came about from a resolution at the 1947 General Conference of UNESCO in Mexico City, but had been a long-standing idea discussed by the Conference of Allied Ministers during World War II. Those involved in *The Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind* project hoped to produce a series of books to provide "for the general and specialist reader, a wider understanding of the scientific and cultural aspects of the history of mankind, of the mutual interdependence of peoples and cultures and of their contributions" to the common heritage of humanity. Plans for the *History of Mankind* included six volumes, organized chronologically from the mapping of human origins and migrations through the mid-twentieth century. Volume II of the *History of Mankind* focused on "the classical age when in China, India, Persia, Palestine, Greece and Rome, the course of the cultures that even now influence the lives of men were created, including the scientific tradition." Volume III chronicled the rise of Islam, the spread of Christianity over Europe, and "intellectual intercourse" between the two. The rise of world exploration, "rationalism, capitalism, nationalism, individualism and scientific inquiry" were the subject of volume IV, while the fifth volume was devoted to the birth of an Atlantic community "as European activities penetrated various parts of the world" and "all peoples were disturbed." The volume covered "great movements of peoples" that "mainly took place from Europe and Africa." Volume V did uphold the idea that liberty had been "the chief ideal of western men" formed out of "the great revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries," but also proposed to look

closely at the ravages of chattel slavery.[7] Volume VI surveyed the twentieth century, focusing on the role of technology in military conflict and cultural interdependence. The volume took a global approach, discussing communism in Europe and Asia, the growing prominence of nationalism in Africa, economic development in Latin America, and Americans' apparent lack of preparation for world leadership.

The longtime UNESCO delegate and State Department official Charles Thomson wanted to get the American public behind the project, suggesting to the State Department that one of the scholars contributing to the *History of Mankind* be made a member of the USNC in order to better publicize the project and its contents in the United States.[8] Although concerned that the proposal for the *History of Mankind* was "too ambitious and too comprehensive," the State Department wished to insure "the highest scholarly competence" in its preparation.[9]

Unfortunately for Thomson, before UNESCO solidified plans in 1952 to publish the first volume of the *History of Mankind* by 1957, newspapers in the United States aired their grievances about the project's apparent anti-American position.

In December 1951, the Catholic-based *Register* in Denver announced that Ralph Turner and Julian Huxley had been appointed as chair and vice chair of the project. Newspaper reports described the two scholars as "anti-God" and "professedly biased and against God." Turner had been dismissed from the University of Pittsburgh, the *Register* stated, because of complaints from students, parents, and religious groups. The article similarly implicated anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, the Boasian who spearheaded anthropology at the University of California for many years. A week later, the *Houston Chronicle* disparaged UNESCO and this same group of scholars for producing historical works that would "fall short of reflecting the beliefs under which America became great." Others viewed the *History of Mankind* as a "concession to the ungodly Communists."[10] Reports of the project stirred Leo Savoie of Sanford, Maine, to write his Congressman in distress. Savoie wrote to Robert Hale in Washington "as a Christian and an American," to express his consternation over the selection of Huxley and Bertrand Russell, "agnostics both." Congressman Hale's constituent urged him to "block in every way their efforts for wrong," and that Hale's "protests and supporting actions as an American Congressman" would be "blessed by Almighty God . . . to carry weight in the councils of the West."[11]

A USNC public opinion survey of 1952 summarized nationwide condemnation of the history project. According to the report submitted to UNESCO representatives in Paris, the principal charges condemned UNESCO as a communist-dominated subversive organization that undermined "love of

country," preached world government under atheistic and godless leaders, advocated sex education and birth control, and reflected a "master-minding" plot to gain control of the United States through public schools. In addition, attacks on what the *Wall Street Journal* labeled a "grandiose project" came from Chicago, Washington, DC, New York, and as far west as Spokane.[12] The *Chicago Tribune*'s editors argued that the *History of Mankind* would undermine national loyalty and bring "the youth of the world" to "despise their own country," while the *DC Times-Herald* referred to the project as the "miasmic vision of a bunch of bureaucrats brought up on a glo-baloney diet." Other critics seemed more concerned with the apparent lack of religiosity among UNESCO leadership.[13]

The USNC's report actually pointed to the *Towards World Understanding* pamphlet series as the primary reason for increased attacks on UNESCO in the United States in the early 1950s. These pamphlets, published by Columbia University Press, were described in the report as boiled down minutes and working papers from UNESCO conferences and seminars on education. Organizations such as The Daughters of the American Revolution, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and National Council for American Education opposed the pamphlets and UNESCO as a whole because of its alleged procommunist slant. In California, Texas, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Florida, local parent groups organized opposition to the use of UNESCO materials in public schools.

The USNC report discussed at length the happenings in Dallas, where a movement of sorts headed by "wealthy oil man" H. L. Hunt began attacking UNESCO in the fall of 1952. Local residents had given "inflammatory speeches" at PTA meetings and circulated letters advising against support or participation in UNESCO or UN activities. A "widely distributed" four-page leaflet began appearing in the city in December disparaging UNESCO, and the *Dallas News* began running editorials on the dangers of UNESCO and UN activity. According to the USNC, the leaflet was a "cleverly written appeal to fear, prejudice and local pride," and urged readers to write their representatives in Congress. From December 11 to 13, tempered editorials ran in the *Dallas News* under the title "The Eruption Over UNESCO," asking for a clear examination of the facts concerning UNESCO's publications. To some extent this occurred, as Adeline McCabe, leader of the Dallas UN support group, published in the *Dallas News* four articles explaining the distorted image of UN and UNESCO goals. McCabe also pointed out the influence of Congressman Wood of Idaho, whose inflammatory words spurred on rabid anti-communism and campaigns against UNESCO.[14]

In October 1951, Wood launched a year-long attack on UNESCO. The Congressman began his remarks by stating, "[T]he threat to America

is not from without… UNESCO's scheme to pervert public education appears in a series of nine volumes" that "stress the opposite of the family teaching of loyalty to our American ideal and allegiance to our beautiful stars and stripes, substituting it for loyalty to the Communist world government of the United Nations and allegiance to its spider web banner." Wood continued, "[I]nternationalism is a conspiratorial device to destroy us, show me an internationalist, and I will show you a potential traitor to the United States."[15] The Congressman argued that UNESCO represented "the greatest and most malignant plot in history against the future of this country, and its children's children." The "monstrous poison" of UNESCO had begun "warping the minds and imaginations" of schoolchildren, and therefore embodied the most "infamous plot" in "the educational system of America."[16]

Critics in Dallas incited by Congressman Wood focused more on the *Toward World Understanding* series, according to the USNC report, and had not been as widespread or successful as other local movements against UNESCO.[17] The most successful movement in California involved efforts to have *The 'E' in UNESCO* banned from Los Angeles schools. *The 'E' in UNESCO* was a published guide for teachers that provided specific strategies to incorporate UNESCO's goals of international understanding into classroom instruction. According to the USNC report, the "opening shot in the campaign to get UNESCO" out of the public schools in Los Angeles had been fired by Florence Fowler Lyons in her remarks to a meeting of the Southern California Republican Women, on October 24, 1951. The topic of Lyons's talk was "Subversion in the Los Angeles Public Schools." The USNC suggested Lyons's address garnered great coverage in the local press, which had been alerted "beforehand to expect something sensational." The *Los Angeles Examiner*, *Herald*, and *Express* promoted the "west coast authority on UNESCO" by "playing up the threat of UNESCO ever since" her October talk. Lyons's speech a few months later before the Veterans of Foreign Wars coincided with the announcement of public support for the campaign against UNESCO by several local organizations and some religious leaders. Helen J. Keating appearing before the Los Angeles school board, represented the view of the Women's Breakfast Club, demanding successfully that the *Toward World Understanding* pamphlet series be banned. Keating described UNESCO as "a movement far more dangerous than Communism." The following summer, a local television program claimed that "the entire Catholic press was opposed to the United Nations and UNESCO, that Rome sought withdrawal and that throughout the month of September prayers were asked 'to protect Catholics from UNESCO.'"[18]

One editor in the bay area saw fit to weigh in on the controversy in Los Angeles. Paul Smith of the *San Francisco Chronicle* condemned the Los Angeles attacks on UNESCO. He explained, "[I]n the main, this anti-U.N. movement has masked itself as flag-draped patriotism," which had "shed tears over the loss of sovereignty" in order to "discredit the idea of international cooperation." Paul Smith announced that Gerald L. K. Smith, "the veteran American extremist" and chairman of the American National Committee for the Abolition of the United Nations based in Los Angeles, was "but one of numerous supporters of totalitarianism and of racial and religious bigotry who have taken up the crusade against the United Nations and, in particular, against the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization."[19] Here, Paul Smith recognized the possible connections between anti-UNESCO and racist sentiment. For Paul Smith, the linkage rested on a hyperbolic and exclusionary nationalism, as embodied by "the veteran American extremist."

While UNESCO was being held as a menace to Los Angeles public schools, a few of the city's citizens defended UNESCO in the *Los Angeles Times*.[20] Harold Waterhouse of Santa Monica wrote, "Our pride in being Californians isn't lessened one bit by the fact that we are also proud and loyal Americans," suggesting that being a proud American was not antithetical to being a supporter of UNESCO. Katherine Knox of the Public Education Committee of Los Angeles praised UNESCO as "a 'great force for good in the world,'" and John Irwin, a professor of international law at USC urged "that the very fact that Russia has consistently refused to join UNESCO should be its highest recommendation for our participation."[21] Paul H. Sheats, a member of the USNC, submitted

> there is much in UNESCO that can be improved . . . But to undermine public confidence in an important agency devoted to the achievement of world peace and security, created to a large extent as a result of American leadership and widely supported by national citizen's groups, seems to me to be an irresponsible use of freedom of speech and press.[22]

And in a July hearing before the Los Angeles Board of Education, the president of the League of Women Voters argued that the attacks upon UNESCO and the removal of its publications restricted academic freedom.[23]

Negative publicity and general anti-communist sentiment overran the few voices of support for UNESCO in Los Angeles.[24] Eugene Nixon of the *Los Angeles Times* admonished UNESCO as the school board solidified its resistance to the organization in 1952. In March, Nixon asserted that UNESCO "has, ideally, important and legitimate responsibilities and

opportunities to aid in making the United Nations a success. But apparently" Nixon fired, "this outfit has overstepped all legitimate bounds and is now involved in an effort to destroy what it considers our 'excessive spirit of nationalism'—meaning our old-fashioned patriotism and pride in being American citizens." The "ultimate aim seems" according to Nixon, "to be to soften us up to the point where we will concede that, after all, the United States is merely a province of the United Nations and that we, individually, are citizens of the United Nations, rather than of the United States of America." Nixon argued that the *Toward World Understanding* series aimed to indoctrinate teachers and students with the theory of world government, and quoted Congressman John Wood to the effect that UNESCO supporters represented a "band of spies and traitors." Nixon closed the piece remarking, "[E]conomically we feel willing to give up our shirts for the good old United Nations. But if we want our country to survive we shall have to call a halt somewhere." And "whenever a patriotic American citizen finds" UNESCO's "propaganda working in the public schools to destroy American patriotism he should yell to high heaven—without delay."[25] One reader from Alhambra responded to Nixon's article, writing, "[E]very effort should be made to 'unmask' this organization" because its critics had only "scratched the surface."[26]

Additional local voices of criticism arose in the black press. In late summer 1952, the oldest and widest circulated black newspaper west of the Mississippi, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, concurred with UNESCO opponents. On August 7 the *Sentinel* ran a piece titled "UNESCO? No!" which claimed that "advocates of one worldism are probably aghast at the determined stand taken by parents who are stubbornly opposed" to UNESCO's program "being crammed into the craniums of Los Angeles City School students." Three weeks later the *Sentinel*, "with no apologies for being repetitious," suggested, "[T]he opponents of the UNESCO program are probably better Americans than those who propose to embrace it." Those likely better Americans according to the *Sentinel* were "fighting to preserve love of country as the guiding light of tomorrow's leaders, to instill within them a patriotic belief, rather than confuse them with vague and in some cases untenable theories of one worldism." The *Sentinel* did offer a positive nod to the notion of UNESCO promoting a more inclusive curriculum that highlighted "the Negro's role in making history in these United States." The *Sentinel*'s commentary on public education offered a combination of anti-communism and anti-racism, stressing the "teaching of more courtesy to our students, more of the basic[s] (the 'Rs), patriotism (with the inclusion of the study of the Negro's role in history)." In its critique, the *Sentinel* made clear that "extreme nationalism" was dangerous, but "national laxity" was even more so.[27]

A *Sentinel* reader, also writing in August, stressed a similar concern for the protection of the patriotic sensibilities of Los Angeles schoolchildren. In her letter to the editor, Ophelia Hickman admitted that she wasn't too familiar "with this thing called UNESCO," yet she "certainly would hate to think that my children would have to be compelled to study about foreign countries, some of whom are enemies, instead of getting a little more English, a little more history (American history, i.e.), a little more culture…in other words, a little more COMMON SENSE than what they're getting today in our public schools." Being admittedly uninformed did not keep Hickman from deciding on UNESCO. She closed her letter, "Perhaps you may be able to convince me that this UNESCO is the right thing—but I doubt it."[28]

UNESCO remained an incendiary topic concerning the public school system, and made headlines nationwide throughout the summer of 1952. In Boston, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that UNESCO had reached "an exceedingly controversial status in Los Angeles," with "opposition from vociferous small groups which criticize with strong emotion" and "represented extreme positions."[29] In New York, the *Times* alerted its readers to the Veterans of Foreign Wars attack on UNESCO emanating from their 53rd national meeting in Los Angeles, which urged the permanent elimination of UNESCO activities from public schools because they threatened national sovereignty.[30] As the Los Angeles school board continued its investigations and hearings, insiders such as Walter Laves, chairman of the USNC, and Eleanor Roosevelt weighed in. Laves, speaking before the Great Hartford Council for UNESCO, took a defensive approach, stating that distortions of UNESCO's aims fueled attacks against the organization. Laves refuted charges that UNESCO represented communist and atheist subversion. He added, "Americans are not disloyal who seek a better understanding of other peoples. On the contrary, such an understanding on the part of U.S. citizens is essential if we are to arrive at some sound national policies to guide our government in its conduct of our foreign affairs."[31] Laves continued his vocal defense of UNESCO during the summer of 1953 from Paris. Echoing *San Francisco Chronicle* writer Paul Smith, Laves argued that the strong campaign in the United States against UNESCO involved "isolationist and nationalist" groups who "attacked human rights and racial tolerance at home."[32]

Eleanor Roosevelt, speaking before the USNC in Washington, called for a logical resistance to anti-communist hysteria. She noted "a great final effort being made for isolationism in this country," which required that citizens be "violently frightened of communism." Roosevelt recommended that American citizens be made to face the fact that "we live in a world in which a large number of people are Communists," but "we have

to learn what we are trying to fight, fight for the things we truly believe in, and put our whole force into teaching people why democracies have more to offer in the long run."[33] Roosevelt pushed Americans to focus on the positive potential of democracy rather than embrace a contrived an intense anti-communism. She understood something of the realities of American democracy's imperfections and the pretexts of isolationism, yet she held those truths of inequality still higher than "Communism." Taking into account Roosevelt's social activism and diplomatic ventures, her vision of American democracy hinged largely on a progressive politics that would've gone unmatched by UNESCO's most vehement critics.

In January 1953, the Los Angeles Board of Education officially announced the banning of all UNESCO activities and publications from its schools. Offering his opinion, the *LA Times* editor wrote that UNESCO objectives, however worthy, had developed a "cult of followers" who "see in it a vehicle for indoctrinating the coming generation with ideals of 'one world' and similar globaloney." This cult was "not necessarily Communists, though the same sort of fuzzy thinkers will be found espousing left-wing schemes."[34] "Amid partisan cheers and applause" the *New York Times* reported, the school board successfully removed UNESCO from the Los Angeles school system.[35] Charles Thomson confirmed that UNESCO had "become the principal whipping boy for the United Nations groups of organization, and the special target of the isolationist foes of the UN system" in southern California.[36]

Once again, the *Los Angeles Sentinel* contributed to the whipping in its own way. In its February 12 piece "UNESCO and You," the *Sentinel* broadened its critique of UNESCO beyond the prevalent protectionist anti-communism. The *Sentinel* argued that both the United Nations and UNESCO had failed to "solve any of the world's major ills," and functioned as a "lobby for member nations' self interests." "Perhaps UNESCO's greatest weakness lies in its highest aims," the piece asserted. "The 69-nation group seeks to raise educational standards of the world's underdeveloped areas," but "since colonialism is the national policy of many UNESCO members, and since colonialism thrives on keeping the ignorant that way, it's difficult to follow that phase of UNESCO reasoning." The *Sentinel*'s critique of UNESCO shifted from a lack of American patriotism to an anti-colonial position, which noted the ongoing belief held by procolonialists in "the inferiority of blacks" in South Africa, "Kenya, Rhodesia, Morocco, Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan, British Somaliland, the Cameroons, Indo-China and in most parts of Africa and Asia." The *Sentinel* indicted European colonial powers even further, asserting, "It is a historical fact that war and the threat of wars are fostered and promoted by the so-called enlightened powers." With this history of colonialism and racism in mind,

the piece concluded that "centuries old struggles" proved that "diverse ideologies, religions, languages and national customs and aspirations do not make for happy cultural relations." In sum, the *Sentinel* wagered that the politicization of UNESCO vis-à-vis its member states and "two armed camps" doomed any hope for the application of UNESCO's lofty goals, particularly among colonial and former colonial subjects around the globe. The *Sentinel* wished not to feed the children of Los Angeles a "steady political diet, which, in some instances has pictured American history through [a] contorted lens."[37]

By 1953 the cloud of controversy surrounding the United Nations and UNESCO had moved far beyond the topical and geographical borders of California. With the distrust and suspicion that McCarthyism wrought on international organizations, UNESCO remained a useful yet troublesome tool of US foreign policy.[38] The rising tide of Cold War antagonisms seemed to reach an apex regarding the United Nations and UNESCO during the mid-1950s, while the ironic election of the "progressive internationalist" Luther Evans further complicated US relations with UNESCO.[39]

In 1953 the librarian of Congress and longtime UNESCO delegate Luther Evans was elected director general of UNESCO. Trained in politic science, Evans took part in the 1945 London conference at which UNESCO was organized, served as a US representative at each subsequent UNESCO General Conference, and as a leading member of the USNC. State Department officials had not planned Evans's nomination and election, but once he secured the nomination from the executive board of UNESCO, the United States backed his election bid. No voting block of member states strongly supported his candidacy, and France openly opposed his election. In addition, at the time leaders in Washington did not favor the choice of a US citizen for the top position in UNESCO. According the two former American UNESCO officials, in 1953 the United States was in "the midst of a critical reappraisal of its place in world affairs, one aspect of which was a challenge to the authority of international organizations, including UNESCO."[40] Upon the election of Luther Evans to the position of director general, the wave of opposition to UNESCO in the United States "motivated by a variety of factors largely unrelated to facts about UNESCO or its work" motivated President Eisenhower to order an investigation of UNESCO by US delegates. After rating "among UNESCO's most faithful members," the United States in the early 1950s leveled the most vehement attacks on the organization with the exception of Russia.[41]

On January 9, 1953, just prior to leaving office, President Truman issued Executive Order 10422 establishing the International Organizations

Employee Loyalty Board (IOELB) to oversee the employment of US citizens in the United Nations and its specialized agencies.[42] It was in this context that the newly elected president Eisenhower's nonchalant tone was captured by a *Washington Post* writer, who reported that "Mr. Eisenhower said he doesn't know whether there is anything to the suspicions and wants to look into the matter when he can get around to it."[43] The president did get around to appointing a committee to investigate UNESCO, and the results were publicized at the 1953 national conference of the USNC held in Minneapolis. According to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, the report concluded that UNESCO had not attempted to undermine national loyalties, advocate world government or world citizenship, or interfere with the American school system.[44] Though top officials in Washington "optimistically received" the report, it failed to sway the tide of anti-communism and criticisms of UNESCO, which had "reached serious proportions."[45]

Leadership in Washington remained split on UNESCO affairs. Some sought control of the organization while backing its positive attributes, whereas others focused on challenging the organization's legitimacy. For Evans's part, he committed to leading UNESCO with a focus on international projects and cooperation.[46] Evans commented to the Anglo-American Press Association that "membership of the Communist party was not automatically a bar to employment with UNESCO," provided there was no evidence "the individual concerned is not engaged in overthrowing either his own or a member state's government."[47] In the end, however, US-mandated "loyalty" tests for UN and UNESCO employees and appointees ensued despite criticisms from Swiss and Indian delegations.[48]

Leading up to the UNESCO General Conference in the spring of 1954, the Soviet Union ratified the UNESCO Constitution, initiating the country's official membership in the organization. Before becoming an official member state of UNESCO, the Soviet Union had boycotted the organization due to its "pro-Western" proclivities. This sort of political jousting certainly continued throughout the late 1950s and 1960s.[49] But in the immediate present President Eisenhower and his advisors no longer feigned ambivalence to UNESCO. In a telling reversal of approach, in 1954 the United States sought to do everything "possible to fill vacant high ranking posts in UNESCO, in order to forestall a Russian demand to place its nationals in these posts."[50]

American delegates to UNESCO asserted that "in the spring of 1954 the entry of the Soviet Union into UNESCO presented a challenge to the liberal democratic principles upon which the UNESCO Constitution had been founded," yet they also revealed that between 1954 and 1956, in the field of human rights the USSR emphasized ongoing racial

discrimination.[51] The State Department, executive branch, and the former American officials were fully aware of the danger of Russia's tactics in highlighting racism during the 1950s.

While political leaders were willing to make concessions to civil rights activists and promote world peace through the United Nations, many leaders remained committed to maintaining the "integrity" of what they understood to be American cultural values in the face of ideological challenges. Even after the *Brown* decision in 1954, the state did little to undermine structural and interpersonal forms of racism within its borders. For example, where teaching "racial tolerance" had been a part of UNESCO programming in the Los Angeles public school system, the State Department defended UNESCO on the grounds that it was not communist and promoted democratic "American cultural values."[52] No clear pronouncement came from Washington against specific instances of ongoing racism directed toward people of Asian, African, and Mexican descent in the state of California, or defense of UNESCO's contributions to anti-racist curriculum in Los Angeles public schools.[53]

Critics said little on the matter at UNESCO's General Conference in Uruguay in 1954. According to a State Department report, Russian delegates focused more on becoming involved in ongoing UNESCO projects, such as the *Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind*. The chief US delegate Albert Nufer, US ambassador to Argentina, opened the conference by extolling what he deemed Uruguay's pioneering efforts in the "cultural, political and social development" of Latin America, which had been "conceived in a framework of freedom and liberty." Moreover, Nufer commented, "the generous welcome Uruguay has extended to the peoples of all nations who have come here to enjoy the climate of peace, equality of opportunity, and racial and religious freedom, is just one more indication of its devotion to the principle of the fundamental dignity of man."[54] Later during the conference Congressman Hugh Scott of the US delegation gave a speech "on progress in the United States on race relations" that "was favorably commented on by other delegations."[55] For the time being, the *Brown* decision assuaged critics of racism in the United States and gave the government the "counter to Soviet propaganda it had been looking for." The Supreme Court decision, Mary Dudziak has argued, served as "an essential and long-overdue affirmation of the story of race and American democracy that the government had already promoted abroad."[56] The US delegation successfully presented an improved picture of American democracy due to the *Brown* decision, while also tackling the issue of subversive activity within UNESCO.

In July of 1953, seven UNESCO employees of US citizenship had refused to appear before a "U.S. Loyalty Board" in Paris. Luther Evans

then refused to renew the contracts of four of those employees, and suspended three others until investigations could be completed. Evans claimed he dismissed four of the seven US citizens because in refusing to appear before the board the employees failed to "maintain the high standards of integrity expected of them."[57] In November 1953 a UNESCO appeals board ruled against Evans's decision to fire the four employees, but under UNESCO mandates Evans was not bound to comply with the board's decision.[58] In June of 1955, Evans fired the additional three UNESCO employees (with three months' pay). The International Labor Organization tribunal in Geneva subsequently awarded monetary damages in the tens of thousands to all seven former employees.[59]

At the 1954 General Conference Evans denied that his decisions on the employees resulted from pressure from US government officials, and that he only had the power to dismiss UNESCO employees if evidence had been shown that proved misconduct.[60] Ultimately, Evans abided by State Department sentiment, reasoning that UNESCO employees' failure to comply with US-mandated loyalty examinations equaled proven misconduct in itself. Although overturned by the Geneva tribunal, Evans's dismissal of seven UNESCO employees of American citizenship reflected the anti-communist position of the federal government.

Back on the Homefront

US Senator and UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. expressed gratitude to US Ambassador Nufer on the delegation's performance at the General Conference. Lodge informed Nufer that he had been concerned about UNESCO's standing in public opinion, and the harm UNESCO might be doing to perceptions of the United Nations as a whole. Lodge was delighted with the results achieved by the American delegation at the Montevideo conference concerning the personnel situation because the outcome might bolster public support for US involvement in UNESCO.[61]

Senator Lodge was the grandson of Henry Cabot Lodge Sr., who throughout the early twentieth century had advocated imperialism, social Darwinism, and eugenics. Lodge Sr. had proven himself to be a proponent of what historian Richard Hofstadter termed "the idea of inevitable Anglo-Saxon destiny."[62] Lodge helped shape the 1924 Immigration Restriction Act by successfully arguing in Congress to devise literacy tests and other restrictions for "non-Nordic races," and had also gained notoriety for leading the rejection of US participation in the League of Nations following World War I.[63] Some three decades later, his grandson had become one of the highest-ranking US officials in the United Nations.

Times had changed indeed. State officials no longer openly advocated policies driven by biological determinism, and the United States had clear political and economic advantages over the collapsing European empires, yet. Lodge Jr.'s concerns about the public perception of the United Nations and UNESCO within the United States hinged on how both organizations responded to the threat of communism. The actions of these organizations to protect what they viewed as American social and cultural integrity by weeding out communism remained the paramount issue.

Luther Evans's stand at the Montevideo conference came as good news to US supporters of the United Nations and UNESCO, but detractors at home continued their assault. Just outside the nation's capital in Montgomery County, Maryland, the school board's race in the fall of 1954 became another site of debate. Twelve school board candidates at an election rally sponsored by the Montgomery-Blair High School PTA fielded questions on the matter. According to the *Washington Post*, five of the candidates "said flatly they would oppose the use of UNESCO teaching materials in county schools," while three others "said they would favor 'proper' UNESCO teaching materials." The five candidates who refused the use of any UNESCO materials "based their opposition on what they said was Soviet influence in UNESCO and the inclusion of ideas counter to American philosophy in UNESCO teaching materials," despite the fact that Russia had only joined UNESCO that April.[64] The *Washington Post* then attempted to clarify what the mini-controversy over UNESCO meant for Montgomery County residents. Three days later, the paper argued, "Although the merits of UNESCO teaching materials have no direct or immediate relevance to the Montgomery County schools, they have proved useful in illuminating the ideas of candidates for the Montgomery County School Board." The county's curriculum did not include UNESCO materials, and no plans existed to change that. However, according to the *Washington Post*, room to criticize UNESCO remained because "resistance to experimentation, innovation or progressivism in teaching techniques and to any sort of liberalism in teaching materials" had been "of course, respectable and defensible views."[65]

By 1955 this sort of controversy again emerged on the national stage. Following a meeting with State Department officials, the national executive committee of the American Legion undertook a study of the origin, purposes, and work of UNESCO. The resulting report authored by Ray Murphy and five additional Legionnaires concluded that UNESCO was not subversive, but rather "little understood by the very great majority" of US citizens.[66] The group's findings became the subject of heated debate because the report had been "printed by parties unknown" and "circulated to the press" a month before the American Legion's national convention

in Miami scheduled for October 1955.[67] Eighteen months of preparation and study had gone into the *Murphy Report*, which sprung out of the State Department's request that the organization of World War I and II veterans have representation on the USNC. Upon its publication, Roscoe Drummond of the *Washington Post* called the report a product of "one of the most distinguished committees of conservative, loyal, patriotic, feet-on-the-ground above-reproach Americans which could possibly have been created." For Drummond, this report came to the rescue of UNESCO after five years of "distorted and often fabricated accusations."[68] For the *New York Times*, the *Murphy Report* handed American Legion leaders the opportunity to reexamine its "previous ill-considered action in attacking UNESCO," and warned, "to equate UNESCO with subversion is either ignorance or willful nonsense, yet to defend UNESCO is a signal for attack from the hate groups."[69] Throughout 1954 Legionnaires remained split on the UNESCO issue. While some agreed with the *Murphy Report*, others held fast to charges of anti-Americanism. However UNESCO's double-edged danger disappeared once the Legion's national convention commenced on October 10. Two days later, the meeting of over three thousand Legionnaires "overwhelmingly rejected" the *Murphy Report* and "shouted their overwhelming approval" for a resolution demanding that the United States withdraw permanently from UNESCO.[70] Former President Truman and Luther Evans replied immediately to the events in Miami. Truman, a Legionnaire himself, told UN correspondents that "a bunch of eager-beaver young fellows, and some of the American Firsters just got control" of the convention and "made a debacle out of the situation." According to the *Washington Post* Truman threatened, "It's gonna cost the Legion before they're through." Evans issued a statement through the UNESCO office in New York expressing his "heartfelt regret" at the Legion's actions. Evans simply urged that through its programs, UNESCO spread "American democratic principles."[71]

As the Miami convention demonstrated, the Legion preferred to define American democratic principles for itself, without the assistance of UNESCO. Ray Murphy reportedly stated on the final day of the convention, "I believe we were absolutely right in our report… but now I have to think the Legion is right." Furthermore, the *Washington Post* gave a stirring account of "a Negro post commander—Zachariah W. Alexander of Charlotte" who "protested in vain that members of his race were being discriminated against within the Legion, especially in the South." The convention's "chair ruled Alexander out of order after he charged that members of 'my post can't even vote for the state department commander'" of the Legion.[72]

The Legionnaires deemed charges of racism an unsuitable topic at the Miami convention despite the prominence of the issue around the globe. With the murder of Emmett Till in late August, the events of the next several months of 1955 wreaked havoc upon the praises won by the US government as a result of the *Brown* decision. Till's murder outraged the world, while the year-long Montgomery bus boycott focused international media attention on civil rights protest.[73] Yet opponents of UNESCO such as the Legion continued to dismiss the organization's basic anti-racist principles.

