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NUUSBRIEF/NEWSLETTER

1972 No. 3

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE

OF

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DIE SUID - AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VAN INTERNASIONALE AANGELEENTHEDE
THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE
FUTURE WORLD ENVIRONMENT

by

John N. Irwin II
(U.S. Under Secretary of State)

As we look at the future international environment, one of the few things that can be said with any degree of certainty is that interaction between all nations and peoples will increase substantially and become much more complex.

Interaction begets interdependence. Not only between us and our allies, but also, as the Moscow summit demonstrated, between the two major antagonists of the post-war world.

Interdependence -- and awareness of interdependence -- have been growing. We see this interdependence most clearly when we worry about gaining access to or preserving the world's resources, preventing the pollution of the oceans and atmosphere or controlling the arms race.

But interaction reaches many other fields. It is a rare business, institution or government agency of any size which does not have some international activity or connection. By 1980 this activity will be incomparably greater.

More importantly, international interaction will become more complex. The relatively simple bipolar days of the Cold War will have given way to a less predictable situation in which there will be different constituencies and groupings for different issues. Traditional alignments may become more flexible and subject to change on specific, ad hoc issues.

Further elements of this increasing complexity will be more issues on the international agenda and more parties in interest for each issue. Issues now dealt with in a purely domestic context will acquire an international character. Take the example of narcotics -- a problem which once seemed domestic has now been clearly recognized as a serious international one that cannot be attacked with hope of success solely within the United States.

Along with the emergence of new issues will come new participants -- more countries, more multilateral governmental and nongovernmental organizations, more international corporations, and more private actors. The major international actors of the present, politicians and diplomats, will be forced to accept the increasingly important role of such functional specialists as economists and engineers, nutritionists and weathermen.

An awareness of the complexities of interdependence should have a moderating influence on the international behaviour of all countries. The participants should begin to realise that without a commitment to agreed procedures -- i.e. to some underlying rules to govern this interaction -- the mutually beneficial but highly complex new game we will all be trying to play will not be playable. The players' interest in the long-term stability of these rules should become greater than their interest in winning on the substance of any particular play.

Some of the implications of increased interdependence for our security are fairly clear. The power and dominance of the two superpowers should decline in relative importance. Nuclear parity should tend to diminish the political significance of our nuclear weapons. Both powers will not only have to continue to get along with each other but also pay even more attention to getting along with the new emerging power centres in Western Europe, Japan and China.

The slower development of interdependence on the part of the communist countries will be one of the most difficult problems of the transition period ahead. The Soviet Union and China are the most autarchically inclined countries of any size in the world today. Soviet and Chinese autarchic proclivities are in large part due to the requirement for tight control in their domestic systems, perhaps in some part to their historical memories of negative experiences with the outside world.

I doubt that we will see more than a modest liberalization of the Chinese and Soviet domestic systems by 1980. But there may be a substantial improvement in their view of the external threat. At the same time they should perceive increasing advantages to cooperating in such fields as science and technology, trade and arms control.

Already, as an indication, both Soviet and Chinese trade is growing faster with capitalist countries than with other communist countries. Both the Soviet Union and China will probably be increasingly concerned about being left out of a developing international system and may be willing to reach a significantly higher level of interaction with the noncommunist world.

By 1980 China and the Soviet Union are quite likely to consider one another, rather than the United States, their principal antagonist, if indeed they do not do so already. The issues between them -- the border, disputed leadership of the world's "progressive forces" and the traditional state-to-state rivalry of neighbouring powers -- are likely to persist. Relations are likely to continue to be competitive and tense with cooperation only in isolated fields.

Both China and the Soviet Union seem to be basing their actions on pragmatic assessments of their national interests and capabilities. This should lead to gradual improvement in their relations with the United States. While ideology seems at times to be waning in both countries, it can be expected to wane slowly, so that by 1980 U.S. - Soviet and U.S. - Chinese relations will probably still retain a sharply competitive edge.

The commitment of the two communist powers to leftward movements in the world will remain an important factor in international relations. They may, however, be less willing to take major risks solely on this account.

China's capability for military actions much beyond her immediate border will probably continue to be limited through the 1970's. Her world-wide political influence, however, seems likely to increase.

By 1980 the Soviets will probably have achieved a world-wide political and military presence and a substantially more flexible capability for military operations in distant areas.

Even though America's general bilateral relations with the two communist powers may improve, therefore, the number of areas in which the United States will compete with both Chinese and Soviet influence will have increased.

The United States and the Soviet Union are likely to continue to be the only countries with world-wide strategic and conventional capabilities, but this fact should be of decreased importance as local powers become more significant in particular regions. China and Japan will undoubtedly be increasingly important in East and Southeast Asia. India already seems able to play a decisive role in South Asia, and the enlarged European Community will assume a larger role in all aspects of European affairs.

While the Soviets and the Chinese could find themselves fully extended abroad in a few years, the Japanese and Europeans have only begun to exercise their enormous potential influence. Thus, a primary interest of U.S. foreign policy must continue to be the maintenance of close relations with these two emerging power centres.

Paradoxically, as we move away from bipolar confrontation with the communists, there will be greater need for confidence and consultation among America's allies. As the period when the United States was a dominant leader recedes into the past, and partnership among its allies becomes more completely equal, the route to decision by consensus may seem more tortuous and slow.

Present allied relationships and institutions must either become more flexible to cope with these new complexities or they will atrophy and eventually die. Americans should expect -- and be prepared to accept -- differences on specific issues among the allies in order to maintain the common commitment to larger principles of national and international behaviour.

The third world of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America could be a primary focus of conflict and possible confrontation in the years ahead. A trend toward radical nationalist solutions may well continue throughout the third world.

Looking into the future, we will have to weigh the somewhat decreased

eagerness of the Soviets and Chinese to support irresponsible extremist behaviour against their increased capability to do so and the ready supply of opportunities an unstable third world will provide. While working to reduce conflict in such situations between the United States and the communist powers, prudence dictates that we assume that there will be further confrontations.

Increased economic nationalism -- particularly in the form of opposition to foreign investment -- will probably continue to present the United States and its major allies with serious problems. Our need for the raw materials and energy resources which these countries possess will increase substantially. The less-developed countries have already united on oil, and it should not come as a surprise if they try to work together on other primary commodities.

Some of the implications of this brief look into the future for U.S. policy toward China and the Soviet Union are clear. Their increasingly pragmatic behaviour and the continuing fragmentation of the communist world have offered us the opportunity to make them fuller participants in an interdependent world. The President's trips to Peking and Moscow were dramatic and significant achievements in this process. Both trips were painstakingly prepared over a long period with a view toward concrete achievements. Both were designed with particular care to try to avoid exacerbating relations between the two communist powers. They aimed at developing good relations with both powers at the expense of neither.

With China America has finally established a dialogue in which differences are being dealt with in honesty and candour. Movement may be slow, but in the continuing consultations between our two ambassadors in Paris both of us are at last looking for and pursuing areas of common interest. We have agreed to initiate and facilitate exchanges in such fields as culture, science, technology, sports and journalism. We are working together to establish mutually beneficial trade.

The balance of nuclear terror long ago forced a certain degree of interdependence upon the Soviet-American relationship. From his first days in office, President Nixon systematically analyzed this relationship to determine areas in which cooperation seemed possible. In those areas where our views and interests seemed almost inevitably to conflict, he searched for ways to defuse the adversary relationship, to move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation.

The Moscow summit opened a new chapter in the complex history of U.S.-Soviet relations. It may be seen by historians as the symbolic end to the Cold War. It should result in an intensification of mutually beneficial cooperation in such fields as medicine, space, the environment, and science and technology. Agreements in many of these fields were signed in Moscow. An agreement was signed between our armed services -- the first since World War Two -- designed to reduce the dangers of incidents at sea.

We have also been working for some time to expand trade between our two countries from its presently modest level. This effort continued

at the summit. Among other things we are hopeful that the Soviets will agree to substantial grain purchases, but a number of interrelated elements must be worked out first. The Soviets are seeking most favoured nation treatment, access to Export-Import Bank credits, and more liberal terms for their purchases than we are prepared to concede. We in turn are insisting on a satisfactory lend-lease settlement.

The ABM Treaty and the Interim Agreement on Offensive Nuclear Weapons are perhaps the most significant concrete results of the Moscow summit. They bring a new element of stability to the Soviet-American competition in strategic arms. The SALT agreements reached thus far are only a first step. Their importance as a precedent for cooperation, however, cannot be over emphasized. To be fully effective, SALT I must be followed by further discussions in SALT II, looking toward reductions of both offensive and defensive strategic arms below the limits set by the present agreements.

There is an obvious danger in trying to go too far, too fast in U.S. relations with China and the Soviet Union. In the past, moments of optimism have been shattered by subsequent communist intransigence. In the President's recent summit meetings, however, an attempt has been made to involve the self-interest of each side in such a way as to establish a solid foundation for improved relations. Improved relations with the Soviet Union and China will not lessen in any way -- at least over the next decade -- the need to maintain our own and our allies' economic, political and military strength and unity of purposes.

One of the most immediate challenges to allied unity and strength are the tensions caused by economic issues. The United States has already reached a level of economic interdependence with Canada, Japan and the countries of Western Europe at which each country's monetary and trade policies can either seriously disrupt or materially assist all of the others' economies. These allied countries are by far the best customers for U.S. exports. They sell us most of our imports, and they are the host countries to two-thirds of our overseas investments. We play an even more substantial role in their economies than they do in ours.

The year 1971 found America's trade and payments situation on the critical list. Major adjustments to the post-war international economic system were needed quickly. To that end, President Nixon announced his new economic policy on August 15. This was followed by the so-called Smithsonian Agreement in December, establishing a new pattern of exchange rates more favourable to the United States. In the U.S. view, this agreement is only a first step toward a more flexible monetary system and a more open environment for trade. The United States will continue to follow an outward looking economic policy. We believe it is very important that a uniting Western Europe also not turn inward on itself. The world cannot afford an attempt to break up into closed trading systems even if this were possible.

