

Discrimination and Fragmentation in the 1970s



— an organized response to global crisis

Part 1 : The U.N.'s System's Ivory Tower Strategy

— and the death knell of INGO Consultative Status

Introduction

October 1970 saw the commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations. January 1971 represents the start of the United Nations Second Development Decade. This short period also gave rise to several other events which merit consideration as symptoms of long-term trends in the evolution of United Nations thinking. In the following sections texts illustrating these incidents — and others which preceded them over the last two or three years — are quoted to permit the reader to come to his own conclusions.

INGOs and the Development Decade

At the annual conference in New York at which INGOs are informed of UN plans affecting them, one speaker introduced his talk with the following remarks :

« At the threshold of a new Development Decade, we are by now fully conscious that we must not stay in our ivory tower at the United Nations, that this organization of 126 countries can be terribly inward looking. We have to find some windows to the external world otherwise the Development Decade and the so-called global strategy are going to be a failure, and we think that the NGOs are an institutional instrument we should like to use much more for this.

(Philippe de Seynes, Under-Secretary General for Economic and Social Affairs. Goals for the '70s : The Second Development Decade; Global Strategy for the Decade.)

Aside from this remark and a call in the last paragraph for the « mobilization of public opinion » for which « we would very much count on those assembled here who, I have no doubt, will be persuaded that this is a useful concept, a useful undertaking » there is no other reference to INGOs. All reference was to the economics of development from the UN perspective.

Copies of the United Nations Report on the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade are now available. We note that :

« International cooperation for development must be on a scale commensurate with that of the problem itself. Partial, sporadic and half-hearted gestures, however well intentioned, will not suffice. »

and that :

« Economic and social progress is the common and shared responsibility of the entire international community ..

and that :

(this space was reserved for comments on the section of the Report referring to the participation of international nongovernmental organizations; we have been reliably informed that the paragraph in question was deleted at the drafting stage)

The reference to the « international community » is unqualified. Each group is free to define it as

it wishes. Governmental bodies will therefore define it as being limited to governmental bodies — the more eager nongovernmental bodies will define it to include themselves. Is their assistance wanted ?

This tendency to use umbrella terms to be interpreted by the reader has been commented on in previous articles in this journal(*). On one specific point we note that INGO assistance is desired :

« Private foundations, institutions and organizations will be encouraged to provide further assistance for expanding and diversifying *research* activities of benefit to developing countries. »

And what of the nature of « social development » which is a major concern of INGOs ?

« The ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits on all. »

The section in the Report on « human development » contains sub-sections on : population growth, employment, education for development needs, health facilities, nutrition, involving children and youth, housing and the ecological balance. There is no echo of Unesco's suggested definition of development which was communicated to the preparatory committee for the Decade, namely :

< Development is meaningful only if man who is both instrument and beneficiary is also its justification and its end. It must be integrated and harmonized; in other words, it must permit the full development of the human being on the spiritual, moral and material level, thus ensuring the dignity of man in society, through respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. »

The tone of the Report suggests that human development means the creation of economic units with sufficient « social » benefits to keep them content. We are back with the view that :

(*) Who needs whom in the Second United Nations Development Decade ? International Associations, October 1969; also Planning for the 1960s in the 1970s. International Associations, March, April, June-July 1970.

« Development is generally accepted as meaning first and foremost economic development. It implies an effort on the part of each country, where necessary with outside assistance, to take stock of its natural resources and to develop them to their fullest extent. » (Mr Gabites. 16th General Conference of Unesco. Verbatim Reports, 16 C/VR. 18 (prov.), page 26).

This is also the view which prevails in the Report of the Ecosoc Development Planning Committee (Vers un développement accéléré; propositions pour la deuxième Décennie des Nations Unies pour le développement. New York, 1970, ST/EGA/128).