Anti-communist sentiment dominated public discussions on UNESCO throughout the 1950s. The UNESCO controversy repeatedly reemerged in school board elections in Los Angeles, and university professionals affiliated with UNESCO were bullied into denying communist sympathies.[74] National coverage of the American Legion's consistent attacks on UNESCO continued nationwide through the late 1950s.[75] The ideological battles of Cold War foes penetrated UNESCO early in its existence and only worsened as the 1950s went on. Contingents from the United States and the Soviet Bloc leveled accusations of political underhandedness at each other, walked out of UNESCO meetings in protest, and in a few cases quit UNESCO altogether.[76] But as Roger Coate has pointed out, this conflict "was not destined to orient UNESCO's programs and activities in the coming decades." US "officials began to desire UNESCO to be more of a technical agency rather than a political body."[77] UNESCO was but one of many avenues of US cultural diplomacy. Charles Thomson concurred, "[O]ur international commitments and interests are now so large that it is no longer prudent to ignore any instrument whereby those commitments can be discharged and those interests safeguarded."[78] Changes within the organization as a whole caused American leaders to reassess its approach to UNESCO because complete dominance of the organization had become increasingly difficult with the slow emergence of eastern European, Asian, African, and south American representation. Nevertheless, throughout the 1950s the US State Department continued to promote anti-racism through UNESCO.

The State and Anti-racism

What is most relevant concerning the US experience in UNESCO during the 1940s and 1950s is the extent to which American leadership promoted anti-racism as the official state policy. During a time of tremendous political and social upheaval centered directly on the issue of racism, many

American officials and UNESCO representatives displayed a commitment to anti-racist rhetoric, while continuously denigrating communism as the major evil that stood in direct opposition to American democratic traditions.

The (albeit limited) successes of this sort of top-down anti-racism during this period is best illuminated by South Africa's decision to withdraw from UNESCO in 1955. Both the United States and the Union of South Africa had long histories of systematic racism. Well into the twentieth century, both countries institutionalized scientific racism, including eugenics programs designed to protect the "whiteness" of the state and its citizens.[79] These racialized paths veered during World War II when the United States began its public information programs to construct an international image of confronting Hitler, Japan, and racism, while fighting for equality and democracy.[80] With the founding of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, international relations became based on the principles of "racial" and cultural freedom. As the leading participant in these organizations and new global superpower, United States government officials logically continued professing elements of the previously espoused wartime anti-racism.

South Africa, on the other hand, joined the United Nations and UNESCO immediately following the war, but went on to elect in 1948 the National Party to head its government. The National Party instituted a policy of apartheid, which ingrained even further state-sponsored racism in South Africa. That same year the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights called for equal dignity and human rights without regard to "race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." This document, along with official complaints registered by India against South Africa at the UN General Assembly in 1946 and 1948, began a troubled relationship between South Africa and the entire UN apparatus.

In 1946 the General Assembly adopted resolution 44(I), which states, "[T]he treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter."[81] South Africa's counterarguments against the resolution were two-pronged. State leaders first argued that the United Nations had no power to interfere with domestic policies, and that apartheid was not based on "racial discrimination," but rather concerns for the safety of all persons residing in South Africa. In 1950 the UN General Assembly announced in another resolution that "a policy of 'racial segregation' (apartheid) is necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination."[82] In 1952 the General Assembly then established a Commission on the Racial

Situation in the Union of South (UNCORS) to study the implications of the UN Charter and other resolutions for South Africa. The commission submitted annual reports in 1953, 1954, and 1955, all affirming the right of the United Nations to investigate and rule on domestic policies in South Africa. The reports concluded that apartheid was contrary to the governing Charter of the United Nations, and recommended South Africa take steps to improve the living conditions and rights of people considered "non-white" residing in the union. South Africa responded to the UNCORS findings by withdrawing its delegation from the 1955 and 1956 General Assembly.

The Union of South Africa withdrew completely from UNESCO in 1955, citing the organization's interference with its domestic policy. Eric H. Louw, South Africa's minister of external affairs, argued that UNESCO publications unfairly targeted South Africa's "racial problems."[83] As I had mentioned in chapter 2, as a part of UNESCO's extensive studies of "race" and racism beginning in the late 1940s, UNESCO published a series of ten short pamphlets titled "The Race Question in Modern Science". One booklet, written by University of Michigan sociologist Arnold Rose, *The Roots of Prejudice*, made brief mention of South Africa, while Kenneth Little's *Race and Society* contained an entire chapter on apartheid.[84] South Africa had actually tentatively decided to withdraw from UNESCO in 1953, on the heels of the distribution of the UNESCO books by the privately run South African Institute of Race Relations. The 1953 decision to withdraw was reversed, but the 1955 decision was final. In November 1955 UNESCO's executive board confirmed the validity of its studies of "race," stating that "in the matter of race problems, as in all other spheres, the planning and conduct of UNESCO's activities, as decided upon by the General Conference, have never" intervened "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Member States."[85] And this was true. The issue was one of international political pressure and image resulting from the actions of the state. For the United States, de jure racism had been on a slow yet significant decline since World War II. In 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which barred "racial" discrimination in the hiring of employees by unions and companies engaged in war-related work or with government contracts. In 1948 President Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which announced the end of segregated US armed forces, and in 1950 the US Supreme Court ruled in *Sweatt v. Painter* that discrimination in higher education admissions was unconstitutional. These legal developments, which for some seemed to culminate in the mid-1950s in the *Brown* decision, fueled what tepidly appeared to be the state-led process of "rehabilitating the moral character of American democracy."[86] South Africa pursued the exact opposite

course after World War II, and therefore remained an easy target for the anti-racist consensus that philosophically grounded UN and UNESCO policy.

But nineteenth- and early twentieth-century racisms everywhere came under fire in the aftermath of World War II as the transnational significance of anti-racist movements dramatically increased; therefore the United States was far from being immune to such attacks.[87] However, unlike South Africa, the United States engaged in a public relations campaign of global proportions to extol the democratic virtues that supposedly defined the country's past and present. In the main federal leaders not only refuted the morality of racism, but also the philosophical and "scientific" premises on which the practice of racism had rested since the American war of independence against Britain. Although anti-racist claims by the US government were consistently challenged during the same period that led to South Africa's withdrawal from UNESCO, many in the United States government remained committed to the rhetorical strategies of anti-racism.

Conclusion

The US government's promotion of anti-racism and involvement in UNESCO demonstrates how the country was "racially emblematic" of the postwar period. The United States had not moved beyond its history as "a settler society in which white supremacy still operated" while drawing on founding myths and centered on emancipatory and egalitarian rhetoric.[88] Those formative myths and rhetorical devices heavily informed a kind of top-down anti-racism during World War II and were forcefully articulated during Cold War confrontations.

The realities of America's racialized past and present rendered that top-down anti-racism hypocritical and increasingly destabilized the country in the postwar period. Struggles for civil rights presented an embarrassment for the Truman and Eisenhower administrations because at that point the movement sought literally to attack the legal and social foundations of the entire society. Segregation and systematic discrimination were intrinsic to the national economy, built into the institutions of political rule, and "so unquestionably part of popular conceptions of identity that they could not be dismantled." The country's "national identity was internally defined by the same elemental—and fundamentally racialized contradictions that were now engulfing the entire world" in the late 1940s and 1950s.[89] The moral and political conflicts that defined the early postwar period were taking place between

cultures, nations, religious groups, and "races," which were still held to be biologically different. In the United States and in international forums, "race relations" or the "racial problem" stood conceptually at the center of conversations concerning civil rights and anti-colonial movements, while the self-congratulatory Cold War rhetoric of the 1950s continued to leave open the US government for critique.

4

Anti-racism and Orientalism

In 1948 Chinese philosopher Lin Yutang argued in a UNESCO publication for an increase in stressing cultural cooperation between what he termed the "Orient" and "Occident." The prolific novelist and newly appointed head of UNESCO's Arts and Letters Division suggested in his UNESCO *Courier* article that the postwar world offered an opportunity for those interested in securing peace to do so by focusing on cultural exchange.[1] He shunned an "emphasis being laid on the economic values" and the "nascent nationalism" destroying "the spiritual foundation of eastern cultures," in favor of a synthesis "of the most fruitful" type "between the Orient and the Occident." Lin argued further, "[A]fter all, a contact of ideas through race mixtures and the meeting of different cultures is one of the most powerful forces in history."[2]

While positing the value of cultural diffusion and "racial" intermixture, Lin made tightly bound distinctions between "Eastern" and "Western" cultures. For his cultural synthesis, Lin advocated the merging of "Chinese and Hindu philosophies," which he took as "the important original philosophies of the world," with "the currents of modern thought." A synthesis of "the materialistic and the idealistic concept of life, science and mysticism" should coincide with the "West" forging ahead to teach "the East the dignity of the individual and other democratic concepts."[3] Lin's article described a broad-based paradigm for conceptualizing what the Asian "East" was and how it supposedly differed fundamentally from the Euro-American "West." As Lin had become, by one scholar's account, "an interpreter of China to the West," his reflections belied a lingering essentialism of the early postwar period, while foreshadowing the US approach to Asia through UNESCO.[4]

As a part of the US government's expansive cultural diplomacy efforts following World War II, the USNC, under the direction of the State Department, focused on bridging the alleged cultural divide between

the Euro-American "West" and the "East."[5] Cultural relations projects led by UNESCO, along with the USNC Conference in San Francisco in 1957 on "Eastern" cultures and peoples articulated an anti-racist perspective that actually reinforced the concept of a fundamentally natural cultural divide. Echoing Lin in the postwar anti-racist thrust toward Asia, American scholars and government officials continued to stereotype and oversimplify the continent and its various peoples as "racially" inferior and exotic, relying less on biology and far more on a ubiquitous culturalist discourse that encompassed religion, art, history, politics, and economics.[6] Despite the ascent of anti-racist discourses following the war, UNESCO projects involving the United States that focused on Asia echoed prewar and wartime beliefs about supposedly inherent differences between the "East" and "West."[7]

For my purposes in this chapter, Edward Said's formulation of *Orientalism* remains instructive: "It is, rather than expresses a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is [thought to be] a manifestly different (or alternative and novel), world."[8] Indeed, as cultural workers and Washington policymakers attempted to "teach Americans to embrace with enthusiasm rather than reject with fear the whole idea of cultural difference," UNESCO's efforts rendered those differences deep historical and philosophical opposites, rather than less deterministic, flexible identities.[9] In the postwar era (and into the 1990s Arif Dirlik contends), it was "a surplus of history rather than a historical lack" that defined "the state of 'premodern' non-European societies, what we call 'traditional.' It is the burden of the past in one form or another that marks a society as traditional, which impedes its ascent to modernity."[10] The American government's relationship with Asia in the context of UNESCO programming in the 1950s delineates contradictory aspects of the postwar push to embody anti-racist politics on the world stage while selling democracy and capitalism as the moral imperatives of political and cultural freedom and "progress."[11] This chapter also reveals how some of the formerly colonized (or imperially dominated) peoples of Asia wished "to join in globalization," yet insisted "on doing it on their own terms rather than being dragged into it as the objects of colonial power."[12]

Orientalism and History

In his seminal work *Orientalism*, Said claims that following World War II the United States imposed its imperial will on the Near East (Middle East)

and Far East, and approached those areas as France and Britain once had.[13] One of the many goals of *Orientalism* is to make plain the conditions, intellectual, geopolitical, and cultural, out of which "Orient" and "Occident" had been constructed, revealing how orientalism spoke more about the contemporary "West" than the "East."[14] The American brand of orientalism prevalent in the postwar period should be understood as a major component of the ongoing racialization of American society within the context of contemporary globalization.[15]

Postwar orientalism must be viewed as a longer historical process in which notions about the "East" had been constructed by the "West." During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the United States mainly encountered the so-called east through immigration, military conflict, and consumerism. According to Christina Klein, "Americans had been producing and consuming Asia symbolically" since the late eighteenth century through trade and literary endeavors.[16]

With the expansion westward of the United States in the mid-nineteenth century cheap labor became a preferred necessity. As a result, immigration from China skyrocketed. While fitting neatly into the racialized hierarchy of the day as one of the "lower races," Chinese immigrants worked and died on the transcontinental railroads, worked as female prostitutes, and labored in California's mines. Chinese workers were referred to as "nagurs" and depicted as vampires with slanted eyes, dark skin, thick lips, and described as "heathen, morally inferior, savage, childlike, and lustful."[17] President Rutherford B. Hayes, whose inauguration effectively signaled the end of Reconstruction in 1877, began calling for an end to the "Chinese problem." Congress soon responded by passing the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which suspended immigration from China.

Due to financial hardships, many farmers in Japan sought out the United States during this same period. Settling for the most part in Hawaii and California, Japanese immigrants found themselves in a racialized workforce, occupying unskilled and field labor positions in Hawaii's sugarcane fields with native Hawaiians, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Portuguese, and Koreans.[18] The 1920s saw hostilities toward Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans solidified as the US Supreme Court denied the right of US citizenship to Japanese immigrants and then passed in 1924 the Immigration Restriction Act that excluded "aliens ineligible to citizenship."[19] Military victory against Spain in 1898 brought the Philippines into the US imperial fold, and its population into the American racialized order. In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cartoons, Filipinos had been depicted as ignorant, servile "hell-raising aborigines, pupils under Uncle Sam's stern tutelage, or black

children under his solicitous care." Historian Michael Hunt explains the outward-looking landscape of orientalism in the United States:

> Americans of light skin, and especially of English descent, shared a loyalty to race as an essential category for understanding other peoples and as a fundamental basis for judging them. They had, in other words, fixed race at the center of their world view. Public policy in general and foreign policy in particular had from the start of the national experience reflected the central role that race thinking played.[20]

During the interwar period in the United States, conceptualizations of "orientals" and the "Orient" changed little. Popular images remained pejorative. In the 1920s character depictions of Asian people "were by and large brutal figures with a pronounced taste for crime, vice (most often opium smoking), and white women," and by the late 1930s "the Japanese had come to personify the degenerate and savage side of the oriental character," a view that would persist through World War II.[21] The brutal fighting that characterized military confrontation in the Pacific theater reflected long-held social beliefs about "racial" superiority buttressed by science.[22] As the fighting wore on, the atrocities extended beyond the battlefield "to many men and women far removed from the place of battle, and came to embrace not just the enemy's armed forces but the Japanese as a race and culture."[23] While Japan suffered the onslaught of incendiary bombing raids and two atomic bombs that virtually leveled 66 cities, Japanese emigrants and Japanese Americans in the United States suffered the indignity of forced removal from their homes and incarceration in prison camps. What US officials described as wartime "relocation" had gone into effect just two months following the attack on Pearl Harbor, in February 1942. Supported by US Congress and upheld in three wartime Supreme Court decisions, the federally mandated incarceration stands as a monumental testament to the racialized thinking that informed public opinion and federal policy in the first half of the twentieth century.[24]

Postwar Reorienting of the East

At home and abroad, American leaders continued their wartime message of "tolerance" and "democracy," while social attitudes toward the "East" changed little. In occupied Japan, US general Douglas MacArthur commanded the operation of democratizing and demilitarizing Japan with unquestionable paternalism. During this same period, magazines and newspapers in the United States continued to disparage Japanese people, referring to them as "problem children" and depicting them as "infants in

the crib or, more often, children attending General MacArthur's School of Democracy." For MacArthur, the occupation of Japan offered a unique opportunity to spread American-style democracy because unlike "the Germans" who had developed into "a mature race," Japanese people remained "primitives" to be civilized.[25] Japanese people continued to occupy a lower rung on the global racialized hierarchy, as US leadership began to reimagine Japan as a feminized and immature dependent that needed guidance and benevolent treatment.[26]

General MacArthur even enlisted the help of UNESCO in this process, and supported in 1947 the official establishment of a UNESCO Co-operative Association in Sendai, Japan. As supreme commander for the Allied Powers in the Pacific, MacArthur oversaw "the reorientating of the Japanese people," in which UNESCO played a large role. UNESCO was to serve as the "mental preparation" for eliminating the causes of war in the "minds of [Japanese] men."[27] The UNESCO program in Japan extended to dozens of cities and small towns, contributed to the rebuilding of Japan's educational system at all levels, and provided opportunities to learn about democracy.[28] Japanese leaders during the occupation sought a path to peace and recovery through the acceptance of the US occupation. Some Japanese leaders appeared eager to reshape the country along the lines mandated by the US military, even while racism remained apparent.[29] During the occupation US leaders attempted to quell discussions of racism in Japan while maintaining racist views concerning "mixed" offspring, instances of social segregation, and the elimination of a clause for "racial" equality in Japan's postwar constitution.[30] By the close of US occupation in 1951, "Japan had become an ally, a stable junior partner" in Asia.[31] Even after the brutal destruction of many Japanese cities by US bombing raids during the war, American leaders understood that the strength of Japan's prewar industrial core provided great potential for the postwar period.[32]

As anti-communist animosities heated up in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Soviet Russia began to supplant Japan as the enemy from the "East."[33] The racism that characterized fighting in the pacific during World War II had not diminished during the occupation. Rather such racism was submerged in official discourse and US policy while long-held beliefs based on physical appearance and cultural differences went unchecked.

Due to immigration restrictions, no great influx of Japanese people to the United States occurred during the occupation. In fact, between 1930 and 1960, people from Asia as a whole comprised just 5 percent of all immigration to the United States. With the majority residing in Hawaii and California, in 1960 people of Asian descent only made up one-half of

1 percent of the total US population. Not until the influx of people from the Philippines following the war and Hawaii's statehood did the notoriously small population of people of Asian descent drastically change.[34] A minuscule demographic did little to prevent the racialization of the "Orient" during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This "geopolitical awareness" not only created but maintained, as Said put it, "a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world."[35] The postwar cache of anti-racism urged cultural exchange and cooperation, yet how was it to purge the "pronounced evaluative judgment" associated with the racialized construction of things and people deemed "oriental"?[36] It was not.

Anti-racism ran up against deeply ingrained notions of biological inferiority, cultural backwardness, sexual objectification and passivity of the "East."[37] The currency of Boasian cultural relativism resonated in the popular discourse on Asia in the postwar period, yet "race" remained the valid way to categorize human populations in scientific and popular debates.[38] "Race" and culture remained wed as overlapping concepts that identified and explained human difference. As the leading international effort by professional scholars in the early 1950s, UNESCO studies of "race" confirmed the intersection of "racial" and cultural difference. However, appearing to embrace "with enthusiasm rather than" rejecting "with fear the whole idea of cultural difference" had become a necessary function of state-supported anti-racism during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.[39]

UNESCO began in 1947 to tackle the issue of cultural relations by producing comparative studies "of cultures or national ways of life, and of peoples' ideas and judgments about their own culture and its relations with other cultures." A group of scientists, historians, anthropologists, and philosophers met in Paris in 1949 to debate the problem of "understanding between peoples."[40] Published under the title *Interrelations of Cultures* in 1953, the volume of essays and discussions remarked upon the great hope UNESCO held in its quest to bridge the apparent gaps between all cultures. The volume's introductory essay made this plain:

> The objective common to these studies exceeds their mere scientific or speculative interest. It concerns in a very concrete way more than one of the most urgent tasks of UNESCO and of the other United Nations agencies. The extension of education, the general raising of the level of culture, the improvement of living conditions, technical assistance with a view to the economic development of less favoured nations or the application of the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human

> Rights—all such international activity runs the risk of being fruitless or even harmful unless it makes the widest allowances for the diversity and independence of civilizations and for the relations which have sprung up in the course of history between peoples of different cultures. Ignorance or misunderstanding of the intellectual, moral or spiritual values inherent in each culture would not only impair the efficiency of international co-operation; it would expose the most praiseworthy endeavours to the worst mistakes or irreparable disaster. It is hoped that the studies whose publication this volume inaugurates, may make their modest contribution to this important task.[41]

Bhikhan Lal Atreya of Benares Hindu University, India, championed the United Nations and UNESCO for their provisions of "common international platforms for discussion of far-reaching and vital problems of humanity" in an era of "greater and greater contact between peoples of various countries, races and communities." Supporting UNESCO's approach of cultural exchange, Atreya declared it "a happy sign of the present age that serious thinkers and mature minds of the West are now realizing the need of grafting the best elements of Indian culture on the tree of Western civilization."[42] Ultimately, the ten scholars attending the 1951 conference similarly confirmed racialized civilizational differences between nations and hemispheres, and the cultural assumptions of modernization.[43] Though the group as a whole displayed concern for the possible disruptive impact of "machines and industrial techniques" and the "problems of the cultural equilibrium and the evolution of values of peoples brought into contact by technological change," they nevertheless posited that "understanding and humanism" were important ingredients in the pursuit of knowledge, "in the cultivation of values, and in the good life for which economic and political institutions" were "but preparations and foundations."[44]

A UNESCO conference in New Delhi, India, in 1951, and meetings in Sao Paulo and Geneva in 1954 followed the initial meeting and publication. In Brazil and Switzerland discussants dealt with cultural relations between Europe and the Americas, while the 1951 conference dealt squarely with the East/West conundrum, and resulted in extending UNESCO's interest in the topic. By 1956 UNESCO's General Conference returned to New Delhi, at which time the organization announced plans for a major project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. In anticipation of the General Conference in New Delhi, the USNC hosted a series of international roundtables in various US cities during April and May of 1956.

In 1955 UNESCO director general Luther Evans called upon the USNC to organize a series of conferences to discuss ways to improve and further

the understanding between "Asian and American cultures." A working paper prepared by US scholars under the auspices of the USNC outlined the basis of the discussions to take place. Authored by Guy Pauker of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the paper incorporated suggestions from such notable policy advocates of modernization as Lucian Pye and W. W. Rostow.[45] Pye and Rostow both worked with Pauker at the Center for International Studies, which the Central Intelligence Agency "underwrote" almost as a "subsidiary enterprise."[46] They had both risen among the intellectual leaders of development and area studies and informed the policymaking of Presidents Eisenhower and later Kennedy. By the mid-1950s Pye had begun publishing on counterinsurgency in southeast Asia, namely, Malaya, Burma, and Indonesia. Rostow's work dealt broadly with modernization throughout the third world, but like Pye and others focused on legitimizing development policies through the rhetoric of democratization and the evils of communism.[47]

Pauker and the MIT group put together a working paper for the conference on Asian-American relations that stressed the very same issues discussed in the work of Pye, Rostow, and others. "At first sight," Pauker wrote, "the most striking fact of American life may appear to be that a population equal in number that of Southeast Asia is currently achieving a standard of living without precedent in history." Pauker couched the economic prosperity he described in the "great progress" in American society that "has been made on the problems of equity for the farmer, of labor union organization, of social security, of cyclical unemployment, of monopolies and industrial concentration, of the position of women, of the Negro and other minorities, of educational opportunities for all."[48] Pauker argued that "industrial civilization" had much to offer of the "Western values," which "for centuries… seemed to be of little interest to the peoples of southern Asia, whose cultures were still distinguished by their stability and traditionalism." Highlighting what he deemed the "socio-cultural aspects" of social change and industrialization, Pauker submitted that "at the same time that non-literate cultures are brought into the stream of history, illiteracy is being reduced in all cultures," a process that "not only intensified circulation of miscellaneous information, but also an enormously broadened circulation of the awareness of human values."[49] For those people without history in south and southeast Asia, Pauker posed a series of questions concerning their ability to overcome "the sheer inertia of the traditional culture."[50] He asked, "[I]s the idea that events in nature and in society can be explained and controlled rationally gaining wider and wider adherence as traditional cultures are opened by modernizing influences?" Pauker continued, "[I]s it not… plausible to suggest… that the

ideas and values which originated with the Renaissance and the enlightenment in the West several centuries ago are still spreading across the globe? Are we not witnessing an abatement of age-old fears reflected in the belief in witchcraft?"[51]

Keeping in mind the strictures of anti-racism, Pauker offered an explanation for the tone of the pamphlet. He attempted to clarify that "while the dominant strand in the American people comes from various parts of Europe and the 'melting pot' has primarily fused human groups with close cultural, ethnic, and religious ties, the contributions of Asia and Africa to the cultural and ethnic composition of the American people are by no means negligible." Reassuring readers that "if this paper appears occasionally as too ethnocentric, this is certainly not due to any desire to equate 'achievement' with 'American' but due to what seemed to us the most fruitful way to initiate discussions in the United States on the topic of cultural relations between Americans and peoples from other parts of the world."[52] Pauker added, "[W]herever modern trends appear there is less readiness than in the past to accept concepts of the inherent superiority of certain individuals, classes, or races, the exalted position of which was in the past usually sanctioned by reference to supernatural or hereditary factors."[53] Understanding that the "attitudes of Eastern and Western men are the product of evolution and could in the process of time be modified by cultural contacts," the paper closed in support of UNESCO's goal of making "some contribution to the range of concrete activities through which peoples can get to know, understand, and—one can never stop hoping—perhaps like each other better."[54]

As anthropologist Eric Wolf has stated, "[T]he so-called primitives, people 'without history,' supposedly isolated from the external world and from one another" were fit into the "reified categories" that "became intellectual instruments in the prosecution of the Cold War."[55] Rather than promoting genuine understanding and appreciation of cultural difference, "modernization theory effectively foreclosed any but the most ideologically charged understanding" of "the term *modern*." Pauker offered a half-hearted denial of an "ethnocentric" approach to Asian-American cultural relations that echoed the claims of his colleagues Rostow and Max Millikan, director of the Center for International Studies at MIT.

In a report submitted to CIA director Allen Dulles in 1954, Millikan and Rostow argued that "it is emphatically not our purpose to attempt to mold other societies in our own image. Each society must find that form of growth appropriate to its own traditions, values, and aspirations."[56] This point of emphasis contrasted with what Millikan and Rostow recognized as "the immediate purpose of the foreign economic policy of the United States to participate in a partnership with the nations and peoples of the free world

designed to promote the health and growth of the free world economy."[57] Cultural pluralism remained more rhetorical than operational within modernization theory.[58] The task of developing the third world remained ideologically loaded with racialized paternalism that held "Western" modernity as the pinnacle of human progress. This hierarchical view informed UNESCO's cultural exchange programming in the United States.

