Unesco's Communication Policies in 2005.
What Remains of the MacBride Spirit?

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The report entitled *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow*, approved at the Belgrade General Conference in 1980, was the first large-scale questioning of the international communication system, characterised by one-way flows from north to south. It also had the special value of having gestated within the framework of a multilateral organisation like Unesco.

The report, known as the MacBride Report, thus supported the calls of the Non-Aligned Countries in the debate they were having with the Western countries within the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Non-Aligned Countries were calling for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) to tackle the doctrine of the free flow of information, articulated fundamentally from the United States and very well received by the big western media.

To achieve this New Order, the Report established a series of recommendations that can be summed up in four points: "the development of Third World countries so they can become truly independent and self-sufficient and develop their cultural identities [...]; improved international collection of news and better conditions for journalists [...]; democratisation of communication (access and participation, right to communicate) [...]; and promotion of international cooperation [...]" (Carlsson 2003, 18).

But following the departure of the US (1984), Great Britain

and Singapore (1985) from Unesco and the change of the director-general with the arrival of Federico Mayor Zaragoza (1987) there was an important turnaround with respect to communication policies within the UN body; a turnaround that was determined by the approval of the New Information and Communication Strategy. The New Strategy, defined at the Paris General Conference in 1989 and coinciding with the fall of the Iron Curtain, listed its goals as "promoting the free flow of information in international and national spheres, favouring a broader and better balanced dissemination of information, without any obstacle to the freedom of expression, and creating all the appropriate media to boost communication ability in developing countries so they can strengthen their participation in the communication process"[1].

The idea was thus to support the free-flow doctrine combined with development aid measures and avoid any critical reference to phenomena that explained the imbalance in international communication.

However, despite the philosophy involved with the New Information and Communication Strategy, in this article I want to explore whether anything remains in Unesco's communication policies of the basic ideas set out in the MacBride Report a quarter of a century ago. To do so, I will analyse the main activities promoted and developed in this area by the Communication and Information and the Culture sections of the UN agency, within the framework of the postulates which, in the field of communication policies, were set out in the most recent Unesco text on the matter: the Medium Term Strategy prepared for the 2002-2007 period (Unesco 2002).

I will devote special attention to the policies of the Culture Section, as I believe the debate promoted by Unesco with regards cultural diversity (particularly after the 2001 approval of the Universal Declaration on this issue) is the

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first step which, following the disappearance of the echoes of the MacBride Report, is again awarding a certain prominence to Unesco in the field of communication policies at the international level.

1. The Policies of the Communication and Information Section: IPDC, IFAP and Freedom of the Press

The Communication and Information Section of UNESCO was created in 1990, a year after the approval of the abovementioned New Communication Strategy. The Section has three divisions (the Communication Development Division, the Division for Freedom of Expression, Democracy and Peace and the Information Society Division) and is responsible for, among other things, the Secretariat of the two main intergovernmental programmes Unesco currently manages in the sphere of communications: the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) and the Information For All Programme (IFAP).

Unesco says the three main goals of the programmes, the same as set out in the Section's abovementioned Medium Term Strategy, are to promote the "free flow of ideas and universal access to information, the expression of pluralism and cultural diversity in the media and world information networks, and universal access to information and communication technologies (ICTs)".[2]

However, a detailed analysis is not needed to realise it would be hard to reach such ambitious goals with the budgets that the IPDC and IFAP normally have.

Thus, the now-historical IPDC[3] has had funding problems since the second meeting of the Intergovernmental Council (Acapulco, 1982)[4], as the US opposed Unesco centralising the management of funds earmarked to the programme (through what is called a special account). Also, the Acapulco meeting featured an ongoing attitude of distancing and breach of the economic contributions that various western countries had agreed to (Gifreu 1986, 179).

As Colleen Roach (1997, 111-112) said when assessing the IPDC's role in the construction of the NWICO, the US used the aid stratagem to fight radical calls for change but without really contributing anything except contributions to projects of its own choosing (funds on deposit), which in reality were used to thwart the programme's multilateral framework.