The Moscow summit has given new impetus to the much discussed Warsaw

Pact proposal for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to the allied proposal for mutual and balanced force reductions. We believe that the European Security Conference, now probably to be held in 1973, must have substantive meaning and not just add to a false sense of detente or serve the propaganda aims of the Soviet side. We are particularly interested in having the conference agree to concrete measures to facilitate the freer movement of people, ideas and information between East and West.

Toward MBFR we will follow a cautious, analytical approach, mindful that the presence of U.S. troops has resulted in 25 years of relative stability in Central Europe. In an era of nuclear parity, moreover, strong conventional forces in Europe may become even more important. We do not expect dramatic withdrawals in the near future. If agreement can be reached on certain safeguards and principles, however, so that stability can be maintained at lower levels of forces confronting each other on each side, limited reductions may be achieved. President Nixon remains firmly committed to maintaining whatever level of troop strength in Europe is required to guarantee undiminished security.

The future, like the past, will compel an active American involvement in the less developed part of our shrinking globe. A policy of benign neglect is impossible - and not only for humanitarian reasons. A policy that is not responsive to third-world needs would very soon endanger our substantial investments there, hinder our access to increasingly vital energy and raw material resources and create the conditions in which radical and irresponsible regimes would thrive.

The policies which this Administration is evolving - sometimes referred to as the Nixon Doctrine - provide for an active American role while avoiding our previous tendency to assume too much of the economic and security burden. Our emphasis upon self-help and an equitable sharing of responsibility have been welcomed by our friends and allies. Many small countries have become more self-reliant, and have demonstrated that development is possible.

At the same time, there is little room for complacency. Many in the United States are questioning the need for the very economic and security assistance which make possible such self-reliance - and the complementary lessening of the American burden.

We cannot afford to weaken either our support of our industrialized allies in Western Europe and Japan or our commitments in the third world. Only by such commitments, clearly recognizing the growing interdependence of all nations, can we build what the President has aptly described as "a structure of peace to which all nations contribute and in which all nations have a stake".

The above address by Mr. John Irwin was given to the National Foreign Policy Conference for Senior Business Executives at the Department of State in Washington D.C. on 8 June, 1972.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

by

David Hirschmann

By 1963 South Africa had come into open conflict with a number of United Nations bodies and specialised agencies, and in that year the question of South Africa's continued participation in these bodies came under consideration. On 23 May, 1963, the World Health Assembly called upon South Africa to renounce the policy of apartheid in the interests of the physical, mental and social well-being of the population. By a resolution of 30 July, 1963, the Economic and Social Council decided that the Republic should not participate in the work of the Economic Commission for Africa. On 5 December, 1963, the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) decided to exclude South Africa from participating in its work in Africa and on 18 December South Africa withdrew from the FAO.

So also at the 47th Session of the International Labour Conference held in June, 1963, the matter came to a head when 31 African and 5 Arab states withdrew from the Conference in protest against the continued participation of South Africa. This accelerated the chain of events which led nine months later to South Africa withdrawing from the organisation.

With the advantage of hindsight it is clear that a clash was inevitable. Given the fundamental objectives of the ILO, but more particularly its changing membership in the late 1950's and early 1960's and given the policies of the South African Government, the chances of any continuing accord were close to nil.

To the ILO in this period apartheid came to be viewed as involving a flagrant and persistent violation of the principles of equal opportunity for all. To the Government, the ILO's attempt to induce change in the country by purporting to suspend its membership and by marshalling world labour opinion against its policies, amounted to an inexcusable intervention in a member country's domestic affairs and demonstrated the unjustifiable politicisation of a supposedly purely technical organisation.

The ILO - Brief History

The ILO, a product of the peace settlement that followed World War I, was established in 1919 - with South Africa one of its founder members - as an intergovernmental body, an autonomous associate of the League of Nations, seeking to improve labour conditions, raise living standards and promote social and economic stability.

In the interwar years the main emphasis of its work was on the adoption of international minimum social standards and the development of methods for regulating labour conditions. The outbreak of war caused the postponement of the 1940 session but the Governing Body convened a special Conference in October, 1941, in New York, a conference which provided a unique opportunity for the expression of the social aspirations of the free world.

"Its importance was underlined by statesmen who bore the ultimate responsibility for high policy in their respective countries - by President Roosevelt, who addressed the closing sittings at the White House, by Winston Churchill, who delegated Clement Attlee to represent the British Government, by Field Marshal Smuts of South Africa, by Prime Minister Mackenzie of Canada, by Foreign Ministers Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium and Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. At that critical moment in the history of the world, the Conference was the only medium through which the free peoples could give collective expression of their views".¹

In 1944, against a background of rising confidence, forty-one nations met in Philadelphia for the first regular session since the outbreak of war. Here they adopted the Declaration of Philadelphia which, in reaffirming the original principles of the organisation stated that " all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity". It also emphasised the obligation to strive to achieve a series of social objectives such as full employment and a living wage, extension of social security, adequate food, housing and recreation, the right to bargain collectively and equality of opportunity.

Structure of the Organisation

The ILO is unique not only in that it is the sole survivor among the intergovernmental bodies set up after World War I, but also in its tripartite structure of representation: each member country is represented by a government delegation, a workers' delegation and an employers' delegation. The International Labour Conference, which meets annually, is the highest authority; the Governing Body, which meets about four times a year, acts as the executive council; and the International Labour Office serves as the executive organ and provides the secretariat.

Industrial committees have been set up to solve social and economic problems peculiar to particular industries, such as coal mining, textiles, construction, iron and steel, metal trades, land transportation, petroleum production and refining and chemicals. In addition there are a large number of commissions and committees in specific fields, for example Joint Maritime Commission, Committee on Accident Prevention, Permanent Agricultural Committee, Committee on Industrial Hygiene, Committee on Women's Work, Permanent Migration Committee, Committee for Social Security, Advisory Committee on Salaried and Professional Workers and Commission on Freedom of Association.

The Conference's principal function is the formulation of international social standards in the form of International Labour Conventions and Recommendations. Under the obligations imposed by the Constitution, member countries are required to bring Conventions adopted by the Conference to their competent national authorities for possible ratification. If a country ratifies a Convention, it assumes an obligation to take measures to bring its legislation into line with the provisions of the Convention and to report annually on these measures. Recommendations are not intended to be considered for possible ratification, but member countries are under an obligation to consider them with a view to giving effect to their provisions by legislation or other action.

Role of the Organisation

One of the most important functions of the ILO remains the setting of international social standards through the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations; since 1919 it has built up a respected code covering a wide field, e.g. unemployment (1919), maternity protection (1919), weekly rest (1921), workmen's compensation (1925), forced labour (1930), survivors' insurance (1933), labour inspection (1947), freedom of association and protection of the right to organise (1948), discrimination in employment and occupation (1958), invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits (1967), annual holidays with pay (1970) and minimum wage-fixing, with special reference to developing countries (1970).

Since World War II, increasing attention has been given to the development of the advisory and operational activities of the Organization, particularly in the fields of manpower development and vocational training. Advisory missions assist governments in the preparation of legislation and the establishment of social services. Missions of Inquiry are despatched to investigate charges of substandard conditions and advise on improvements. Field missions advise on problems of migration, manpower and technical training. Seminars are conducted and fellowships granted for study abroad, particular attention being given to workers' education and management development programmes.

From the outset the ILO has stressed the right of working people to protection against sickness, disease and health hazards arising from their employment. Research on these questions is given considerable attention, and the resultant manual guides and reports are published and distributed regularly. In 1930, for example, the ILO in cooperation with the South African Bureau of Mines organised a meeting of experts in Johannesburg to study the ravages of silicosis. It has also focussed its interest on combating pneumoconiosis, preparing a comprehensive guide on the prevention of dust in mining, tunnelling and quarrying. More recently it has been looking at the dangers of benzene poisoning which can lead to blood changes such as anaemia and even leukaemia. Extending this whole field to include the right to an acceptable working environment, attention is being given to the hazards of radio-active contamination, air-borne pollutants and harmful noise and vibration.

It is concerned further with the gap between rich and poor, whether this be reflected in the gap between races or generations, or between urban and rural populations, labour and management or advanced and developing nations. With the rapid growth in the number of emergent independent nations, ILO is turning its attention increasingly to providing technical assistance to these countries. With the backing of the United Nations Development Programme, the ILO is active throughout the developing world, and here in southern Africa it is involved in a number of useful projects. An interesting example of a project in which it has played a vital initiatory role is the launching of the Small Enterprises Development Corporation (SEDCO) in Swaziland. Working shells have been built at Mbabane, Manzini, Piggs Peak, Sitaki, Hlatikulu and other places, into which small artisans and businessmen, previously working in crude shacks and back rooms, can move. SEDCO provides these cheap and functional working premises, supplies machinery and equipment on easy terms, organises procurement and marketing services and advises the entrepreneur on how and where to establish his business and where to find raw

materials. It has been estimated that it costs \$600 to create each additional job opportunity in this way, as compared with \$10 000 to \$15 000 needed in large scale undertakings. Other examples of projects in this region are the Cooperative Development Centre in Botswana and the national technical training system in Zambia.

In 1969 - the year in which the ILO was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize - it launched the World Employment Programme. Between 1970 and 1980 about 280 million people will be added to the world labour force, most of whom will join the hundreds of millions of persons already unemployed or underemployed in the less developed countries. The Programme is designed to counter the effects of rising unemployment among the world's expanding population by stimulating national and international efforts to increase the number of productive jobs available.

Lastly, the ILO acts as a watchdog and adviser on the world's constantly changing patterns of labour and industrial relations; in particular to guard strictly the right of workers to bargain collectively and the right of their chosen representatives to be protected against acts prejudicial to them which are based on their status as workers' representatives or on their participation in any trade union activity.