Reporting on the series of roundtables that took place in six US cities in the spring of 1956, William Givens, chairman of the USNC, praised Pauker's paper for its rich content and "stimulating" yet "sympathetic" approach to the issue of Asian-American cultural cooperation.[59] Officials scheduled the roundtables to commence in April in San Francisco, then to Minneapolis, Ann Arbor, Louisville, Boston, concluding in the nation's capital in May. At each site but the final one, universities provided the facilities and handled logistics for the discussions. The April meeting was held at the University of California, with subsequent roundtables taking place at the University of Minnesota, the aforementioned MIT, Michigan, and the University of Louisville. The American Council of Learned Societies in DC arranged the final meeting, while Max McCullough and Frank Hopkins of the UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, oversaw the entire series of roundtables. The participants from Asia included academicians hailing from Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Laos, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam.[60] These representatives held the interest of American architects of modernization precisely because they represented decolonizing areas in which communist and socialist movements loomed large and "anti-Western" sentiment threatened American geopolitical interests.[61] One striking example of US intervention in those trends is the case of Vietnam dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. Installed with the help of the CIA and State Department in 1954, Diem's ardent Catholicism, anti-communism, and congeniality toward US business interests served the short lasting attempt to suppress "fatalistic" Buddhists and ungodly communists in southeast Asia.[62]

Arthur Goodfriend, who was primarily responsible for the final reports on the 1956 roundtables and the 1957 national conference in San Francisco, conducted research on Russia, China, India, and Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s.[63] Although obvious American interests in Asia existed during this period, Luther Evans, the director general of UNESCO, actually prompted the USNC to undertake the 1956 roundtables, which then led to the 1957 conference.[64] Though in UNESCO's early years representatives from India had "repeatedly urged that UNESCO help present to countries of the Occident the cultures of the Orient," the relevance of cultural relations with countries in Asia had already became a necessary component of US foreign policy.[65] Racialized assumptions of superiority and a lack of

respect for the histories and lives of people fighting to overturn the yolk of colonial oppression philosophically grounded these policies. Pauker's condescending assessment of US relations with the Philippines reflects those assumptions. Pauker wrote:

> Is the past a bond or a barrier between the countries of southern Asia and the United States? Perhaps neither. Separate branches of the tree of culture have grown and flourished in the two regions. No kinship ties are present in the memories of the respective peoples. Contacts have, in the past, been sporadic, and influences have been marginal until recently. Only the Filipinos have known Americans as conquerors, and yet the United States has no better friends in southern Asia.[66]

Indeed, the specific "configurations of power" that characterized American relations with some of the countries of Asia handcuffed the program of cultural understanding before it was underway.[67] The latent and manifest, or nearly unconscious and clearly stated views about the "Orient" held by some US officials, scholars, and citizens clearly informed these monumental conferences in 1956 and 1957.[68] Pauker remarked that in August 1955, in preparation for these meetings, the USNC "brought together in Ann Arbor, Michigan, an ad hoc committee of scholars" he described as "social scientists, humanists, and orientalists."[69] The scholarship being produced in area studies and other burgeoning interdisciplinary ventures supported by the state provided sufficient fuel for the orientalization of Asia in an ongoing "interchange between the academic and the more or less imaginative meanings of Orientalism."[70]

Malvina Lindsay of the *Washington Post* initiated media coverage of the 1956 roundtables that spoke to such an analysis. On the first day of the roundtables taking place in San Francisco, Lindsay interviewed a representative from Germany and a librarian from Indonesia. "Naturally," the columnist wrote, "the Asian . . . felt more the strangeness of this 'new world' its immensity of space . . . rushed tempo . . . lush abundance . . . casual social relationships . . . above all, the dominance of machines, roaring, clattering, whirring everywhere and carrying sinister suggestion of a background of atom bombs and of America's almost frightening power." Lindsay described assumptions underlying the challenging cultural gap that produced "culture shock" in the guest from Indonesia stating, "Americans, who seem materialistic gadgeteers to many Asians, have developed machines because their economy required them. Asians, who seem impractical and inefficient to many Americans because they don't use machines to do their work, have been up against the necessity of providing jobs for large populations."[71] In his report on the roundtables,

Arthur Goodfriend's introductory comments similarly essentialized East/West cultural difference. The area studies scholar commented:

> Scarcely 48 hours earlier many of the Asians had been at home. Planes had picked them up, hurled them across an ocean, and deposited them with almost split-second punctuality at this distant rendezvous. Coming from sovereign nations, they brought pride in their peoples' traditions, cultures, and sacrifices for equality and freedom. Economists, educators, philosophers, they brought an awareness of the impact on their countrymen of technology, industrialization, swift communication and conflicting ideologies in a shrinking world. From lands primarily agricultural and in an early phase of their economic development, they recognized the inevitability of industrialization, its menace as well as its might, and looked to America as a source of experience and assistance. Racially different, they were as one in their zest for understanding and friendship and either spoke or understood a common tongue, English.[72]

Ignoring the ills of colonial exploitation at the hands of European powers, both the *Washington Post* writer and Goodfriend posited East/West differences as naturalized and not the result of historical circumstance. This perspective informed much of the roundtables, according to Goodfriend, but still allowed for cultural relativism. During the many discussions, "once the inhibitions born of strangeness relaxed," candor "seemed to bridge" the gaps. "Instead of opposing bloc to bloc, frankness erased the geographical, racial, and political lines dividing the discussants." According to Goodfriend, both "Eastern" and "Western" members asked, "[W]hat values do men share?" because "with industrialization inevitable, how can cultural conformity be prevented and respect for differences strengthened?"[73] Lindsay did give voice to "the newly arrived Indonesian journalist" who "felt that the cultural gap between East and West wasn't so dangerous as were two political questions that now seemed to be dividing Southeast Asia and the United States, namely colonialism and methods of economic aid." Lindsay understood that "misunderstandings over colonial stands or methods of rice growing" could "be resolved only when both sides recognize why they cannot be made into images of each other."[74] However, American scholars working under the auspices of the State Department did not hesitate to do so.

In his paper, Guy Pauker asserted, "Americans get a glow of satisfaction in noting that the movement toward self-determination is associated in the minds of many distinguished Asian leaders with the events initiated by the American revolution. This awareness of an important bond between the New World and the resurgent nations of Asia and Africa," argued Pauker, "was emphasized when President Soekarno [*sic*] of Indonesia

paid homage to Paul Revere's ride in opening the Bandung Conference a year ago in April 1955."[75] During the 1956 roundtables officials did not mask the value-laden activities modernization entailed.[76] As Goodfriend reported, with the success of leftist movements in mind, American panelists inquired, "[W]hat role do the masses play in Asian life? How genuine is Asian democracy?" And how "can Asia justify its neutralism in the current conflict between totalitarianism and democracy? How do Asians propose to prevent their countries from becoming Communist satellites?"[77]

The Bandung Conference and the "neutralism" it announced had been shrouded in controversy and even contempt from the US State Department. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles referred to Bandung as the meeting of "so-called Afro-Asian conference," while civil rights activists recognized Bandung as "a turning point in world history." However for Prime Minister Nehru of India the purpose of the conference was to "remove tensions and help Asian nations to develop."[78] Although Bandung had been viewed in some quarters as a groundbreaking moment that refuted the legitimacy of Soviet and American ideologies and policy, the nonaligned movement had been taken over by individuals who benefited from modernization policies, and in the 1950s the United States and the United Nations and its specialized agencies dictated any hopes to modernize.[79] Its advocates viewed successful development as an increase in a country's per capita income, total production, and industrial capacity, not widespread improvement of living conditions of poor people in decolonizing areas. For the UN apparatus and UNESCO in particular, the attainment of human rights and cultural self-determination "were quoted and used as guidelines from their earliest days" despite the ineffectual results of those policies.[80]

In his summation of the 1956 roundtables, Arthur Goodfriend made clear his interpretation of those rhetorical guidelines writing, "[T]hus within a multicultural world, one value, tolerance, deserved precedence over all others. Only tolerance could tide men over a time when their oldest, truest values are reeling under the shock of man's newest value, technological change." For Goodfriend, there existed a detailed list of older "international values" that "East" and "West" had to exchange in order to promote cooperation. "From America, it was felt by some" at the roundtables, that "Asia might borrow the spirit of democracy that America had made a feature of its culture. Its productivity, not necessarily of all its luxuries, but of essential items. Its efficiency of work. Its dignity of labor. Its sense of self-respect and self-help" and "its higher living standards." Delegates from Asia apparently expressed "broad agreement that the United States could learn spiritual values obtainable only through intellectual, emotional and volitional concentration of one's entire being on

the comprehension of reality, as opposed to purely intellectual contemplation." Goodfriend's report stated also, "America might borrow Asia's conception of universality and its humility before God. Asia's self-control, its purity of motive, its tender affections-expressed in family feeling, attentiveness to children, and sex morality."[81] This mélange of "Asian" characteristics described by Goodfriend reflected softer, postwar racialized stereotypes of how the "East" supposedly differed from the "West."

From the closing sessions of the 1956 roundtables, the *Washington Post*'s Malvina Lindsay leant her journalist insight into the month-long discussions between southeast Asian nations and the United States. Lindsay's article began, "This week in Washington 10 leading intellectuals of Southeast Asia have been asking in effect this question: How can people have telephones and refrigerators without juke boxes and ulcers being thrown in?" Restating the "old question of how to get your industrialization without paying for it," Lindsay wrote, "ever since creeping industrialization began taking over the world; nonindustrial peoples have both wanted and feared it." While recognizing that misconceptions existed in each hemisphere concerning the other, Lindsay asserted, "[I]f the Western world has its alcoholism, the Eastern one has its opium traffic." The point of Lindsay's piece seemed to be that each mode of life embodied by "West" and "nonindustrial peoples" produced its own distinct problems, "yet these visiting Asian leaders have found that the machine has made some good cultural contributions in American life." According to Lindsay, "[I]t has helped unify the Nation, by drawing regions together, breaking down provincial prejudices and suspicions, and by developing an informed populace." Both Lindsay and Arthur Goodfriend made the striking announcement that "the Asians" found that modernization, and more specifically urbanization, promoted "progress" in "race relations." Dr. V. Rao, director of the School of Economics, University of Delhi, reportedly "stressed the connection between industrialization and lessened discrimination toward minorities." Goodfriend reported that on the whole "Asians readily appreciated that in the area of race relations, the situation in the United States was more complicated than in Asia in the sense that American Negroes were not a colonial people," while Lindsay added that "Asians especially felt that urbanization was doing much to… promote integration."[82]

Regardless of national or regional affiliation, during the 1956 roundtable series, delegates contributed to a discourse that was both orientalist and anti-racist.[83] Many participants expressed socially and historically constructed notions of the East/West divide, demonstrating another instance "where the influence of ideas, of institutions, and of other persons works" illuminated the "consent" with which the East/West project had been orientalized.[84] As the United States pushed its "spirit of democracy"

and "high living standards" as human values, representatives of the "East" offered its "tender affections and self-control" to the "West."

San Francisco, 1957

Concerned with public perceptions of the United States in the global arena, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles organized media coverage of the upcoming 1957 conference on Asian-American relations. He stressed to foreign services departments throughout Asia a publicity campaign that emphasized US support for UNESCO's cultural exchange initiatives. Mindful of the destructive impact of Emmett Till's murder and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the secretary of state sought to mobilize federal government resources to cover the outwardly positive UNESCO conference set to take place in San Francisco. In a document drafted by Frank Hopkins and approved by Max McCullough of the UNESCO Relations Staff, Dulles remarked on his "hope" that "an important by-product of the Conference will be a substantial amount of favorable publicity in the various countries of Asia, with a resultant increase of goodwill toward the American people for their demonstration of sympathetic interest in the peoples and cultures of Asia."[85] Dulles adamantly supported US embassies in their efforts to push for the attendance of delegates from Asia because he felt it would likely increase the positive publicity surrounding the conference. The secretary of state also advocated "using Asians as speakers, discussion participants and guest observers."

In other efforts, Frank Hopkins informed Jacques Havet of UNESCO that the State Department's UNESCO Relations Staff maintained "close liaison with all the American foundations and other organizations in the field of Asian studies."[86] Havet replied that he was grateful to Hopkins and Max McCullough "for keeping in close contact with the American foundations" because "the Project" required "the co-ordination of a great number of efforts, some of them quite independent from UNESCO."[87] As it had in the 1956 roundtables on Asia, the State Department organized the much larger and well-focused San Francisco conference with the help of the American Council of Learned Societies, the University of California, the University of Hawaii, the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, Stanford Research Institute, Stanford University, UCLA, the San Francisco Museum of Art, and the Rockefeller Foundation. These universities and institutions provided logistical services along with monetary contributions for travel of foreign representatives and exhibitions.[88]

The sixth national conference of the USNC reflected the postwar connections between government interests and universities. "Military, intelligence, and propaganda agencies," according to historian Christopher

Simpson, received "by far the largest part of the funds for large research projects in the social sciences in the United States from World War II until well into the 1960s, and that such funding was designed to support the full range of national security project of the day."[89] Anthropologist David Price adds, "[S]ince the earliest days of the Cold War, universities, colleges, and research facilities" had been "afloat in a sea of direct and indirect military-industrial dollars."[90] Doak Barnett, designated reporter of the 1957 national conference who authored the USNC pamphlet for the conference, was a prolific writer on China and communism and affiliated with the Ford Foundation and Columbia University.[91] Along with many American newspapers, the "China watcher" Barnett provided firsthand descriptions of the San Francisco conference to the reading public in the United States.[92]

Continuing her coverage of UNESCO, Malvina Lindsay announced for *Washington Post* readers the inception of the San Francisco conference of November 1957. "Those who find themselves bored by Sputnik's feats and oppressed by the Kremlin's power strategies can divert their minds, beginning tomorrow, to a new international puzzle. It is how to understand Asians," wrote Lindsay. The journalist outlined the problem of cultural relations between Asian people and Americans in terms of a lack of accurate news reports and "high cable rates." This communication gap, according to Lindsay, had led to Americans complaining "of the way the Little Rock racial trouble was sensationalized and overplayed by the Asian press, and of how many an Asian, thanks to his news media, thinks of this country as swept by race riots, gang killings and Hollywood scandals." For Lindsay, the answer was "only the slow process of education" and "a demand for news that will more fully inform Asians and Americans about each other." She wrote, "[M]any Americans would like to see Asians reach the state where they would know that movie enchantresses did not represent the average American woman and that a senatorial bigot did not speak for the American people."[93] But Lindsay's article offered a sentimental assessment that echoed Cold War concerns of the United States government.

Specifically concerning the furor in Little Rock, newspapers from eastern Africa to India and China covered the story for the entire month of September. President Eisenhower even remarked that the events "would become known around the world." Little Rock "was a crisis of such magnitude for worldwide perceptions of race and American democracy that it would become the reference point for the future."[94] Contrary to Lindsay's claims and the larger rhetorical strategies of the US State Department, Little Rock demonstrated for a world audience the depths of racism in American society. Despite the NAACP's victory in the *Brown* decision

in 1954, the elected governor of Arkansas called in the state militia to prevent nine African American students from attending Central High School. The disastrous event reportedly made Secretary of State John Foster Dulles "sick at heart." He well understood the reality that "this situation was ruining our foreign policy."[95]

The USNC National Conference in San Francisco became another cog in the public relations machine of the US government. Amid heated controversy surrounding racism, colonialism, and communism, its goals included stimulating public interest in Asian-American relations and promoting a positive image of American democracy. As Lindsay's claims show, these issues were far from tangential as the conference began. And as such, the State Department took care in its preparations for the conference, with Frank Hopkins and the UNESCO Relations staff composing a preliminary program, securing a panelist from the UNESCO secretariat and supporting the publication of "a concise interpretive pamphlet" of the conference proceedings to be published by UNESCO.[96] In addition, the USNC declared November "Asia Month" in the United States. The USNC planned with the help of the Library of Congress and many other institutions to distribute "lists of books, films, and other audiovisual materials available, as well as music and theatrical resources and suitable lecturers" to publicize and demonstrate the government's efforts at increasing Asian-American cultural relations.[97]

In anticipation of the USNC National Conference, the *San Francisco Chronicle* began reporting on upcoming area activities at the beginning of November. The *San Francisco Chronicle* announced that Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, would deliver a speech at one of three major luncheons to open the national conference. Reuther's talk titled "An American Looks at Asia," helped set the tone of the conference, which had as its theme "Asia and the United States: What the American Citizen Can Do to Promote Mutual Understanding and Co-Operation."[98] Carolyn Anspacher of the *Chronicle* also described the meeting as the "largest ever held in this country on the subject of relations with Asia," and boasted its opening at the San Francisco Opera House, with Under Secretary of State Christian Herder delivering the keynote address.[99] According to the *Chronicle*, "[E]very major educational institution in the United States" would be represented at the sixth national conference, which also billed UNESCO director general Luther Evans, assistant director general Vittorino Veronese, and assistant secretary of state Andrew Berding as speakers at the conference's opening session.[100] The *Chronicle* also informed readers that Vijaya Pandit, whose prolific political career included heading India's delegation to the United Nations at the time of the San Francisco conference, and Luther Evans, would

be guests at one of the "three largest private dinners being given in San Francisco" for the USNC and notable conference attendees.[101] Giving "the largest and most lavish dinner," Mr. and Mrs. Walter Buck had the honor of hosting Pandit and Evans in their "white mansion," decorated with a "green marble dinning table, seven feet in diameter" with "green bronze legs."[102]

Coverage anticipating the conference's opening was not all pomp, as some observers criticized UNESCO for supplying communist-controlled Hungary with educational aid. The report stemming from a Luther Evans press conference reminded observers and participants of the anti-communist fervor that surrounded UNESCO throughout the 1950s.[103] Charles De Young Thierot, *San Francisco Chronicle* editor, reassured readers that the USNC "could not have chosen a more fitting place" to hold the conference because the city was "knowledgeable about the Orient and anxious to increase trade and cultural contacts." Referring to the LA Public School's repudiation of UNESCO in the early 1950s, Thierot clarified that the organization had "never taken a beating here from emotionally disturbed and confused zealots, as it has in other parts of California." The editor, "without immodesty," characterized San Francisco as "a sophisticated and hospitable city in which to discuss and promote international understanding."[104]

The 1957 conference opened on a positive note that reiterated the anti-racist aims of US cultural diplomacy. *Chronicle* columnist Arthur Hoppe described the Opera House's "colorful backdrop" of "flags of the 79 member nations of UNESCO" and the "distinguished speakers" who took up three rows of chairs. However "holding the center of the stage were 13 American students and faculty members from UCLA." For the *Chronicle* writer, "the fact that they had mastered the intricate rhythms and harmonies of Indonesian music seemed to sum up what the conference was all about." The conference opened up "to the cacophony of drums, gongs and tinkling silver bells."[105] Among the estimated fifteen hundred delegates from "universities, churches and synagogues, from business, professional and civic organizations, from welfare agencies, art museums and theater groups" all shared "one thing" according to Arthur Hoppe, "an interest in some facet of Asia-from its economic development to its cultural past."[106]

The *Chronicle*'s society editor Yvonne Mero countered these worldly issues of diplomacy in another interesting article. Following her inspired piece on the preconference dinner party scence, Mero alerted readers to the "late afternoon cocktail party" held in the "Hotel St. Francis." Mero wrote that "international friendship sparked by national hospitality on a San Francisco level" made the party "an occasion to remember." "The

party started on time," according to Mero, at which "many attractive hostesses graciously" made the visitors "feel at home." Mero described the "red-haired Betty (Mrs. Gene) Walker, in gray, circulating in the throng . . . a perennial circle of admirers about Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, exotically beautiful and charming in her saffron-colored sari . . . attractive blonde Mrs. Henry Hope of Bloomington, Ill. (her husband is a delegate)." Also among the throngs were "two pretty Scripps College delegates" who were "later seen fetching cokes," and "Mrs. Howland Sargeant," also known as UNESCO delegate and Hollywood star Myrna Loy. Though "too many interesting conversations to terminate" had gotten under way, delegates among the nearly one thousand partygoers managed to leave "in time for the first plenary session."[107] Such matters as dinner and cocktail parties provided the *Chronicle* and its readers a more lighthearted perspective on the conference, whom all nevertheless received constant reminders of the real-life political events engulfing the United States and much of the globe in the mid and late 1950s.

One *Chronicle* reader from Berkeley challenged the basic premise of the conference by registering his dismay at the highly restrictive US immigration policy toward Asia. Colin Edwards inquired of *Chronicle* editors, "[H]ow can the U.S. expect to build understanding and friendship with Asia when its very laws clearly imply that Asians are less desirable immigrants than Europeans, whatever the intellectual or human qualities of the individuals concerned?" Edwards added, "[T]his legal racialism has even been extended to the operation of the U.S. refugee admission program in rank discrimination against Asians . . . Are we to regard Emma Lazarus's noble lines on the Statue of Liberty as so much hypocritical propaganda instead of a testament of American humanity?"[108] More notable voices added to the public politicization of the conference. On its opening day, president of the United Auto Workers Walter Reuther called on the Eisenhower administration and State Department "to abandon a foreign policy based on 'fears and hates' in order to win the socio-economic battle against Russia in Asia's uncommitted countries." According to Donovan Bess of the *Chronicle*, "[T]he hard-hitting United Auto Workers president concentrated his fury on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles" in "an undisguised assault."[109]

New York and Los Angeles papers carried stories with a similar focus on the opening day of the San Francisco conference. The *New York Times* reported Reuther as denouncing "United States foreign policy as 'rigid and inflexible, unrealistic and dangerous." According to the *New York Times*, Reuther condemned Dulles as wanting "a ton of gratitude for every ton of aid" to Asia.[110] In coverage provided by the *Los Angeles Times*, Reuther reportedly announced during the opening session that the United States

"must make clear to the people of Asia that the actions of a small minority in Little rock do not represent the overwhelming majority of the American people," but also challenged American leadership "recalling our own early policy of nonentanglement." Reuther argued, "[W]e should recognize the dicision [*sic*] of a nation to remain neutral of the two major power blocs. Economic aid should be extended to meet the needs of the Asian people, and not from a 'negative anti-Communist point of view.'"[111]

On the conference's closing day, Vijaya Pandit continued the highly critical assessment of American efforts in Asia. She called "ignorance" the "chief villain in the way of better understanding and urged continued aid to Asia, including military aid."[112] *New York Times* coverage focused on Pandit's discussion of a "half-oxcart and half-Cadillac" world that would eventually meet "moral doom." Speaking to "an overflow audience at the closing session," Pandit made clear that "what we must all understand is that half the world cannot move around in oxcarts, while the other half rides in Cadillacs," and "equally important" it was "to understand that the gifts of Cadillacs to us in Asia will not solve our problems." Pandit "cited these barriers to building a 'Golden Gate Bridge of understanding' across the Pacific," yet also reminded the delegates "'how sensitive we are to any form of discrimination on ground of race or color.'" Undoubtedly taking jabs at the United States and defending the policy of nonalignment, Pandit concluded remarking, "[D]emocracy can have more than one face (figure 4.1)."[113]

Local newspaper accounts of the sixth national conference also revealed the stream of criticism evident throughout the four days of meetings. On the second day of the conference, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that Oliver Caldwell, assistant commissioner for international education at the US Office of Education, "criticized American elementary schools for a superficial and insular approach to Asia."[114] On the conference's third day, U Thant, the UN ambassador from Burma and future UN director general "called on the United States to jettison a 'make believe' policy under which" it refused to recognize "Communist China." The frontpage *Chronicle* story informed readers that in his address to the conference "the Ambassador forthrightly criticized both official and unofficial American attitudes toward Asian nations." Thant's "broad indictment was prefaced by a statement which glowingly supported the 'peaceful co-existence' theme of the 1955 Afro-Asian Bandung Conference," and concluded with the assertion that "if the United States decided to reverse her attitude toward China, more than 50 nations of the world" would "follow suit overnight."[115] Thant and others surely remained aware of the "West's" failure to allow China to participate in UNESCO during much of the 1950s and early 1960s.[116]

Figure 4.1 Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit addressing USNC National Conference in San Francisco, November 1957. Courtesy of National Archives Still Picture Branch, College Park, MD.

According to the *Chronicle*, "[T]he soft-spoken" Pandit "tempered her frank criticism of American policy and attitudes with eloquent expressions of faith in this country." In contrast to U Thant's "bitter denunciation of U.S. foreign policy," Pandit seemed to offer a more palatable challenge to the United States.[117]

Interestingly, during the conference discussions on "economic relations urged that India be given substantial aid because" American social scientists agreed that "there are some indications that India may be strained to keep up with the purely material progress being made in (Communist) China."[118] As an emerging and immensely populated "free" market, India had captured the attention of US policymakers. On the heels of the San Francisco conference Max McCullough informed UNESCO director general Luther Evans that the USNC had begun "considering a proposal" to the national commission of India "for a joint Indian-United States undertaking of an experimental character within the framework of the UNESCO project on Mutual Appreciation of Easter and Western Cultural Values." McCullough inquired if UNESCO would be willing to lend financial assistance to a series of discussions between India and the United States "to study ways of developing, among the peoples

of the two countries, mutual understanding and mutual appreciation of the cultures of each." McCullough remained hopeful that such a project would foster cooperation "between two countries of differing traditions, histories, religions and stages of technological development."[119] This proposal was never carried to fruition, but the suggested effort by a key State Department official reflects attempts to further American economic interests through UNESCO, and the biased perspective that informed relations with the "Orient."

The UNESCO conference conveniently followed the International Industrial Development Conference that had taken place in San Francisco the previous month. The international conference on development "brought together over 550 business and government executives from about 60 countries," with "99 Asians from 17 Asian countries attending." According to Doak Barnett, the international development conference "clearly concluded that human understanding through personal contact is essential to developing the economic welfare everywhere." For Barnett, as a result of the conference "many private businessmen in the West acquired a greater appreciation of the philosophies and activities of Asian governments and peoples in trying to meet their problems, while representatives from Asia came to appreciate more fully the social-welfare-minded character of Western free enterprise."[120]

UNESCO conference speakers affiliated with various UN agencies and US institutions similarly linked anti-racism to the positive prospects of modernization. Hugh Keenleyside, director general of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, stated, "[I]f we could overcome, even a significant part of human selfishness, greed, inertia, and prejudice, a new world would be born." Keenleyside added, "[S]ome progress has been made. What we are doing now (in economic and technical cooperation and assistance) would have been impossible a generation ago."[121] William B. Dale of the Stanford Research Institute pointed out that still "very little Western industry" existed in "the countries of free Asia stretching from Afghanistan to Japan," a region containing "about 30 percent of the total world population," which produced "only about 8 percent of total global output" in marketable goods.[122] UNESCO's conference committee chairman offered "practical advice" in bringing modernization to Asia. In an interview with the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Stanley Allyn, chairman of the National Cash Register Company, outlined a five-point plan for "trade in Asia." Allyn who had served as chief US delegate to UNESCO's 1955 General Conference in New Delhi, had recently returned to the United States after the opening of "a $3 million dollar plant near Tokyo." According to the *Chronicle*, Allyn's organization had nine plants in Europe, South America, and Asia, from which it stood to

garner a third of $400 million in sales. Allyn's five-point plan urged US firms to "staff Asian offices and factories with personnel of the country, whenever possible," not to "treat Asian employees as 'stepchildren,' but" to "treat them the same as employees are treated in the U.S.," and to "show respect for the customs, traditions and sensitivities of the local peoples." Allyn, along with other US representatives to the San Francisco conference, had clearly "learned that the commercial world, the intellectual world and the cultural world" existed as "all parts of the same world."[123] The commingling of cultural relations with economics embodied precisely the approach to modernization engaged by the United States from the close of World War II. It was fitting that a person of Allyn's expertise and experience chaired the San Francisco conference committee.

UNESCO's conference took as another major theme the creative arts. Joseph Campbell of Sarah Lawrence College described the basic premise behind these particular discussions and exhibitions. Campbell asserted, "[D]ialogue that has taken place through the centuries between the Oriental and Occidental divisions of the human race" had a "long and interesting history." He felt "the traditional and classical art works of the East" were "capable of transmitting to the West 'something of the force and majesty of the Oriental past.'"[124] The conference section on the arts included performances of "Indonesian dancers" and the UCLA orchestra who "played Javanese and Japanese" music.[125] But the San Francisco Museum of Art's exhibit "Art in Asia and the West" garnered the highest notoriety. The *San Francisco Chronicle* magazine "This World" carried a three-page spread on the exhibit (figure 4.2).