In any case, the amounts the IPDC manages 25 years after it was approved are still tiny in relation to the goals it pursues. In this sense, in March 2005, the Bureau that manages the programme[5] granted $1.05 million to 51 media projects in developing countries or countries in transition ($500,000 went to rebuilding the radio stations of the Indonesian province of Aceh, devastated by the tsunami that had hit its coasts a few months earlier). In 2004, the IPDC distributed $1,840,000 between 66 projects[6].

The beneficiaries of this aid can be media organisations, journalism training centres, professional sector organisations, aid agencies that work in media development, etc., that have to previously submit projects to an assessment by Unesco's regional councillors in the Communication and Information Section. The criteria that take priority when it comes to granting aid are "the promotion of freedom of expression and pluralism, the development of community media, the development of human resources and the promotion of international agreements".[7]

Funding is continued via two channels:

- On the basis of the IPDC special account, a common fund that supports all the projects the Programme funds and which has been working since it was launched[8].

- On the basis of funds on deposit, earmarked at particular projects approved by the Bureau of the IPDC Intergovernmental Council[9].

Both the special account and the funds on deposit come from voluntary contributions by the States. The IPDC does not have any resources from the private sector[10].

Table 1 sets out the donations made by the different countries through the two channels mentioned above since the IPDC began. The total comes to $86,987,396; $46,241,396 earmarked to the special account and $40,746,000 to the funds on deposit.

Meanwhile, the Information for All Programme (IFAP) has replaced the General Information Programme and Intergovernmental Informatics Programme since 1 January 2001[12].

The most specific goals of the IFAP in its drive to reduce the digital divide are to "promote international reflection and

Country	Special Account	Funds on Deposit		Country	Special Account	Funds on Deposit
	(US dollars)				(US dollars)	
Algeria	10,000	0		Japan	3,763,648	
Germany	1,073,526	21,627,000		Kuwait	100,000	
Saudi Arabia	100,000	50,000		Luxemburg	919,379	540,000
Australia	0	464,000		Malta	5,000	0
Bangladesh	2,000	0		Mauritius	1,000	0
Benin	10,000	0		Mexico	10,000	0
Cameroon	10,714	0		Nigeria	145,825	0
Canada	282,389	106,000		Norway	12,205,696	0
China	135,000	0		Oman	20,000	0
Cyprus	1,944	0		Pakistan	25,000	0
Korea	100,000			Netherlands	1,465,461	510,000
Denmark	6,915,093	8,391,000		Portugal	21,244	107,000
Egypt	15,000	0		Qatar	10,000	0
Spain	12,587	50,000		San Marino	5,000	0
US	0	465,000		Sweden	2,713,923	421,000
Russian Federation	3,843,037	0		Switzerland	1,863,581	3,615,000
Finland	1,613,497	0		Surinam	2,500	0
France	3,170,966	3,888,000		Tunis	19,566	0
Gabon	17,094	0		Turkey	6,438	0
Ghana	5,000	0		Trinidad & Tobago	4,000	0
Greece	32,500	0		Venezuela	250,437	0
Guinea	2,000	0		Yugoslavia	39,995	0
India	1,280,000	0		Zambia	5,231	0
Indonesia	93,505	0		Exceptional contributions	85,000	0
Iraq	100,000	0		Interest generated	3,953,403	0
Iceland	13,390	0				
Italy	839,853	512,000				

Source: Unesco Communication and Information Section[11]

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debate on the ethical, legal and societal challenges of the information society; promote and widen access to information in the public domain through the organization, digitalisation and preservation of information; support training, continuing education and lifelong learning in the fields of communication, information and informatics; support the production of local content and foster the availability of indigenous knowledge through basic literacy and ICT literacy training; promote the use of international standards and best practices in communication, information and informatics in UNESCO's fields of competence; and promote information and knowledge networking at local, national, regional and international levels"[13].