After arguing about the importance of adequate social structures which makes any increase in production or income merely one of a number of relevant economic and social indicators, the Report notes that because many of the social indicators are lacking, social goals can only be identified qualitatively. The Report is then able to conclude that in fact economic and social questions are so closely interwoven that there is hardly any sense in making the distinction between them. The remainder of the Report identifies methods of increasing production and income, with a few undeveloped remarks such as :

« La stratégie du développement doit être foncièrement conçue pour les êtres humains; plus ils seront nombreux, plus les besoins seront grands. »

There is no mention of the collaboration of international nongovernmental organizations and the Report ends with the Conclusion :

« De l'avis du Comité, les gouvernements plutôt que d'écouter une opinion publique imprévoyante ne devraient rien négliger pour faire accepter à leurs citoyens la nécessité d'assumer cette responsabilité dans leur propre intérêt. C'est le cas de citer la fameuse maxime française : « Gouverner c'est prévoir ». *Le Comité pense que les gouvernants sauront faire accepter à leurs citoyens une stratégie bien conçue du développement mondial.* » (emphasis added).

How does one ensure that a strategy is « well conceived » in a democratic society ?

Again a view such as the following, expressed by the Director General of Unesco, is totally alien to

Have INGOs become irrelevant to global action or has intergovernmental global strategy become irrelevant to the global crisis ?

the tone of the Report and the conception of the strategy :

« The idea of development has, in fact, gradually become broader, deeper, and more varied so that going beyond the purely economic aspects of improving man's lot, it now also embraces the so-called social aspects. ... Man is the means and the end of development; he is not the one-dimensional abstraction of *homo economicus*, but a living reality, a human person, in the infinite variety of his needs, his potentialities and his aspirations... Even the economists now admit that development is not development unless it is total, and that it is no mere figure of speech to talk of cultural development : *cultural development* is part and parcel of total development. » (Address to the Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies, Venice, 1970. Paris, Unesco, p. 43)

The above Report refers only to the importance of consumer education and preparing the new generation for the tasks (defined by the old generation) which await them. The means identified by both Reports for guaranteeing the success of the Decade are the « mobilization of public opinion » (See International Associations, April 1970, on this point). There is no mention whatsoever of international nongovernmental organizations in this context. Perhaps this is what the U.N. is aiming for :

« Pour ces auteurs, la société de masse trouve sa caractéristique dans le fait que les non-élites, atomisés, sont disponibles, c'est-à-dire ouverts à la mobilisation et à la manipulation des élites. Séparés des groupes de vie indépendants, cherchant confusément une communauté à laquelle se raccrocher, les non-élites risquent donc de glisser dans une pseudo-communauté établie par des élites « exploitantes ». » (Jean Lohisse. La communication anonyme. Paris, Editions Universitaires, 1969, p. 26).

« In both its capitalist and communist variants ... technocratic planning is econocentric... short-range... essentially undemocratic. » (Alvin Toffler. Future Shock: a study of mass bewilderment in the face of change. London, Bodley Head, 1970, p. 397-8).

Technocratic planning is essential to the survival of slow-to-adapt administrations. People survive by creating new institutional forms in response to new situations.

On this basis the Second Development Decade will not be a period in which all possible types

of person and organization will work together, catalyzed by the U.N., to alleviate a global crisis — it is going to be the internal programme of a modest, underfinanced, overburdened, administrative apparatus determined that it knows best — quite literally it is the United Nations Organization's Second Development Decade. It has nothing to do with « We the peoples... » and participation is strictly « by invitation only ».

Youth and the U.N.

Audience : Do you think, Mr Pearson, that there's a tremendous credibility gap between young people and the UN ? I think personally perhaps, representing the young generation more than you, that the UN as a peacemaking organization with a stress on making peace doesn't exist at all. I think this is the general feeling among young people who don't want anything to do with the UN whatsoever. I think this is crucial and I think this is also a very dangerous and regrettable development... Lester Pearson : I don't quarrel with that assessment and I don't quarrel with the danger inherent in the alienation of most young people from organizations generally of the old type... »

(Transcripts of Proceedings; Conference on Human Survival, May 1970, United Nations, New York. Charles F Kettering Foundation, 1970).

INGOs and the 25th Anniversary of the U.N.

The United Nations decided for the first time not to invite INGOs to its « birthday party ». For eight days, during the commemoration in New York in October 1970 of the creation of the United Nations, the privileges of INGOs in consultative status with Ecosoc were withdrawn. INGO representatives were refused entrance to the Secretariat building over that period.

The reason given was that there were too many delegates in the building to accommodate the INGO representatives as well. This would *appear* to indicate that in future attendance at U.N. meetings will be governed by the facilities, rather than the facilities selected in terms of the number who could attend.