The exhibit reportedly sought to "exemplify influences and parallels between Orient and Occident, but without rigidity." Describing the show, *Chronicle* writer Alfred Frankenstein wrote, "the show takes up its theme at once with evidence of Western influence on the ancient art of Asia. The first thing one sees on entering the East Gallery is a series of Greco-Buddhist sculptures in the so-called Gandhara style," which came to be as a result of the spreading of "Hellenic ideal types" by Alexander the Great. Nevertheless, according to the *Chronicle* writer, "not even Alexander with all his hordes could really make the Orient think in Occidental terms. The Gandhara sculptures are, ultimately, Buddhist to the core, hence their quietude and serenity."[126] Informed by museum curator Grace Morley, the *Chronicle* writer concluded that "Buddhist heads, whether Gandharan, Cambodian, or Chinese, embody a purely spiritual and altogether universal concept; no cultural assumptions bar the beholder, whatever his background, from understanding them completely." The same could not "be made about the Hindu works, and yet for all their thousand-fold nuances, which an untrained eye will miss, a richly meaningful relationship can still

Figure 4.2 Film actor, producer, and USNC member Lew Ayers views wood carving at the San Francisco Museum of Art with Mrs. Robert Otsea, sponsoring committeewoman, and Dr. and Mrs. Haridas Chaudhuri (USNC National Conference, San Francisco, November 1957). Courtesy of National Archives Still Picture Branch, College Park, MD.

be established."[127] The exhibit also included "a large amount of Chinese and Japanese painting, all of it clearly chosen in terms of modern Western parallels" despite the futility of making "distinctions between drawing and writing" in this art. Focusing on "Orientals under Occidental influence," the *Chronicle* writer related to readers, "three paintings by Kenzo seem to me especially noteworthy. Hasegawa is the most Oriental of these three artists, Okada the most Western."[128]

The examination of artistic traditions provided the conference an additional realm in which to promote the utility of cultural understanding between "East" and "West," and to possibly make clear the past exchanges that informed the cultural productions of each tradition. For J. LeRoy Davidson of Claremont Graduate University, "[W]hen we learn to appreciate the arts of Asia, the veil of the 'mysterious East' lifts." With caution Davidson added, "[I]t is difficult to talk in generalities about both Asian philosophy and art" because "if we want to understand Asian art and therefore the Asian people we have got to dig."[129]

The optimistic deployment of anti-racist cultural relativism that informed not only the conversations about art, but the entire thematic focus of the conference had been conceptually limited by notions of East/West and Orient/Occident divisions. The necessary "digging" suggested by the Claremont art historian did not occur. Tolerance, diversity, appreciation, and other such terms assumed "that differences" were "inevitable." Yet the practical idea to be achieved through improved East/West relations, "no matter what our racial extractions" and "national loyalties," had little to do with upsetting the racialized order in the postwar period.[130] While diversity seemed an inevitable fact for the San Francisco delegates, so did modernization.

Conclusion

At the major UNESCO conferences in the United States during the 1950s conversations concerning differences in economic development were readily attributed to cultural differences. The "human values" so coveted by the USNC had far more to do with refusing nonalignment to enlist in "Western" democracy. To take one's proper place in the postwar economic order meant paying lip service to and enacting cultural exchange overseen by the US State Department. The State Department controlled all UNESCO activities in the United States, and continued to promote and financially back area studies, international studies, and academic research centers devoted to gathering information on the second and third world.

UNESCO's major project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values did spark East/West cultural understanding in the ways the organization thought it might because such interests already existed. As the United States sought to arrange and stabilize the postwar global economy and oppose the appeal of communism and socialism, cultural relations and modernization particularly in the third world became a point of emphasis in foreign policy. The decolonizing "Orient" occupied an obvious area of focus in the immediate postwar setting. Within the United States, the mobilization of private firms, government agencies, and universities provided the means for a multifaceted foreign policy that utilization of the UN and its specialized agencies only bolstered. During the 1950s however, US efforts at controlling modernization and therefore political developments in Asia came under intense strain as people on the ground continued to fight military and economic domination from Europe and the United States.[131]

Reflecting on the East/West project in the late 1960s, UNESCO admitted, "[T]he Orient-Occident dialectic, which placed two major cultural entities face to face and viewed them as the fundamental postulates of the dialogue, was little by little replaced by a highly varied complex of relations between particular regions in both the east and west." The view that "various peoples of the Orient needed to acquire fuller knowledge of not only Western civilization but also of other Eastern cultures" had not been replaced. In 1968 UNESCO still made references to "Oriental member states" and "Oriental civilization," and for the duration of the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values project, the UNESCO newsletter *Orient-Occident* reported its activities.[132] Following the conferences of 1956 and 1957, the US government continued its support of the UNESCO project as the *Orient-Occident* demonstrated. By the end of the 1950s, US activities in this field still reflected state efforts to control academic interest in Asia as a whole. Despite claims made by the United States and UNESCO that a more sophisticated approach emerged over time, East remained East and West remained West.

5

Resurgent Black Diaspora Politics and UNESCO

Early into his presidency John Fitzgerald Kennedy and his foreign relations advisors well understood that the tumult of the global politics of "race" in the late 1950s and early 1960s presented a startling challenge to their foreign policy goals. In 1957 the controversy over desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas, along with African American support of newly independent Ghana highlighted the freedom movement's emergence out of the most repressive Cold War years. Between 1959 and 1961, Fidel Castro's revolutionary victory, Rob Williams's calls for armed self-defense in Monroe, North Carolina, the explosive sit-in movement in the southern United States, and the international furor raised over US and Belgian involvement in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba all pointed to a surging transnational movement increasingly successful in challenging the racism and violence of Jim Crow and colonialism in local, national, and international settings.

Hence the Kennedy administration sought to reinvigorate and expand cultural relations programs in decolonizing regions around the world. The early 1960s marked a crucial shift in the operation of UNESCO and the organization's relationship with the US government. Between 1946 and 1951 63 countries had joined the ranks of UNESCO. Then from 1952 to 1960 UNESCO had welcomed another 38 new member states, 28 of which were from eastern Europe and Africa. In 1960 alone, 17 newly independent African states joined UNESCO. The year of Kennedy's electoral victory also marked what many commentators noted as "the year of Africa." Seemingly disparate voices including British colonial officials, Soviet UN delegates, the African American UN delegate Ralph Bunche, and members of the black press shared in this recognition, which in fact reflected in large part, the tenor of the

global politics of "race" at that moment.[1] In this context, Kennedy's cultural relations advisors realized the United States would need to reshape its foreign policy efforts to also mediate its diminishing power within UNESCO. Therefore, the Kennedy administration sought to improve its relationship with the organization and its rapidly diversifying member states.[2]

Kennedy and his advisors frowned upon the Eisenhower administration's "monolithic anti-communist abstraction," and responded by forging a new cultural relations project supposedly less dogmatic in its repudiation of nonalignment.[3] To give the appearance of facilitating more thoughtful cultural exchange between the United States and developing countries, the Kennedy administration focused on creating and supporting programs such as the Agency for International Development, the Alliance for Progress, the Food for Peace Program, and the Peace Corps. In 1961 President Kennedy also became the first American president to invite and host a UNESCO director general at the White House, and grant the US government's representative to UNESCO ambassadorial status. Kennedy's goals in cultural internationalism did not differ from his predecessors. Utilization of UNESCO remained a priority in the venture of praising the positive attributes of democracy and capitalism, along with the ideology and practice of modernization.

As historian Michael Latham argues in his recent study of the role of modernization in the Kennedy administration, "[E]verywhere the president and his advisors turned, the tightly related questions of development, anticommunism, and revolution seemed to come to the fore." Following the lead of Truman and Eisenhower, modernization became the answer to these urgent policy problems for Kennedy as much as it had for administration strategists.[4] As a set of interrelated projects that included establishing a "modern" democratic nation-state, economy, public administration, and technological infrastructure, modernization broadened the scope of development theory's focus on economic growth, and functioned as the operational paradigm of US policy after World War II.[5] Modernization not only remained the linchpin of US foreign policy in the early 1960s, it continued as the ideological basis upon which some citizens and many national leaders understood the nation's history, present, and future as the benevolent leader of the "free-world."[6]

As the US government attempted in the early 1960s to quell political and ideological challenges at home and abroad, UNESCO's own focus on "race" actually reflected intensifying and successful opposition to the US government's anti-racist pretensions and neocolonial policies. The

unintended progressive consequences of US state-supported anti-racism began to show in an international organization that since the end of World War II had been a handmaiden of US foreign policy.

This chapter spotlights that progressive momentum by exploring its manifestations in the UNESCO *Courier*'s 1960 issue on "race" and racism, the USNC conference in Boston in 1961, and the 1962 pamphlet *The Equality of Rights between Races and Nationalities in the U.S.S.R.* written by Soviet scholars Ivan Petrovic Tsamerian and Samuil Lazarevich Ronin. The 1960 and 1962 publications offered a direct critique of racism in the United States, while at the 1961 conference politicians and scholars alike questioned the ethnocentric assumptions of modernization. The early 1960s encapsulated a moment in which UNESCO became a venue through which the transnational freedom movement articulated the philosophical and practical basis for self-determination and civil rights. This chapter illuminates the specific ways voices of opposition began to undermine the pretensions of the US government's anti-racism and foreign policy in the public discourse on "race."

The Courier on Racism

A bold red-lettered title, emblazoned "RACISM!" greeted readers of the October 1960 issue of the UNESCO's flagship journal the *Courier* (figure 5.1). The journal was widely circulated in English, Spanish, and Russian to university libraries and government depositories in the United States, England, France, Spain, the Soviet Union, and other member states. The October 1960 issue of the *Courier* came on the heels of a UNESCO executive board meeting in April, where it was decided that UNESCO needed to respond to recent instances of racialized violence around the globe. As stated by the executive board, "Noting with deep concern the recrudescence of manifestations of racial hatred, anti-Semitism and discrimination, which have occurred in various regions in recent months, particularly in the Union of South Africa, leading to serious social disorder and loss of life," UNESCO "calls upon the governments of all Member States to take all steps in their power to combat every form of racial discrimination, anti-Semitism, violence and hatred which may occur within their territories."[7] Printed in part in the October 1960 *Courier*, the executive board resolution mentioned only South Africa by name as one of the states witnessing a rise in racialized violence. But the *Courier* issue contained articles that focused on anti-Semitism in Europe, racism in Latin America, anti-racism in international film, and desegregation in the United States.

Figure 5.1 Cover of *UNESCO Courier*, October 1960, special issue on racism. Reproduced from the *UNESCO Courier*, October 1960; www.unesco.org/courier.

The issue opened by addressing the Holocaust and the aftermath of World War II:

> In the years immediately following the Second World War it may have seemed that racism was definitely on the decline. Racial hatred had

> logically led from discrimination to acts of indescribable horror and death camp massacres carried out on an industrial scale. The shock and repulsion that swept the world so discredited the doctrine of racism that it dared not show itself cynically and blatantly as it had done before.[8]

Courier editors also remarked upon the political exigencies of anti-racism. "The struggle against Hitlerism had had its own logic too," they stated. "One could hardly battle racism and still practice it, even indirectly. And so, in the countries united against Nazism many barriers of discrimination and prejudice tumbled and a spirit of greater tolerance marked relations between the different races." Here, the editor's assailing of the Holocaust and lauding of those united against Nazi Germany echoes the generalized anti-racist critique articulated by the United Nations and the US government in the early postwar period; however the editors push beyond this tacit acceptance of the positive "race relations" story espoused by the victorious democracies of World War II.

The *Courier* issue recognized the role "race" played in the controversy surrounding decolonization. "Today, the excesses of racialism are universally decried and condemned, but the racist outlook or attitude which is at the root of these excesses and makes them possible is still with us," the editors commented. "It is all the more dangerous since ours is the century of the great awakening and accession to independence of the coloured peoples of the world who have long been its victims," they wrote. "Instead of being accepted as normal and foreseeable, the mistakes and hesitations made by the newly independent peoples as they pass through the trying initial periods of autonomy are interpreted in racist terms by certain people as proof of racial inferiority." In other words, the internal political and economic difficulties being encountered by emerging nations demonstrated an innate inability to become "modern," and for *Courier* editors such an analysis reflected a biologized interpretation of cultural difference and social development among colonial apologists. In that brief passage, the *Courier* editors had pointed out and questioned modernization's most basic assumption about the innate inferiority of non-European peoples that recalled long-held evolutionary beliefs and justifications for European colonialism and chattel slavery.[9]

Reflecting UNESCO's renewed commitment to eliminating racism in 1960, the *Courier* announced that "the place where preventive measures can be most effective" are in "the school and in the home. That is why UNESCO has set out to inform both the teacher and the general public of the basic facts established by modern science." With a nod to the organization's work in the early 1950s, *Courier* editors asserted that "neither anthropology, nor biology-nor for that matter any science-offers the

slightest justification for racist dogmas, which are based on discredited scientific notions or emotional irrationalism. The full facts still need to be placed before every person so that the social cancer of racism may one day be eradicated."[10]

Vivid photographs of scenes from the Holocaust, violence at Sharpeville, South Africa, neo-Nazi protests in Britain, and the battle of desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas, accompanied the article. Under a picture of a large pile of boots and shoes at Auschwitz read a caption bearing "silent witness to the extermination of some 6,000,000 Jews in S.S. death camps."[11] Another scene from Nazi-occupied Paris captured Jewish people "rounded up like cattle" and awaiting "deportation in sealed trains 'to the east.'"[12] The 1960 "Massacre at Sharpeville" was highlighted by "the picture that shocked the world last March when nearly 100 Africans were killed and over 200 wounded at Sharpeville, South Africa, as police opened fire on a crowd protesting against the rule which forces Africans to carry passbooks." The photo showed dead bodies and garments strewn across the ground in an unnamed section of Sharpeville.[13] The article noted how following the election of the National Party in 1948, the formal government of South Africa "reinforced, systematized, and extended" segregation or apartheid. From then on, organized opposition to state policy increased and included massive protest and civil disobedience. Characterized as "peaceful," the protesters at Sharpeville had been attacked by state police, yet subsequently, the government banned all oppositional groups.[14] The Sharpeville massacre completed the racialized polarization of South Africa and posed a serious challenge to the US government's hope "for a multiracial, postcolonial Western alliance against the Communist bloc."[15] With its rich mineral resources and strategic location, the apartheid government of South Africa remained in the good graces of President Eisenhower during his administration. In its final year, the Eisenhower administration became clearly concerned about the fuel the massacre would add to the domestic and global fire of civil rights and anti-colonial movements.

In addition to the Eisenhower administration's concerns about public perceptions of the state supported racialized violence of a rather controversial ally, two of the articles in the October 1960 *Courier* provided direct indictments of racism in the United States. Teacher and psychologist Marie Jahoda authored the first, titled "X-Ray of the Racist Mind." It reflected her recent work for UNESCO on racism and mental health.[16] Having to flee her hometown of Vienna in 1937, Jahoda brought firsthand experience of anti-Semitism to her scholarship. She opened her *Courier* piece by stating,

> [I]n contrast to other forms of violence between individuals, the ultimate justification of racial violence is given in terms of who the victim is rather than what he has done. Physical violence against an individual because of his race often meets with a curious condonement and silent approval from other members of the aggressor's race, even though they themselves do not engage in it.

Jahoda continued, "[A]nd even where racial violence is officially frowned upon, there are many who admit to a sympathetic understanding of acts designed to humiliate a member of another race, of discrimination against him, or of the expression of wholesale dislike for the members of another race." Directly addressing the United States, Jahoda remarked upon the "large body of research on the reasons people give for their dislike of various racial groups." She asserted

> if one asks certain people in the United States of America, for example, to explain their antagonism to Negroes, the odds are that they will use one or more of the following phrases: they are inferior, they are lower class, they are low in intelligence, they force out the whites, they are lazy, sloppy, dirty, immoral, oversexed, troublesome, childish, they have a bad smell and carry diseases.[17]

Jahoda's allusion to a cyclical kind of racism stressed the connection between interpersonal prejudice and notions of biological difference. Her assertion confronted the government's anti-racist rhetoric with stark examples of everyday-racism in the United States and the social logic that buttressed such racism.

Jahoda employed a comparative approach, discussing also the long history of anti-Semitism in Europe and "the stupendous dilemma in which the Union of South Africa finds itself." She also noted how "prejudiced persons use whatever social power they have at their disposal to create conditions which compel the target group to become as the stereotype prescribes." "In some southern parts of the United States," Jahoda wrote, "the Negroes are rejected because they are lower class and uneducated. Because they are so regarded, opportunities for advancement and better education are denied to them; as a consequence many Southern Negroes do indeed suffer from low status and low education level, thus apparently justifying the original act of discrimination." For Jahoda, "much the same could be said about the apartheid policies in South Africa: while the native populations are rejected because of their different culture, the means of reducing the difference are nevertheless eschewed."[18] To drive home her larger point concerning the absence of social justice in matters of "race" the United States, photographs that accompanied Jahoda's piece

captured the violence of fire hoses being turned on a crowd of protestors following lunch counter sit-ins in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Apropos, the photo reminded *Courier* readers of the movement that had grown from the nonviolent protests of four North Carolina A&T freshman in February to a regional movement involving seventy thousand students and citizens by the end of 1960.[19]

The other article, "Race Prejudice and Education" by English biologist Cyril Bibby, reflected a similarly critical perspective. Bibby's piece was actually an adaptation of his controversial UNESCO pamphlet published under the same title in 1959. UNESCO had approached Bibby in 1956 to produce a study under the preliminary title "Teaching About Racial Discrimination."[20] Due to vehement opposition by the US State Department and USNC, publication of the booklet was delayed until 1959, and even then it was not made available to schools and other institutions in the United States, nor published by UNESCO.[21] During the interim, anthropologist Alfred Metraux, who directed UNESCO's work on racism throughout the 1950s, found himself in the position of acquiescing to American editorial demands in the revision process of Bibby's pamphlet.[22] At one point in 1957, Metraux informed Bibby that the US delegation wanted to have him change or delete remarks that touched upon racism, poor education, and Klan violence in the south. In addition, Metraux asked Bibby to make the names of international entertainment superstars Josephine Baker and Paul Robeson "disappear from the list of outstanding Negroes" mentioned in the pamphlet. Both had been targets of FBI and State Department surveillance and censure in the 1950s.[23]

Metraux offered Bibby an apology on account of the "many delays and difficulties" halting the publication of his text, but added, "that this is the ransom of international life in an agitated world."[24] Following UNESCO's refusal to publish the pamphlet as a book, Heinemann of London agreed to do so in 1959, followed by Praeger of New York in 1960. Despite this experience, Bibby agreed to take part in the 1960 *Courier* issue on racism.

In his contribution to the October 1960 *Courier* Bibby tackled racism in teaching in Europe, Africa, and the United States. His article focused on pedagogical issues such as exploring the scientific validity of "racial" classification and the conceptual dangers of "ethnicity" in relation to racialized stereotypes.[25] Especially significant was Bibby's direct critique of teaching about "race" in the United States. "While European textbooks often obscured history and implied the biological and cultural inferiority of past colonial subjects," Bibby wrote, he added that "similarly some of the textbooks commonly used in United States schools give inadequate information on ethnic matters and do little to promote racial

tolerance. They sometimes present a picture of 'the American way of life' which implies that it is 'white,' Protestant and middle-class, and which omits all reference to segregation and discrimination." Further, Bibby suggested that teachers

> whose daily life is spent with children of very different physiques, intellectual abilities and temperamental characteristics, and who yet tries to treat them all as individual human beings with equal rights to his care and consideration, will need no convincing that the condemnation of racial discrimination does not depend upon any proof that all ethnic groups have identical physical or mental or emotional endowments.[26]

Bibby also invoked the notion of cultural relativism to critique a eurocentric understanding of human difference. For Bibby, "[r]acial tolerance" was key to allowing "cultural diversity" to blossom "in a world which ceases to measure all men by the yardstick of 'white' ways but which, instead, encourages peoples of all pigmentations to develop to the fullest their own innate qualities and to combine in the formation of fresh mixtures. Teachers should not seek to minimize ethnic differences or to pretend that they do not exist," Bibby wrote, "but rather to emphasize the uniqueness of each individual human person and to encourage children to appreciate the value of human variation."[27]

Clearly for Bibby, accomplishing that task demanded a more nuanced understanding of human difference than what remained socially acceptable or politically sanctioned. His concern with "children of very different physiques, intellectual abilities and temperamental characteristics" reflected a broader analysis of the concept of "race." Bibby sought to point out that individual schoolchildren deserved equal treatment not as a matter of "scientifically" proven intellectual ability among ethnic groups or "races," but rather as a matter of democratic morality.

Bibby's discussion of the crisis at Little Rock in 1957 provided another compelling instance for those interested in racism in the United States. Scholars have pointed out how Little Rock represented a "crisis of such magnitude" that it became the reference point in future discussions of racism in the United States. Little Rock had become an international symbol upon which critics of the United States continued to base their damaging analyses of resistance to integration.[28] Bibby's fully illustrated coverage juxtaposed the "white and negro children leaving school arm in arm at Littlerock, California" with "Negro students in Little Rock, Arkansas, escorted from classes under protection of Federal troops."[29] Informing *Courier* readers that "Negro children now attend and leave classes unescorted," Bibby's assessment offered signs of improvement in

the United States. "Despite other headline-making racial strife, progress has been made in U.S. school integration. According to a recent report," Bibby explained, "racial segregation, once the rule in the South, has now ended in almost one quarter of the southern school districts."[30] Yet for the most part, these discussions of American racism and civil rights activism roused the ire of US government officials as resistance to segregation at home increased hand-in-hand with anti-colonial struggle.[31] On the whole, the *Courier* issue accentuated the shortcomings of America's democracy.

Amid such turmoil, US senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut voiced his concern over the *UNESCO Courier* issue on racism. At the time Dodd served as vice chairman of a senatorial committee charged with investigating "internal security laws." Dodd explained to American UN ambassador James Wadsworth that the *Courier* issue disturbed and worried him. Dodd wrote, "[N]o one could complain if UNESCO went into the matter of racism and anti-semitism in an impartial manner, examining the nature and scope of these evils with equal frankness in countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain." But for Dodd the articles in the *Courier* completely paralleled "the Communist propaganda line in the sense that it makes the charge of racism and anti-semitism against the free world only. It also parallels the Communist propaganda line in the sense that it beats the dead horse of Nazi anti-semitism while ignoring the live fact that the Soviet Union is today the chief breeding place of the virus of anti-semitism." Dodd's invocation of Cold War red-baiting revealed his unwillingness to acknowledge ongoing racism in the United States, and the possibility that its critics possessed legitimate grounds to state their claims that had everything to do with political and social realities and far less to do with parroting communist lines from Havana or Moscow. "Between the brutality of Soviet anti-semitism and the brutality of Nazi anti-semitism, there is little to choose," Dodd asserted. "About all that is lacking so far in the U.S.S.R. is the gas chambers." Dodd was "outraged by the fact that this document should have been produced at all by an organ of the UN—doubly outraged because most of the money for its publication had to come from the American contribution to UNESCO."[32]

Senator Dodd's passionate response to the *Courier* issue on racism was not unusual among federal officials in the early 1960s. UNESCO's efforts refocused on racism in a year that saw many changes come about in the organization's membership and in global politics. As Kennedy entered office, the United States embodied a domestic and global "racial theater" facing the limits of its own racialized culture, politics, and economic life. The *UNESCO Courier* issue was but an additional thorn in the aggravated side of US leadership attempting to relieve the tensions of a society increasingly engulfed by its own contradictions.[33]

While Senator Dodd's analysis of the *Courier* issue missed the mark, direct confrontations with the US government's communist foes would ensue vis-à-vis UNESCO in late 1960 at the General Conference in Paris. In November the Soviet Union clamored to abolish the position of director general, and "Red China" was barred from gaining membership status. Delegates from the Soviet Union proposed a three-member executive board to consist of representatives from the "Communist bloc, Neutralist nations and the West."[34] Soviet delegates charged UNESCO with being unilaterally "pro-Western" in its orientation because it maintained an imbalance on the executive board.

Nevertheless, US government officials continued to have hopes that its concern for educational and technical improvement in the "under-developed nations of Asia and Africa" would leave a genuinely positive imprint on the General Conference. In this spirit the US delegation submitted a proposal that pledged the US government would provide an increase of one million dollars in the UNESCO budget for educational and technical improvements in Africa.[35] Yet the Soviet delegation successfully underlined the exploitative relationship inherent in the modernization programs of the United States. At the behest of the Soviet delegation, the chaotic General Conference produced a resolution that condemned colonialism in "all its forms and all its manifestations."[36] The US, British, French, and Australian delegates unsuccessfully argued that UNESCO was the inappropriate forum for discussions along those lines because such issues were the "exclusive prerogative of the United Nations."[37] Adopted on December 12, 1960, the resolution stated that colonialism "must be speedily abolished, and that accession to freedom and independence must not be delayed on the false pretext that a particular territory has not reached a sufficiently high standard in economic, social, educational and cultural matters."[38] During World War II, US leadership had articulated the rights of all people to live in freedom and democracy. Now this language had come to define the rhetorical jousting between Soviet and American leaders in the first two decades of the postwar period. And quite disconcerting for the outgoing Eisenhower and incoming Kennedy administration, Fidel Castro's triumphant stay in Harlem and warm reception of activists in Cuba, offered a prime example of how critiques of racism in the United States emanating from communist sources appealed to the transnational sensibilities of African Americans in 1960 and beyond.[39]

During his successful election bid, President Kennedy had criticized Eisenhower's failure to support Algeria's independence movement. Despite Kennedy's articulation of an anti-racist position, his reluctance to actively support decolonization and domestic civil rights issues became apparent to activists who realized Kennedy's priorities lay elsewhere.[40]

The upcoming USNC conference scheduled for late 1961 would provide the Kennedy administration and State Department an opportunity to restate its anti-racist position in terms specifically relevant to anti-colonial struggles in Africa, and appease civil rights activists who kept a watchful eye on US policy with emerging African nations.

Boston, 1961

John F. Kennedy stepped into the White House amid an intensifying political battle over "race." The Kennedy administration and State Department would attempt to address the challenges to the image of American democracy increasingly posed within the international public sphere. For example, Fidel Castro's arrival on the international scene in 1960 brought with it the sort of attention to "race" that would further complicate Kennedy's foreign policy initiatives. Castro's visit to the UN headquarters in 1960 provided him ample opportunity to profess his message of anti-capitalist anti-racism. Meeting in Harlem with the likes of Malcolm X, Nikita Khrushchev, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Castro challenged the idea of US leadership in an increasingly mobilized revolutionary and decolonizing world.[41] Castro stressed Cuba's willingness to end racism at home and support anti-colonial movements abroad. He successfully utilized the cause of "racial" equality to earn the support of third world nations after the failed invasion at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961. As Nikita Krushchev denounced the invasion as a danger to world peace and urged the United States to act to stop the "conflagration from spreading," the failed attempt to overthrow Castro caused more political damage abroad than at home for the Kennedy administration.[42]

By mid-1961 Kennedy struggled to maintain a positive standing in the domestic sphere. On the heels of the student sit-ins, freedom riders challenged de jure segregation in interstate bus travel east of the Mississippi river. These events angered and embarrassed the president, who was still reeling from the Bay of Pigs disaster and gearing up for a summit with Soviet leader Krushchev.[43] The Kennedy administration's hopes to improve relations with emerging African nations and boost its image at home remained paramount. The eighth national conference of the USNC scheduled for October 1961 granted such an opportunity.