ILO and South Africa

In his 1972 Report on Apartheid ILO Director-General Wilfred Jenks listed some of the fundamental differences existing between the Organisation and South Africa. He made the following points:

. There can be no job security for one class of workers as distinct from job security for all workers.

. There can be no realistic incomes policy which is based on wage discrimination between different categories of workers.

. There can be no sound industrial relations system which exists only for some classes of workers, and from which the majority of the labour force is excluded.

. There can be no lasting industrial peace in which freedom of action is given to some classes of workers and denied to the majority of workers.

. A modern industrial society cannot afford to maintain two contradictory labour systems for different classes of workers, one of which is based on freedom of employment and freedom of movement, whereas the other - applied to the great majority of the labour force - reduces the worker essentially to the status of a temporary migrant, with no real freedom to choose or change his employment and with the right to live and work in the main urban and industrial areas of his country only as long as his labour is needed there.

. An educational policy which provides free and compulsory education to one racial group, but not to the majority of the population, which not long ago was estimated to be spending a general average of R228 per White pupil and R14 per African pupil and which provides extremely limited training opportunities to the majority of its labour force, is directly self-defeating.

. It is an illusion to believe that democracy, human rights and civil liberties can exist for one section of the population, if they do not exist for all sections of the population. ²

That the ILO was clearly opposed to the practices of separate development was made clear in the Convention on Discrimination in Employment and Occupation (No. 111) of 1958. But it was not till 1961, the year membership rose over the one hundred mark, that the Organisation showed its opposition to South Africa's continued membership. In June that year the 45th session of the ILO adopted a resolution condemning the country's racial policy and asking the ILO's Governing Body to advise South Africa to withdraw until such time as the South African Government abandoned apartheid.

1963

In 1963, 36 states withdrew from the 47th session in protest against the Republic's participation in defiance of the 1961 resolution. A plenary session of the Conference held the credentials of the South African workers' delegate, Mr. J.H.Liebenberg, to be invalid and this was followed by the Governing Body excluding the country from those ILO meetings the membership of which it determined. (In practice this meant all ILO meetings except the annual Conference.)

The Governing Body also invited Director-General David A. Morse to cooperate fully concerning matters within ILO's competence, in United Nation's actions relating to South Africa, and to furnish any information requested by the International Court of Justice in the proceedings relating to South West Africa.

On 25th June, 1963, the Minister of Labour, Senator A.E. Trollop, made a statement to Parliament on these decisions of the ILO. He argued that selection of the workers' representative in agreement with the South African Confederation of Labour and the Trade Union Council of South Africa accorded with article 3 (5) of the ILO Constitution requiring that workers' delegates be chosen "in agreement with the industrial organisations which are most representative of the workpeople".

To the Minister the decision to exclude the country's workers' delegate was indicative of the spirit prevailing at the Conference.

" The Afro-Asian states, with the aid of the Soviet bloc, are transforming the I.L.O. from an essentially non-political organisation devoted to the interests of the workers to a platform from which ideological political disputes are conducted without regard to the primary purpose of the Organisation.

The latest decision of the Conference deprived South African workers of their representative at the Conference. In view of the fact that the principal objective of the International Labour Organisation is to improve the standard of living of the workers, the whole purpose of sending a delegation to the Conference is defeated if workers are not represented. The I.L.O. was created basically for the benefit of workers and to give them a platform to discuss their affairs and air their grievances. How can this be done

on behalf of any country if it is made impossible for its workers' representative to participate or he is forced out? In other words, the centre fabric and inner core of the whole pattern of the Organisation is destroyed by such action."³

The Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, spoke in a similar vein.

"The I.L.O. is not an organisation where a political struggle should be waged in regard to apartheid or any other political policy. The I.L.O. was established long ago, South Africa being a foundation member, to protect the interests of the workers. It is a completely non-political sphere. In that non-political sphere we were prepared to co-operate with everybody, including the Black states, however much they attacked us elsewhere; with the communist states, however much they attacked us; and with the Western nations. We were still prepared to co-operate in the I.L.O. in regard to the common purpose of protecting the interests of the workers. And what was done there? On that occasion the whole basis of the I.L.O. movement was violated; its whole object, its whole composition, was attacked and damaged by people who unjustifiably wanted to launch a political attack there."⁴

The South African Government decided nevertheless not to withdraw and rather to await a full report from delegates to the Conference and watch the further activities of the ILO in relation to the country. In November the ILO Governing Body appointed a committee of twelve to examine the whole question posed for the Organisation by the Republic's policy of separate development, and to submit proposals to the 48th session of the ILC on what contribution the ILO could make towards the complete elimination of apartheid.

1964

On the basis of proposals from that committee, the Governing Body, meeting in February, agreed to submit to the forthcoming Conference proposals for amendments to the Constitution to provide for the suspension or expulsion of a member in specified circumstances, in particular in the case of a country guilty of racial discrimination, as well as for a declaration on apartheid and a programme for the elimination of apartheid.

As far as the Government was concerned the writing was on the wall, and it elected to forestall what appeared to be a threat of expulsion by withdrawing. The wisdom of this decision has been questioned, some observers pointing out that it was precipitate in that the ultimate expulsion was not in fact certain, and that it would have been to the country's advantage to continue sending representatives to argue South Africa's case. In accordance with Article 36 of the Constitution amendments "which are adopted by the Conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall take effect when ratified or accepted by two-thirds of the Members of the Organisation, including five of the ten members which are represented on the Governing Body as Members of chief industrial importance". It is worth noting that although the amendments were passed at the June Conference, the required number of ratifications had still not been received by 1971. (Admittedly with South Africa's withdrawal the question of ratification lost its urgency.) It is also questionable whether the majority of

countries of chief industrial importance - though they have voted against South Africa - would go so far as to give their support to the expulsion of a member country.

On 11 March the Minister of Labour explained to Parliament the reasons for the withdrawal. He reminded Members of the steps taken in June, 1963 - the invalidation of the credentials of the country's workers' delegate, and the Governing Body's decision to exclude South Africa from most of the committees of the Organisation - and outlined the proposals to the 1964 Conference of the February meeting of the Governing Body for a declaration and a programme on apartheid and for constitutional amendments empowering a conference to suspend from participation in its proceedings any member which had been found guilty by the United Nations of following a policy of racial discrimination - apartheid being quoted as the only example of such discrimination.

"Having regard to certain resolutions and a declaration adopted in the United Nations, the Government of the Republic can have little doubt, in the light of developments in the I.L.O. but that any such amendment to the constitution will inevitably lead to South Africa being excluded from the organization, In view, also, of the vendetta of the Afro-Asian states, backed by the communist states at UN, such a resolution, although based on false premises, is obviously intended to make South Africa's membership of the I.L.O. untenable."

..."This is a clear case of deliberate interference in a country's domestic affairs, although it is claimed in this connection that the policies pursued by the Government have ceased to be solely the domestic concern of the Republic. It is significant however, that no action is being taken against countries where there has in fact been and still is grave violation of the principles underlying the constitution of the organization. It is noteworthy also that the organization is acting in complete disregard of the benevolence of the policies pursued in South Africa, the effect of which has been to place its developing peoples on a much higher level than anywhere else in Africa, particularly as far as labour matters are concerned." ⁵

The 48th session of the ILC did adopt the amendments - though they still needed ratification or acceptance - as also the proposed declaration and programme. The Declaration called on South Africa to recognise and fulfil its undertaking to respect the freedom and dignity of all human beings and to this end to:

"Renounce forthwith its policy of apartheid and repeal all legislative, administrative and other measures in violation of the principle of human equality and dignity;

Establish a policy of equal opportunity and treatment for all, in employment and occupation, irrespective of race;

Repeal the statutory provisions providing for compulsory job reservation or discrimination on the basis of race as regards access to vocational training and employment;

Repeal all legislation providing for penal sanctions for breach of contracts of employment, for the hiring of prison labour for work in agriculture or industry, and for any other form of direct or indirect compulsion to labour, including discrimination on grounds of race in respect of travel and residence;

Repeal the statutory discrimination on grounds of race in respect of the right to organize and bargain collectively and the statutory prohibitions and restrictions upon mixed trade unions including persons of more than one race." 6

The Declaration asked the Director-General to submit to the Conference a special annual report on the application of the Declaration, to include recommendations concerning any measures that should be adopted with a view to bringing to an end the policy of apartheid. In addition it appealed to the Governments, employers and workers of all ILO member countries to apply all appropriate measures to induce South Africa to abandon apartheid.

The ILO Programme for the Elimination of Apartheid in Labour Matters concentrated on three broad areas: equality of opportunity in respect of admission to employment and training; freedom from forced labour (including practices that involved or that might involve an element of coercion to labour); and freedom of association and the right to organise.

Continuing Hostility

The reports of the Directors-General called for in the Declaration have been presented annually to the ILC and discussed at length by members as a basis for bitter attacks on apartheid. The reports have described as untenable the South African contention that apartheid could lead to equal development and to removal of discrimination and have reported that the most objectionable aspects of the system are being intensified.

In 1969 Director-General David A. Morse noted that in spite of this intensification, the whole concept of apartheid was being questioned to an increasing extent within South Africa, both as a moral issue and as a matter of practical policy. He asserted that a growing dependence on African labour would make it increasingly difficult to maintain apartheid, since the country's continued prosperity would directly depend on an increasing participation of the non-white labour force in all sections of the economy.