Is the world of the future — envisioned by the United Nations — to be one of States treating with fragmented individuals ?

INGOs and Consultative Status with ECOSOC

« For some time it has been indicated that NGO's have felt the need that considerable thought must be given to their relationship to the U.N. and to the efficacy of their own work. In the January 1967 meeting of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, statements requested by a special rapporteur from NGO's were challenged and suppressed. Two months later the « New York Times » quoted from Ramparts Magazine that certain NGO's had received money from the CIA (U.S.A.) through an elaborate arrangement of conduit foundations ... At its renewed session in January 1968, the (ECOSOC) Council Committee (on NGO's) adopted a questionnaire. The first five questions dealt with NGO budgets, contributions from governments, relationship with governments other than financial, whether an organisation had ever been reported as having been under the influence of any government or its agencies, and a breakdown of the professional character of its membership and biographical notes on principal officers. The last three questions were concerned with resolutions on questions of a political nature in the last three years, and *whether in the last ten years an organisation had ever criticized a government of a state in which it had no members or had criticized the U.N.* The political nature of this questionnaire was obvious and as the review progressed it became clear that these questions lent themselves to a trial-like procedure without safeguards....

The review of NGO's (by the ECOSOC Council Committee) -started September 1968... There was steadily growing appeal to political considerations in both questions asked and statements of disapproval of certain NGO's. It was, also, evident that some of the Council Committee either did not know or could not accept that an International NGO has constitutional limitation of its control over a national affiliate. »

(Consultative Status; Recent Developments and Future Prospects. Eleventh General Conference of Nongovernmental Organizations in Consultative Status with ECOSOC, 11 /GC/22, p. 1-2) Geneva, 1969.

An informal view by a United Nations official responsible for relations with NGOs was expressed as follows

«... les Nations Unies ne constituent plus l'institution qu'elles étaient lors de la rédaction de l'article 71 de la Charte. Elles ne sont plus davantage l'organisation qu'elles étaient lors de la célébration de leur vingtième Anniversaire (1966). Elles continueront d'ailleurs à se modifier avec la même rapidité que se modifient les forces en mouvement dans le monde dont elles assurent la représentation. Si les organisations non-gouvernementales désirent participer aussi aux changements qui s'opèrent, elles doivent s'efforcer de se trouver au centre du mouvement qui s'accomplit. »

(Curtis Roosevelt. Déclaration non-officielle à la onzième conférence des organisations nongouvernementales ayant

le statut consultatif auprès d'ECOSOC, Genève 1969 11 /GC/15, p. 2).

The same official's informal views are reported more recently :

« ... il souligne qu'en général, tant ses collègues du Secrétariat que les délégués des Etats membres sont, à quelques notables exceptions près, sinon *hostiles, au moins complètement indifférents aux ONG.* L'une des raisons de cette attitude est qu'un grand nombre de délégués ne comprennent ni le rôle ni la valeur des ONG... Il souligne à nouveau qu'il n'a pu se défendre de l'idée que les déclarations écrites des ONG n'ont guère d'influence, mais qu'on pourrait faire plus avec un peu plus d'imagination. Quant à la politisation des problèmes, il déclare que cela s'applique maintenant à tous les domaines et que dans ce sens, les N.U. ne font que refléter la réalité quotidienne. »

(Résumé d'une Déclaration non-officielle lors d'une réunion avec les ONG, Genève, 1970.)

INGOs and Unesco Member States

« The General Conference...

Invites the Director-General (a) to rediscuss 15 C/DR /FUT/ 65 in the Administrative Commission of the General Conference with a view to studying the possibility of increasing the allocations to National Commissions by finding other resources, extra-budgetary for example or transferring to National Commissions, for the conduct of certain projects, parts of the subventions budgeted for the non-governmental organizations... -

(Draft Resolution submitted by the United Arab Republic to the 16th General Conference of Unesco, October 1970, 16 C/DR.82 Rev concerning Cooperation with National Commissions of Unesco.)

« After having heard the report of the Chairman of the Executive Board, the Conference noted that, in the absence of a positive recommendation from that Board and in accordance with Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure, the international non-governmental organizations in question could not be invited to participate in the work of the session. »

(Item 6 - Admission to the session of observers from international nongovernmental organizations, on the recommendation of the Executive Board... (Summary in the Journal of the General Conference; sixteenth session. Unesco, 1970, no. 3, IV, page 2.)