The US State Department appointed Vernon McKay, a professor of African Studies at the School of International Studies at Johns Hopkins University as chairman of the organizing committee for the conference. According to McKay, the conference had two major objectives. The first, "to broaden and deepen American understanding of the achievements

and aspirations of Africa's peoples," and second, to "develop ideas which the National Commission can pursue in advising" the US government "on educational, scientific, and cultural aspects of American policies in Africa and in UNESCO." Writing in December 1960, McKay asserted, "President Eisenhower's timely proposal for aid to African education through the family of the United Nations organizations is potentially one of the great ideas of the twentieth century. It comes at a point in history when the need for mutual understanding between the United States and Africa has never been greater." The conference had been designed, according to McKay, to attract the attention of academic specialists and "interested citizens representing a wide range of organizations." Following the lead of previous USNC national conferences, the eighth installment in Boston sought to "muster wider support" for the goals articulated by the most publicly recognizable advocate of UNESCO in the United States.[44]

However, in the context of the global politics of "race" in the early 1960s, the Boston conference was unique. As McKay recognized, "[I]n view of the establishment of 20 new African states since 1956, 15 of them in 1960, it is time for a reassessment of Africa's educational needs and the best ways of meeting them."[45] McKay announced that "1200 American leaders in education, science and culture" had been invited, along with a "considerable number of distinguished African leaders." The conference sought to "serve a useful purpose in relating to each other the rapidly increasing number of African interests and projects now under way in American educational institutions and other organizations."[46]

In the summer of 1961, American newspapers began anticipating the Boston conference. As early as July the conference began receiving positive coverage in the black press. Reporting from Boston, a Baltimore *Afro-American* writer claimed, "[I]f some Africans have met with coolness in hospitality in some other cities, they'll find a warm welcome here next October." The *Afro* informed readers of the "hospitality and entertainment sub-committee" that had been formed for the national conference to accommodate African delegates.[47] The *Norfolk Journal & Guide* added, "African visitors to Boston next October will be entertained in a series of private house parties given by Greater Boston residents" and arranged by the subcommittee.[48]

As the conference approached, members of the black press continued their coverage. In early October the *Atlanta Daily World* briefly outlined the main focus of the upcoming conference: the relationship and perceptions shared between "Africans and the United States." A week later, the *Philadelphia Tribune* discussed the role of "African Music and Dance" at the conference, and estimated that seventeen hundred delegates would be in attendance over the five days of programming.[49]

In-depth coverage in the *Boston Globe* greeted the conference's opening on October 22, 1961. Reporters in Boston, New York, Washington, and Chicago informed readers of the inception of "the largest conference on Africa ever to be held in the United States."[50] Sponsored locally by Boston University, local reports accurately described the conference as focusing on the "images and realities, hopes and needs of the huge continent" of Africa. The front-page *Boston Globe* coverage added that schools and museums had scheduled for the week "special exhibits and group discussions" to aid in the conference's execution, including Boston University's highly regarded African Studies program.[51] Local officials such as Governor John Volpe of Massachusetts chimed in, calling "upon the citizens of the Commonwealth to 'open their hearts and minds to our distinguished visitors, as well as to consider the many vital issues now confronting our relationships with Africa.'"[52]

Several Boston area libraries and museums aided in the conference's efforts to further inform citizens about "what Africa and her people" were like.[53] Cosponsored by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Boston Museum of Science was scheduled to hold "a photographic exhibit," while the Harvard Peabody Museum's "collection of primitive African sculpture, art and artifacts" was scheduled for exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts. The Fogg Museum of Harvard put on view "19th century water colors and drawings of North Africa, including some works of Delacroix." At Boston University's Art Gallery "African tribal sculpture, Congolese paintings and artifacts" were displayed. The Children's Museum of Boston showed "wood carvings and household objects of Djuka tribes transplanted from West Africa to South America by Dutch colonists." The Boston Public Library, Brandeis University's Goldfarb Library, and Boston University's Chenery Library featured books about Africa.[54] And finally, Boston area department stores and banks also joined in displaying "African photographs," some taken by H. Robert Case, the son of Boston University president Harold Case, during their two-month trip to the African continent.[55]

According to the conference's official reporters appointed by the State Department, anthropologists Phoebe and Simon Ottenberg, "a major theme of the conference, as its title indicates, was the images that Africans and Americans hold of each other, and the importance for each of developing a more realistic view of the other and the other's problems." However the eighth national conference had actually been organized into four broad headings: education, science, culture, and communication. These subjects allowed delegates to speak more directly to the "increasing importance of Africa in world affairs."[56] The Ottenbergs recognized that far beyond the consumption of "primitive African tribal sculpture,"

the conference engaged "the problem of the effect of race relations in America on Africa and on African views of the United States."[57] The key issues debated included "the growing identification between Africans and American Negroes," and the "matter of the alleged pro-European orientation of the United States' foreign policy, with emphasis on sympathy toward colonial powers." During the conference, according to the Ottenbergs, "Americans were criticized for poor press and radio coverage on Africa, preoccupation with the threat of Communism, lack of genuine sympathy with Africa's internal problems, neglect of Africa's cultural developments, and expecting African governments to model themselves after the United States government."[58]

In response to such criticism, the approximately 60 African representatives were told in turn "that Africans must accept the greater responsibilities of a national and international character" that came with "self-rule, that they must learn to take a harmonious and realistic role in the United Nations and UNESCO and not concern themselves solely with African problems." The delegates from Africa were also reminded that they "should give thought to problems of individual freedom in Africa as well as to economic development."[59] The Ottenbergs confirmed that "problems of economic development were implicit in many phases of the conference" in that "relationships stressed were those with internal political structure, international relations, and education at all levels."[60]

Press reports on the Boston conference publicized the issues emerging from the discussions. Paraphrasing Nathan Shamuyarira, editor of African Newspapers Limited in Southern Rhodesia, Ian Forman of the *Boston Globe* stated, "[T]he United States must correct the picture of how the American Negro is treated if it is to be fully successful in its African policy." According to Forman, Shamuyarira told delegates that giving "American Negroes" their "full civil rights" would help "in dealing with the newly developing African countries," and that "every incident of discrimination against American Negroes is given highlighted treatment in the press."[61]

Forman also highlighted the comments of photographer Ernest Dunbar, editor of the nationally circulated *Look* magazine. Dunbar spoke about the "myth" that "American Negroes" had been singularly inspired by decolonization movements in Africa, rather than decades of racialized oppression and violence. As Forman put it, Dunbar argued that "[T]he growing aggressive Negro movements, like Freedom Riders and lunchroom sitters in the United States, have not been solely stimulated by African national freedom drives," but acknowledged that "many United States Negroes have great sympathy for Africa and have helped stir freedom movements in many of the 30-odd African nations." According to Forman, Dunbar stated flatly, "[T]hese demonstrations of the past year

had nothing to do with Africa. But this idea helps delude the American public concerning the nature of their own society."[62] Dunbar further criticized American press and magazine coverage, declaring, "[T]he only parts of Africa which attract American press attention are where violence and revolution flare up."[63]

Dunbar downplayed the cross-fertilization of the transnational aspect of the freedom movement, despite great evidence to the contrary. The tide of decolonization directly impacted civil rights advocates. In February, poets Amiri Baraka, Maya Angelou, and other activists responded to the UN, Belgian, and US-supported assassination of Patrice Lumumba with a widely publicized protest at the UN headquarters. Protestors intruded on a UN Security Council meeting while picketers grabbed attention on the street. Protests occurred also in India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Morocco, Sudan, Ghana, Washington, and Chicago, and apparently "shocked the nation" on what the *New York Times* referred to as the "'worst day of violence' in UN history." These protests signaled "an intense revival of the search for a meaningful black identity that was somehow closely connected with the independence struggles in Africa."[64]

According to William O. Walker, a member of the USNC and the publisher and editor of Ohio's largest black newspaper the *Cleveland Call and Post*, Shamuyarira had gotten the conference off to a "sizzling start" in his address that stressed the ills of Jim Crow and the realities of a black diasporic consciousness. According to Walker, Shamuyarira declared, "[T]his population (the Negro) is now American in every sense of the word. But its colour and descent has an emotional appeal and is a direct link with the African peoples." Unlike *Look* magazine editor Ernest Dunbar, the African newspaper editor focused squarely on the high political stakes involved in the US government's slow movement to fight Jim Crow and essentially support the "Colonial Metropolitan powers." Shamuyarira made clear to American officials, "[I]f given full rights, this population provides you with a definite psychological advantage in influencing people in Africa," but at present American policy resulted in distrust among African supporters of decolonization. The predominant view according to Shamuyarira was that the US government was "attempting to merely rearrange the old house of Colonialism."[65]

In their postconference report the Ottenbergs undersold the prominence and specifics of currents in black diasporic politics, reporting simply that "mention was made of the concepts of negritude and the 'African personality' as expressed in the work of recent African writers, and the role of the writers and these ideas in politics."[66] Although Eisenhower, who called for the eighth national conference in Boston, and Kennedy both

articulated a cultural relations policy with African nations that hinged on understanding "the ideas of African nations themselves," Pan-Africanism and its corollaries presented a stark threat which the Ottenbergs seemed to downplay despite the fact that the conference took as a particular concern the literary and philosophical movement Negritude.[67]

Developed by Leopold Senghor, Aime Cesaire, and other students of African descent studying in Paris during the 1930s, Negritude promoted a positive self-image of "blackness" and rejected the racist ideas that accompanied French colonialism. Senghor became president of newly independent Senegal in 1960, while Cesaire served as mayor of Fort-de-France and on the French National Assembly as a member of the French Communist Party. Among his work as a poet and scholar, Cesaire published *Discourse on Colonialism* in 1950, and had been a teacher to Frantz Fanon. *Discourse* registered a clear rejection of European colonialism in all its manifestations: economic, political, psychological, and cultural. According to historian Robin Kelley, this work stands indisputably as one of the key texts in what Malcolm X described as a "tidal wave of color" in the postwar period, which revealed "how the circulation of colonial ideology-an ideology of racial and cultural hierarchy" had been essential to colonial rule. Unlike Senghor, Cesaire's Negritude encompassed a "future-oriented and modern" perspective that did not maintain a focus on asserting a racialized Pan-African identity.[68]

Amid what the State Department and other officials perceived as the rising appeal of Pan-Africanism and Negritude, St. Clair Drake was invited to speak on the subject at the Boston conference. Drake coauthored with Horace Clayton the influential *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945). This work explored the effects of institutionalized racism and class oppression on Chicago's south side African American residents. Anthropologist Lee Baker places *Black Metropolis* among the early-to-mid century works in the social scientific shift "from ideas of society born of Social Darwinism and premised on racial inferiority, to ideas of society born of notions of cultural diversity premised on racial equality."[69]

In his *Boston Globe* story on Drake's talk, Ian Forman first highlighted "part of the message of racial Pan-Africanism delivered" by Drake that argued, "American and African Negroes should join together to destroy the derogatory image of the Negro which grew out of the slave trade." Forman reported Drake's declaration to an audience of two thousand that "the prejudice of white men has destroyed the self-esteem of the Negro." According to Forman, "Drake said young Negro intellectuals around the world had developed in recent years the concept of 'Negritude,' the essence of the African-oriented personality, of which either black or white men

could partake." Drake described Negritude as "softness, gentleness and gracefulness, rather than the hard manipulative attitude of Europe," which continued to be "expressed in the spontaneity and gaiety of the American Negro," despite the horrors of "the slave trade and all its consequences." Observing the strictures of anti-racism, Drake qualified his explanation of Negritude stating, "[T]he African personality is not biologically determined. It is something you and I, white or black, can have if we assert the spirit of Negritude." He also declared that "Pan-Africanism, which rejects both white racialism and black Chauvinism," served as a "protection against Communism on the one side and, a weapon against Colonial tyranny on the other." For Drake, the complete goal of Pan-Africanism was "to confront all other countries with the single will and position of Africa on many vital world issues," wrote Forman.[70] Drake argued that contemporary African political thinkers rejected "both Marxism and western capitalism as alien philosophies to the Negro character," in favor of culturally specific socialism. The picture painted in Forman's report was clear on three issues: first, that Drake speaking for Negritude and Pan-Africanism rejected biological essentialism; second, that Drake's perspectives favored cultural relativism and historical particularism; and finally that Drake misrepresented the philosophical positions of "contemporary African political thinkers."

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams presented a more accurate picture of the political milieu in Africa to the conference attendees. Williams had just completed a decade of service as Michigan's governor, and immediately preceding the conference returned from his third official visit to Africa under the Kennedy administration. Stops in Williams's trip included Morocco, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Chad, Tunisia, Libya, and the Sudan.[71] Coverage of Williams's talk at the Boston conference focused on his assessment of the role of communism and self-determination in decolonizing Africa. According to the *Boston Globe*, Williams stated "that America must be realistic in dealing with Africa and recognize that communism is and will continue a powerful force among the newly emerging nations." Williams, "quoting a statement that President Kennedy made in his inaugural address," urged that American development assistance to African nations be made not "out of concern with Communism, but because it is right that we help" fight the "unusual problems of Africa" and establish "political democracy where trained leaders are few, literacy is limited, and too many of the citizens are undernourished." Williams reportedly argued that to convince "Africans that we are committed to their ideals and quest for independence," the United States should take "a more positive stand on such unresolved problems as Algeria, Angola and apartheid."[72]

Williams's comments confirmed that racism, decolonization, economic growth, and cultural difference together presented stark challenges for the State Department and its utilization of UNESCO in foreign policy. These themes reverberated through the conference. Numerous speakers challenged the racist and anti-communist positions of the United States, yet the specific convergence of modernization theory and anti-racism promoted at the conference was quite nuanced at times.

Anthropologist Melville Herskovits's comments at the conference captures one such example. Herskovits, a Boasian, established the first African Studies program in the United States at Northwestern University. Herskovits's ethnographic research employed the perspective of acculturation, or culture change and retention through exchange.[73] Like his predecessor and Boasian contemporaries, Herskovits's overtly anti-racist scholarship sought to dismantle classical evolutionary notions of culture and "race." At the eighth national conference Herskovits served as a USNC committee member and contributed a 25-minute lecture.[74] Speaking on "Images of Africa in the United States," Herskovits "said that 'too long the picture of the darkest Africa in this country has been that of a continent, hot and humid, overrun by herds of wild animals and populated by beings at the lower stages of human development. But this is being corrected" in the United States, Herskovits added, "now that we are more fully realizing the complexity of the African social structure, the sophistication of its art, and its overall contributions to human culture."[75] Herskovits asserted that the increase in African students in American universities, the appearance of "distinguished African delegates in the United Nations," and the "over 300 experts on Africa lecturing in American universities" comprised key reasons "for the change of the African image in the United States."[76]

Herskovits derided media representations of "dark Africa," what he called "old stereotypes of the planter, the colonial official, the 'savage' African." He also "mentioned returning missionaries as another source of the older African picture." As Ian Forman reported, Herskovits clarified that "relatively few missions are located in the new urban centers or have much contact with the developments in the fields of industrialization, commerce, politics and higher education that make the new Africa."[77] Yet in his effort to refuse "old outworn, exotic" images of Africa, Herskovits rearticulated certain modernist assumptions of culture. His choice to compare the "old Africa" with the commerce and industrialization of "new Africa" suggests that Herskovits felt it important to render contemporary Africa as "modern." Herskovits's contrast of the old and new "Africa" was intended to supplant racist imagery, but Herskovits preferred to stress the ongoing modernization of African nations. In his

commentary, Herskovits toed the slippery line between cultural relativism and "themes of racial theory in a different guise."[78]

At the Boston conference, discussions of a modernizing Africa did not directly challenge the anti-racist position of the American delegation. In fact, the articulation of cultural relativism within the context of modernization and development made perfect sense. During discussions on social science and culture, several delegates addressed the possible neglect of Africa's cultural "achievements" and concerns that American officials expected African governments to basically replicate the "West." Phoebe and Simon Ottenberg reported, "[I]n discussions devoted to African culture an underlying theme was traditional values and their relation to contemporary African life and the Western world." Delegates pondered the "rapid spread of Islam in Africa" and concluded that "its widespread acceptance" had been due to "its sanctioning of polygyny and greater permissiveness towards pagan beliefs and practices, and the relative ease with which conversion is accomplished." However "the values of traditional religion were seen as a substratum for contemporary African behavior. The position of the Christian Church," the anthropologists continued, "was considered, with the opinion, on the one hand, that it was a foreign institution associated with European colonialism, and the more prevalent view that it was not essentially incompatible with African life." Delegates confirmed "the problem of integrating Christianity and African culture," which resulted in suggestions "for de-Westernizing the Church while not altering its fundamental beliefs. The development of syncretistic sects and movements combining Christian and specifically African elements was mentioned."[79]

Discussions under the rubric of the social sciences posited the possibility of accelerating modernization in Africa. According to the Ottenbergs, "[T]he hope was expressed that a new level of sophistication was being reached" in the planning of aid programs to Africa because it "was realized that it was not a simple matter of transplanting equipment, personnel, and techniques from outside but of combining Western and African knowledge and abilities. Both African and American delegates were in favor of the establishment of Afro-American teams for development projects."[80]

Representatives from Africa and the United States received these proposals in a positive light. The *Boston Globe* reported, "For the many Americans and Africans who took part, distance and difference in cultures have been bridged with the realizations that the aspirations and goals of the peoples of the two continents are much alike." According to several delegates from Somaliland, Ghana, and Senegal, "[T]he conference succeeded admirably in achieving its goal of presenting a true

picture of Africa to America." For the *Globe*, the conference "proved a major step in bringing Africa and America closer together."[81] Another Boston paper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, asserted, "[A]n amazing amount of tolerance for the many views expressed at the largest conference ever assembled in the United States on Africa is a hopeful sign." The article outlined three major points of contention during the conference. According to the *Monitor*, newly independent countries did not "want to be involved in the cold war," disapproved of any lingering US support for colonial regimes, and contested "racial incidents and the second-class status of the American Negro in many parts of the United States." In the main delegates agreed that if "American help reaching Africa were channeled through the UN and its agencies such as UNESCO, there would be less suspicion that strings were tied to it." However "Africans acknowledge both that they have gained much from the UN and that the UN was founded on the finest traditions of the Western world. This latter association gives due respect to the United States' leading role in the UN."[82]

Following the conference Phoebe and Simon Ottenberg published their USNC report, which closed with a positive summation that reflected the State Department's concerns to both support an anti-racist position that honored cultural specificity and pushed economic development. "It was felt by many delegates," the Ottenbergs wrote, "that existing African educational systems are a heritage of the past, oriented toward European interests and ignoring African history and culture. In addition to its being a matter of common sense and national pride," they added, "it was emphasized that a type of training that would contribute to economic development was a paramount need."[83]

William O. Walker's postconference commentary in the *Cleveland Call and Post* differed considerably in content and tone. "Because I think it is important that American Negroes know what their African brothers are thinking and saying," Walker wrote, he focused again on promoting the prominence and utility of the transnational freedom movement. In his November 4 piece, Walker discussed the speech of E. M. Debrah, a Ghanaian ambassador in Washington, DC. Debrah, according to Walker, "really laid it on the line" in a speech that demonstrated Debrah's "great knowledge of racial practices in America." According to Walker, Debrah asserted that African diplomats hesitated visiting certain parts of the United States in hopes of sparing American officials embarrassment, and that despite Ford Foundation grants and National Council for UNESCO fellowships, "the American on the whole is not prepared to accept the African as an equal."[84]

A week later, in a column recounting speeches given by the aforementioned St. Claire Drake and Nigerian foreign minister Jaja Wachuku,

Walker continued this line of transnational critique. According to Walker, Wachuku asserted, "[T]hose who supply the bloodlink between Africa and the United States must be eradicated immediately in order to win the wholehearted support of Africa." Wachuku also seconded the claims of fellow diplomats who remarked upon American racism toward African visitors. Walker then outlined St. Claire Drake's effort that traced the history of Pan-Africanism through a brief account of the contributions of figures such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, and Jomo Kenyatta. Walker's goal, clearly, was to show that "the American Negro played a big part in the development of the freedom movement in Africa."[85]

Another Soviet Challenge

In the remaining years of Kennedy's presidency, his administration would find themselves in continuous struggles with highly publicized civil rights confrontations. Attempts to integrate universities in Mississippi and Alabama brought international attention to the ongoing battle over Jim Crow. In 1963, "The impact of race in America on international politics," one scholar argues, "came to a head in the spring of 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama." Television cameras captured the violence visited upon children and teenagers by police commissioner Bull Conner's fire hoses and police dogs. From the Soviet Union to decolonizing Africa "news coverage throughout the world underscored international concerns about racial injustice in America."[86] But a year after the minor success of the UNESCO conference in Boston, Kennedy was confronted with "another version of Eisenhower's Little Rock."[87] During the fall of 1962, the University of Mississippi rejected James Meredith's attempt to enroll at the University because of his "race." The US Supreme Court refused to hear the case, and Mississippi governor Ross Barnett vowed to disobey a ruling by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals that deemed the admissions decision unconstitutional. With student protests against Meredith on the brink of violence, President Kennedy deployed federal marshals to secure Meredith's registration. The ensuing violence left two people dead including a French reporter, and hundreds were wounded. In response to the savagery being shown on television for a world audience, Kennedy then reprimanded Mississippians in a nationally televised address as the unrest escalated.[88]

In this context a highly inflammatory UNESCO publication appeared in 1962. Written by Russian scholars Ivan Petrovic Tsamerian and Samuil Lazarevich Ronin, *The Equality of Rights between Races and Nationalities in the U.S.S.R.* spawned harsh reactions in Washington and across the

United States. The short pamphlet had been planned by UNESCO officials to serve as a complementary study to a 1954 pamphlet on civil rights advances in the United States. *The Equality of Rights* proposed to provide readers with a systematic assessment of the legal fight against racism in the Soviet Union, just as Princeton sociologist Morroe Berger's *Racial Equality and the Law* had for the United States.[89]

Alfred Metraux, still head of UNESCO projects on "race" in the Social Sciences Department, began discussing the possibility of producing a similar study on the Soviet Union as early as 1956. In October of that year Metraux wrote to the secretary general of the Academy of Sciences in the Soviet Union, informing him that members of the Department "feel the time has now come to expand our inquiries and turn to your country."[90] Assistant director of UNESCO, Malcolm Adiseshiah had also discussed the project in a recent visit with officials from the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Permanent Delegation.[91] In April 1957, Metraux sent to Tsamerian copies of "The Race Question in Modern Science" series published by UNESCO during the 1950s. Metraux instructed Tsamerian to focus his "attention particularly" on the booklet by Morroe Berger because it represented a "monograph of the same type" Metraux wanted from the Russian scholar.[92]

The Equality of Rights underwent a long revision process. Tsamerian submitted a "first version" in Russian and English to UNESCO in December 1957, followed by newly drafted Russian and English versions. Tsamerian and Ronin submitted a potential final manuscript of *The Equality of Races* to Metraux in August 1958.[93] Anticipating controversy over the content and tone of the pamphlet, Metraux remarked to UNESCO's director of social sciences that "the manuscript in our hands is a history of the formation of the Union of Socialist Republics and an optimistic report of their development. The style," Metraux stated, "has a propagandistic flavor which will be clear even to a casual reader, certain sentences are obviously offensive to Western powers." Metraux documented his personal concerns about the publication of the booklet because he felt that "even if necessary deletions are made and if the text is carefully edited, strong criticisms will be heard in the USA." Metraux felt convinced that American newspapers would complain that taxpayers' money was being used by UNESCO to promote Russian propaganda. However, he also felt that UNESCO was correct in asking the Russians to cooperate in its "race programme" because it was "better to establish a close collaboration with them than to open ourselves to a constantly hostile attitude."[94] Metraux's concerns reflected the Cold War antagonisms that had defined US-Soviet relations within UNESCO, upon the USSR officially joining the organization in 1954.[95]

After further review by senior staff members in UNESCO's Social Sciences Department, *The Equality of Rights* was ready for publication in late 1960. Metraux called the pamphlet "dull" but "sound" with no "polemical tone." He informed the office of UNESCO's director general that the pamphlet still represented the Soviet Union in "a very optimistic light," but that "this is a matter which does not concern us…since the authors have taken our criticisms and comments into account."[96] Rene Maheu, UNESCO's director general, approved the manuscript and scheduled its publication for 1961.[97]

UNESCO published *The Equality of Rights* in March 1962. Tsamerian and Ronin outlined the goal of their study as an effort "to acquaint the public with one of the major social triumphs of our day, namely, the way in which the problem of nationalities has been solved in the Soviet Union. It is, in fact, the story of the successful establishment of full equality of rights between races and nationalities in the USSR." Unlike Berger's study on the United States, *The Equality of Rights* engaged the conceptual debates concerning "race." In the introduction Tsamerian and Ronin attempted to clarify that they sought to apply a strictly scientific definition of "race" and nationality, "which admits no confusion between the two terms." Echoing previous UNESCO publications, they underscored that "race" remained "an anthropological category," and that "the origin of races lies far back in the distant past, at the initial stages of human evolution." Displaying their familiarity with the synthetic theory of evolution that had become commonly accepted by the 1950s, Tsamerian and Ronin wrote, "[U]nder the influence of specific geographical conditions men gradually acquired racial characteristics by way of protective adaptation to their environment (skin pigmentation, hair colour and texture, etc.)." They added that "migrations and resettlements, due to social factors, led to a mingling of races and the development of a large number of racial varieties, so that today there is no such thing as a 'pure' race and anthropologists are in disagreement as to how many races can be distinguished."[98]

Tsamerian and Ronin's introduction then shifted from scientific qualifications to politics. They went on to claim, "[T]he Communist Party of the Soviet Union conducts ideological work on a vast scale to instill in Soviet citizens the highest virtues of communist ethics and give them a scientific world outlook." The authors added that "Soviet citizens of all nationalities" worked "enthusiastically to build a communist society" that had become necessarily peaceful. Expanding the context of their claims, they cited a visit between Khrushchev and Eisenhower as an example of the Soviet Union's efforts to enable peace between varying nationalities and "social systems."[99]

The Equality of Rights addressed directly the legal and economic status of Jewish people and citizens of the Soviet Union throughout the Euro-Asia landmass. Tsamerian and Ronin provided what they felt was "irrefutable proof that the economic backwardness of the numerous peoples oppressed under Tsarism is a thing of the past." By this they meant that "under the Soviet regime, there has been a revival of all these peoples, who have established their own form of progressive socialist economy and . . . their own highly developed national and socialist culture."[100] Like Berger's study of the United States, *The Equality of Rights* reviewed legal developments in the field of racism. The authors reported that "any infringement of the racial and national equality of citizens of the USSR is punishable as a criminal offence" since "Soviet legislation vigilantly protects the democratic rights and liberties of Soviet citizens, including effective equality of all citizens in all fields without distinction of race or nationality."[101]

Even as their booklet celebrated the virtues of Soviet communism, the authors also directly confronted their ideological combatants in Europe and across the Atlantic. Tsamerian and Ronin wrote, "[O]bviously, then, the concepts of 'race' and 'nation' are by no means synonymous. Yet many books and articles published on the subject in the countries of Western Europe and America make no distinction between the two terms and often use them quite incorrectly." "A similarly erroneous notion of race," they continued, "is indicated by other common expressions such as 'Asiatic race,' 'European race' and so on." The authors argued that "the concept of 'race' is very often substituted for that of 'nation' in order to conceal the social implications of the nationalities question." Tsamerian and Ronin felt "this approach" marked "an attempt to justify inequalities between nations, the domination of one nation over others, and the oppression of national minorities or colonial peoples on the ground of the innate characteristics of the 'inferior' races." The authors added that "the backwardness of the colonial peoples is due not to any racial characteristic as the racialists assert, but to the circumstances of the group's life, and particularly colonial oppression which for centuries has held back the economic and cultural development of those peoples."[102]

The Equality of Rights sparked a storm that touched directly on US relations with UNESCO.[103] In April 1962 the State Department protested the book's publication due to its "obvious" use "as a vehicle for political agenda." The State Department claimed the booklet ignored "standards of scientific research by presenting a distorted and often fallacious picture of the treatment of national and minority groups in the Soviet Union." More to the point for the Kennedy administration, the book contained "numerous blatant examples of Soviet and anti-Western propaganda,

making references to 'revanchist neo-fascist elements' in Western European countries, 'colonialist oppression,' in 'capitalist countries' and so forth."[104] John Morrow, the permanent US representative to UNESCO, informed Rene Maheu that he had been instructed by the US government to register an official protest to the booklet. Morrow called the publication a "piece of political propaganda" and deemed it dangerous because it "may be widely accepted as unbiased because it is a UNESCO study. By publishing this pamphlet" Morrow continued, "UNESCO assists the Soviet Union in its campaign to present a one-sided utopian picture of the conditions prevailing within its borders and permits one Member State to use the medium of an international organization for the pursuit of its own national objectives." Morrow warned that by publishing *The Equality of Rights*, UNESCO damaged its "stature and prestige as an impartial international body," undercutting "the respectability and credibility of its work throughout the world. My Government," added Morrow, "reserved the right to register its protest further on this matter at the appropriate time."[105]

The UNESCO secretariat responded quickly. Assistant Director General Malcolm Adiseshiah helped draft a strongly worded letter. After what Adiseshiah referred to as "considerable research" and "careful and rather full considerations," Maheu sent his response to Morrow.[106] Maheu pointed out that *The Equality of Rights* had been produced at the behest of then director general Luther Evans, who decided in 1955 that "a brochure along the same lines" as the Berger study of the United States should be completed for the Soviet Union. Berger's text had discussed the history of racism, slavery, immigration, and migration in the United States. With his goal of presenting the "true facts of the American experience" in his survey, Berger concluded, "[L]aw has indeed been one of the important historic means by which the people of the United States have moved toward the greater realization of the ideals of democracy and peaceful progress."[107] With no mention of the historic Supreme Court decision in the *Brown* case, Berger produced a rather positive review of civil rights advances through legal victories in the United States.