His successor, Wilfred Jenks, reported in 1971 that industrial expansion, combined with the shortage of skilled workers, was causing a relaxation of job reservation, and called on employers and trade unions to work to improve the conditions of African workers. In particular the report suggested that measures on the part of South African employers could include encouraging the occupational advancement of African workers in their employment, devising programmes for training on the job, increasing wages, social benefits and other incentives for their African employees, and initiating practices of consultation with their African staff. The South African trade union movement could make an important contribution by measures such as : taking the initiative in collective bargaining to

improve wages and working conditions of unrepresented African workers; not opposing the removal of occupational barriers so as to enable Africans to perform more responsible and skilled work; campaigning in favour of the recognition of African trade unions, and helping African workers to organise themselves. Such steps "could be a significant factor in developing the momentum for change within South Africa without which a peaceful solution is impossible". 7

In 1972 Mr. Jenks made the point that South Africa was not immune to change and reported that he found encouraging the increasing number and surprisingly wide range of white South Africans who acknowledged the need for change.

"Time is fast running out, but given the necessary will inside South Africa itself, and with the help of responsible international opinion, there is no reason why a fundamental transformation of South Africa into a society offering equal rights and opportunities, and a just share in its wealth, to all its citizens should not take place." 8

The ILC, however, has not taken these slightly more reassuring notes in the annual reports as any reason for softening its attitude towards the Republic. On the contrary, Arthur Grobbelaar, General Secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, who attends Conferences as an observer, noted after the 1972 Conference that the determination of members to destroy apartheid had never been stronger. He reported that attitudes of governments, employers and trade unionists had become harsher and that the call for action against the South African Government had reached a new strident pitch.

In 1971 - the year declared by the UN as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination - the ILC passed a resolution denouncing apartheid, some of the more salient provisions of which are quoted:

Considering that the policy of apartheid of the Republic of South Africa represents a particularly inhuman and degrading form of racism and racial discrimination of which abhorrent social and labour policies constitute fundamental elements, ...

Considering that the Government of the Republic of South Africa continues to impose increasingly harsh laws, as exemplified by the "Bantu Laws Amendment Act (1970)", which gives the South African Government virtually unlimited powers to prohibit the employment of African workers in any area or class of employment,

Considering that the most elementary human and trade union rights continue to be denied to the non-white workers, with the consequence that the vast majority of the workers in South Africa are kept outside the system of labour-management relations,

1. Pledges the entire support and the effective action of the International Labour Organisation to the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in a concerted world campaign to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms and wherever it exists.

2. Appeals to member States to ratify and apply the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), on the occasion of the International Year.
3. Decides to give particular emphasis to the fight against apartheid in the contribution of the International Labour Organisation to the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination ...
6. Calls on member States and on employers' and workers' organisations to intensify their efforts during the International Year to promote effective action to secure the elimination of apartheid and its causes and, in particular to abstain from any policy encouraging or facilitating emigration to South Africa insofar as it tends to consolidate the policy of apartheid;
7. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to request the Director-General -
 - (a) to ensure the widest dissemination in all countries, including countries and territories under a colonial regime or foreign domination in any form, of information on the evil consequences of the apartheid system in the social and labour field, in particular by giving the largest distribution among employers and workers to the special reports on the application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in as many languages as possible.
 - (b) to invite member States, in consultation, so far as possible, with the employers' and workers' organisations, to submit regularly reports on the action taken by them to give effect to the policies of the International Labour Organisation in respect of apartheid, with particular reference to the factual guidance provided by the special reports on the application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid;
 - (c) to submit to it proposals for dealing with the various forms of racial discrimination other than apartheid practised in other regions of the world.
8. Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to give special consideration to all action required in order to maximise the effectiveness of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid and the ILO Programme for the Elimination of Apartheid in labour Matters with a view to elaborating a coherent set of measures designed to contribute to restoring fundamental human and trade union rights in South Africa.

64 441 votes (there is a weighted system of votes) were cast in favour, and none against. There were 4 108 abstentions - these delegations explained that although they supported the resolution they did not believe it was capable of implementation.

The 1972 Conference called for greater determination in putting into operation the measures called for in 1971. Measures which the ILO intends member countries to take, and on which they are now required to report annually, include a clamp-down on the emigration of workers to

(Continued on page 38)

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL

The U.N. Secretary-General reports annually to the General Assembly on the work of the Organisation. While the report itself contains a factual account of all U.N. activities, the Introduction to the Report gives the Secretary-General an opportunity for an over-all review of the past year, and it reflects his personal approach to world issues. The full text is given below of Dr. Kurt Waldheim's Introduction to the Report to be presented to the 27th Session of the General Assembly which begins in New York on 19 September, 1972. It is Dr. Waldheim's first Report as Secretary-General.

I

Over the past year three main trends - two of them encouraging, one discouraging - have been apparent on the international scene. The first is the process of détente among the great Powers. The second - and discouraging one - is the persistence of conflict in several key areas of the world and the failure, both of the Governments concerned and of the international community, to find acceptable solutions to the underlying problems involved. The third trend is the series of efforts by the international community to co-operate in tackling, through the United Nations system, some of the great long-term problems of our planet, such as trade and development, the environment and population.

The process of détente among the great Powers is certainly a historical development of the highest importance. I am aware, of course, that we should not be too euphoric about this development since previous post-war indications of détente failed to materialize into a durable relaxation of international tensions. However, the determination of the leaders of the major Powers to find common ground for co-existence and co-operation is a welcome change from the emphasis on ideological differences and total conflict of interests that characterized their relationships in previous years. The new "balance of prudence", the evident decline of the readiness of great Powers to confront each other, the tendency to downgrade the military aspect of power in their relations, and the discernible emergence of an era of negotiation, dialogue and contact have been greeted with relief by the international community at large.

Despite this highly encouraging development, a variety of conflicts, involving either military hostilities or the threat of them, still persist in several key areas of the world and have so far defied the efforts both of the parties directly concerned and of the international community to put an end to them. Our world is now too interdependent and too crowded for such conflicts - I think, for example, of the Middle East, Viet-Nam and some of the problems of southern Africa - to be isolated, or to be of concern only to those directly involved. Besides this practical consideration there is now a general concern in the world for those afflicted by war or conflict or injustice. Although it is obvious that the settlement of long-standing conflicts would benefit all concerned and would allow them to devote their energy and resources constructively to the problems of the present and the future, some of these conflicts have so far resisted all attempts at solution.

It is of profound interest, however, that some hitherto hostile communities, nations and States are reaching out for reconciliation and relaxation of tension by means of dialogue, understanding and negotiation. The two German States have, for example, been able, within the framework of the Four-Power Agreement of 3 September 1971, to reach an accord on transit arrangements. The efforts of North Korea and South Korea to normalize their relations have been duly welcomed by the international community. The Simla Agreement reached between India and Pakistan is a commendable step on the road to a stable and lasting peace between these countries in the subcontinent. No opportunity must be lost to foster this constructive and peaceful spirit and to extend it to other conflict areas.

As regards international efforts to tackle long-term problems, although it is true in most cases that only the first uncertain steps have been taken, the willingness to discuss these fundamental problems on a global basis is in itself a significant development.

II

What is the place of the United Nations in the international climate of 1972? Obviously it plays a key role in the co-operative effort to tackle long-term social and economic problems, but in the political sphere the Organization's place is more uncertain. This seems to me to be a vital question to which all Member Governments should direct their most earnest attention.

Twice in this century, in the aftermath of world wars which resulted in considerable measure from the shortcomings of the old diplomacy in regulating the relations of powerful States, world organisations - first the League of Nations and then the United Nations - have been set up to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". This is the central function of the United Nations under the Charter. Both with the League of Nations and with the United Nations, after initial enthusiasm a great disillusionment set in, and Governments tended more and more to disregard the political functions of the international organization which they themselves had set up in the wake of war and to revert to the international practices of earlier times. In the 1930s this process led to the Second World War. I do not believe that any Government has any intention of letting us drift into a third world war, but unless we are prepared to learn from the past and to make our international political institutions work as they were intended to work, that danger will always exist. History tells us that we cannot afford to take for granted the persistence of moderation and reason in international affairs, and that international organization is necessary as a safeguard when moderation and reason fail.

It is perfectly true that some of the assumptions on which the United Nations was based have proved unfounded and that many of the hopes that were entertained at its birth have been disappointed. The Organization has, for example, proved to be of limited value as an instrument of collective security, not least because that concept was based on ideas and situations from the past which are not applicable in the very different political realities of our world today. It is true that the Security Council has often been frustrated by the differences of its most powerful members in dealing with matters affecting the maintenance of peace and security. It is true that Member States have not always been responsive to the resolutions of the Security Council. It is true that the pioneering improvisation of peace-keeping, useful though it has proved in many situations, has severe limitations and presents complex problems both of principle and of practice. None the less, it remains available on an ad hoc basis as an effective impartial instrument for keeping international disputes under control and creating conditions for their eventual resolution.

But now we are facing a new situation in the world - in many ways an encouraging situation. The new and positive relationship of the great Powers will certainly be reflected in other relationships and situations. It affords the possibility, for example, that for the first time since the inception of the United Nations the work of the Security Council might actually be based on one of the main assumptions of the Charter, the unanimity of the permanent members in matters affecting peace and security. This is still, admittedly, a distant hope, but at least a glimmer of light is there where all was dark before.

Even if the Security Council were to acquire a new effectiveness through great Power détente, the idea of maintaining peace and security in the world through a concert of great Powers, although these Powers obviously have special responsibilities in matters of peace and security, would seem to belong to the nineteenth rather than to the twentieth century, where the process of technological advance and democratization is producing a new form of world society. The world order that we are striving to build in the United Nations must meet the requirements of such a society, and any other system, however effective in the past, obviously cannot be acceptable, in the long run, to the peoples of the world. The interests, the wisdom and the importance of the vast majority of medium and smaller Powers cannot, at this point in history, be ignored in any durable system of world order.