« We hope that the programme on « Man and Biosphere » will be constructed along these lines so that it can draw upon the resources and enthusiasm of the scientific world and involve non-governmental organizations and governments alike in a large-scale joint venture... Unesco should take a good look at other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, at governments and at the

Does the existence and renewal of group and organizational activity of all types constitute a positive contribution towards peace and development ?

— if so, has it ever been recognized in United Nations programmes ?

world of learning and research and should decide whether it is not in effect, in many fields, duplicating what is being done elsewhere, whether it is not competing instead of co-ordinating, whether it is not following instead of leading.»

(Miss Meeri Kalavainen of Finland. General Policy Debate, Unesco 16th General Conference, October 1970, Verbatim Records, 16 C/VR. 7 (prov.), page 18).

A very comprehensive and heavily supported resolution with regard to Unesco and the Second Development Decade (16 C/DR/PRG/1) contains no mention of international nongovernmental organizations, the only indirect reference being

« Calls upon Member States...

To give active support to the extension and strengthening of Unesco's *funds-in-trust programme*... by encouraging non-governmental support amongst business firms, professional and religious organizations, and foundations. »

« It is unfortunately true that an organization whose activities and successes are known to only a few specialists simply does not exist in the mind of the public at large. Unesco in particular just cannot afford to be satisfied with recognition by an élite alone...

In peaceful intellectual competition, we cannot afford to draw new frontiers, even where ideologies differ. It is only by appreciating one another's achievements that we can enjoy mutual respect and trust. I should therefore like to urge that Unesco in particular, as a world-wide organization, should in future make a greater effort to collect information from no matter where, and to quote all interesting sources of reference. Increased access to all information, including that of regional and sub-regional organizations, would help remove barriers and reservations and thus contribute towards peace.

(Mr. Kirchschrager, Austria, 16th General Conference of Unesco, 16 C/VR. 7 (prov.), p. 4-7).

Nongovernmental organizations and peace — seen through the eyes of Unesco

The 16th General Conference of Unesco (October - November 1970) has destroyed the relationship between Unesco and international nongovernmental organizations. The context was Items 9 and 10 on the Agenda. The debate in plenary centred on four topics : Unesco's contribution to peace; Unesco's tasks with respect to the elimination of colonialism; proposals for a long-term plan of integrated action for the advancement of peace and development within the field's of Unesco's competence; and the utilization of Unesco's programmes as means of strengthening cooperation between European States in the interests of peace and security in Europe.

Such was the complexity of the debate, with 6 draft resolutions and 5 amendments on the two Items combined, that a special committee was created to harmonize the texts and produce one draft plenary resolution. This committee had to meet seven times. At the conclusion of all this work INGOs are now faced with the implications of the following paragraphs in a 33 paragraph resolution approved by 68 to 1 with 28 abstentions :

« The General Conference...

Noting that international nongovernmental organizations which are associated with Unesco may play an important part in implementing the objectives of the Organization, including its policy of unremitting opposition to and elimination of colonialism and racialism; and *noting further*

DON'T CUT OUT THE NGOs !

What criteria are used to determine the organizations which are not significant for peace, development and human survival ?

— who checks on the validity of the criteria ?

« ...(*consultative status*) involves obligations which are onerous in so far as they are taken seriously. The temptation for NGOs is to make only a nominal response to what is required of them or open to them. The temptation for the governments politically active at the UN (if not their concerted policy) is to cut out the NGOs so that they don't have to be taken into account. Here is a theatre of international politics in which what goes on has a bearing on the future of mankind if international institutions and policies are going to develop into the rudiments of a world order. That NGOs should hold on to their part and seek to enlarge Us scope in these still early days may be of first-class importance. It means faithfulness and effectiveness in rather unrewarding work. But the stake is tomorrow. »

(H.J. Blackham - Humanism - Pelican Original, 1968, p. 177-8)

that some of these organizations have branches or affiliates in countries in which colonialism and racialism are practised...