Quoting the original 1955 proposal for the Soviet booklet, Maheu informed Morrow that the study proposed consisted of a "description of laws, decrees and measures taken since 1917 in the Union, to fight discrimination in general and ensure equality of rights, mainly with regard to the Jews and other racial groups such as members of the Mongolian stock." The director general made clear that "the planned brochure was to follow as far as possible, the pattern set for the United States" by Berger. Maheu argued that in *The Equality of Rights* the criticisms of "Western capitalist" racism had been based on published accounts of anti-Semitism

in various countries including western Europe, and that such criticisms fit with UNESCO and UN principles.[108]

By February of 1963 public furor over *The Equality of Rights* reached a fever pitch in the United States. Yet when questioned about the booklet at a Washington press conference President Kennedy calmly remarked that "such occurrences as the publication" of *The Equality of Rights* were "to be expected occasionally at the U.N., and that the one in question had a counterpart written by Americans."[109] Kennedy's apparent coolness was not replicated in other quarters. For the *Washington Post* the booklet reiterated "Soviet arguments frequently heard in U.N. debates that guarantees against race discrimination were written into the Soviet constitution." The *Post* reported that Republican national chairman William E. Miller "termed the booklet 'a gratuitous insult to America and the free world,'" and demanded the Kennedy administration order the pamphlet withdrawn from public circulation.[110] In Chicago the *Tribune* reported that the "United Nations body, whose largest financial support is given by the United States government, has published a booklet denouncing 'colonialist oppression' by western nations and describing the Soviet Union as 'a brotherhood of free and equal peoples.'" The *Tribune* reiterated the overwhelming US financial contribution of nearly one-third of UNESCO's total annual budget, against 15 percent from the Soviet Union.[111] The magazine *US News and World Report* described an "angry outburst in the U.S. Congress" resulting from the booklet, and the realization of taxpayers "that they already have helped finance a booklet, prepared by the United Nations, that attacks capitalist countries and strongly praises the Soviet Union."[112] The *Wall Street Journal* alerted readers that UNESCO published a booklet by two Soviet citizens, complete with a "UNESCO symbol on the cover and a UNESCO foreword calling the work 'most useful.'" Aware of the organization's programming, the *Wall Street Journal* stated wryly, "so it's some education UNESCO is handing out. And, like the UN's aid for Cuba, it should indeed be a lesson for any Americans needing it. There can't be too many historical instances of a sovereign nation going out of its way to help its enemies bury it."[113] The assistant director of the USNC wrote to *Wall Street Journal* editors in defense of UNESCO's overall record of publishing objective work, yet maintained that it was "deplorable" the organization published *The Equality of Rights*.[114]

Such negative reports appeared in over 80 different newspapers and periodicals throughout the United States. National periodicals and small-town newspapers expressed similar disdain to the booklet's publication and content. The *Shreveport Journal* termed it "incredible jackassery." A writer in Spokane described the booklet as a "red bouquet"

flung by the United Nations. The *Hayward Review* said that "UNESCO baiting" had become "scarcely fun anymore because" it had become so easy. Also in California, the *Costa Mesa Daily Pilot* asked readers if the United States was paying our "assassin." In Jefferson City, Missouri, the "red race bigots" were discussed, while the *Troy Messenger* in Alabama declared the United States had subsidized trash.[115]

Dramatic reactions to the pamphlet also emanated from Congress. US representative to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson received numerous letters from concerned Senators and Representatives who wanted to have a look at the book themselves. Stevenson had difficulty procuring a copy, but once he and others in Washington reviewed the pamphlet a Congressional hearing soon followed.[116] During that March 1963 subcommittee on foreign relations hearing, Congress made clear the general displeasure with *The Equality of Rights*. Typical was the comment from Representative John Ashbrook of Ohio, who called the booklet a "fraudulent . . . insult not only to America but to commonsense." Ashbrook argued that "the same double standard was obvious" in UNESCO's 1960 *Courier* issue on racism. "The October 1960 edition of their magazine," Ashbrook continued, "depicts the Little Rock situation, and so forth, but not one word about discrimination in the Soviet Union where entire peoples are enslaved."[117] The testimony of Lucius Battle, assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs, corroborates the defensive posture of the US government to the UNESCO publication. Battle stated before Congress his belief that the publication of the pamphlet was "illustrative of many of the problems inherent" in US participation "in an international organization such as UNESCO." He assured the subcommittee that the State Department was "not oblivious of these problems" and was "doing its utmost to correct them." One of the major problems Battle outlined concerned UNESCO's "tendentious publications, and those seminars, meetings and other projects which experience has shown lead to polemics rather than scholarly results." Battle then informed the subcommittee that *The Equality of Rights* project originated as a proposed complementary study to that produced by Morroe Berger in 1954. Battle described Berger's pamphlet on the United States as "a scholarly and objective study. The Soviet study, on the other hand," stated Battle, "has been used as a vehicle for political propaganda." Repeating the consensus argument, Battle said the booklet contained "numerous blatant examples of Soviet and anti-Western propaganda," and that "in so doing, of course," served "the national objectives and policy of the Soviet Union by presenting the Soviet point of view and not the objectives of international understanding espoused by UNESCO."[118] Battle's attempt to undermine the validity of the Soviet study by invoking the notion of "propaganda" ran counter

to the actual way the US government had utilized UNESCO since 1946. Clearly, Battle's conclusions reflect the enervated status of US control over the organization's publications and operations.

Conclusion

For American government officials, the entire controversy over *The Equality of Rights* marked an episode indicative of considerable embarrassment rooted in widespread observations by civil rights and anti-colonial activists, communist leaders such as Fidel Castro, and voices within UNESCO that a considerable gap between the rhetoric of American democracy and ongoing racism remained. Together, the *Courier* issue, the eighth national conference, and *The Equality of Rights* underlined the ideological challenges from the second and third world posed to the Kennedy administration.

The US government attempted to continue this trend in the early 1960s; however UNESCO could not "neglect its role as a parliamentary form for the less powerful to influence the international climate of opinion and propose alternative values for consideration there."[119] By contrast to its early years when the United States largely controlled the organization, by 1960 UNESCO membership had swelled to over one hundred member states, including the Soviet Union (1954), as well as dozens of former colonies in Africa and Asia. For US representatives to UNESCO the implications were clear. Longtime State Department official and UNESCO representative William Benton summarized the situation in 1963. In a confidential report, he wrote that the "United States has not the shadow of a voting bloc in UNESCO. With 113 Member States, each with full equality of voting rights, it is increasingly difficult for the United States to exercise an influence on the program and budget in even cousinly relationship with its 30.56% financial contribution."[120] As Benton observed, the momentum of civil rights and anti-colonial activity offered ideological alternatives to the broader geopolitical aspirations of the US government, and posed new obstacles for American policy in UNESCO. Although leaders in Africa and other sectors of the third world did not reject outright the process of development, dissident voices in the early 1960s articulated a notion of alternative development and modernization that valued local cultures and rejected the teleology of "Western" modernity. Together, this critique of modernization and public indictments of racism in the United States reflect the political energies engulfing much of the world in the early 1960s.

6

Radicalization and the Collapse of Postwar Anti-racism

As Lyndon Johnson took office in November 1963, his increasing nonchalance would come to replace Kennedy's hands-on approach to UNESCO. President Johnson's confrontations with the civil rights movement at home and the war in Vietnam on the world stage began to displace concerns the administration had with cultural relations and UNESCO.[1]

Additionally problematic for the US–UNESCO relationship, following the announcement of a convention against racism in education and an official declaration against colonialism in 1960, the UNESCO secretariat called for a renewed focus on the scientific and social dimensions of "race."[2] UNESCO called specifically for a conference of specialists on "race" to convene in 1964 and discuss current developments in the biological and social sciences. UNESCO's efforts to reexamine the biology and sociopolitics of "race" in the 1960s reflected the shifting power dynamic in the organization and the larger UN umbrella. The UNESCO scholars of "race" also revealed shifts in the epistemological status of "race" in the biological and social sciences, along with the role of racialized identities in bottom-up responses to interpersonal and institutional racism across the globe.

Throughout the early 1960s, the explosion of third world membership in the United Nations and UNESCO brought about a sea change within both organizations. The US government increasingly found itself unable to exert its ideological will through these organizations. From UNESCO's inception, leaders in Washington had engaged in a sort of branding of American democracy that relied on selling state-supported anti-racism; a state-supported anti-racism that in turn relied on various overlapping categories of social difference, including nation, culture, ethnicity, and "race." More to the point, federal leaders sought to shape the debates

on racism in a way that stressed the attainment of an inclusive national identity while depoliticizing racialized identities in terms of bottom-up mobilization. The sort of top-down anti-racism that emerged from World War II and constituted to a large extent the US government's utilization of UNESCO also constituted an attempt to incorporate the resistance of "non-white" peoples at home and abroad.

The UNESCO scholars' analysis of global politics in the 1960s captured the duality of "race" as scientific falsity and sociopolitical juggernaut. As UNESCO scholars realized, conceptualizations of "racial" and cultural difference remained signposts of political struggle throughout the world. The rhetorical promotion of human rights and cultural exchange from the top-down gave way to the realities of global struggles to carve out spaces of democratic and postcolonial freedom.

Origins and Challenges: Organizing the 1964 Conference

At the 1962 General Conference in Paris, UNESCO member states agreed "to convene in 1964 an international conference of specialists to consider the present status of scientific thought on the race concept." Officials pledged to support the defense of human rights and various state efforts to eradicate "discrimination based on sex, race, nationality, religion, language or economic or social conditions."[3] In the early stages of planning, UNESCO sought to assemble experts to consider both the conceptual problems of "race" and the sociological aspects of racism in a single effort.

UNESCO's renewed focus on "race" in the early 1960s ran counter to the objectives and influence of the US government in UNESCO programming. In September of 1963, Secretary of State Dean Rusk confirmed that the United States wished to halt these developments at the upcoming executive board meeting of UNESCO by convincing Director General Rene Maheu to reverse course. Maheu had announced that UNESCO would reorient its program "to emphasize studies of race relations, problems of decolonization and economic and social consequences of disarmament." For Rusk the "political implications" of the new approach were "most serious." At the executive board meeting that soon followed Maheu's announcement, Rusk urged US representatives to "stress that U.S. opposition to racism, and colonialism are vigorously expressed in appropriate UN forums." Rusk argued that it would be an "impractical disservice" for UNESCO to divert resources from programs in education and science to once again engage "such issues as race relations, post colonialism and disarmament," which Rusk feared would fuel Soviet anti-American propaganda.[4]

Leading up to the 1964 conference efforts of US ambassadors to influence executive board members from India, Nigeria, and Mexico ended in failure. At the 66th meeting of the executive board in the fall of 1963, board members affirmed UNESCO's "useful and constructive role" in helping to solve "race problems, the economic and social problems of newly independent countries," and "the economic and social consequences of disarmament."[5]

UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences had already begun contacting specialists to take part in the proposed 1964 conference on "race." During the summer of 1963 UNESCO's Social Sciences director Andre Bertrand began receiving assistance from Francisco Benet, a sociologist who had worked previously in UNESCO's Middle East Science Cooperation Office. Benet first contacted anthropologist Margaret Mead and former UNESCO director general and biologist Julian Huxley. Benet scheduled meetings over the summer with Mead in Paris and London to gather her take on what the conference might entail.[6] Mead, one of the most recognizable anthropologists and public intellectuals of her time, had extensive involvement with UNESCO prior to Benet contacting her. Mead had attended UNESCO seminars and conferences in the late 1940s, and served as director of a UNESCO project in the early 1950s that explored the effects of modernization on the cultural and psychological stability of "underdeveloped" populations. Mead edited the results of the study published in 1953 by UNESCO in conjunction with the World Federation for Mental Health. In addition, Mead had attended UNESCO conferences in 1955 and 1958, and had also contributed articles to the *UNESCO Courier* as recently as 1961.[7] Mead was only the first of several scholars based in the United States contacted by Benet and Bertrand in preparation for the conference. While professional and personal familiarity clearly played a role in facilitating discussions in the planning of the conference, in the early 1960s anthropologists in the United States still occupied a central position in many anthropological fields, especially physical anthropology.[8] In the case of Mead, the UNESCO planners dually sought advice from a longtime colleague and friend who also happened to rate among the most prominent scholars in her field.

Since Huxley had been heavily involved with the production of the 1951 UNESCO Statement, Benet sought his advice. Benet informed Huxley that the goal of the 1964 conference would be to "re-examine the problem in the light of the developments which have taken place in the past 12 years and to arrive at formulating a new statement that would complement the original one." Benet mentioned to Huxley that the 1964 conference would include both biologists and social scientists, and inquired if Huxley would be available to meet in late June in London for further discussion.[9] Huxley agreed to meet with Benet in

London, and expressed pleasure in UNESCO's decision to compose a new statement.

In his response Huxley also confessed his dissatisfaction with the 1951 Statement. Apparently Huxley had signed it with reluctance. Huxley then warned Benet, "UNESCO must hold the fort between the two extreme positions," the first, "that human races are clear-cut genetic entities with sharply distinguishable characteristics, and the political extension of this view that some races are superior and some inferior," and the second, "that there is no scientific or biological basis at all for the idea of genetically distinguishable ethnic groups, with mean differences in various genetic properties."[10] In two publications in the late 1930s, Huxley had expressed doubt in the very notion of biological "races," articulating both an alternative in terms of "clines" or gradients of genetic diversity in human populations, and "ethnic groups," a term that he substituted for "race" in his correspondence with Benet.[11] Huxley, following the lead of French anthropologist Joseph Deniker (1900), proposed the use of "ethnic group" in place of "race" due to his disbelief in the *purity* and clarity of the genetic boundaries between human populations commonly referred to as "races." Huxley's insistence supporting the existence of "genetically distinguishable ethnic groups with mean differences in various genetic properties" echoed the position of many in the scientific community in the 1960s. Huxley wanted both to undermine older notions of the fixity of "race," while acknowledging arbitrary lines and average genetic differences in some traits, demarcating (gradations of) what he termed "ethnic groups." In other words, Huxley hoped the UNESCO panelists would approach their task with the view that "race" wasn't what it once was, but could still be observed, measured, and analyzed.

The Participants: Decolonizing Anthropology?

An August 1963 proposal for the 1964 meeting spoke to some of the major problems that had confronted the scientific study of "race" since the publication of UNESCO's early statements. According to the proposal drafted by Andre Bertrand, the meeting of 1964 sought to address: (a) the origins of races and the monotypic or polytypic nature of the human species; (b) the human and social aspects of the race problem; (c) the scientific advances in these fields in the last decade.[12]

Bertrand and Benet planned to have the 1964 meeting on "race" in the Soviet Union. By the end of 1963 the exact location, either Leningrad or Moscow, remained under debate, though Benet leaned toward Moscow. The Moscow Conference of Ethnology was scheduled for late summer, 1964, and Benet thought that an arranged convenience would be conducive to

attracting scholars to the UNESCO meeting.[13] Yet, with planning for the conference nearly complete in March, Benet had not secured the participation of Soviet scholars, and looked to add them later.[14] Interestingly, neither Benet nor Bertrand revealed in official correspondence the possible troubles of securing the participation of Soviet scholars. No clues are given concerning the possible impact of ongoing Cold War jousting in matters of international diplomacy, yet Benet did credit the "extravagant slowness of the Soviet machinery" for overall delays and difficulties in organizing the meeting.[15]

Benet intended the conference to "represent a number of tendencies and lines of research" as well as a "broad geographical distribution by main areas of the world," and as such went about securing panelists from South America, Asia, and Africa. In February Benet wrote to anthropologist D. F. Roberts at the University of Washington to gather information on a prospective participant from Nigeria. Benet had no knowledge of the research of "the doctor or pathologist from Nigeria," and inquired if he was "a person well suited to participate" in the 1964 meeting. Benet had only learned of A. E. Boyo through a conversation with University of Michigan anthropologist James Spuhler. At the time Boyo served as head of the Federal Malarial Research Institute and the Department of Pathology and Hematology at Lagos University Medical School. Benet had been unable to contact Boyo, and hoped Roberts could assist because as Benet put it, "[W]e are interested in securing the best participation from Africa." "By the way," Benet closed his letter to Roberts, "would you have any other suggestions concerning research-workers from other parts of Africa and the under-developed world."[16] Boyo, along with Yaye Kane, director of the Senegal National Centre of Blood Transfusion in Dakar, would comprise the participants from Africa.

Bertrand successfully enlisted the participation of a scholar from India who questioned his own ability to contribute to the conference. Sociology professor Ramakrishna Mukherjee, head of the Sociological Research Unit in Calcutta, informed Bertrand that his professional career began as an anthropologist but had come to focus on "the social aspect of the human organism." Mukherjee affirmed his interest in attending, but confessed, "I may be more a patient listener than an active speaker."[17] Although both Benet and Bertrand in their planning of the 1964 conference turned for advice to scholars in Britain and the United States, the duo made a concerted effort to diversify and democratize the 1964 panel, and in the case of Mukherjee, even at the expense of expertise.[18] To be fair, Benet and Bertrand faced a tough task, particularly considering the low numbers of professionally trained anthropologists of color in the United States. Only nine African Americans had been professionally trained in anthropology before the end of World War II, according to St. Claire Drake, and even

with the ensuing availability of Ford Foundation Fellowships in the early 1950s, the majority of the growing number of African American anthropologists were Africanists, and not specialists in physical anthropology. Moreover, as Drake claims, "the few who did become professional anthropologists played no active roles in American Anthropological Association affairs."[19] The clear exception was William Montague Cobb, a medical doctor and the only African American physical anthropologist to earn a PhD prior to the Korean War. Cobb's qualifications certainly suited him for the UNESCO task. As the president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists from 1957 to 1959 and editor of the *Journal of the National Medical Association* from 1949 to 1977, Cobb's absence from the 1964 UNESCO project is rather conspicuous. Despite his accolades and approximately eleven hundred publications, Cobb's work on "race" and African Americans remained on the periphery of "the otherwise European-American field of physical anthropology."[20]

In the end however, the composition of the 1964 panel represented a gesture toward "decolonizing" anthropology. With a panel that looked much different from the Euro-American dominated panels of 1950 and 1951, on August 18 the group of 22 scholars finalized the 1964 "Proposals on the Biological Aspects of Race." The 1964 panel consisted mainly of physical anthropologists and biologists, but unlike the previous panels of 1950 and 1951 had numerous scholars from the "underdeveloped" or recently decolonized areas of globe. Despite a shift in the anthropology in the United States toward a transnational outlook more attuned to global politics openly critical of the "West," Benet and Bertrand made sure to secure significant participation from the third world.[21]

Individual scholars from Nigeria, Venezuela, Mexico, Senegal, India, and Brazil took part in the conference. Three panelists hailed from Moscow, one each from Poland and Czechoslovakia, two scholars each from London and Paris. Only two American anthropologists, Carleton Coon and James Sphuler, attended the 1964 meeting, and Hisashi Suzuki of the University of Tokyo rounded out the panel. Hisashi, Jean Hiernaux, and G.F. Debetz of Moscow would also take part in a subsequent meeting on "race" scheduled for 1966. Adelaide de Diaz Ungria, curator of the Museum of Natural Sciences in Caracas, was the first of only two women to take part in UNESCO's "race" panels in the 1950s and 1960s.[22]

On Coon

Bertrand's suggestion to have the 1964 panel debate the "monotypic or polytypic nature of the human species" reflected the ongoing (though

diminishing) relevance of the argument that biological "races" had distinct and isolated evolutionary paths. The "general agreement" of the unity of the human species "derived from a common stock," as claimed by the previous UNESCO Statements on Race in the 1950s, did not rule out propolytypic arguments. Asserting the "polytypic nature" of the human species suggested the existence of subspecies, or biological "races," which formed in geographical isolation. UNESCO revisited this troublingly lingering debate in the 1960s.

One scholar who openly advocated the polytypic perspective was Carleton Coon. Coon was a Harvard-trained physical anthropologist whose life work, according to anthropologist Pat Shipman, entailed the "classification, measurement, and investigation of the human races." Coon took an evolutionary approach to "race," and his work had always been based on the assumption that distinct biological "races" existed. According to Shipman, Coon believed that populations had become genetically distinct due to environmental adaptations in isolation. Shipman describes Coon as a scientist who "was always classifying, noting features, slotting people into pigeonholes, whether he was meeting Kurdish herders in Iraq or Celtic academics in Boston."[23] Coon's studies of "race" stood at the center of controversy in the scientific community in the early 1960s, yet during that period he served as president of the American Association of Physical Anthropology. As a highly credentialed physical anthropologist, controversy and all, Andre Bertrand saw fit to include Coon in the 1964 meeting.

Ashley Montagu, Sherwood Washburn, his former mentor Earnest Hooton, and others had confronted Coon's scholarship on "race" at anthropological conferences in the early 1960s.[24] His 1963 study *The Origin of Races* brought "to a head the rifts within physical anthropology as a discipline, the tensions between the subdisciplines of anthropology, and discussions about the role of anthropology in the public arena." Coon's book, according to anthropologist Rachel Caspari, sparked discussions that "ultimately forced an end to the old physical anthropology centered mainly on the race concept and helped usher in the new physical anthropology" espoused by Washburn and others since the early 1950s.[25] Coon's *The Origin of Races* argued that five major human "races" had distinct lineages, evolving at different times and rates. Coon implied that some "races" had evolved quicker and to a greater extent than other "races" had. For Coon, "[E]ach racial lineage crossed the *sapiens* 'threshold' at different times in prehistory," and "that the length of time each had been in the *sapiens* state was correlated with the level of 'cultural achievement' of different racial groups." Pat Shipman agrees that the crucial point of Coon's argument was his "observation that fossils identified

as Negroid were late in achieving modern brain size," and that this claim "was taken by many to be a slur against the Negroid race." Shipman is uncertain about the veracity of such a claim, yet Coon was clear in his scientific assessment on the matter.[26] In the introduction to *The Origin of Races*, Coon claimed, "[E]ach major race had followed a pathway of its own through the labyrinth of time. Each had been molded in a different fashion to meet the needs of different environments, and each had reached its own level on the evolutionary scale."[27] Coon concluded that "Caucasoids and Mongoloids" crossed the *sapiens* threshold considerably earlier than "Africans (Negroids and Capoids) and Australians (Australoids)," a claim that Caspari rightly points out, "had social implications."[28] Coon's arguments offered a caveat to the certainty of monogenism supporting human and "racial" equality. Coon wrote, "Wherever *Homo* arose, and Africa is at present the likeliest continent, he soon dispersed, in a very primitive form, throughout the warm regions of the Old World. Three of the five human subspecies crossed the *sapiens* line elsewhere. If Africa was the cradle of mankind, it was only an indifferent kindergarten. Europe and Asia were our principal schools."[29] Coon did not doubt the unity of the human species. At the level of subspecies however, differentiation had occurred, which resulted in an evolutionary hierarchy occupied by the five major geographical "races."

At the time of Coon's publication, "race" had again become the hot topic for anthropologists in the United States because of the political unrest at home and abroad. In 1962, Sherwood Washburn was asked to address the issue in his presidential address to the American Anthropological Association, and in the early 1960s "race" was a consistently debated subject in *Current Anthropology*. Thomas Patterson writes of this period, "[F]or many of this generation, the anthropology they practiced was no longer divorced from the public sphere but was once more an integral part of the political culture of the country."[30] Washburn spoke to that realization, telling fellow scientists:

> The point here is that racial classification tells us very little. The classification poses problems; it does not solve them… Races are products of the past. They are relics of times and conditions which have long ceased to exist. Racism is equally a relic supported by no phase of modern science. We may not know how to interpret the form of the Mongoloid face, or why Rh is of high incidence in Africa, but we do know the benefits of education and of economic progress. We know the price of discrimination is death, frustration, and hatred.[31]

Washburn had no pretensions about the state of the field though, admitting that "discussion of the races of man seems to generate endless emotion

and confusion." Washburn affirmed "no illusion that" his paper could "do much to dispel the confusion: it may add to the emotion," he said.[32]

In addition to Washburn, UNESCO's organizers collected working papers and selected participants from a wide variety of scholars who spoke from various disciplinary locations. In addition to Coon, Huxley, and Mead, Bertrand also approached for advice on the meeting's program notable anthropologists and biologists Stanley Diamond, Eric Wolf, Otto Klineberg, Sol Tax, Louis Leakey, C. Loring Brace, Ernst Mayr, and Dell Hymes.[33]

Two of those scholars who ultimately did not participate in the 1964 meeting expressed concerns over Coon's recent work. Sherwood Washburn stated that Coon's book was filled with errors, and hoped the 1964 meeting would focus on culture rather than genetics because the "common potentialities" of "mankind" would get lost.[34] Louis Leakey expressed great interest in the scientific debates of the upcoming meeting. He informed Benet that it was "particularly important that this matter should be again revived in detail especially in view of the very damaging and bad book by Carleton Coon."[35]

Veterans of the early UNESCO "race" studies also discussed Coon and his work publicly and privately. In a letter to longtime interlocutor Ashley Montagu, Julian Huxley expressed dismay that Montagu harbored negative feeling toward Coon and his work. For Huxley, Coon had exaggerated some points in his recent work, but also "had done a useful service in pointing out the fact that man must have early differentiated into a number of subspecies, and that these evolved in adaptive relation with their environment and its requirements."[36] According to *Current Anthropology* editor Sol Tax, the debates over Coon's work that transpired in the journal had developed a tone that caused Tax to wonder if they should continue publishing exchanges. Tax went so far as to ask Montagu to "lean over backward to help recover the spirit of scientific discussion."[37]

The Black Freedom Movement

Potential contributors to a new statement on "race" had concerns beyond responding to Coon. Seconding Washburn, others remained dismayed over the general problem of making clear pronouncements on "race" in scientific terms. As a specialist in human variation, anthropologist Frank Livingstone told Benet that he did not think a new meeting would result in "agreement among the world's biologists today."[38] Julian Huxley also understood the complexities involved, as he suggested that starting the 1964 meeting with an attempt to define "race" would be counterproductive. Benet agreed with Huxley's suggestion.[39]

Ernst Mayr, a leading evolutionary biologist, cheered UNESCO's latest effort because he felt the 1951 Statement contained "a number of regrettable half-truths." Mayr also informed UNESCO that he thought "race" at the present time had become "far more a social than a biological problem."[40] Anthropologist Stanley Diamond felt "naturally" and "deeply concerned with" the "acute crisis" in matters of "race" in the United States." It was a timely project of UNESCO's "in a time of great conflict and confusion about the structure and purposes of a truly human society. Those are the issues" that most interested Diamond in the planned meeting. He was "less-concerned with" and remained "unconvinced of, the pertinence of so-called new researches into the origin and significance of biological (human) races."[41]

It remains unclear what "so-called new researches" Diamond makes reference to. It is clear, however, that he, like Washburn and Livingstone, held less faith in attempts to form a scientific consensus on what constituted "race," than in the importance and efficacy of addressing the sociopolitical aspects of "race" and racism. While some struck vague references, other potential conferees directly connected the upcoming conference to the broader black freedom movement in the United States.