The United Nations provides, or should provide, the means by which all nations, great and small, participate on a basis of sovereign equality in the political process of establishing and maintaining international peace and security, in facing common problems through co-operation, and in planning and organizing for a better future. The improvement of great Power relations through bilateral diplomacy is certainly of fundamental importance to this process, but past experience indicates that it needs to be complemented and balanced by the multilateral diplomacy of the global Organization as a safeguard against misunderstandings, as a safety valve in critical times and as an instrument for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Despite its obvious shortcomings and despite the current popular tendency in some parts of the world to downgrade the United Nations, the Organization still remains the best long-term basis on which the international community as a whole can opt for survival, justice and progress with the participation of all nations. In the long run there is no substitute for such an instrumentality. The problem is how to make it work in the political realities of today. The Member States alone can develop the potential of the Organization by using it and obeying its rules, by holding to the long-term objectives of the Charter in spite of short-term disappointments and frustrations, and by accepting the imperfections and shortcomings of the United Nations not as the mark of failure, but as part of the inevitable process of growth which any institution must pass through in its early stages of development.

III

In this early stage of its development, the public image of the United Nations, and the way it is viewed in the world at large, is important, for without popular understanding and support it will be difficult, if not impossible, for Governments to make the United Nations work and to maintain the ideals and objectives of the Charter. It is very easy to be defeatist or cynical about an organization which was set up for long-term, global aims never before contemplated, or even partially achieved. Short-term political advantage often makes it tempting to overlook the fact that political problems come to the United Nations only when Governments have failed to solve them by other means, and to deride the Organization as such for its failure

immediately to succeed where everyone else has failed. It is often easier to forget that the United Nations is not an independent sovereign organization but an association of sovereign Governments, and that its failures are also their failures.

The United Nations often plays a useful role as a scapegoat in difficult situations. This role, admittedly, has considerable value, but it must not be allowed to degenerate, for the sake of short-term political convenience, into a denial of the validity of the principles and aims of the Charter and an attitude of defeatism concerning the ultimate necessity of international organization and action to safeguard international peace and security. We cannot afford to forget the lesson that has been learnt twice in this century through the agony and destruction of world war.

IV

In considering the rightful place and function of the United Nations in the contemporary world, we should face the fact that in normal times the Organization often does not command the co-operation of its Members in implementing its corporate majority decisions. The simplest explanation of this fact is that the policies of individual Member States, and their differences with each other, still have greater weight than their desire to make the Charter a reality. In the development of most States there has been a similar phase when the instruments of central order have been promulgated, but when the citizens have not yet developed the sense of obligation required to make them work.

Let us not forget that it was the shock of war that led the nations of the world to agree to the Charter. Will the tensions of an uneasy peace and the promptings of reason and historical sense eventually be strong enough to persuade Governments that their best long-term interest lies in using the Charter as the basis for an agreed and effective system of world order? Until that time comes, the international instrument - the United Nations - will inevitably continue to be the subject of general disillusionment and neglect, punctuated by urgent and unrealistic demands on it, when danger threatens, for quick and effective action.

In the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, I hope that Governments will address themselves to this basic dilemma of the United Nations.

Although even now the necessity of international co-operation is sometimes questioned, all the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that a new degree of co-operation and solidarity is essential if the human race is to survive, to improve its condition and to avoid a variety of disasters. It seems to be increasingly recognized that Governments have little serious choice but to co-operate in the face of a series of global dangers, whether they be the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the problem of overpopulation, the threat to the environment or the persistent poverty of the majority of the world's people. The United Nations System has a central and increasingly important place in this new era of world co-operation, and no effort must be spared to increase its effectiveness and capacity for the work at hand.

V

I welcome the advance towards universality within the United Nations. The representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations during the last session of the General Assembly was indeed a landmark in the attainment of this goal. Two-and-a-half decades after the conclusion of the Second World War, however, the divided countries are still unrepresented in the world Organization. There are now, nevertheless, hopeful prospects that

this problem too will be resolved in the not too distant future.

The developments in Europe, a continent which has been torn for centuries by war and conflict, are particularly encouraging. The ratification of the German treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland removes a major stumbling block in East-West relations and will also contribute decisively to the holding of the planned conference on European security.

Since I assumed my present office, I have attended meetings of the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of American States. My discussions and contacts with members of those two regional organizations have strengthened my conviction that regional organizations have a vital role to play in any workable world order. The United Nations and regional organizations have common goals, and the efforts of the two systems should be complementary. A closer relationship between regional organizations and the United Nations would be helpful in this respect.

VI

This year the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament observed its tenth anniversary. The balance-sheet of the first decade shows that the declared goal of general and complete disarmament has not yet been achieved. Neither has the arms race been halted nor perceptibly slowed down. In fact, the armaments race has spiralled to a level higher than ever before. For example, during the decade of the 1960s, the nations of the world poured a total of \$1,870,000 million into weapons of warfare; in recent years, total world expenditure for these purposes has risen to about \$200,000 million annually.

There has been progress in arms control and collateral measures: the Antarctic Treaty, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the treaties banning nuclear weapons in outer space and on the sea-bed, and the recent convention outlawing biological weapons. We should welcome also the strategic arms limitation agreements - limiting the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems and fixing a numerical ceiling for offensive missiles - which were concluded at the Moscow summit meeting in May this year, as a first step in efforts to curb the arms race.

In spite of these achievements, we should find no comfort in the fact that today nuclear testing continues in the atmosphere and underground. What is now required is the necessary political decision to ensure a final comprehensive test ban agreement. Pending such an agreement, a moratorium on all nuclear testing would be most desirable.

Several States still have not adhered to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In this regard, further progress is called for in concluding the necessary safeguards agreements between the International Atomic Energy Agency and the near-nuclear States. Renewed efforts should also be made in favour of reaching agreements on the prohibition of chemical weapons. A wider discussion of disarmament among all States is also of central concern, and in this respect the General Assembly at its forthcoming session will have the opportunity to consider the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

VII

In my first eight months as Secretary-General I have learnt a great deal both about the possibilities and about the shortcomings of our Organization. In the full realization that most of the problems we face are not susceptible of quick solutions, I have tried to divide my time and energy among pressing political, economic and social, and administrative tasks, and in seeing and talking to as many of the people in the various parts of the United Nations

system and as many Governments of Member States as possible.

On the political side I have tried to take actions and initiatives where they might seem to offer some hope of progress, and also to keep a close watch on other situations where progress seems for the moment to be blocked. I have been guided in my actions by relatively simple propositions: that it is far better to prevent a crisis than to have to solve it; that every possible means must be tried to settle disputes peacefully; that, whatever the difficulties, there is no excuse for not trying to help; and that the Secretary-General should be ready to help in any situation where the organs of the United Nations or the parties concerned wish him to do so.

I have to admit that all this is easier said than done. Misunderstandings inevitably arise, whether from action or inaction, and the kind of problems we deal with are full of complexities and unexpected frustrations. None the less the record of achievement of the United Nations in the past year, as described in full in the body of my report, is not negligible.

In Cyprus, for example, we have seen the settlement through the United Nations of the complex problem of the imported arms and the resumption, in a new form suggested by my predecessor, of the intercommunal talks. While it is too early to judge what progress can be made, the atmosphere and the substance of the renewed talks show some promise.

In the Middle East I cannot report any comparable progress. I have continued my efforts through Ambassador Jarring, and through my own contacts with the parties, to make progress towards a settlement. We have also tried at the same time to assist the Governments concerned in avoiding clashes, escalation of tension and the proliferation of incidents through the use of observers in areas of tension and through other means.

In India and Pakistan we have seen, after the hostilities of last year, encouraging developments in the relations between the two States. While realizing that bilateral talks in such a situation are to be welcomed, the United Nations has tried to help where help seemed to be needed through various means. In the new State of Bangladesh, the United Nations, through the largest relief programme in its history, has played a significant role in helping that country to face its enormous problems. In Pakistan a relief programme has been mounted to assist persons displaced by the hostilities.

The United Nations has responded to the request of the Government of the Sudan for help in the resettlement and rehabilitation of the southern region of the country. I welcome the fact that the Sudanese Government has sought, and found, an accommodation with those of its citizenry who felt isolated from its policy.

I dispatched a humanitarian mission to Burundi in the wake of the disastrous events in that country, and a technical mission is now assessing the requirement for humanitarian help and relief. I hope that satisfactory arrangements can be made through which much needed humanitarian assistance can be made available to the people of Burundi.

The full and complete implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization remains a major goal of the United Nations. Our Organization played a significant role in making possible the emergence of a considerable proportion of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean from colonial status to nationhood. However, the march of progress and independence has encountered several obstacles which today unduly retard, at the cost of much suffering, a fundamental historical development. I

refer particularly to the situation in southern Africa.

Whether we speak of decolonization or of putting an end to racism and apartheid, the present impasse is due not only to the failure of the Governments directly addressed in the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions to implement them, but also to the failure of the international community to concert its efforts and to mobilize effectively all the resources available to it.

As regards Namibia, I am well aware of the difficulties of the task entrusted to me, particularly in a matter which for so many years has resisted all the efforts of the international community to arrive at a solution consistent with the Charter and with United Nations resolutions. The Security Council has agreed that I should continue my efforts under my mandate, and South Africa has expressed the desire to continue the contacts. I intend, therefore, to pursue these efforts in close consultation with the Council's group established under resolution 309 (1972). It is my hope that from these efforts, and from those of my representative, proposals may emerge which will lead to self-determination and independence for the Namibian people.

These are but a few of the preoccupations of my first months as Secretary-General. I may add that, from the number of requests for help or good offices on other matters which I have received, the hopes of many Governments and people around the world seem to centre on the United Nations and it is my earnest wish that we can increasingly live up to these hopes.