Requests the Director-General to undertake investigations of all international non-governmental organizations enjoying relations with Unesco, which have branches, sections, affiliates or constituent parts in South Africa or Rhodesia or Portuguese-dominated African territories, with respect to the practice of racial discrimination or racial segregation in their policies, activities, or membership or their co-operation in any way with the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa; and to report thereon to the Executive Board;

Calls upon the Executive Board to take the necessary measures, in the light of the Director-General's report, to cut off, as from 31 December 1971, all relations with those international non-governmental organizations, in respect of which it has not been established, to the satisfaction of the Executive Board, that their branches, sections, affiliates or constituent parts in South Africa, Rhodesia or Portuguese-dominated African territories neither practise racial discrimination or segregation in their policies, their activities or in their membership, nor co-operate in any way with the Government of South Africa in the latter's apartheid policy....

Invites the Director-General...

to call on international nongovernmental organizations which cooperate with Unesco for the more effective implementation of the ideals of the Organization in the fields of human rights, peace and international security... » (16 C/108 Add. 14/1/70).

One of the draft resolutions incorporated into the above had used the following terminology to make the point of the last two paragraphs :

« ... as from 31 December 1970 Unesco shall have no dealings with, that is to say, shall not invite to meetings, shall not grant subventions to, shall not consult, and shall not contract out work to, any international nongovernmental organization which has branches... (in Southern Africa)... unless it can be established beyond all doubt that such branches ... do not practice or subscribe to racial segregation or discrimination in any form...» (16 C/DR/PLEN. 4 Rev).

It should be noted that the approved resolution contains no positive references to INGOs which were not qualified by some critical or negative phrase. And yet history would seem to indicate that it has been, and continues to be, INGOs which are the key force in representing and leading public opinion to more dynamic concepts of peace.



A TWO-STEP STRATEGY FOR THE 1970's



UNESCO OBJECTIVE :

Combat racism in Southern Africa.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY UNESCO :

1. Obtain highly confidential documentary proof in 1971, from international nongovernmental organizations in consultative status with UNESCO, concerning the degree to which their branches in Southern Africa do not practise racial discrimination.
2. Conduct highly confidential investigation of documents provided during 1971.
3. Cut off contact with all bodies providing inadequate evidence of non-discrimination — on basis of highly confidential information.
4. Publish in 1972, according to the usual procedure, the list of all international nongovernmental organizations in consultative status with UNESCO, including the « purified » list of those with branches in Southern Africa (proved, according to highly confidential information, to be effectively counteracting, clandestinely, the discriminatory laws in Southern Africa. — N.B. Any visible non-collaboration with discriminatory laws is illegal there.)

FINAL RESULT :

1. Published list is used in 1972 by governments of Southern Africa as perfectly adequate proof for suppressing the national sections of listed organizations (and their officers) — for clandestine activity — without said governments having to attempt to obtain the necessary highly confidential information.
2. Organizations and people combatting racism are suppressed on the basis of evidence freely supplied by UNESCO.

GUILTY OF RACISM !

— until proved innocent before a hostile tribunal

Associated Country Women of the World
 Association for the Promotion of the International Circulation of the Press
 B'nai B'rith International Council
 Boy Scouts World Bureau
 Catholic International Education Office
 Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
 Co-ordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service
 Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (**)
 Friends World Committee for Consultation
 International Association for Education and Vocational Guidance
 International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom
 International Association for the Advancement of Educational Research
 International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience
 International Association of Art Critics
 International Association of Logopedics and Phoniatrists
 International Association of Universities (**)
 International Association of University Professors and Lecturers (**)
 International Catholic Press Union
 International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers
 International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (**)
 International Council of Scientific Unions (**)
 International Council of Societies of Industrial Design
 International Council of Women
 International Council on Archives (**)
 International Economic Association (**)
 International Federation for Documentation (**)
 International Federation of Business and Professional Women
 International Federation of Landscape Architects
 International Federation of Library Associations (**)
 International Federation of University Women
 International Federation of Workers Educational Associations
 International League for the Rights of Man
 International Literary and Artistic Association
 International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples
 International Organization for Standardization
 International Organization of Journalists
 International PEN (**)
 International Planned Parenthood Federation
 International Society for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled
 International Society of Soil Science