The IFAP special account is supported by voluntary contributions from member countries or other donors. The amount available for funding projects in 2005 was $750,000. Fundable projects have to be framed within the UN's Millennium Development Goals and the goals set out in the Plan of Action adopted by the World Summit on the Information Society. Specifically, national projects can be funded by up to $25,000 and international ones by up to $45,000, as long as they are aimed at digital literacy or shoring up awareness about the importance of the preservation of information of all types and awareness about the ethical, legal and social implications of ICTs[14].

We will have to see if the IFAP benefits, for example, from the agreement Unesco and Microsoft signed in November 2004 to reduce the digital divide[15]. In any case, it does not appear to be fortuitous that the private sector chooses to support UNESCO projects relating to new ICTs and ignore other programmes with a more sociocultural background, like the IPDC.

On the other hand, it is important to mention that the Communication and Information Section does significant work in defending freedom of expression and a free press (mainly in countries experiencing situations of conflict). In this regard, I should mention declaring 3 May World Press Freedom Day[16] and the creation in 1997 of Unesco's Guillermo Cano World Press Freedom Prize[17]. Both projects concern the debate (seminars and workshops where the aim is to raise journalists' awareness of the importance of independent media to prevent and surmount conflicts) and the condemnation of assaults that journalists suffer around the world.

It is important to qualify that the actions in favour of press freedom that Unesco promotes are frequently related to the IPDC. To give one recent example, the Press Freedom Network, which condemns infringements of the free exercise of journalism in Brazil, on the website of Brazil's National Newspaper Association, was launched in April 2005 with the programme's support[18].

2. The Policies of the Culture Section: Towards a Convention on Cultural Diversity

The promotion of cultural diversity has been a goal of constant concern within Unesco. Whether explicitly or implicitly (although with a variety of approaches over time) it has always been present in its ideas about cultural and communication policies. However, following the last two General Conferences (Paris 2001 and 2003), it could be said that the issue has become red hot.

The 31st General Conference (2001) adopted the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity[19] and during the next conference (2003), Unesco director-general Koïchiro Matsuura received the commission to prepare a draft convention "on the protection of the diversity of cultural contents and artistic expressions"[20]. This draft project, due to be presented at the 2005 Conference, would determine the bases to give a legal value (binding on the States in the same fashion as a treaty) to what have until now been mere declarations of intent in this area.

In any case, the approval of the Declaration and the start-up of work to prepare a convention underline the importance the issue of cultural diversity is acquiring in the field of international relations, coinciding (it is worth remembering) with a particularly delicate time in history in which the theory of the 'clash of civilisations' is gathering strength in a worrying fashion[21].

Another important aspect to bear in mind is the fact that the economic dimension of cultural goods and services is growing in the context of the so-called information or knowledge society.[22] In this regard, the market globalisation could be a serious threat to diversity that favours cultural equalisation.

In the following pages, I will firstly analyse how the idea of cultural diversity has been evolving in the framework of

Unesco and then look at the role assigned to the media, both in the Universal Declaration of 2001 and the draft convention being prepared, when it comes to designing the strategies that seek this diversity. Finally, I will look at the Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity programme, aimed at promoting the cultural industries of developing and transition countries.

2.1. The Evolution of the Concept of Cultural Diversity at Unesco

As I said before, throughout its history and since it was created in November 1946, Unesco has included the question of cultural diversity in its postulates. However, the meaning of the concept has changed over time, in line with transformations in the international geopolitical context. Thus, as Stenou (2003) says, it is possible to distinguish four phases in the approximation which Unesco has made of the idea of cultural diversity and in its major action areas in this field.

After the Second World War, during the first phase in which Unesco and the United Nations system were working, the importance of education and knowledge were emphasised as key elements for peace. In this phase, cultural diversity was only approached in relation to international differences, rather than intra-national ones (nation-states were considered unitary entities). Also, culture was conceived fundamentally in terms of artistic production and not as a set of ways of thinking, feelings or perceptions that could create identity.