Colin M. Turnbull, assistant curator of African Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History stated that "political developments such as have been taking place in the United States are of importance in creating and destroying prejudice, quite apart from their political and legal implications." Turnbull felt that the 1964 meeting might consider "the effect of legislative action upon the prejudices of those concerned. In particular the danger of creating new prejudices by the apparent discrimination in favor of the formerly underprivileged races should be considered." Getting to his point, Turnbull told Benet, "[T]he emergence of groups such as the Black Muslims is certainly something affecting any consideration of the human and social aspects of the race problem, and a great deal of thought needs to be given to the relationship between prejudice and equality of opportunity."[42]

Turnbull's comments came on the heels of the popular emergence of the Nation of Islam (NOI), Malcolm X, and a broader black nationalism in the late 1950s. Scholars point to the 1959 CBS documentary on the NOI as the moment in which it captured national attention. The documentary titled "The Hate that Hate Produced" left CBS reporter Mike Wallace and millions of American viewers shocked at the NOI and its rhetoric. Wallace described the NOI as "the largest of the Black supremacist groups" and "emphasized the Nation's hatred of whites, their discipline, and their influence in the Black community."[43] Scholars estimate that membership in the NOI doubled in the wake of the CBS documentary, and the

popularity of Malcolm X increased tremendously.[44] By one historian's recent assessment, with his meeting with Fidel Castro in Harlem, his visit to Africa, and his connections to Harlem radicals, by 1960 Malcolm's profile had become national and cosmopolitan. In addition, according to historian Peniel Joseph, the politics of ousted NAACP leader and armed self-defense advocate Robert Williams, the Cuban revolution, and the assassination of Patrice Lumumba produced a new generation of black nationalists with diasporic sentiments.[45]

Like Turnbull, Margaret Mead felt that such developments were suitable matter for engagement through the lens of anthropology. Mead suggested to Benet that the 1964 meeting include a session devoted to "race membership as a basis for positive identity; both for Europeans and non-Europeans." Mead's suggestion had the potential of broadening the scope of UNESCO's inquiry by taking under consideration the very process of racialization from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives. Benet could not see the light at the end of such a controversial tunnel. He informed Mead that her idea had not been included in the second stage of conference planning. Benet wrote to Mead, "I think it was courage which failed me. Do tell me if you are really disappointed." Benet told Mead "[I]t seems to me it is also full of dynamite and that we cannot do so at UNESCO, where we ought often to swim against the current, for God knows we are time and again in the rapids."[46] Benet favored caution over controversy not only because of the current confluence of black nationalism, anti-colonialism, and red-baiting, but also because a segment of American politicians and citizens had registered vehement critiques of UNESCO publications on matters of "race" throughout the early 1960s.

Benet and Bertrand weighed the demands and uncertainty of defining "race" with UNESCO's often-controversial standing in the District of Columbia and beyond. Ultimately these overlapping intellectual and political concerns shaped the parameters of the themes under discussion at the 1964 conference. A direct discussion of civil rights, decolonization, and the sociological structures of white supremacy would be addressed at a later time.

By March 1964 Bertrand and Benet decided that tackling the social and biological aspects of "race" at the same conference would be too difficult. Bertrand informed the potential conferees that the 1964 meeting would focus only on the biological aspects, leaving the sociological aspects of "race" to be addressed at a second meeting tentatively scheduled for 1966. Benet felt that including the sociopolitical aspect of "race" would make the proceedings too complicated. In June the UNESCO director general Rene Maheu submitted a similar report to UN secretary general U Thant.[47] A total of 20 anthropologists and scientists, including the aforementioned

scholars from the United States who did not attend out of personal choice or scheduling conflicts, submitted working papers to Bertrand and Benet. These working papers, along with personal discussions involving Benet and numerous scholars from the United States and Britain, informed the specific topics debated at the 1964 conference.[48]

Publication of the "Proposals"

UNESCO released the Proposals on the Biological Aspects of Race to the public on August 18, 1964. Addressing many of the same issues, it was slightly longer than the 1951 Statement. The 1964 Proposals, like the statements of the early 1950s, opened with an affirmation of the unity of the human species as "derived from a common stock," dismissing the arguments of Coon that the various human "races" had distinct lineages and had crossed the *sapiens* threshold at different times. Benet and Bertrand's concerns to engage debates on the "monotypic or polygenic" origins of the "races" seemed moot. The 1964 Proposals lent no credence to the claims of Coon on this matter, and those who openly supported Jim Crow in the United States. Although uncertainty surrounded the "differences of opinion regarding how and when different human groups diverged from this common stock," the proposals stated plainly that no justification in both measures of intellect and cultural development existed for a hierarchical ranking of "races."[49]

The 1964 Proposals confirmed the conclusions of UNESCO's previous statements, asserting that "racial" classifications were limited in their use because pure "races" did not exist, science in no way supported the idea of superior and inferior "races," and that "interbreeding" did not result in biological disadvantages for "mankind as a whole." The 1964 Proposals also reaffirmed the Boasian contention that environmental conditions, rather than biological heredity or "race," determined the contours of a given culture and the processes of cultural development.

French anthropologist Jean Hiernaux's explanation of the accomplishments of the 1964 Proposals made clear the central role of population genetics in anthropological debates on "race." Hiernaux, who oversaw the production of the final document, asserted that the 1964 Proposals stressed "that the concept of a major racial group is only a tool of classification," and that "either smaller groups or unit-populations themselves may be referred to as races." Hiernaux added that the 1950 Statement had similarly claimed that "race" served a benign classificatory purpose, and that both smaller units within larger populations and populations themselves might be referred to as "races." The common method of defining

"race" as a population differing from other populations by specific gene frequencies, according to Hiernaux, undermined the very purpose of classification by "race." He admitted, "[I]t is unfortunate that the same word should be used sometimes to describe the unit-populations and sometimes the groups in which these units are classified. Many people now are careful to reserve the term 'population' for the former and 'race' for the latter."[50] Hiernaux's reflections on the uneven application of population genetics in the debate on "race" reveal uncertainty rather than consensus. While scientists cast doubt on the scientific utility of "racial" classification in describing what they referred to as evolutionary units, some still found "race" useful in describing "smaller groups," while "clines" might still be described as "races."

Hiernaux was clearly attuned to this conundrum, writing, "[M]ost students acknowledge that there is a large dose of the arbitrary in any race classification. An increasing number of anthropobiologists are giving up any form of classification, which seems to them to be of minor usefulness in comparison with the risk of encouraging false generalizations." Yet despite the observation that the continuum formed by human populations rendered many populations unclassifiable, Hiernaux defended the use of "race" in the proposals. "For the man on the street," Hiernaux claimed, "as well as for the anthropologist, the idea of race includes the notion of stability of the hereditary endowment from one generation to another, or at least the tendency towards such stability." As Hiernaux described it, determining how populations and "races" had formed throughout evolutionary history is what mattered for human biology in the 1960s.[51]

For Washburn and several other scholars whose working papers informed the meeting's debates, the goal of physical anthropology had not been the "classification of human diversity but rather explanation of the processes and mechanisms that gave rise to it."[52] Hiernaux's approach, which implied the existence of classifiable "races" was by no means obscure, and eventually won out. In the debates that took place in *Current Anthropology* leading up to the production of the proposals, Frank Livingstone stated plainly that abandoning "race" remained "a rather unorthodox position."[53]

Three days following its publication, American media outlets began discussing the 1964 Statement. On August 21 the *New York Times* reported that the panel of "experts" meeting in Moscow "asserted their belief in the biological equality of human races and have found no biological justification for banning interracial marriages." According to the *Times*, "[T]he experts were unanimous in rejecting the concept of inferior and superior races," and "found that the 'differences between achievements of various peoples must be explained wholly by their cultural history.'"[54] The *New*

York Times report again confirmed the basic tenets of UNESCO's broader anti-racist tenets; science did not support any form of racism, and environment rather than biological inheritance was the crucial factor in the development of cultures and cultural difference.

In early October the *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* reported similarly. Readers in the US capital and southern California were informed that leading biologists, geneticists, and anthropologists "unanimously approved a declaration rejecting the doctrine of racism on scientific grounds," and made clear that "there is no justification for claiming one race is superior to another-either from a physical or intellectual viewpoint." These initial reports on the proposals reiterated the proposals' environmentalist position on cultural development and provided a reassuring word about the lack of biological danger in "miscegenation."[55] The proposals restated what the UNESCO statements of the early 1950s had. The message of anti-racism embodied in the UNESCO statements from 1950 to 1964 had followed the general tendencies of the US government's discourse on democracy and freedom since World War II. Even the discussions of miscegenation or "race-mixing" in the UNESCO statements remained a constant rhetorical device for expressing the reaches of scientifically informed anti-racism.[56]

In lending support to the idea of "race mixing" in its statements, UNESCO actually reinforced the idea that biological "races" existed.[57] As the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* accurately reported, the proposals claimed that "it has never been proved that interbreeding has biological disadvantages for mankind as a whole. On the contrary," the proposals continued,

> it contributes to the maintenance of biological ties between human groups and thus to the unity of the species in its diversity. The biological consequences of a marriage depend only on the individual genetic makeup of the couple and not on their race. Therefore, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races, or for advising against it on racial grounds.[58]

While the proposals held that pure "races" did not exist, it held to the notion of "interracial" marriages.[59] Readers in New York and Los Angeles were not informed of UNESCO's doubt concerning the purity of "races," but they were told of the benefits "race mixing" held for "the unity of mankind in its diversity." The UNESCO statements from 1950 through 1964 all attempted to explain away the perceived "biological abnormality" and social taboo of being "racially" mixed.[60] However, the social taboo remained so ingrained in American society that scientific claims in

support of "miscegenation" remained immaterial. At bottom, the proposals at once claimed "races" existed while denying the purity of those very "races," and expressed that a noticeable portion of the world's scientists wished to move beyond employing the concept at all.

Indeed, one controversial and prominent scholar activist latched on this particular point. Described as "iconoclastic" and "one of America's most colorful black conservatives," the longtime chief editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier* George Schuyler wrote that the "UNESCO scientific conference in Moscow asserts biological equality of all races." Schuyler added facetiously, "Of course nobody knows what is a race, since all 'races' are mixed."[61] Taking a jab at even the more progressive advocates of clines, who refuted the purity of populations or "races," Schuyler's critique merely highlighted the logical inconsistencies in scientific arguments that advocated retaining "race" as a valid way to categorize human populations.

Dan Day, Washington correspondent for the *Cleveland Call and Post*, entered the fray with a markedly different tone. Day opened his report on the proposals reiterating, "[P]ure races do not exist and no race is superior to any other." For Day, the conclusion of the UNESCO scientists held more import. Day stressed that the scientists "went on record to bar the use of scientific data by segregationists." Demonstrating his awareness of current scientific debate, Day highlighted the participation of Carleton Coon, noting that Coon's recent book supported "the view that colored people are intellectually inferior to whites." Day pointed out further that Coon's conclusions provided fodder for prosegregationists including his distant relative Carleton Putnam. Putnam had recently published *Race and Reason*, a prosegregationist tract that Day claimed was a best seller in the American south. Day further undercut Coon's legitimacy, observing the American Association of Physical Anthropologists' condemnation of Coon's recent book, and closed by stating that the UNESCO proposals "pulls the rug of authority" from under the work of Coon, Putnam, and their ilk.

While few, commentators from the black press remained concerned, as they had in the early 1950s, with both the ways in which scientists defined what "race" was, and the implications of anti-racist science for social justice. Despite the perceived confusion in defining "race," scientific evidence remained a necessary component of civil rights advocacy. The 1964 Proposals had clearly undermined prosegregationist arguments but did little to resolve ongoing debates on defining "race." As such, one 1964 panelist moved quickly to address that uncertainty.

In 1965 Jean Hiernaux revisited the "problem of race definition." He stated that "race" was "not a fact" but rather "a concept" that by no means

had the same meaning for every biologist. The concept held up as a necessary "classifying device" for "a group of populations determined by their genetic heredity." Hiernaux claimed that calling a population a "race" was unscientific. "One name is enough for one thing, and it is better to keep the term 'race' for systematic classification," he said. A "race" for Hiernaux amounted to a "group of individuals who belong to the same marriage circle," showing "both the trend of collective genetic heredity towards stability from one generation to another and also responsiveness to all evolutionary factors such as selection, genetic drift, cross-breeding and mutations." According to Hiernaux this definition of "race" provided an effective unit for studying both human variability and evolution. As Hiernaux described it, "race" remained useful in the biological sciences because it supplied a framework for tracing the evolutionary history of human populations. In the end however, Hiernaux reiterated what each UNESCO statement had claimed since 1950; namely, "the relative and partly arbitrary nature of racial definitions."[62]

Although pleased at the outcome of the 1964 meeting, UNESCO director general Rene Maheu expressed his discontent at the absence of the United Nations. Maheu told Secretary General U Thant, "I much regretted that it was not possible for the United Nations to be represented" at the important and successful meeting. Maheu informed U Thant of his plans to convene an additional meeting of experts in 1966. The UNESCO director again sought the participation of the United Nations and hoped the "text adopted in Moscow will prove of interest to" Thant's "human rights experts."[63]

Maheu received an affirmative response from the United Nations in January 1965. The UN under secretary Narashimhan Rao told Maheu that the 1964 Statement was of great interest to the United Nations. According to Narashimhan, UNESCO circulated the 1964 Statement in English, French, Russian, and Spanish, to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The appreciative subCommission had requested circulation of the statement during its 17th session, and later suggested the "United Nations be appropriately represented" at the 1966 UNESCO conference.[64] UNESCO officials then organized the 1966 conference in "co-operation with the agencies in the United Nations system and other appropriate organizations," and Rupert John of the UN Division of Human Rights served as the United Nations' official observer for the meeting.[65]

At the successive UNESCO meeting in September 1967, representatives of the United Nations, International Labour Office, International Social Science Council, and the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies attended the meeting. UNESCO circulated the

statement produced at the 1967 conference to UNESCO member states and additional nongovernmental organizations, and printed the statement in the *UNESCO Chronicle* and UNESCO's flagship journal the *UNESCO Courier*, which according to UNESCO officials enjoyed a circulation of nearly four hundred thousand in ten languages.[66] The possibilities of such widespread publicity of the 1967 Statement did not guarantee that the positions of specialists and lay readers on the problems of "racial" and cultural difference would change or even be influenced. What is clear is that by the late 1960s, politics on the ground dictated to the UNESCO experts on "race" the sort of questions they engaged.

The Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice

In the period between UNESCO's 1964 meeting and the production of the 1967 Statement, the tensions that defined civil rights, anti-colonial, and revolutionary struggles increasingly intensified. President Johnson had signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 "in the midst of a season of extraordinary violence by the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi," while "race riots" broke out in Harlem, New York City. What has been called "white resentment" began to show in the support for Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater's run at the presidency. As President Johnson escalated US involvement in Vietnam, rising militancy within the black freedom movement caused Johnson to remark that "black folks everywhere" were getting harder to deal with.[67]

As a Texas senator, Johnson had never supported civil rights, but as president he and his administration were keenly aware that maintaining some semblance of control at home meant promoting the civil rights agenda begrudgingly embraced by President Kennedy.[68] Responding to civil rights demands and a developing personal impetus, Johnson pushed Congress to support the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965.[69]

Malcolm X further distressed the Johnson administration by characterizing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as a propaganda stunt, and popularized his polarizing critique of racism and American foreign policy. Since several African leaders supported his philosophies, the State Department remained concerned with his transnational influence, and maintained active surveillance on Malcolm during his travels.[70] Upon Malcolm's assassination in February 1965, his influence spread in ways that would not have occurred had he lived.[71] The charismatic leader, just before his death, had even threatened to "take Uncle Sam" to the United Nations and "charge him with violating the UN Charter for Human Rights" as

W. E. B. Du Bois had done some two decades earlier.[72] Malcolm became a hero to black militants and help set in motion a black nationalist resurgence across the United States.[73]

In response to Malcolm's assassination and the everyday pressures of unrelieved conditions of poverty, the year 1965 witnessed unprecedented urban insurrections or riots. The Watts section of Los Angeles and the west side of Chicago became virtual war zones in August. In 1966 violence erupted in Chicago, Cleveland, Dayton, Milwaukee, and San Francisco. Yet the most destructive wave of violence came in 1967. Occurring in nearly one hundred major cities and small towns throughout the country, the summer violence of 1967 reportedly resulted in approximately ninety deaths, four thousand casualties, and seventeen thousand arrests. The era of nonviolence had officially ended, and the domestic civil rights movement itself "hopelessly splintered."[74]

President Johnson also found his Vietnam policy under increased scrutiny during this period, as the likes of Martin Luther King and UN secretary general U Thant joined the ranks of Johnson's critics. In UNESCO the Johnson administration's policies resulted in "untold damage" to the reputation of the United States. As the administration's focus in the field of cultural and educational exchange diminished as a result of increased attention and allocation of resources to Vietnam, interest in UNESCO faltered.[75] At the 1967 conference on "race" however, UNESCO's long-held but overshadowed interest in the battle to end Jim Crow came to the fore.

The 1967 meeting took place from September 18 to 26. Among the 18 participants, the fields of genetics, anthropology, history, law, and philosophy were represented. The panel included scholars from eastern and western Europe, South America, the Caribbean, and Asia. Representatives of Sudan, Kenya, and Senegal took part in the meeting, while from the United States, Leonard Broom of the University of Texas and Dean Clarence Ferguson of Howard University rounded out the panel.[76] Panelists elected Judge Keba M'Baye chairman of the proceedings and historian Romila Thapar as rapporteur. M'Baye concurrently held the post of president of the Supreme Court of Senegal, and went on to be a prolific legal scholar and longtime member of the International Olympic Committee. Prior to her appointment as rapporteur, Thapar had produced two studies of ancient India and participated in a UNESCO roundtable on human rights in 1965. The following year, Thapar contributed an essay on Hindu and Buddhist traditions to an issue of UNESCO's *International Social Science Journal* that focused on human rights.

Unlike the previous meetings of 1950, 1951, and 1964, two panel members drafted the final statement composed at the 1967 conference, the UNESCO secretariat then reviewed the statement, and finally M'Baye

and Thapar confirmed it. Production of the fourth statement was more of a collaborative effort than the previous three.[77]

Upon its publication, the 1967 Statement received scant coverage in American newspapers as the focus seemed to lie elsewhere. The *New York Times* provided a synopsis of the statement in early October. The *Times* reported that an "international board of authorities on biology, sociology, and law" concluded that all "men living today belong to the same species." The *Times* described scientific divisions of "race" as "partly arbitrary" and "scientifically dangerous," and reiterated the "equal biological potentialities for attaining civilizational level" of all humans. As the *New York Times* reported, the 1967 Statement differed from its predecessors in that it addressed the "historical roots" of racism, claiming that "where racism has arisen," it "stemmed from conquest and colonialism, from Negro slavery and from the need of many societies for a scapegoat." This fourth statement further claimed that "the foundations of the prejudices lie" in "the economic and social system of a society," and this was particularly the case "in societies where relatively prosperous settlers coexist with impoverished indigenous populations" and an "urban ghetto." The *Times* reported that the 1967 Statement offered as "major techniques for coping with racism" the process of "changing those social situations" and "protecting the victims" by "setting a moral example backed by the dignity of the courts." However the 1967 Statement recognized, the *New York Times* reported, that legislation could not "immediately eliminate prejudice."[78] This statement presented a broad discussion on the developments and uses of "race" in the global context of chattel slavery and colonial exploitation from the eighteenth century forward. Clearly the 1967 panel considered the effects of historical oppression on current global politics.

In arguing that the historical roots of racism produced the current global conflagrations, the 1967 Statement posited a direct critique of the "racial inequality in the West," where racism had come to possess a certain nuance about it in which "activities of those who discriminate on racial grounds" were "unwilling to acknowledge it." The panel argued that "whenever it fails in its attempts to prove that the source of group differences lies in the biological field, it falls back upon justifications in terms of divine purpose, cultural differences, disparity of educational standards or some other doctrine which would serve to mask its continued racist beliefs."[79] By asserting that cultural difference could be used to justify racism without the direct invocation of "race," the panel recognized the ongoing presence of "race" as a worldview that ordered perceptions and descriptions of "racial" difference. Although notions of "racial" difference had always been tied up in understandings of cultural or civilizational difference, the 1967 Statement pointed out how the salience of

anti-racism actually resulted in "culture" moving to the center of justifications for social inequality. The 1967 panel argued, "[R]acism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate," and "in this way…seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining current relations between groups."

The previous UNESCO Statements of 1950, 1951, and 1964 all argued that "human beings who speak the same language and share the same culture have a tendency to intermarry, and often there is as a result a certain degree of coincidence between physical traits on the one hand, and linguistic and cultural traits on the other." Although each panel had been careful to reveal that "there is no known causal nexus between these and therefore it is not justifiable to attribute cultural characteristics to the influence of the genetic inheritance," prior to 1967, each panel had failed to confront the fact that the historical construction of "race" had always maintained assumptions about cultural difference, which helped to distinguish and arrange "races" hierarchically.[80] To restate Franz Boas's arguments of the early twentieth century was not enough to undermine the very crux of a "race" concept that each panel continued to justify on the grounds of scientific objectivity. Each statement asserted that "race" was strictly a biological or scientific way to classify humans. Beginning with the 1950 Statement scholars expressed doubt concerning the purity of biological "races" and the validity of "racial" classification, but the use of "race" in science had been upheld in the 1951 and 1964 Statements.

Throughout the postwar period many scientists whose voices animated UNESCO's vision of racialized difference repeatedly attempted to relegate biologically based racist arguments to a position of amorality, and reenvision "race" as a benign scientific tool of classification. The 1967 panel's appreciation of the historical structure of "race" revealed their concerns about how the concept had been recycled within the anti-racist pronouncements of their predecessors. The 1967 panel returned to placing the term "race" in undermining quotation marks, just as the previously derided 1950 Statement had done under the leadership of Ashley Montagu. Montagu's contemporaries vehemently rejected his epistemological move, while the 1967 panel comfortably wrote, "[T]he division of the human species into 'races' is partly conventional and partly arbitrary and does not imply any hierarchy whatsoever. Many anthropologists stress the importance of human variation, but believe that 'racial' divisions have limited scientific interest and may even carry the risk of inviting abusive generalization." Moreover, the 1967 panel used "race" and "ethnic groups" interchangeably.[81]

Between 1950 and 1967 the scientific pendulum had swung in the direction of removing "race" from scientific language, and the 1967 Statement reflected this. Yet just as significant was the 1967 panel's engagement with the historical construction and continued political usage of the concept under the guise of cultural difference. These two elements set the fourth statement apart from its predecessors. UNESCO's final report on the 1967 conference stated plainly, "[C]ultural discrimination was now accepted, rather than expressed racial discrimination."[82] The 1967 Statement was the first to assert that "in order to undermine racism it is not sufficient that biologists should expose its fallacies. It is also necessary that psychologists and sociologists should demonstrate its causes."[83] To this point the panel also confronted the contemporary political uses of "race" in the manner that Margaret Mead suggested for the 1964 panel.

Overlooked in 1964, the 1967 panel considered "the role of race as a means of recreating a sense of dignity and an identity," and "such phenomena as the Black Power Movement in the United States of America."[84] The panel understood such "phenomena" in global terms though, coupling anti-colonialism with the emergence of Black Power. Portions of the 1967 Statement read:

> The anti-colonial revolution of the twentieth century has opened up new possibilities for eliminating the scourge of racism. In some formerly dependent countries, people formerly classified as inferior have for the first time obtained full political rights. Moreover, the participation of formerly dependent nations in international organizations in terms of equality has done much to undermine racism. There are, however, some instances in certain societies in which groups, victims of racialistic practices, have themselves applied doctrines with racist implications in their struggle for freedom. Such an attitude is a secondary phenomenon, a reaction stemming from men's search for an identity which prior racist theory and racialistic practices denied them. None the less, the new forms of racist ideology, resulting from this prior exploitation, have no justification in biology. They are a product of a political struggle and have no scientific foundation.[85]

The panel characterized the philosophical separatism of some anti-colonial and civil rights advocates as a utilitarian response to the degradation of racism. The panel's commentary focused on the material and psychological conditions experienced by victims of racism and colonial oppression, and suggested that these "new forms of racist ideology" were at bottom an outgrowth of the process of anti-colonial and civil rights struggle. To be clear, racialized separatism was far from the central thread of the global black freedom movement, but in some quarters

the tone of radical rhetoric and action was sometimes rightly perceived as viciously anti-white. Nevertheless, the 1967 panel made clear in their analysis that the various branches of the black freedom movement merited historically contextualized examinations, which took into account specifically the violence and degradation of Jim Crow and colonialism.

By 1966 the Black Power movement encompassed the more well-known activities of the Black Panthers formed in Oakland, the radical reorientation of traditionally student-led nonviolent civil rights organizations the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Revolutionaries and anti-colonialists such as Mao Zedong, Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon, and Kwame Nkrumah also grounded the philosophical basis of the Black Power's calls for socialism and cultural nationalism.[86]

Fanon, Mao, and Guevara provided Black Panther leadership insight into the problems of state violence, racism, and the psychological effects on oppressed people. As Black Panther cofounder Huey Newton argued, "Fanon, Mao, and Che saw that people had been stripped of their dignity, not by philosophy, but at gunpoint." Panther leadership had been "particularly impressed by Fanon's observation that not only is revolutionary violence a necessary weapon against the violence of the system, but fighting back is a means of transforming the personalities of the oppressed." As Huey Newton explained, the Black Panthers arose out of the broad Black Power movement, but emphasized more than cultural nationalism or Pan-Africanism.[87] The Panthers viewed urban ghettos as embodiments of domestic or internal colonies of racialized oppressed people. The organization ultimately emphasized a struggle to refigure poor peoples' relationship to the means of production, which meant overthrowing the present capitalist system. Amid a wider racialized radicalization that included the well-known transformation of SNCC to an "all-black organization in 1966," the Black Panthers seized the national and international political stage. Wielding guns and openly patrolling local police forces referred to as "pigs," a certain lore quickly surrounded the Black Panthers. Spreading from Oakland, branches soon appeared in Los Angeles, New York, Detroit, Tennessee, and Georgia. By 1968 Panther leadership denounced racialized nationalism. Huey Newton referred to it in one instance as "pork chop" nationalism and refused to use "race" as the organization's main category of analysis.[88] For other organizations in the public eye, most notably the Nation of Islam, "racial" separatism and castigating the evils of "whiteness" were par for the course. One historian asserted that the NOI popularized "black pride, self-defense, and antiwhite rhetoric" like no other organization had, yet after Malcolm X's departure from the NOI in 1964 and subsequent assassination in 1965,

others such as Stokely Carmichael, the leader of SNCC, led the public charge to Black Power, which differed greatly from the NOI's tack.[89] Advocating everything from cultural and economic self-determination to racialized separatism and the overthrow of American capitalism in its present form, the Black Power movement presented a clear and dangerous challenge to the presumed goals of peaceful integration based on the spiritual and legal redemption of the United States of America. The UNESCO panel of 1967 was in tune with these developments and perspectives.

Despite the controversial rise of cultural nationalism within the broader black freedom movement, authors of the 1967 Statement affirmed the value of cultural relativism. The 1967 Statement confirmed the assumptions of previous statements and UNESCO projects that a core objective of anti-racism in the postwar period was asserting the validity of various cultures, but with a previously unseen specificity and contextual awareness. The 1967 Statement derided an assimilationist paradigm that forced "ethnic groups" to "abandon completely their cultural identity." The 1967 panel "stressed that the effort of these ethnic groups to preserve their cultural values should be encouraged" because "they will thus be better able to contribute to the enrichment of the total culture of humanity."[90] While continuing to support the ascent of cultural relativism, the 1967 panel nevertheless remained concerned about "the contemporary type of racial prejudice with its disinclination towards cultural assimilation."[91] In these remarks, the panel seemed to identify and assess the various strands of cultural nationalism circulating within Black Power, and to their credit, with a clearly nuanced lens.

The panel grasped both the emotive resonance of Black Power and the material conditions under which the movement arose. UNESCO's final report on the conference confirmed, "[E]ven where non-racism remained the formal ideology of a State, even where there were laws to discourage racism, the concentration of power, wealth and status in the hands of one racial group could nevertheless work in favour of de facto discrimination." Further, the report suggested that "the whole idea that mankind should be classified into inferior and superior 'races' was part of the history of the last two centuries," and "could well have definite historic reasons such as the needs and requirements of industrialization and colonialism."[92]

Conclusion

The 1967 panel echoed the sentiments of increasingly impatient and angry activists and citizens whose governments failed to embody the rhetorical anti-racism that accompanied the Allies' victory at the end of World War

II. The panel, in asserting that "race" had come to the fore in societies defined by chattel slavery and colonial exploitation, leveled a sociopolitical critique of those society's governments while positing a claim about the falsities of "race." Calling into question the unchanging relationship of "race" to class in countries that had formally renounced state-supported racism, the 1967 Statement recognized that racist assumptions were self-perpetuating in societies where unequal access to material goods and services, education, and stable employment ran rampant. Though the 1967 panel understood how problematic the reassertion of racialized difference had become in radicalized movements, it simultaneously pointed to the conditions that made such political mobilization a logical strategy.