without safeguards (*)
 International Sociological Association (**)
 International Statistical Institute (**)
 International Theatre Institute (**)
 International Union for Child Welfare
 International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (**)
 International Union for Health Education
 International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (**)
 International Union of Architects (**)
 International Union of Family Organizations
 International Union of Local Authorities
 International Union of Official Travel Organizations
 International Union of Psychological Science (**)
 International Union of Socialist Youth
 League of Red Cross Societies
 Pax-Romana - International Movement of Catholic Students
 International Catholic Movement of Intellectual and Cultural Affairs
 Soroptimist International Association
 Union of International Engineering Organizations (**)
 Universal Esperanto Association
 Women's International Democratic Federation
 World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations
 World Association for Christian Communication
 World Association for Public Opinion Research
 World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
 The World Education Fellowship (**)
 World Federation for Mental Health
 World Federation of Democratic Youth
 World Federation of Engineering Organizations
 World Federation of the Deaf
 World Federation of Trade Unions
 World Federation of United Nations Associations (**)
 World Organization for Early Childhood Education
 World Power Conference
 World Union for Progressive Judaism
 World Union of Catholic Teachers
 World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations
 World University Service
 World Young Women's Christian Association
 Young Christian Workers

(**) Organization having received a subvention from Unesco

(*) The implication of guilt is denied in the interpretation of the Director-General. It is however clearly recognized by delegates of Member States (see debate extracts in this article). This list was added to a draft resolution which was incorporated into a plenary resolution approved by the 16th General Conference of Unesco, Paris, 1970.

As a note appended to this draft resolution, but equally applicable to the resolution finally voted, the Director-General gave a rough estimate of the number of international nongovernmental organizations in Category A and B consultative status with Unesco « and hence closely associated with Unesco's work » which had national sections in South Africa. This list is printed on the preceding page. (Note that the list does not include organizations with members in Portuguese territories or Rhodesia.) 77 INGOs are listed. These 77 bodies have a total of 253 links with the UN-system which are now threatened by this investigation — in particular any INGO acquiring recognition (A or B) by UNESCO automatically acquires recognition by ECOSOC. The 253 links are made up as follows : 73 with ECOSOC (3 I, 28 II, 42 Roster), 23 with ILO (1 major, 22 Special list), 17 with FAO (9 consultative status, 4 specialized, 4 liaison), 77 with UNESCO (16 A, 61 B), 13 with WHO, 3 with ICAO, 3 with ITU, 5 with WMO, 3 with IMCO, 4 with IAEA, 28 with UNICEF, 4 with UNCTAD.

A few extracts from the debate on the paragraph in question, « 30(d) », are appropriate at this point (unfortunately it is impossible for us to quote from the key Russian and Arab interventions which are given in the original language in the provisional verbatim records) :

« Nous comprenons fort bien les préoccupations qui ont été formulées au sujet de la politique de ségrégation raciale... »

Cependant le problème qui nous occupe est plus complexe. D'abord les organisations non gouvernementales ne sont pas l'Unesco. Ce sont des organisations précieuses certes à l'Unesco, qui gravitent autour d'elle, et en particulier celles dont il s'agit ici qui ont le Statut consultatif, elles lui sont même probablement indispensables; elles le seront plus encore dans la perspective qui nous a été tracée par le Directeur général d'une collaboration accrue entre elles et l'Unesco, mais elles ne sont pas l'Organisation. Elles bénéficient d'une certaine indépendance, d'une certaine liberté d'action qui sont en elles-mêmes de bonnes choses et doivent être sauvegardées. Pour nous, il y a donc en tout état de cause une ligne de démarcation à tracer entre ce que peuvent être nos préoccupations, même les plus légitimes, concernant des problèmes politiques de haute importance, et ce que doit être la substance des activités de ces organisations.

WHAT THE RIGHT HAND DOES...

All international nongovernmental organizations with branches in the Republic of South Africa which are proved to be satisfactorily combatting discrimination — and thus are permitted to retain their Consultative Status with UNESCO — will automatically lose their Consultative Status with ECOSOC, according to the following ECOSOC rules, which apply, since the Republic is an U.N. Member State :

« The consultative status of nongovernmental organizations with the Economic and Social Council and the listing of those on the Roster shall be suspended up to three years or withdrawn in the following cases :

... (b) If the organization clearly abuses its consultative status by systematically engaging in unsubstantiated or politically motivated acts against Member States of the United Nations contrary to and incompatible with the principles of the Charter. »

(ECOSOC Resolution 1296 (XLIV), 25 June 1968, para 36)

Furthermore, all international nongovernmental organizations without branches in Southern Africa should, for fear of jeopardizing their Consultative Status, refrain from criticizing the activities of the governments in question — according to the implications of the 1968 questionnaire to NGOs from the ECOSOC Council Committee on NGOs, in which it was asked whether in the last ten years the NGO had ever criticized a government of a State in which it had no members.