Later, the rise of new independent countries would link the concept of culture to that of politics, as the cultural identities of these nations would be the justification for their independence and their existence in the international order. In this phase, which began in the 1950s and went up until around the middle of the 1960s, the concept of culture was broadened to also include identity.

The third period, as well as going deeper into the political component, also emphasised material aspects by linking culture with the idea of development. At Unesco, people became aware that it was not possible to establish development policies without taking into account the cultural peculiarities of the territories in which they were to be applied. Also during this phase, particularly in the 1970s, there was an increasingly clear idea that problems about intercultural relations existed both between societies and within them.

Starting in the 1980s, cultural and democracy were linked to put the accent on the desire for tolerance. The existence of tensions at all levels (local, regional, international) meant that attention was concentrated on the social conflicts that took place within urban centres, the rights of minorities and the coexistence of diverse cultural communities. It also became clear that cultural rights could be claimed by individuals or groups both from developed and developing countries. Also, Stenou (2003, 20) says that now, at the beginning of the 21st century, an explicit link is also being established between culture and security, which further highlights the importance of positive intercultural relations as a cornerstone of international peace.

2.2. The Universal Declaration and the Draft Convention on Cultural Diversity

With the precedents mentioned above, the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was unanimously adopted at the 31st Unesco General Conference (Paris, 2 November 2001). Although it could be considered that this document set out the fruits of the work developed over more than two decades in many meetings sponsored by Unesco, the proximity of the date of its approval with the events of 1 September 2001 reinforced its timeliness even more. The Declaration was a reaffirmation of Unesco's commitment to promote intercultural dialogue as a way of tackling the pessimistic view of the clash of civilisations. This position is clearly manifested in the preamble to the text, which says that "respect for the diversity of cultures, tolerance, dialogue and cooperation, in a climate of mutual trust and understanding, are the best guarantors of international peace and security".

The Declaration marks the first time cultural diversity has been considered the common heritage of humanity. It also states that culture lies at the heart of contemporary debates about identity, social cohesion and the development of a knowledge-based economy. Its vision about the processes of globalisation is balanced, holding that if they constitute a challenge for cultural diversity, they also create the conditions for a renewed dialogue between cultures and civilisations.

The only explicit reference to the role of the media is found

in article 6, although it must be borne in mind that references to the media are integrated in other, broader, concepts, such as cultural industries. This article refers to the pluralism of the media as one of the elements that guarantee cultural diversity, together with freedom of expression, multilingualism and equal access to artistic expressions, scientific and technological knowledge and the possibility, for all cultures, of being present in the media of expression and dissemination.

It is also important to mention article 8, which holds that cultural goods and services cannot be considered like any other type of good, because they are carriers of identity, values and meaning. In other words, it confirms their specific character against other consumer goods.

References to the role of public policies are found especially set out in articles 9 and 11. The first says that cultural policies should "create the conditions needed for the production and dissemination of diversified cultural goods and services, thanks to cultural industries that have the means to affirm themselves at the local and world scale". In any case, with a vision that could be considered excessively restrictive, article 9 attributes the power of defining cultural policies solely to the States. Article 11, meanwhile, warns that market forces cannot guarantee the preservation of cultural diversity and reaffirms the importance of public policies.

The Declaration was approved along with a Plan of Action that proposed 20 objectives. This document includes a single explicit reference to the media: it is found in objective 12, which proposes "stimulating the production, safeguarding and dissemination of diversified content in the media and international information networks". With this purpose, it proposes boosting the role of public radio and television services.

References to the new information and communication technologies and telecommunications networks are more abundant. In this case, the objectives are:

- To promote digital literacy (objective 9)
- Promote linguistic diversity in the digital space and foster universal access to information in the public domain (objective 10)
- Fight the digital divide, favouring developing countries' access to the new technologies, helping them get a firm grasp of them and facilitating the digital circulation of their cultural products and their access to digital resources available at the world scale (objective 11)

The Plan of Action also impacts on the need to progress in the reflection on the timeliness of an international legal instrument about cultural diversity. This reflection took a concrete form in a resolution adopted at the 32nd General Conference (Paris, September-October 2003) where it was decided that the question of cultural diversity would be the object of an international convention.