VIII

I should mention here my efforts concerning one situation which is not under active consideration at the United Nations - the situation in Viet-Nam. In line with my view that the Secretary-General must always be available to help in matters affecting international peace and security, and especially when massive loss of life and human misery are resulting from a conflict, I offered my good offices to the parties to the Viet-Nam conflict when the hostilities escalated in April 1972. That offer was not accepted, but, needless to say, it stands. In May, when the situation seemed even graver, I addressed a memorandum on Viet-Nam to the President of the Security Council and informally consulted with its members. Although no further action resulted, I quote here the penultimate paragraph of that memorandum because it is relevant to the general views expressed earlier in this introduction:

"I am also deeply concerned that the United Nations, which was created as a result of a world war in order to safeguard international peace and security in the future, appears to have no relevance to what is now happening in Viet-Nam. This indicates an attitude which, if it persists, could all too easily lead to the wholesale disaster which the United Nations was set up to prevent."

Nothing that has occurred since the memorandum was written has given me reason to modify this view.

Indeed it is strange that, at a time when the United Nations and its main executive organ for international peace and security - the Security Council - are becoming more representative of the power realities in the world, there is, apparently, a certain unwillingness to involve the United Nations in the reconciliation of some conflicts. Obviously the international community should welcome direct contacts between States in the solution of their problems whenever possible. But when long-standing conflicts create vast humanitarian problems and may affect the peace and security of all mankind, the United Nations should surely be involved in the attempt to settle them.

IX

The Secretary-General faces a recurring dilemma whenever and wherever large-scale military conflict or civil strife within a State results in massive killings of innocent civilians. In the latter case, the Secretary-General has to reconcile Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter with the moral principles, and especially those concerning the sacredness of human life, which the Charter embodies.

No matter what criticisms or setbacks may arise, the unwritten moral responsibility which every Secretary-General bears, does not allow him to turn a blind eye when innocent civilian lives are placed in jeopardy on a large scale.

X

In other areas, two major events have occurred - the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held in Santiago, and the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm. The Santiago Conference was the third major conference in a very difficult field, where the full nature of the obstacles to progress has become evident. Such conferences cannot be judged only in the light of immediate results. They should be seen as part of a long and difficult process, which continues between the actual conferences themselves. The Stockholm Conference was a pioneering effort for the world community, and I believe that, given the extraordinary complexity and scope of its subject, it made as much progress as could reasonably be expected on a first approach - perhaps even more. The question now is to follow up the Stockholm Conference and to build soundly on the work done there. The new task formulated at Stockholm for the United Nations and the new machinery which is being proposed to the General Assembly constitute an immense challenge to, and opportunity for, the United Nations system.

At both conferences the contrast in the positions of the more developed and the less developed countries was evident. Both conferences served to confirm my conviction that to make progress on these global problems Governments must develop more of a concern for each other's interests, a clear sense of each other's preoccupations and a wider knowledge of the sensibilities of other Governments and cultures. In particular, they underlined the fact that the effort through the United Nations to resolve the pressing problems of the poorer countries deserves the continued and increased support of the richer ones.

XI

I had occasion to address the Economic and Social Council at its summer session concerning the role of the United Nations in promoting equitable world development. On the whole, the situation in this vital area of activity is disquieting. The confidence of the 1960s has turned into the doubts of the 1970s, and there is increasingly both a question as to the nature and future of the economic and social order and a lack of determination to take the necessary measures.

Against this background we must face certain current realities. One is a disruption of the Bretton Woods monetary system which, after many years, failed when the political, economic and social realities on which it was originally based changed rapidly during the 1960s. Another reality is the failure of the economic development of many emerging nations to keep pace with their own needs and with the growth of world trade. The results are extreme population pressure, widespread poverty, mass unemployment, endemic malnutrition and inadequate education for the large mass of their people.

As I stated to the Economic and Social Council, it has been clear for some

time that our perception of the problems of the developing countries must change. The distinction between economic and social progress may even have become an impediment to effective action. In many countries poverty and mass unemployment are so widespread and affect so critically the social equilibrium that they constitute, in themselves, blocks to further development. It is no longer possible to rely on the assumption that an expanding modern sector will eventually absorb the mass of people and provide them with decent living standards. Instead, poverty, poor health, unemployment and lack of education as such must be tackled head-on. Rural life must be improved to slow down the flow of population to the cities, and over-all development programmes must be reviewed in the light of such considerations.

There is a further related problem concerning the least developed of the developing countries - countries which have an insufficient physical and social infrastructure to benefit from such trade and other concessions as the world community might make to the emerging nations. Special efforts through the United Nations Development Programme and other international organizations, as well as bilaterally, will have to be made in order to bring these countries to a point where they can participate more actively in an expanding world economy. The resolutions adopted at the last session of the General Assembly and, more recently, at the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development provide a good framework for moving ahead speedily in this area.

The United Nations, whatever the imperfections of its method of work through broad consensus, is still the best instrumentality available to the world community for such problems. It has a unique outlook and set of guiding principles. The Organization is unique in another important respect, in that its views are agreed to by its Members, thus providing the closest approximation yet to a world-wide consensus. This characteristic is particularly important in an increasingly interdependent world of sovereign States. It could provide a working basis for an attempt to establish an economic and social order responsive to the needs, potential and characteristics of all nations and peoples. In this connexion, the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, implies that the interests of developing countries should be taken into account in any new world trade and monetary system. This point was most recently stressed again in a number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at its third session, most notably that dealing with the participation of the developing countries in any forthcoming monetary and trade negotiations, and in the one requesting the study of a possible link between development assistance and special drawing rights.

Promoting change effectively, humanely and reasonably should be the business of the United Nations. The precision, clear thinking and readiness to compromise, which are so urgently needed in the political sphere, are equally necessary in the economic and social spheres. One of the great strengths of the United Nations system is its multiplicity and diversity, provided that these qualities do not degenerate into divisiveness and sectarian disagreement. It is essential that the creativeness of multiplicity be strengthened by the discipline of a concerted purpose. I hope that, at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, Governments will address themselves also to this problem, which is vital to the effectiveness of the United Nations system in meeting the economic and social challenges of the coming years.

XII

On the administrative and financial side I have also tried to tackle the most immediate problems and to formulate a programme which will increase both the efficiency and the solvency of the United Nations in the future. These efforts are reported in detail in other documents. I may mention in particular a series of new appointments and some reorganization at the upper levels of the Secretariat, an effort to keep the total budget expenditure for the year at a level that would not exceed cash receipts, and a drive for reduction in paper work and particularly documentation.

I hope and believe that these measures will bear fruit. I wish to say here that such measures are not in any sense a reflection on the Secretariat. On the contrary, I have found a high level of competence and dedication among the staff. The fact remains that every organization needs to be reviewed and renewed every so often, and the United Nations Secretariat has, in the normal course of events, arrived at such a stage.

On the financial side, in co-operation with the Special Committee on the Financial Situation of the United Nations, I have taken measures designed to avoid going from one monthly cash crisis to another. Many Governments have been co-operative in paying their contributions earlier in the year than before, with the result that the short-term financial situation, though still tight, has improved substantially. As regards the long-term problem of settling the Organization's debt I have followed closely the work of the Special Committee and I hope that a satisfactory solution of this highly important problem can be reached during the coming session.

XIII

There are many aspects of the Organization's work that I have not touched upon in this introduction, for I wished to concentrate on a few basic problems concerning the United Nations system as a whole, which will, I hope be discussed in the forthcoming session of the General Assembly.

I feel strongly that we must face up squarely to these problems as representing the present realities of the world we live in. I am confident that by doing so the Member States gathered together in the General Assembly will find, in the course of public debate as well as in the productive process of private discussion, ways to reassert the common ideals and objectives of the Charter, and to revitalize this Organization whose task is to translate those common ideals and objectives into effective international action.

Kurt Waldheim
Secretary-General

The above text, which is dated 9 August, 1972, is reproduced from U.N. document A/8701/Add.1. It will also appear in Supplement No. 1A to the Official Records of the 27th Session of the General Assembly.

As mentioned elsewhere in this Newsletter, the Institute's publication "Questions Affecting South Africa at the United Nations, 1971" is now available. Members can obtain copies free-of-charge on request.

B R I E F R E P O R T S / K O R T V E R S L A E

- Voorberei deur die Instituut se Personeel -
- Prepared by the Institute's Staff -

International Action on the Environment in 1972

Early in August, when U.S. President Nixon transmitted to Congress the Third Annual Report of his Council on Environmental Quality, he pointed to a number of "historic milestones" in international environmental activity. One of these was the co-operative agreement on environmental protection which President Nixon and President N.V. Podgorny of the Soviet Union signed in Moscow on 23 May (see the article on the Moscow agreement in the next Newsletter). The agreement, President Nixon said, "opens a new era of U.S.-Soviet co-operation and permits our two peoples to work together on the solution of environmental problems in eleven broad areas".

In addition to the U.S.-Soviet agreement, President Nixon referred to the agreement he had signed in Ottawa on 15 April, 1972, with Canada's Prime Minister Trudeau, aimed at cleaning up the Great Lakes, which form a major portion of the U.S.-Canada border. Furthermore, in a joint communique issued on 17 June, 1972, with visiting Mexican President Echeverria, it had been announced that the United States would take several immediate measures to reduce salinity of the Lower Colorado River, which threatens Mexican agriculture.

President Nixon referred also to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm from 5 to 16 June, which he said, "brought together the representatives of 113 nations representing nine-tenths of the world's people to explore together the opportunities for national and international action on common environmental problems". He felt that the Conference had achieved nearly all the goals which the United States had urged in advance. President Nixon's report noted, too, that the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) - composed of Australia, Japan, the industrialized nations of Europe and North America - in May, 1972, had adopted a set of "guiding principles" on the international aspects of environmental policies. "The OECD guidelines espouse the 'polluter pays' principle, which states that the cost of pollution controls should be reflected in the costs of making products the use or production of which cause pollution".

Note: Newsletter 1972, No. 2, contained an article on the preparations for the Stockholm Conference referred to above. A special paper on the results of that Conference will be issued by the Institute. The Institute will also shortly be publishing the proceedings of the Symposium held at Jan Smuts House in December, 1971, under the title "The Use and Protection of Natural Resources in Southern Africa".