???

This is a classic « double bind » situation — but then according to UNESCO logic, the United Nations is also practising apartheid — for the U.N. has a member government in Southern Africa. South Africa is a Member State.

Au surplus, chacun sait que la plupart au moins de ces organisations font l'impossible, malgré des conditions souvent difficiles, pour s'adapter aux circonstances dans lesquelles elles sont amenées à œuvrer, circonstances qui varient à l'infini suivant les pays, les régimes et les législations. Elles doivent donc, puisqu'elles y exercent des activités dont chacun s'accorde à reconnaître l'utilité et la nécessité, tenir compte de ces données de fait qu'elles ne sauraient négliger sans renoncer, dans beaucoup d'endroits, à des travaux féconds et même indispensables à la coopération internationale.

En outre, elles s'inspirent pour la plupart d'objectifs qui sont précisément ceux que nous poursuivons ici. En général elles sont donc incontestablement à l'abri de tout soupçon et constituent bien au contraire pour l'Organisation une aide précieuse. Il est possible que, dans certains cas, des défaillances existent ou des pratiques qui peuvent être considérées comme répréhensibles. On doit cependant, tout en les reconnaissant, s'efforcer de les apprécier avec circonspection, prendre le temps de les examiner, et examiner aussi les meilleures méthodes pour éliminer ces pratiques...

L'Unesco elle-même doit-elle les sanctionner ? Elle doit, certes, en tirer des conséquences, mais le mot de « sanction » sous une forme ou sous une autre nous paraît lui aussi peu approprié. Les organisations non gouvernementales sont des institutions indépendantes: elles doivent considérer elles-mêmes les conséquences de leurs actions, mais elles n'ont pas à subir à proprement parler de sanction. Encore une fois, elles ne sont pas l'Unesco. Ma conclusion sera brève. A notre avjs, nous sommes sur le point de prendre une décision sinon grave du moins fort sérieuse, et nous estimons que les conséquences d'une erreur de tactique dans ce domaine peuvent être fort graves pour les organisations non gouvernementales elles-mêmes, pour leurs travaux, pour l'Unesco plus encore, pour son renom et pour ses conditions de travail. Déjà l'on sait que certaines organisations non gouvernementales se sont vivement émuës, qu'elles nous l'ont fait savoir, qu'elles ont même envisagé de tirer certaines conclusions des décisions regrettables qui pourraient être prises dans cette enceinte ».

(M. Maillard, France, 16 C/VR.32 (prov.), p. 31-32).

* I also express gratitude to the delegate of France for the amendment which he has submitted, but I am afraid there is some misunderstanding, because we do not say in our draft that we want to break with the NGOs. What we do say is that Unesco should not associate itself with NGOs which are active in South Africa. After all we are not the masters of the NGOs, we only associate with them and we are only suggesting that we do not associate with those NGOs which are active in South Africa, Mozambique and Rhodesia. If they also value the high values of Unesco, they can still continue to associate with us if they will cut off their affinities with those governments which are practising discrimination. I think the delegate of France has misunderstood the facts and I appeal to him to read

the text again. I am sure that as he is also a lover of peace and an opponent of apartheid and all similar activities he will join with us in making some effort to try to dissociate our Organization from the people who practise apartheid. Otherwise we have nothing against NGOs. NGOs can after all take their own decisions; those which have branches in South Africa can be struck off our register. They are masters of themselves - we only suggest that we should not associate ourselves with that category: they are still free to do what they like. We simply appeal to them to dissociate themselves from those countries. * (Mr Minanga, Tanzania, 16 C/VR. 32 (prov.), p. 34)

« It seems to my delegation, Mr President, that this draft resolution has really frightening implications for the future of our relationships with the non-governmental organizations...

Presumably, if this resolution were adopted, the Director-General would be obliged ... to address a circular to all the non-governmental organizations listed in the document. He would then ask the question which is almost impossible for anyone to answer: « Are you satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt that your branches, sections, affiliates or constituent parts, in the Southern African territories, do not practise or subscribe to racial segregation or discrimination in any form ? »

It is virtually impossible, Mr. President, to prove that sort of negative ».