The timetable for preparing this regulatory instrument has a key date: the Unesco General Conference of 2005, at which the abovementioned draft convention on the protection of cultural contents and artistic expressions should be presented.

In the wake of the works carried out up to April 2005 in the three independent experts' meetings and the two intergovernmental experts' meetings (which were attended by representatives of States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations)[23] very important questions still have to be agreed upon, which makes it impossible to assess what type of draft convention will eventually be presented at the Conference scheduled for October 2005.

Ivan Bernier (2005) says that from the content of the debates held until one can conclude that there are two clearly different concepts about the type of convention that should be approved. The first, endorsed by a larger number of States but ones with a more fragile economy, supports "the establishment of an international convention that recognises the specificity of cultural goods and services as well as the right of the States to apply conservation and promotion measures of their cultural expressions, while at the same time remaining open to other cultural expressions. This instrument would lead to the States themselves adopting the measures needed to preserve and promote their own cultural expressions and would commit them to shoring up cooperation for development in the cultural field in a particular fashion. To ensure the convention had teeth and could evolve with time, they are also favourable to the incorporation of a mechanism to monitor and solve controversies, so long as bureaucratic slowness is avoided and it does not turn out to be excessively costly".

With regard to the second concept about the content of the

draft convention that is being prepared, Bernier says it is articulated around the concerns of a smaller but richer number of States (including the US, which returned to the Unesco in 2003) about the convention's implications in trade exchanges. He says this concern has led to a number of reservations about important aspects of the draft convention, with these States feeling that the convention being established is "too heavily oriented towards cultural goods and services and the protection of cultural expressions and not enough towards promoting cultural diversity. (They feel) it also refers to a State's sovereign right to adopt measures to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions within its own territory, which they judge potentially incompatible with the commitments of the parties to the WTO; the commitment of the signatory states to promote the objectives and principles of the convention in other international forums and to consult among themselves to that end, which they define as dangerous; to the mechanisms for monitoring and solving controversies, which they would reduce to a more minimal expression or eliminate completely because they feel they are inadequate in cultural material; to the co-production agreements and preferential treatment for developing countries, which they consider incompatible with the commitments of the parties to the WTO; and, finally, to article 19, relating to relations with other international instruments, which they feel should clearly establish that the convention will always be in line with other existing and future international laws".

In any case, what does appear to be certain is that, thanks to the process of preparing the convention on cultural diversity, Unesco is recovering a certain starring role as a multilateral forum for the exchange of ideas about culture, information and communication. This starring role, which it previously had in the 1970s – thanks to the debate started up about the proposal for the New World Information and Communication Order – was assumed in the two following decades firstly by the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and, since its creation in 1995, the World Trade Organization – where the debate was generated in relation to the concept of 'cultural exception'.

2.3. Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity Programme

Parallel to the process described above, the Culture Section

of Unesco is putting into practice a series of measures aimed at establishing its strategic goal no. 8 for the 2002-2007 period: "the safeguarding of cultural diversity and the promotion of dialogue between cultures and civilisations" (Unesco 2002, 41-42).

Among the measures aimed at reaching this goal, I would particularly like to mention the Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity[24], approved by the General Conference of 2001 and put into action in January 2002 by the Division of Arts and Cultural Industries, which depends on the Culture Section at Unesco[25].

This programme, with a scheduled duration of six years, aims to shore up cultural industries in developing and transition countries (intending as far as possible to distribute their products on other markets) and guarantee a more effective protection of intellectual property.