African Development Bank

A brief report in Newsletter No. 4 of October, 1971, dealt with the 1971 Conference of the ADB and gave a brief background to the establishment of the Bank.

The eighth annual meeting of the 34-member Bank was held in Algiers from 17 to 21 July. The newly established 100 million dollar African Development Fund and important programmes for development and organisation of inter-African economic cooperation were the major topics discussed.

The creation of the Fund and setting up of an international finance corporation for investment and development in Africa, known as SIFIDA (Société Internationale financière pour les Investissements et le Développement en Afrique), appear to be the two greatest achievements of the Bank since it was established in 1964 and since it started operations in July 1966. The Fund, when it becomes operational early next year will raise the Bank's financing capacity from 25 to 70 million dollars a year.

The draft Agreement of the Fund will enable the Bank to grant loans on concessional terms to its member states for financing of infrastructural and development programmes which cannot stand conventional lending terms. The Fund will be multinational and will receive contributions in grants from capital exporting countries. Sixteen developed countries: West Germany, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, U.K., U.S. and Yugoslavia have already indicated their financial support for the Fund.

The SIFIDA, registered in Luxembourg in 1970, is associated with more than one hundred banks and private companies from the U.S., Canada, Japan, U.K., Scandinavian countries and the Common Market. It has an authorized capital of 50 million dollars and encourages investments in the African private sector. It also offers modern know-how, techniques and management expertise for the development of African enterprise.

Despite nagging management problems, political frictions and rivalries between Arab, Anglophone and Francophone staff of the Bank, and the fact that some states are in arrear of their capital subscriptions, substantial progress has been made in carrying out the development programmes of the Bank. Since it started operations eight years ago it has granted loans to member states for a variety of development projects to the tune of more than 60 million dollars. Within the first six months of this year the Bank invested 12.6 million dollars in eight projects, and by the end of the year the total investments will have reached 25 million dollars. Next year another 30 million dollars will be committed as loans.

(Based on a report in Africa, No.12, August 1972)

Latin America warms to Cuba

A brief report in Newsletter No. 4 of October, 1971, made mention of the fact that an end to Cuba's diplomatic ostracism in the western hemisphere was in sight.

In June this year the permanent council of the Organisation of American states voted by 13 to 7, with 3 abstentions, against a Peruvian resolution which would have had the effect of freeing OAS members to normalise their relations with Cuba. In favour were Chile, Mexico, Ecuador, Jamaica, Panama, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago. Abstaining were Argentina, Barbados and Venezuela. Despite the defeat of the resolution, the voting does reflect a growing Latin American desire for a new relationship with Fidel Castro's government.

Peru indicated immediately after the voting that it would probably renew relations with Cuba anyway, and less than a month later it did in fact do so. This step is expected to serve as something of a catalyst for other Latin American countries inclined towards resumption of relations with Cuba; and, together with the voting on the resolution, it demonstrated that consensus in the OAS on the Cuban question has been broken.

Mexico has maintained relations with Cuba throughout, refusing to follow the OAS resolution of 1964. Jamaica has maintained consular ties. Chile broke the trade embargo early in 1970 when the government of Eduardo Frei Montalva signed a trade pact with Cuba and then resumed diplomatic relations shortly after Salvador Allende Gossens was inaugurated as president in November, 1970. Ecuador is seriously studying the issue and may well resume relations before the end of the year, and the same is true of Panama.

It is worth noting that these moves come at a time when there is a small but growing pressure on President Nixon to take steps to normalise relations with Cuba. Observers who argue in favour of this point out that there were far greater obstacles in the way of his change of policy towards China and his visit to Peking.

The United Nations and Portuguese Guinea

In April, 1972, the United Nations Special Committee of 24 on decolonisation visited Africa for three weeks, during which time it held meetings in Conakry, the capital of Guinea, and dispatched a three-man mission to visit "liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau)" - Portuguese Guinea.

The mission, which afterwards claimed to have been in those areas from 2 - 8 April, consisted of representatives of Ecuador (Mr. Horatio Sevilla-Borja who was Chairman), Sweden (Mr. Folke Löfgren) and Tunisia (Mr. Kamel Belkhiria).

Reporting subsequently on the experience of the mission, Mr. Sevilla-Borja stated:

"The United Nations has been present in the area which has been liberated from colonial domination by the military and political efforts of the indigenous forces led by PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde). The United Nations, represented by the Committee's special mission, spent approximately 130 hours in the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau), which was an unprecedented event in the annals of United Nations efforts to eliminate colonialism, and it is now for the General Assembly and the Committee to assess the legal, political, constitutional and administrative consequences of the fact that the United Nations flag, the symbol of peace, has flown in the villages, schools and fields of Guinea (Bissau). For our part, the members of the mission wish to stress that, as a result of our presence in Guinea (Bissau), the situation can never be the same again."

In his report Mr. Sevilla-Borja related how the mission had carried out "its serious and highly unorthodox assignment" in spite of the backwardness of the area and the existing state of war. He said that a great deal of information had been gathered, and he insisted that the military and administrative forces of PAIGC were in control of the "liberated areas", despite the denials of the Portuguese authorities. The mission was impressed with PAIGC's efforts to organise community life, schools, hospitals, courts, etc. He claimed further that the mission had seen evidence of atrocities committed by Portuguese forces, mainly from the air, and he quoted a song sung by school children, "Guerilla on the ground, Portuguese in the sky", as accurately describing the situation. He criticised those Powers supplying aircraft to Portugal for this purpose.

Mr. Löfgren of Sweden also expressed admiration for the "military struggle" of PAIGC and for its "determination to build a new and just society in dignity". He said that for three years the Swedish Government had been providing PAIGC with humanitarian assistance which in 1972 would amount to the equivalent of almost a million dollars. He argued that PAIGC deserved much more assistance from abroad, and that it was capable of administering and using such assistance to the best advantage.

Mr. Belkhiria of Tunisia referred to the harassment of Portuguese aircraft which were carrying out reconnaissance flights and bombing raids in the area where the mission was. The mission was nevertheless able to live for a week "with the freedom-fighters and the hard-working Guinean people". He concluded:

"Political, administrative, judicial, social, health and educational institutions are thus established. What more is needed to constitute a free and sovereign country that controls its own fate? In my view, Guinea (Bissau) is a model pilot country for all peoples fighting for their freedom. For that reason it deserves all the moral and material assistance the international community can provide.

"What impressed me most during the mission were the

demented and hysterical policies and the blind obstinacy of the Portuguese fascists, who are desperately trying to cling to a Territory which has long since ceased to belong to them."

During the Special Committee's meeting in Conakry, the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral, addressed the Committee and, *inter alia*, congratulated the three-member mission. He said that the mission had completed its assignment despite the efforts of Portuguese, thus proving the truth of the African proverb: "The baleful glare of the crocodile does not stop the canoe from passing."

The Special Committee of 24 adopted a resolution on 13 April which, *inter alia*, recognised PAIGC as "the only and authentic representative of the people of the Territory", and requested "all States, specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system to take this into consideration when dealing with matters pertaining to Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde".

In addition to condemning the Portuguese Government and calling on all states and international organisations to render assistance to PAIGC, the resolution expressed the conviction of the Special Committee "that the successful accomplishment by the Special Mission of its task - establishing beyond any doubt the fact that *de facto* control in these areas is exercised by the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, the national liberation movement of the Territory - constitutes a major contribution by the United Nations in the field of decolonization".

Portuguese Reaction

Portuguese authorities strongly denied the claims of the Colonialism Committee's mission that it had visited Portuguese Guinea. They insisted that the guerilla guides had marched the members of the mission around in safe areas of the Guinea (Conakry) bush, passing it off as "liberated" Portuguese territory. The Portuguese delegation at the United Nations described the claims that the mission had penetrated 96 km. over the border as "absurd", and maintained that no member of the Committee had ever set foot in the territory. The Portuguese delegation said further that it was on the basis of such false claims that the Special Committee on Colonialism proceeded to approve resolutions against Portugal.

In an article in the "The Christian Science Monitor" of 20 April, 1972, a correspondent pointed out in connection with this issue, that in the circumstances of guerilla warfare, it was difficult for outsiders to know who controlled what, and that the combatant sides usually made contradictory claims.

Lesotho National Development Corporation

Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho, in his capacity as Chairman of the Lesotho National Development Corporation, recently announced a net profit for the Corporation of R838 000 for the financial year that ended on 31st March, 1972. He said it would remain the LNDC's policy to protect and look after its investors and the know-how they introduced to Lesotho, in view of the fact that Lesotho's industries were heavily dependent on markets outside the country. Since it was essential that the country's industries and services be of standards demanded in markets outside the country, the LNDC was pursuing a policy of drawing its investments and know-how from where the best was available.

Referring to the fact that nearly half the enterprises started by the LNDC were wholly owned and managed by the Corporation, Chief Jonathan said that Lesotho was pulling itself up by its own bootstraps. The LNDC had attracted R14,5 million worth of investments to Lesotho, and this was in face of stiff competition for investments with other territories and countries in southern Africa.

Chief Jonathan reported further that the Corporation and the Government had concluded very substantial diamond exploration agreements with the Newmont Mining Corporation of New York, while negotiations for oil prospecting in Lesotho had commenced with Ponder Oil of Canada. Three new factories had started operations and five more were in the planning stage. Work to the value of R150 000 had commenced to introduce roads and basic services in the country's second industrial area. The Corporation was investigating a scheme for producing specialised agricultural products such as cherries and asparagus, which would require much hard labour and relatively little land and which had a ready market.