(Mr. Mathieson, U.K., 16th General Congerence of Unesco, 16C/VR27(prov.) p. 30).

« ... any attempt, I say, to establish beyond all reasonable doubt the infallibility of these organizations concerning the racial issue, will expose them to the government authorities, concerned and may end up in limiting their freedom of action, thus further isolating local forces working for human rights and social justice. » (Mr. Graham, U.S.A., 16th General Conference of Unesco, 16/VR29 (prov.) p. 6).

« D'autres réserves ont porté sur les organisations internationales non gouvernementales et sur l'insuffisance de leur représentativité internationale; certains aspects de cette insuffisance ont d'ailleurs été évoqués au cours du débat sur la paix qui va tout à l'heure reprendre. Eh bien, ces réserves me paraissent, elles aussi, justifiées et je crois qu'avant de déléguer à ces organisations (qui sont d'ailleurs très disposées à faire un effort) de plus grandes responsabilités dans la mise en œuvre du programme international, il faut s'assurer qu'elles sont internationales dans leur composition et dans leur esprit. Sans doute, ne pourra-t-on progresser dans cette direction que graduellement, mais l'essentiel, c'est que l'on soit d'accord sur la direction. »

(Directeur Général, 16e Conférence Générale de l'Unesco, 16 C/VR. 28 (prov.), p. 24).

«The first observation we want to make is on the strategy proposed in regard to the location of the investment of Unesco's funds - where the money will be spent....

« How intoxicating to feel like God the Father and to hand out definitive testimonials of bad character and habits ».
(Albert Camus)



**An Ironic Possibility
on the occasion of the
International Year for Action to Combat Racism
and Racial Discrimination**

Just what would happen if one international nongovernmental organization dared...

History shows that Human Rights have never been simply given to man — they have had to be demanded, taken or fought for by « fanatics » on the appropriate occasion — some would say that a man should not have rights until he has the strength to take and defend them. This is also true of the Rights of Organizations — therefore, if there is any foundation to the infringement of these Rights, as may be apparent from these pages — even if only expressed as an extension of Human Rights — then is there any thing to prevent such infringements being brought as test cases before the appropriate Commission on Human Rights ? What sort of test case might be brought by the NGO before such bodies ? Perhaps against the :

- United Nations Organization, by arguing that there had been discrimination against the NGO's interests — and its right through its own conception of balanced social development to ensure the furtherance of certain activities — as a result of its subtly implicit exclusion from full participation in the implementation of the International Strategy for Development during the course of the 2nd United Nations Development Decade (1971-1980).
- ECOSOC Council Committee on NGOs, by arguing that it had been summarily « tried » without adequate representation or safeguards during the 223rd to 144th sessions of the Committee (January-April 1968).
- UNESCO Executive Board, by arguing that it had been accused, and « tried », and/or demoted from consultative status without adequate safeguards or representation as a result of the 1971 racism review.

(What of the rights of « freedom of association » when an NGO is forced by UNESCO to cut off relations with its South African section or lose its consultative status — what if the section then attempted to get recognition of such treatment as being an infringement of its own rights ?)

There could be just sufficient evidence for an expert lawyer to build up each case — but would they be « watertight » ? In the case of individuals, equivalent cases of subtle or overt infringement of human rights would appear to have been successfully argued — some against States — but would the extensions also be valid ?

How would the Commissions handle such cases — each would require very careful interpretation of the extent of the ill-defined Rights of Organizations as an extension of Human Rights.

Such test cases — between friends with the same long-term objectives — would, whether won or lost, be extremely interesting as a means of progressively defining more clearly, and in public, the Rights of Organizations — or their absence — in an international setting. They would also serve as a warning against future sweeping accusations and casual discrimination

Such an unprecedented strategy on the part of NGOs is perhaps being forced upon them by trends in the UN's mode of operation — a highly political body is not swayed by ideals or a-political issues unless they can be tied to political ends. Decisions arising from the widely recognized « politicization » of the Specialized Agencies can perhaps only be matched, in the eyes of Member States, by an appeal to International law.

...the consequences could be incalculable for international activity.