Barely a year after it was launched in late November 2003, the Alliance had more than 170 members (private companies, NGOs, foundations, professional associations, research centres, etc.), was present in 64 countries and had mobilised some $850,000, contributed by public and private investors[26]. In October 2004, it had 340 members, which could contact each other over an online database (*www.Unesco.org/culture/alliance*) to facilitate the exchange of experiences and the development of joint projects. Of the projects already concluded, some are being reproduced in other countries. To give one example, the project entitled "Reform and Professionalization of Book Related Jobs in Algeria" has inspired diverse initiatives aimed at promoting the publishing industry in Cambodia, Senegal, Guinea, Mauritania and the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa. At the same time, the Alliance has promoted such notable projects as the one entitled "The Promotion of Cultural Industries for Local Economic Development in Creator Communities of the Asia/Pacific", in which the UN Organisation for Industrial Development and the World Bank are involved. The aim of this initiative is to "reduce the imbalances between developing and industrialised countries in the region, creating to that end consultation mechanisms that favour intersectorial cooperation, access to credit, the shoring up of copyright, quality control and researching new markets"[27].

A significant datum with regard to Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity's mobilisation potential is the decision by

the Spanish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in March 2005 to commit to paying $250,000 into the programme's special fund every year through to 2008[28]. This is particularly important if we remember that the Spanish Government, as I said before, has only contributed $62,587 to the IPDC since it was launched.

Conclusions

If we look again at the recommendations of the MacBride Report, now that we have reviewed some of the most important actions in the area of communication policies that Unesco is developing in 2005, we can see that, although the document was clearly marginalised on Unesco's agenda, some of the approaches taken in this historic text are still valid (although never explicitly, of course). By this I mean issues relating to the promotion of press freedom and freedom of expression in general or the protection of journalists, particularly those involved in situations of conflict and more particularly in territories where human rights are frequently and openly breached.

With regard to the promotion of international cooperation, we can see that today this turns on projects related to ICTs and the promotion of cultural industries in general. However, the programme that is and has for the past 25 years been aimed specifically at the media (the IPDC) is going through a really critical time, as the insignificance of its budgets shows. It is also important to emphasise that the conditions under which aid is awarded (usually oriented at particular projects), whether it comes form the public or the private sector, frequently limit Unesco's potential as an organisation capable of promoting multilateralism in cultural

and communication policies at the international level.

With regard to the protection of cultural identities, we have to be very careful of the capacity the convention on cultural diversity that is being prepared awards states.

In any case, everything seems to suggest that the weight that Unesco had in the 1970s as a platform for discussion and international agreement on culture, information and communication is being recovered to a small extent, thanks to the processes of debating and approving the Declaration and Convention on Cultural Diversity even though, on the other hand, it has been marginalised from the organisation of the World Summit on the Information Society, which the next article in this issue of *Quaderns del CAC* explains in detail.

Finally, I would like to emphasise that there is an essential question of the MacBride Report which goes beyond concrete recommendations and of which nothing remains to be seen in Unesco's current policies: this is its critical vision of the structure of international communication and North-South communication flows. This is surprising in a context in which the processes of deregulation, concentration and technological convergence have accelerated progressively and enormously. In short, we have moved from calling for a New World Information and Communication Order to asking for recognition for the specificity of cultural industries as carriers of values and identities. However, we will have to wait to see the contents that will be set out in the convention on cultural diversity and the mechanisms that will be established to try to ensure they are respected because, as much as one may question many of its policies, Unesco continues to be the only multilateral forum where the most fragile voices have a certain presence.

Notes

1   *www.Unesco.org/webworld/com_media/communication_
    democracy/newcom.htm*

2   *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=1509&URL_
    DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.ht*

3   Like the MacBride Report, the IPDC was approved at the
    Belgrade General Conference of 1980, with the aim of
    "intensifying cooperation and assistance for the
    development of communication infrastructures and to
    reduce the difference that exists between different countries
    in the sphere of communications" (resolution 4/21).

4   The IPDC Intergovernmental Council is the organisation
    that since 1981 has prepared and approved the
    programme's main work areas. It is made up of
    representatives from 39 countries, appointed by the Unesco
    General Conference.

5   This Bureau, which is the executive organ of the IPDC, is
    made up of eight members from eight different countries,
    chosen by the Intergovernmental Council.