He said that foreign tourist traffic had increased from 3 600 to nearly 60 000 per year in the past five years and that Lesotho was actually faced with a shortage of good hotel accommodation. Hotel developments totalling about R6 million were under consideration and specialist assistance from the United States had been enlisted to investigate ski resort development. Chief Jonathan said that he expected the number of foreign tourists to reach 200 000 per year in five years.

Finally he reported that a housing corporation had been established by the LNDC. A block of flats valued at R260 000 had been completed and two low cost housing schemes were being investigated as well as an economic housing project. Construction of a R350 000 shopping centre had started in Maseru.

(Based on LNDC News Release, 11 August, 1972)

Botswana-Zambia Highway Loan Agreement

The Botswana-Zambia Highway moved a step nearer realisation with the signing in early September of the formal loan agreement between Botswana and the United States. The agreement provides R9 475 000 in long-term low-interest loans for the construction of a 200 kilometres gravel-surfaced road between Nata and the Kazangula Ferry on the Zambezi River. In addition, some 71 kilometres of associated feeder roads are included under the loan. When completed in 1975 the so-called BotZam Road will constitute Botswana's main overland link between the more heavily populated areas of Eastern Botswana and the country's largely undeveloped, lightly populated northern areas, as well as Zambia.

American Ambassador Charles Nelson, who signed the agreement on behalf of the US Government, gave renewed assurances of American cooperation towards achieving Botswana's goal of a direct road link with Zambia, and through Zambia, with other African states north of the Zambezi. "This closer association with a majority-ruled state in Southern Africa," he said, "is an objective which I feel merits the support of all African nations."

The BotZam Road represents a portion of an international, and internationally-financed, road network designed to join Botswana's Pioneer Gate, south-east of Lobatse with Livingstone in Zambia. Botswana is completing its share of the network with financial assistance from the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Authority, the British Overseas Development Agency, and the United States. The Government of Zambia is actively co-operating in the completion of the road link. Zambia is providing improved ferry services across the Zambezi at Kazungula and plans the design and construction of ferry slips on both sides of the River. Lusaka also has announced plans to upgrade access roads on the Zambian side of the ferry.

Presenting a bill seeking the authorisation of the loan for second reading in the National Assembly on 4th September Dr Q.K.J. Masire, Botswana's Vice President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning, described the road as a "major landmark" in the development of the country. "Hitherto we have had to rely on the minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa for all our means of communications and trading links with the rest of the world. Now we shall have a direct all weather road to Zambia, a country with which we have close friendship." On the home front, he explained, the road meant the opening up of the entire north of the country, giving the people of Ngoma, Kasane, and Pandamatenga easy access to the rest of Botswana. The road would also encourage the growth of tourism and facilitate the development of livestock as well as mineral prospecting.

(Based on reports in Botswana Daily News, 6 September, 1972)

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF OVERPOPULATION

Edited by John Barratt and Michael Louw,
Macmillan St. Martin Press.

Times Literary Supplement, 18th August, 1972.

What is over-population? The word is frequently used but rarely defined. Most of the few attempts have been made by economists who invariably relate population to physical resources and emerge with complacent assurances about the almost infinite elasticity of the earth's energy sources and their own particular credo that for all economies, developing or developed, a little expansion of labour force and consumers is essential for economic well-being. However, many other aspects can be considered without defining over-population, including the quality rather than the fact of survival and the possible effect of population pressure (especially on space but also on capital) on relations between nations. Because it was felt that the latter aspect had been insufficiently discussed, the South African Institute of International Affairs held a conference on the subject in June 1970 and the present volume represents an edited version of the proceedings of that conference.

The papers make interesting reading; the discussions even more so. The factual background papers, though conventional in coverage, are refreshingly different in style, especially in their avoidance of emotive emphasis. On the theme of the conference a distinction is drawn between numbers and power. The general tone of the discussion is sombre, though hope is seen in the present high level of international action against population growth and of the growing tendency for individual national governments to adopt specific policies of action to regulate the growth of their own populations. The conference approved such action.

This volume is a valuable intervention in the public debate on world population problems and is well worth reading.

Cape Times, 6th September, 1972.

This publication is a report on a conference on "The Impact on International Relations of the Population Explosion", held at Jan Smuts House in Johannesburg in 1970 under the auspices of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

The report contains the texts of the main papers presented by an outstanding number of international experts in different fields from eight countries, as well as summaries of the discussions and a statement of conclusions approved at a closing session of the conference. Also included are a series of annexures, including a background paper by Prof. B. Cockram, the opening address by Dr. Anton Rupert who acted as president of the congress, the closing address by Mr. Douglas Roberts and details on participants, rapporteurs and sponsors.

The global human population explosion is receiving considerable attention, and a spate of conferences, research reports and publications is being showered on to the scene. For the South African Institute of International Affairs to have sponsored a conference highlighting the international aspects of the problem was a fitting tribute in 1970, the centenary of the birth of General J.C. Smuts. For Jan Smuts will be remembered in history perhaps more for his global and idealistic thoughts on international relations

than for his role in the internal politics of South Africa.

The papers and discussions documented in this volume deal firstly with the background to rapid population growth. The papers under this rubric cover subjects such as contemporary world population trends, ably summarized by South Africa's own renowned economist-demographer, Prof. J.L. Sadie; world resources, their use and distribution, discussed by the well-known Dutch economist Professor Willem Brand; world food supplies as viewed by the venerable Prof. G. Ugo Papi, formerly principal of the University of Rome and Italian representative to the Food and Agriculture Organization; and the economic implications of the population explosion as discussed by Prof. Joseph J. Spengler of Duke University in the USA. Other papers related to this theme deal with national policies and social aspects of population control.

Some of the major conclusions to be drawn from these papers and the discussions around them are that the contemporary high rate of population growth is primarily a function of lowered death rates rather than increased birth rates; that technically it will nevertheless be possible to produce the basic commodities to provide for the elementary needs of these growing populations for the immediate future; that a major problem is, however, the increased imbalance in the relationship with the environment implied by modern technology, as is evidenced by pollution; and that high rates of human reproduction are generally not conducive to and seldom accompanied by increased rates of productivity.

This last statement is elucidated in the papers dealing with the international and regional aspects of the problem, which highlight the fact that the key to the prosperity and power of a country lies in the quality and productivity rather than the size of its population. It is revealed that the widening economic gap between more and less developed nations is partly due to continuing disparities in their fertility rates. An assessment of all the implications also reveals that international migration cannot be considered as a significant strategy in reducing population pressures.

The paper by Prof. Kei Wakaizumi of Japan, on population factors in the regional politics of Asia and that by Prof. Mike Louw on international action on the population explosion are particularly interesting and informative. Professor Wakaizumi makes the telling point that mainland China's virtual isolation from the international society of nations is highly undesirable in view of the fact that its population comprises one-fifth of the world's people. The subsequent admission of China to the United Nations is an obvious step towards remedying this situation.

In total this volume represents a most valuable contribution to the already impressive volume of literature on the population explosion. The most pressing and urgent need confronting the world as a whole today is undoubtedly that of effective population control. This volume highlights the fact that while the primary lead in tackling this problem needs to be taken at the national level, the problem also has important major international implications. Close attention should therefore be given also to international collaboration in order to ensure maximum effectiveness.

In organizing the conference, the South African Institute of International Affairs performed a major international public service. The publication of the proceedings of this conference now provides a permanent record of this valuable contribution to our perspective on this problem.

S.P. Cilliers

International Aspects of Overpopulation is obtainable from SAIIA,
P.O. Box 31596, Braamfontein. at R8.72 (20% reduction on retail price)

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(Continued from page 16)

South Africa - members of trade unions will be barred from rejoining their unions if they work in South Africa; total boycotts organised to counter any recruitment drives by South Africans overseas; all trade union members are asked to refuse to handle any imported South African goods or goods destined for South Africa; and trade unionists are also called on to refuse to cater for visiting South African sportsmen.

Though the ILO does carry substantial weight with national trade unions, and there have in fact been a few examples of these measures being put into practice, it is not yet possible to make a judgement on what the ultimate effect of these proposals might be. If they were to become effective, they would add considerably to the disadvantages which the country already suffers as a result of its non-membership of the Organisation. In particular South Africa suffers from being cut off from an essential exchange of information with countries facing common problems and being isolated from the most up-to-date and expert research on labour and industrial relations and technological developments relevant both to advanced and developing economies.

An insight into what the South African government does in fact have in mind for African workers was recently given by Professor P.J. van der Merwe of Pretoria University to the August 1972 Conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa. In accordance with his proposals Africans working in white areas would be given trade union rights in their homelands. They would become members of the trade unions in their homelands and these unions would speak to their governments and through their governments - via labour diplomats - to the South African government. In its present mood, the ILO is unlikely to find this sort of arrangement acceptable.

Despite the general hardening of the ILO's attitude towards South Africa, it is just possible that those sections of the Jenks 1972 Report dealing with the possibilities of change in the country may have amounted to a hint that the ILO would be prepared to note with interest any initial step taken by the Government in the direction of conformity with ILO standards. It is a hint which is unlikely to elicit a positive response. It may be true that if, in the view of the ILO, progress was being made along these lines, it would not in fact lay down strict criteria for readmission. Yet the minimum initial step required would probably involve a clear indication of changes in Government attitudes towards the granting to African workers of the right to participate in collective bargaining as understood by the ILO - and there are scant grounds for believing that the Government will take such a step.

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4. Ibid, col 8757.
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6. Year Book of the United Nations, New York, 1964, p. 492.
7. Eighth Special Report on Apartheid, op. cit. p.2 (In the introduction a brief summary is given of the Seventh Report.)
8. Ibid, p. 42.
9. International Labour Conference, Record of Proceedings, 56th Session, Geneva, 1971, p 545 - 6. On 29 November, 1971 the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 2764 (XXVI) H on the question of apartheid and labour.

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A short article on the above subject by Mr. Hirschmann appeared in the Rand Daily Mail special supplement on trade unions, 18 August, 1972.

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