Recognizing that "racism tends to be cumulative," the 1967 Statement called upon the United States and other countries to institute programs to alleviate evident social and economic inequalities. The panel concluded, "[I]n cases where, for historical reasons, certain groups have a lower average education and economic standing, it is the responsibility of the society to take corrective measures. These measures should ensure, so far as possible, that the limitations of poor environments are not passed on to the children."[93] The 1967 panel responded to the very conditions that helped fuel radicalization. Increasing urban poverty, violent responses to nonviolent protests, and the overall maintenance of the structures of inequality that had defined American racism and European colonialism had not diminished as a result of official self-rule or President Johnson's Great Society programs. Johnson himself realized as early as 1965 that "freedom was not enough," and that "the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights" entailed attaining "equality as a fact and equality as a result," not merely "legal equity."[94] UNESCO produced the 1967 Statement the same year Martin Luther King told the nation that Johnson's administration had become the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world today," referring to Vietnam. King had increasingly opposed the war and its residual effects on poor people in the United States and Vietnam, as government funds flowed into the military effort and away from Johnson's anti-poverty programs in the United States since 1965.[95]

Authors of the 1967 UNESCO Statement recognized that two decades of struggle over the terms of anti-racist debate, the debates themselves, and the activism and sacrifice of lives failed to push the United Nations, UNESCO, the United States, and former colonial empires to reconfigure the "conditions of domination and exploitation in contemporary societies."[96] Moreover, a belief in biologically and culturally determined "racial" difference remained pervasive. Although UNESCO publications and numerous scientists around the globe repeatedly expressed serious doubt concerning the accuracy and utility of "race" as a biological concept,

other qualified scientists and UNESCO publications affirmed its use and scientific validity. The critiques of old physical anthropology and colonial apologists harnessed by United Nations and UNESCO leadership in the aftermath of World War II never explicitly rejected the "race" concept as a valid scientific tool of categorization. While science was not ready to make that leap in the 1950s and 1960s, societies in the grips of racialized struggle and violence were not either. The 1967 Statement placed an additional spotlight on what had become gaping holes in the edifice of the brand of anti-racism articulated by the US government since the Second World War. With impending financial struggles and the rise of a conservative backlash against civil rights, the place of the US in the global economy and the face of American politics would drastically change.

Conclusions

UNESCO inaugurated 1968, the year of international human rights, by devoting its January edition of the *Unesco Courier* to the topics of human rights and racism. John Rex, the British sociologist who participated in the 1967 panel on "race," offered his assessment of racism in a brief but trenchant essay. Rex's essay began, "[D]espite the defeat of the Nazis and their allies and the setting up of the United Nations Organization in 1945, racism continues to haunt the world today." Focusing his analysis, Rex offered an indictment of discriminatory practices in employment, housing, education, and immigration. In "rich countries," wrote Rex, "even in the cities of the affluent Western world the Negro ghettoes burn, signaling to the world the blank despair of their inhabitants."[1]

By 1968, the critical analysis offered by Rex had become commonplace among those who sought to criticize the ongoing violence that accompanied attempts to reconfigure American democracy and overcome the legacies of European colonialism. The striking rise to prominence of structural critiques of global white supremacy by the late 1960s is obviously telling, but revelatory in the context of UNESCO operations. In this story we have seen how certain critical voices were pressured, silenced, or deemed far too prescient for the pressures of budgetary constraints and diplomatic power plays. Rather than highlighting the naïveté and idealism of the early UNESCO scholars who tackled "race," this story has revealed shifts in the organization's intellectual tone and focus. The power dynamics within the United Nations and UNESCO are similarly illuminated. International diplomacy and the production of scientific knowledge in the postwar period interacted in ways unique to UNESCO. UNESCO's legacy as a site of heated debate on racism and definitions of human difference is only beginning to be uncovered—a legacy deeply impacted by the success and momentum of challenges to racism the world over.

In the early years of UNESCO, the United States wielded unmatched control in the organization, and successfully disseminated within the United States its message of "racial" tolerance and democracy. By the early

1950s, UNESCO programming in the United States continued to reflect the political ideologies of the US government. US leadership marketed tolerance and capitalism as the keys to bringing about positive economic development and securing peace in the third world. However with Cold War hysteria reaching new heights in the mid-to-late 1950s, US government advocates for UNESCO found themselves fighting off controversy on the domestic front while continuing to promote modernization and anti-racism as moral opposition to communism and armed revolution.

The 1960s brought new challenges to the US-UNESCO relationship, as highly visible and successful civil rights, anti-colonial, and revolutionary struggles helped fuel a renewed focus on racism at the United Nations. While President Kennedy found his administration mired in Cold War confrontations with Cuba and the Soviet Union, he struggled to maintain the ideological viability necessary to limit political debate to the promotion of democracy and modernization. With the tremendous shift of power at the United Nations and UNESCO due to an explosion of third world representation from decolonizing areas, these organizations were no longer handmaidens of US policy. UNESCO's tackling of the "race" issue in the early 1960s reflected that shift. Adding to media coverage that increasingly pushed civil rights and decolonization into the public arena, UNESCO published articles and pamphlets that highlighted the institutional and interpersonal racism that plagued American society. Unlike the 1950s, which saw the United States block potentially damaging publications by UNESCO, by the early 1960s it could no longer exert such influence.

As UNESCO geared up to address "race" and racism in the mid-1960s, these issues defined the political arena in the United States. In the wake of President Kennedy's assassination, Lyndon Johnson was thrust into the middle of an increasingly intense and polarizing civil rights struggle. Figures such as Malcolm X struck fear in and inspired other sections of the American polity, while student-led nonviolent protests exposed the explosive racism still prevalent throughout the country. Throughout the 1960s, the United Nations and UNESCO made clear their position on civil rights and anti-colonial movements by once again rejecting the violence of racism and colonialism.

To be sure, UNESCO's work on "race" from 1945 to 1968 left a complex legacy. UNESCO's turn to science to undermine the ideological basis of racism was fraught with complications internal to the academic debates on "race." Scholars struggled not only to define "race" but to unravel the connections between "racial" and cultural difference that fueled academic and lay understandings of "race" since the seventeenth century. At the close of World War II, popular sentiment in the academic community held

that challenging the ideological basis of racism amounted to announcing that "racial" difference did not support a belief in "racial" hierarchies. Yet each "race" was still believed to be biologically and culturally distinct.

While the study of human biology continued to grapple with itself to hold on to "race" in the postwar years, culture became the socially and politically acceptable site through which anti-racism was most ardently espoused. Emanating from the United States, the United Nations, and UNESCO, respecting and exploring cultural differences was coveted as a necessity in bringing about peaceful international relations. Reducing the tensions that caused racism and warfare, cultural understanding and "tolerance" were the mainstays of the new cultural relations efforts. Particularly evident in the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, UNESCO programming in the United States that focused on learning about the cultures of Asia and Africa reflected this approach to cultural and "racial" difference in the 1950s and 1960s. Backed by academic institutionalization, this political move to "culture" signaled a highpoint of US-led modernization practices supported by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. In the 1950s and 1960s the United States National Commission for UNESCO held conferences sponsored by the State Department and numerous academic institutions that focused on cultural relations with Asia and Africa. Through these conferences the US government promoted modernization as the key to improving the cultural levels of underdeveloped nations.

The US government also viewed opposing the surge of communism as paramount in the 1950s and 1960s. President Kennedy's focus on a less dogmatic approach to spreading an idealistic vision of cultural relations and modernization through organizations such as the Peace Corps and UNESCO dovetailed Eisenhower's efforts to win over Asia and Africa. However with the closing of the 1960s new perspectives on racialized cultural difference and modernization (and development) came to the fore. The once-overshadowed critiques of modernization espoused by a contingent of activists gained popularity on the political scene and in the social sciences in the United States. Works such as Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton's *Black Power*, Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, along with Immanuel Wallerstein and Andre Gundar Frank's efforts, gave scholarly validity to the commonsense conclusions of many people around the globe whose living conditions or long-term life chances failed to improve under modernization policies or civil rights legislation.[2]

An outcome of these popularized critiques of so-called liberal political and economic policies was the sentiment of group-based political action. In the case of the United States, civil rights and Black Power activism

began to provide other historically racialized groups new models for political action. Utilizing culturally based activism, Asian, Latino, and Indian or Native American groups mobilized to confront the continued systematic oppression visited upon them by the state.[3] Much like the UNESCO cultural exchange approach, the burgeoning ethnic nationalists successfully called for the implementation of college programs that would allow them to study and celebrate their selective group histories. This resulted in the establishment of various ethnic studies programs and departments across the country that reflected the racialized barriers in American society as opposed to transcending them even in theory.[4]

Scholars anticipated these developments in the early 1960s as ethnicity-based paradigms of the nation-state became popularized.[5] Events such as President Kennedy's visit to Ireland in 1963 was shrouded in an affectionate notion of authenticity that reflected a slowly shifting sentiment in the political and cultural life of the United States. Whereas in 1960 Kennedy's Catholic and therefore ethnic affiliations had been problematic as a presidential candidate, the mid-1960s saw those very attributes gain wider acceptance among the general public.[6]

By the 1970s a broader consolidation of ethnic identities occurred as reinvigorated "white" ethnic groups registered responses to what some members of those groups viewed as unfair affirmative action programs in housing, employment, and education policies. European ethnic affiliation became an obvious fact of American life as various groups not only claimed political legitimacy for themselves, but attempted to distance themselves from the presumptions of "white" privilege.[7] At the end of the 1970s "ethnic difference" was well on its way to fueling what some 30 years later would become a $700-billion "minority" consumer market in which US companies spent approximately $2 billion annually promoting their products along racialized lines.[8] This multicultural marketplace embodies the basic assumptions of a racialized society that readily accepts and promotes the divisions that were rhetorically under siege in the early years of postwar anti-racism.[9]

In its global formation, this racialized marketplace is made possible by the transnational circulation of people, cultural artifacts and practices, finance capital, labor, consumer goods, and telecommunications media and entertainment at increased speeds due to technological innovations over the past 50 years.[10] Decolonization also brought about an increased relocation of former colonized peoples to parts of Europe and the United States, where they continued to experience systemic and interpersonal forms of racism ideologically based on naturalized cultural differences.[11]

And while some were able to leave the former colony for the colonial metropole, many people remained in third world locations where in

many cases their relationship to global capitalism remained exploitative. Basic social freedoms that allowed people to engage in transcontinental travel or procure social mobility remained limited along racialized class lines.[12] Therefore the structural aspects of racialized oppression have, in large part, been maintained just as the basic belief in natural differences between ethnicities and "races" has across the globe. Following World War II, the divergent interests that coalesced to comprise the contested space of political rhetoric, activism, scientific debate, and in some cases armed revolution set the stage for the uncertainty that continues to surround our understandings of human difference in the twenty-first century.

Notes

Introduction

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2. Kenneth Robert Janken, *Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts, 1993), 185–186.
3. UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 6.
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12. Ramos to Frazier, October 14, 1949, E. Franklin Frazier Papers, Box 131–54 Folder 8; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.
13. UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 6.
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15. Angell to Frazier, November 28, 1949, Frazier Papers, Box 131–54 Folder 8; Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center. The working paper composed by Angell was enclosed in the November 28 letter to Frazier, but was dated as a UNESCO document, November 25, 1949.
16. "Dr. Frazier Heads UNESCO Committee," *Atlanta Daily World*, December 25, 1949, p. 5; "H. U. Aide Heads UN Race Unit," *Philadelphia Tribune*, December 27, 1949, p. 16; "Dr. Frazier Heads World UN Group," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, December 31, 1949, p. D5.
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18. *Chicago Defender*, "Race, Color, and You Guess The Outcome," January 21, 1950, p. 6.
19. "Confidential Memorandum: Social Sciences," January 13, 1950, US Delegation to UNESCO, 1950–1954, Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State. Paris, France. NARA II, College Park, MD, RG 84.
20. UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 5.
21. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 102.
22. Montagu, *Statements on the Race Question*, 4.
23. Shipman, *The Evolution of Racism*, 161.
24. Ibid., 160–161; Barkan, "The Politics of the Science of Race," 100–101.
25. Panel One members included: Ernest Beaglehole (New Zealand), Juan Comas (Mexico), L. A. Costa Pinto (Brazil), E. Franklin Frazier (United States of America), Morris Ginsberg (United Kingdom), Humayun Kabir (India), Claude Levi-Strauss (France), and Ashley Montagu (United States of America). Frazier presided over the conference as chair, while Montagu

served as rapporteur, responsible for reporting conference deliberations to the UNESCO secretariat and completing the final draft of the statement; Montagu to Ramos, November 1, 1949, SS/File 32312A102, UNESCO Archives.

26. UNESCO, *The Race Concept*, 103. Hadley Cantril, E. G. Conklin, Gunnar Dahlberg, Theodosius Dobzhansky, L. C. Dunn, Donald Hager, Julian S. Huxley, Otto Klineberg, Wilbert Moore, H.J. Muller, Gunnar Myrdal, Joseph Needham, and Curt Stern provided the professional criticism of Statement I.
27. Shipman, *The Evolution of Racism*, 159–162.
28. Barkan, "The Politics of the Science of Race," 100; William E. Fagg, "U.N.E.S.C.O. on Race," *Man* 51 (January 1951): 17–18; "U.N.E.S.C.O.'s New Statement on Race," *Man* 52 (January 1952): 9.
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40. "UN Explodes Race Myth," editorial page; "Deflating a Myth," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 26, 1950, p. E2.
41. "Fallacies of Racism Exposed: UNESCO Publishes Declaration by World's Scientists," *UNESCO Courier* 3, 6/7 (July/August 1950): 1; The NAACP received a copy of the statement on October, and then planned to have

Franklin Frazier write a story on it for the *Crisis* magazine. This story however, never came to fruition. Papers of the NAACP fail to reveal widespread discussion of the statement within the organization. Edna L. Johnson to Diana Tead, October 25, 1950, Papers of the NAACP, Part 14, Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940–1955; Memo to James Ivy, October 9, 1950, Papers of the NAACP, Part 14, Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940–1955, eds. John H. Bracey and August Meier (Bethesda: University Publications of America Microfilms, 1993).

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45. Thomson to Max McCullough, March 7, 1952, US Delegation to UNESCO, 1946–1954, RG 84. McCullough served at that time as director of the UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State.
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62. Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 304.
63. Ashley Montagu to Theodosius Dobzhansky, April 23, 1974, Dobzhansky Papers, APS, Philadelphia.
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79. K. L. Little, "U.N.E.S.C.O. on Race," *Man* 51 (January 1951): 17.
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3. Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 4.
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4 Anti-racism and Orientalism

1. Chan Wing-Tsit, "Lin Yutang, Critic and Interpreter," *College English* 8, 4 (January 1947): 164.Born in 1895 in China's Fujian province, Lin Yutang was educated at Harvard University and Leipzig, Germany. Lin's career as a novelist and translator of Chinese texts took off with the appearance of *My Country and My People* in 1935. He won widespread acclaim in 1948 for his novel *Chinatown Family*. According to one scholar, Lin's novels repeatedly angered many communists in China and the United States through

the 1940s because of their negative interpretations of communism. Between 1930 and 1950 Lin authored 20 novels and English translations of Chinese texts. Chen Lok Chua, "Two Chinese Versions of the American Dream: The Golden Mountain in Lin Yutang and Maxine Hong Kingston," *MELUS* 8, 4 (Winter 1981): 61; Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 4.

2. Lin Yutang, "Orient—Occident Cultural Co-operation Stressed," *UNESCO Courier* 1, 8 (September 1948): 3.
3. Ibid., 3, 6.
4. Chan Wing-Tsit, "Lin Yutang, Critic and Interpreter," 164.
5. On US cultural diplomacy in the twentieth century, please see: Liping Bu, *Making the World Like US: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century* (London: Praeger, 2003); Richard Arnot, *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005); Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Frank Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938–1950* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Naima Prevots, *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1999);, Press, 2008).
6. The ensuing independence of the Philippines and India, the opportunity to solidify a capitalist democratic ally in Japan, successful communist revolution in China, and military conflict in Korea provided American and UNESCO officials plenty of reason to deepen their interests in Asia. Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 81, 96; Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 5, 61.
7. One such characterization of anti-racist (Boasian) anthropology comes from Klein, which begins accurately but fails to engage in a deeper examination of the historiography of US anthropology. Klein writes: "Scientific thinking about race began to change in the early twentieth century, when anthropologist Franz Boas moved away from the idea of immutable biological difference as a way to explain the diversity of the world's people and developed a more flexible model of cultural difference instead. A pluralistic model of society gradually followed from Boas's work: if intergroup differences resulted from relatively superficial cultural factors rather than essential biological ones, then these differences could be more easily accommodated within a relatively flexible social order" (Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 11). The following authors place Ruth Benedict's work within the configuration of Said's *Orientalism*: Joy Hendry, "The Chrysanthemum Continues to Flower: Ruth and Some Perils of Popular Anthropology," in *Popularizing Anthropology,* eds. Jeremy Clancy and Chris McDonaugh

(London: Routledge, 1996): 106–121; Douglass Lummis, "Ruth Benedict's Obituary for Japanese Culture," in *Reading Benedict Reading Mead: Feminism, Race, and Imperial Visions*, eds. Dolores Janiewski and Lois W. Banner (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005): 126–140. For critiques of Boasian anthropology more broadly, please see: Faye V. Harrison, "The Persistent Power of 'Race' in the Cultural and Political Economy of Racism," *Annual of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 47–74; "Introduction: Expanding the Discourse on 'Race,'" *American Anthropologist* 100, 3 (1998): 609–631; Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998); George Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Kamala Visweswaran, "Race and the Culture of Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 100, 1 (1998): 70–83.

8. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 12.
9. Klein, *Cold War Oreintalism*, 15, 63. Klein describes the contentions of Said and other postcolonial theorists who argue that politicized discourses of the postwar period, which move beyond explicitly racist notions of cultural immutability between "East" and "West," present a postorientalist position. Klein and others argue that the postwar discourse on the "Orient" focused on affiliation and flexibility and employed the literary trope of sentimentality. Also see: Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca: Cornel University Press, 1991).
10. Arif Dirlik, "Chinese History and the Question of Orientalism," *History and Theory* 35, 4 (December 1996): 100.
11. Marc Frey has made a very similar argument regarding southeast Asia in "Tools of Empire: Persuasion and the United States's Modernizing Mission in Southeast Asia," *Diplomatic History* 27, 4 (September 2003): 543–568; Scott Ladermen, "Hollywood's Vietnam, 1929–1964: Scripting Intervention, Spotlighting Injustice," *Pacific Historical Review* 78, 4 (November 2009): 578–607. For a broader examination of economic development and modernization in Asia, see Marc T. Berger, *The Battle for Asia: From Decolonization to Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
12. Arif Dirlik, "The End of Colonialism: The Colonial Modern in the Making of Modernity" *Boundary 2* 32,1(Spring 2005): 10.
13. Said, *Orientalism*, 4.
14. Ibid., 12. Said wrote, "Indeed, my real argument is that Orientalism is-and does not simply represent-a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world."
15. On Orientalism in the postwar period, please see: Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945–2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Douglass Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Sheng-Mei Na, *The Deathly Embrace: Orientalism and Asian American Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

16. Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 4.
17. Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1993), 205.
18. Ibid., 255.
19. Ibid., 246–273.
20. Michael Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 81–91.
21. Ibid., 140.
22. John Dower, *War Without Mercy*: *Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986); Gerald Horne, *Race War: White Supremacy and the Japanese Attack on the British Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan," *Osiris* 2, 13 (1998): 354–375.
23. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 53.
24. A sample of recent works include: Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Yasuko Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Roger Daniels, "Incarceration of the Japanese Americans: A Sixty Year Perspective," *The History Teacher* 35, 3 (May 2002): 297–310. For examinations of the legal aspects of the wartime incarceration, please see Peter Irons, ed., *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); *Justice at War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
25. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 303–304.
26. Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining The Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3–10.
27. Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Civil Information and Education Section, "Declaration at the Opening of the UNESCO Co-Operative Association," July 19, 1947, Box 5937, General Subject File, RG 331; *Stars and Stripes*, "SCAP Okays UNESCO Plan," January 22, 1949, Box 5938, General Subject File, RG 331. NARA II, College Park, MD.
28. Masako Shibata, *Japan and Germany under the U.S. Occupation: A Comparative Analysis of Postwar Education Reform* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005); Ray Moore and Donald Robinson, *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State under MacArthur* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Mark Sandler, ed., *The Confusion Era: Art and Culture of Japan during the Allied Occupation,*

1945–52 (Seattle, WA: Arthur M. Slacker Gallery, University of Washington Press, 1997).

29. John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1999); Mari Yamamoto, *Grassroots Pacificism in Post-War Japan: The Rebirth of a Nation* (London: Routledge, 2004).
30. Yukiko Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms & the U. S. Occupation of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
31. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 168.
32. Noako Shibisawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 182.
33. Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 309.
34. Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), 147–150.
35. Said, *Orientalism*, 12. Italics in original.
36. Ibid., 207.
37. Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Knopf, 1979).
38. Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 79.
39. Ibid., 63.
40. Charles Thomson and Walter Laves, *UNESCO: Purpose Progress Prospects* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 248.
41. UNESCO, "Introduction," in *Interrelations of Cultures: Their Contribution to International Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO, 1953), 8–9.
42. Bhikhan Lal Atreya, "Indian Culture: Its Spirtual, Moral and Social Aspects," in *Interrelations of Cultures*, 123.
43. The conference attendees included: Atreya (Benares Hindu University, India); Francisco Ayala (Universidad del Litoral, Buenos Aires, Argentina); Edgar Sheffield Brightman (Boston University, United States); Richard McKeon (University of Chicago, United States); E. Stuart Kirby (University of Hong Kong); Suniti Kumar Chatterji (University of Calcutta); Alain Danielou (Benares Hindu University); John Summerville (Hunter College, United States); Silvio Zavala (National Academy of History and Geography of Mexico); Leopoldo Zea (National University of Mexico); Pedro Bosch-Gimpera (National University of Mexico); Michel Leiris (National Centre for Scientific Research, Paris); Marcel Griaule (Sorbonne, Paris).
44. UNESCO, "Humanism of Tomorrow and the Diversity of Cultures," in *Interrelations of Cultures*, 382.
45. Guy J. Pauker, "Forward," in *Human Values in Social Change in South and South and Southeast Asia and in the United States: Implications for Asian-American Cooperation* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1956), iii.
46. Bruce Cumings, "Boundary Displacement: Area Studies and International Studies During and After the Cold War," in *Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences During the Cold War*, ed. Christopher Simpson (New York: The New Press, 1998), 171.

47. Irene Gendzier, "Play it Again Sam: The Practice and Apology of Development," in *Universities and Empire*, 59. Works by Pye include: *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya, Its Social and Political Meaning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956); and *The Spirit of Burmese Politics* (Cambridge: MIT, Center for International Studies, 1959). Rostow's key texts include: *The Stages of Economic Growth*: *A Non-Communist Manifesto* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958); *The Prospects for Communist China* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1954); and *An American Policy in Asia* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1954).
48. Pauker, *Human Values in Social Change*, 1.
49. Ibid., 13.
50. Ibid., 20.
51. Ibid., 14–15.
52. Ibid., 26.
53. Ibid., 14.
54. Ibid., 28.
55. Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 4–7.
56. Max Millikan and Walt Rostow, "Notes on Foreign Economic Policy," in *Universities and Empire*, 42.
57. Ibid., 39.
58. A sample of works include: Christian G. Appy, ed., *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1945–1966* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); Mark T. Berger, *The Battle for Asia: From Decolonization to Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2004); David Newsom, *The Imperial Mantle: The United States, Decolonization, and the Third World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Kimber Charles Pearce, *Rostow, Kennedy, and the Rhetoric of Foreign Aid* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001); Tony Smith, *Foreign Attachments: The Power of Ethnic Groups in the Making of American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions* (London: Sage, 2001); Michael Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
59. Willard E. Givens, "Foreword," in Arthur Goodfriend, *Two Sides of One World: An Asian-American Discussion* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1957), vii.
60. Goodfriend, *Two Sides of One World*, 75. The "List of Asian Participants" included: Daw Mya Sein, lecturer in History, University of Rangoon; U Lu Pe Win, director, Archeological Survey (Burma); His Excellency Sam Sary, royal counselor and former minister of education (Cambodia); G. P. Malalasekera, professor of Pali and of Asian Studies, University of Ceylon (Ceylon); V. K. R. V. Rao, director, School of Economics, University of Delhi (India); Bahder Djohan, president, University of Indonesia (Indonesia); Tay Keolouangkhot, director, Ministry of Education (Laos);

M. M. Sharif, president, Pakistan Philosophical Congress, Lahore (Pakistan); Vidal A. Tan, president, University of the Philippines (Philippines); Sukich Nimmanheminda, member, Executive Council of Chulalangkorn University, Bangkok (Thailand); Nguyen Quang Trinh, rector, University of Viet-Nam (Viet-Nam).

61. Unlike Japan, which had an established Marxist leaning intellegencia and internal modernizing forces before World War II, these decolonizing states readily fit the US model for postwar modernization. John Dower, "Introduction," in *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman* (New York: Pantheon, 1957); David Abosch, "Political Consciousness in Japan: A Retrospective on E. H. Norman," *Pacific Affairs* 40, 1 (Spring 1969): 25–31.
62. Seth Jacobs, *America's Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 15–26.
63. Arthur Goodfriend, *If You Were Born in Russia* (New York: Farrar Strauss, 1950); *Indonesia: A Case Study in Asian-American Understanding* (Washington: US National Commission for UNESCO, 1957); *The Only War We Seek* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Young, 1951); *The Twisted Image* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963).
64. Pauker, *Human Values in Social Change,* vii; Willard E. Givens, "Foreword," in Arthur Goodfriend, *Two Sides of One World*, vii.
65. Thomson and Laves, *UNESCO: Purpose Progress Prospects*, 57–8, 251; Jules Du Bois, "Indian Assails UNESCO as U.S. British Concern," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 9 November 1947, p. 22; Indian National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO, *Proceedings of the First Conference* (Government of India, Ministry of Education, 1954), 7.
66. Pauker, *Human Values in Social Change,* 22.
67. This phrase is borrowed from Said, *Orientalism*, 5.
68. Ibid., 206. Said writes, "The distinction I am making is really between an almost unconscious (and certainly an untouchable) positivity, which I shall call *latent* Orientalism, and the various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology, and so forth, which I shall call *manifest* Orientalism." Italics in original.
69. Pauker, *Human Values in Social Change,* vii.
70. Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
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the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which barred "interracial marriage" in the state of Virginia. The couple, Richard Perry Loving and Mildred Jeter Loving relocated to the nation's capital and began a series of legal battles to overturn the Virginia court's decision in 1963. Arguing on the grounds of the fourteenth amendment, the Lovings would have their marriage legally recognized by the US Supreme Court in 1967, as Chief Justice Earl Warren penned the majority opinion that declared the anti-miscegenation laws of 16 US states unconstitutional.The structure of "race" in the United States had always been maintained by legal and social determinations of who belonged to which "racial" group. Scholars have traced the myriad constellations of laws that came about in the colonial period to maintain a social and economic order defined by the exploitation of racialized labor. As evidenced by the Lovings' Supreme Court case, miscegenation represented a survival of blatantly racist beliefs based on fear and inaccurate understandings of biological and cultural difference between the "races." *Loving v. Virginia* 388 U.S. 1 (1967). In 1967 Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia had antimiscegenation laws. The state of Alabama was the last to remove antimiscegenation laws in the year 2000. Naomi Zack, *Race and Mixed Race* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); Kevin R. Johnson, ed., *Mixed Race American and the Law: A Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Abby L. Ferber, *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998); Susan Koshy, *Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Al Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); *Theodore Allen, The Invention of the White Race* (London: Verso, 1994); Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Elise Virginia Lemire, *Miscegenation: Making Race in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Joshua D. Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families Across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

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Professor Celio de Oliveira Borja, University of Guanabara (Brazil); Professor Lloyd Braithwaite, University of the West Indies; Professor Leonard Broom, University of Texas; Professor G. F. Debetz, Institute of Ethnography, Moscow; Professor J. Djorjevic, University of Belgrade; Dean Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Howard University; Dr. Dharam P. Ghai, University College (Kenya); Professor Louis Guttman, Hebrew University (Israel); Professor Jean Hiernaux, Universite Libre de Bruxelles; Professor A. Kloskowska, University of Lodz (Poland); Judge Keba M'Baye, president of the Supreme Court (Senegal); Professor John Rex, University of Durham (United Kingdom); Professor Mariano R. Solveira, University of Havana (Cuba); Professor Hisashi Suzuki, University of Tokyo; Dr. Romila Thapur, University of Delhi; Professor C. H. Waddington, University of Edinburgh (United Kingdom). UNESCO, *Four Statements on the Race Question* (Paris: UNESCO, 1969), 55–56.

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