6   *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=18385&URL_
    DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*

7   *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-*

8   The 51 projects funded to date for 2005 are the respon-
    sibility of this special account.

9   A fund on deposit can fund a project in its totality or can be
    added to the aid it receives from the special account.
    Together with these two ways, particular countries make
    contributions in kind, such as scholarships or training stays,
    providing expert services, equipment, etc.

10 Information confirmed by IPDC specialist Valeri Nikolski
    from the Communication Development Division, during a
    telephone conversation in May 2005.

11 *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=13516&URL_
    DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*

12 Decision 3.6.1 of the 160th Session of the UNESCO
    Executive Council.

13 *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=1630&URL_
    DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*
    The management and running of the IFAP is the
    responsibility of an intergovernmental council that includes
    representatives from 26 Unesco member states, chosen on
    a regular basis by the General Conference. In turn, the
    Council chooses the eight members of the Programme's
    executive bureau from among its members.

14 *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=17828&URL_
    DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*

15 *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=17504&URL_
    DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*

16 3 May commemorates the anniversary of the Windhoek
    Declaration (Namibia) promoting an independent and plural
    African press.

17 Guillermo Cano, Colombian journalist assassinated in 1987
    for revealing leading drug dealers in the country.

18 *http://portal.Unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=18745&URL_
    DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*

19 Unesco (2001): "Actes de la Conférence Générale", vol. 1,
    Paris, 15 October - 3 November, p. 73-77 (*http://unesdoc.
    Unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124687f.pdf*).

20 Unesco (2003a): "Rapport de la Commission IV", Paris, 16
    October, p. 27-28 (*http://unesdoc.Unesco.org/images/0013/
    001321/132141f.pdf*).

21 Set out in the journal *Foreign Affairs* by US political expert

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Samuel Huntington in 1993, the author said the present and future tensions in the framework of international politics are no longer explained by reasons of an ideological or economic nature but rather by cultural divergences of a broad scope that are difficult to overcome, including particularly those which, in his opinion, explain the stand-off between the West and Islam. Unesco's opposition to this determinist vision was clearly shown with the celebration in Paris from 17 to 19 January 2004 of the Euro Mediterranean Forum for Science, Development & Peace, entitled "The 'Clash of Civilisations' Will Not Take Place". Another clear example of Unesco's interest in this matter was its participation and promotion of other meetings about the dialogue between civilisations (Yemen, February 2004; Macedonia, August 2003; New Delhi, July 2003).

22 It is important to mention that for Unesco, cultural diversity is seen (together with equal access to education, universal access to information and freedom of expression) as one of the four indispensable principles for the advent of societies of equal knowledge. This position was shown in Unesco (2003b): "Contribution de l'Unesco au Sommet Mondial sur la Societé de l'Information", available online at: *http://unesdoc. Unesco.org/images/0012/001295/129531f.pdf*

23 *http://portal.Unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID= 26320&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*

24 *http://portal.Unesco.org/culture/es/ev.php-URL_ID= 24468&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*

25 Other measures included in the strategy defined in section 3.2 of the programme and budget of the Culture Section for 2004-2005 (Unesco, 2003c) are, for example, the celebration of World Book and Copyright Day, the designation of the World Book Capital City and the development of the Books for All initiative (all with the aim of re-launching reading and the book industry); the creation of the Index Translationum and the Literature and Translation Online Information Centre (with the aim of promoting cultural and linguistic diversity and access to literary works); the preparation of a list of representative works of world filmmaking in collaboration with the International Film and Television Council; and training and education in copyright matters using the revised electronic version of the Copyright Bulletin and websites on these issues.

26 *http://portal.Unesco.org/es/ev.php@URL_ID=17418&URL_ DO=DO_PRINTPAGE&URL_SECTION=201.html*

27 *http://portal.Unesco.org/culture/es/ev.php-URL_ID= 24468&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html*. See results report of October 2004.

28 http://portal.Unesco.org/culture/es/ev.php-URL_ID= 26763&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

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