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THE IMPACT OF THE AFRO-ASIAN
STATES ON THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR
ORGANIZATION, 1960-1970

by

Edward F. Kamara

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The International Labor Organization (ILO) evolved in response to the social needs brought about by the Industrial Revolution. In the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth, a series of socio-economic and technological changes took place in Europe, commonly known as the Industrial Revolution. With the advent of the new industries, manual workers began to be replaced by the new technology: the machines. This transformation produced a profound change in the ways of life of millions of people for it weakened traditional feudal bonds. These bonds were based on the principles of personal allegiance and service of the weaker for the stronger, in return for protection of the weaker by the

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stronger. To complicate the matter, Social Darwinism and the laissez-faire economic theory became the preoccupation of the time to exploit workers. Workers were exploited in terms of low wages paid them, in addition to their long hours of work and inhuman working conditions. It was no wonder that Jonathan Swift wrote his famous satire, "A Modest Proposal", in which he urged the people of Ireland to export their children or else that they eat them to survive.

Various resources were tapped to deal with the problem of the bounting misery of the workers, both adults and children. Among the early leaders were men of reform, such as Robert Owen and Daniel LeGrand, who began to search for ways to improve the living conditions of the workers. Various trade union movements were also begun as an attempt to better the social conditions of workers. Ironically, none of these movements received great recognition until Marx and Engles appeared on the scene and, in 1847, issued their famous Communist Manifesto, hoping to call the workers of the world to unite and fight for their rights in the pursuit of social and economic liberties.
The point here is that the leaders of the early labor movements were usually intellectuals or reformers who were concerned with explicating their convictions to try to build support for the social emancipation of man.

This was also a period of social criticism, and ideologies such as Marxism became the ideological base of the European labor movements, which ushered in the formation of several national trade unions. These various national unions were later consolidated into what was known as the First International. Within the First International, however, there developed an ideological conflict between Marx and other leaders of the movement, notably Bakunin. This finally led to the dissolution of the International in 1872. Nevertheless, Marxism continued as a powerful ideology supporting various international labor movements. This ideological orientation found one domestic expression in the Russian Revolution of 1905 and particularly in 1917. It stimulated communist activities not only in Russia but

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in many parts of Western Europe as well.

According to Marxist doctrine, a socialist revolution in Russia was not to be expected. For the Marxists, socialist revolution was only possible in the advanced industrial states of Western Europe from where it would gradually spread to the underdeveloped states. Since the Russian economy was in a rudimentary stage Marxists, and particularly Lenin, believed that a "bourgeois revolution" in Russia should be led by the Russian working class as a first step in worldwide revolution. The party acting as a vanguard of the proletariat would replace the old Tsarist regime. That is, the party would lead the workers and the latter in turn would lead the peasants to form a "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Trotsky, however, disagreed with this theoretical formulation and argued that the revolution first had to take place in the industrial states of Europe and that the Russian workers would provide the camouflage and the base for European revolutionary movements. Thus, the disagreement between Trotsky and Lenin was fundamental.

The western reaction to, and the threat posed by,
Marxist Communism became real in 1917 when the Communists seized power in Russia. Western statesmen became convinced, for the time, that a spectre was haunting not only Western Europe, but the entire world, and began to search for ways to impede the revolutionary tendencies among the workers.

In order to eradicate this ideological orientation among the working class and to allow gradual and peaceful social progress, the allied statesmen established the ILO as Part III of the Treaty of Versailles proclaiming their belief that "lasting peace" can only be secured if it is "based on social justice."

What, then, is the ILO, and how does it work? The ILO is the first international organization set up to promote social progress. It is composed of workers, governments, and employers who concert their energy to improve the social conditions of workers within the signatory states. It was argued by the allied statesmen that the presence of employers and governments would facilitate the realization of ILO objectives for workers. At first, this was the primary emphasis of the ILO, but as its membership
increased, it changed its emphasis from purely urban and industrial programs to a more inclusive program for the well-being of the entire human race. These objectives were strongly emphasized in the Philadelphia Convention of 1944, in which the ILO affirmed that "labor was not a commodity" and urged freedom of expression and association as "essential to progress". And finally, it declared as a truism that "poverty everywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere". 3 Thus, over the years the ILO has evolved into a social mechanism aimed not only at improving the working conditions of workers but at nurturing the frameworks conducive to improving their social condition as well.

This new emphasis became the main preoccupation of the ILO, especially after World War II. Before then, the ILO had mainly been concerned with European labor questions. However, the allied victory in the war also meant European losses in Africa and Asia. The colonial domains in these continents began to take on legal status as

3 loc. cit., p. 23.
states. By the early fifties, these states had nearly doubled in number on the world scene and had become the center for "balance of power" politics. Thus, it became necessary for the ILO to take account of this factor.

This new development compelled the ILO to search for ways to make its social program more inclusive. One logical response was the establishments of Regional Conferences and the Field and Educational Centers to help these new states with their developmental problems. Also important was the attempt at a new kind of socialization designed to induce basic attitudinal change in those societies. Social progress was sought through the gradual transformation of the individual and finally the entire society. In regard to the former, technical and vocational education has had top priority, whereas in regard to the latter, the setting up of international labor standards in the Afro-Asian member states has been emphasized.

This thesis will examine the impact of these many new Afro-Asian nations on the procedures and decisions of the International Labor Organization. The hypothesis of the thesis is that significant changes in the decision-making
procedures and outputs of the ILO have accompanied the expansion in its Afro-Asian membership. The hypothesis will be tested through an analysis and evaluation of the operations of the ILO in the 1960-1970 period.

As with many social institutions, the ILO has been characterized by rapid growth. When established in 1919, the ILO included only four Asian states - China, India, Japan, and Thailand - and three African states - Liberia, Ethiopia, and the Union of South Africa. Today, Africa and Asia account for well over 50 percent of the ILO membership. Chapter II will deal with the background, the creation, and this early growth of the ILO.

Before World War II, the few Afro-Asian states of the ILO had fought vigorously for a greater voice in the organization. This fight usually centered around proposed constitutional amendments through which the Afro-Asians hoped to increase both the membership and their represent-

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tation on the Governing Body. Chapter III will look at these fights of the Afro-Asian states for greater representation on the Governing Body. If this task becomes tedious, it is because the nature of the problem is in itself tedious.

In Chapter IV, I shall examine the impact of the Afro-Asian states on the ILO as it has been manifested in their desire for social development. The different methods for achieving this will be analyzed. These methods have mainly involved the emphasis and the importance the Afro-Asian states have placed on the establishment of the ILO field offices and regional conferences in their states as inducement mechanisms for social progress. The Afro-Asian states, moreover, have regarded the primary purpose of the various ILO activities to be to enable and assist the member states with the realization of this social progress. In other words, the new emphasis taken by the ILO

to make its programs more universal as opposed to the former European orientation will be my concern in that chapter.

Included will be an examination of how the ILO has handled the vital issue of the South African government policy of Apartheid, or separate but "unequal" development. This will be my main concern in Chapter V. The significance of this issue is that it has put the ILO to a hard test as an international mechanism designed to save the world from further catastrophe and to contribute to international peace and security. Analysis of the politics and patterns of voting among the Afro-Asians on this issue of importance to them will constitute one of the primary measures of Afro-Asian influence. For example, when the South African issue was temporarily put aside in the 1964 ILO General Session, nearly half of the Afro-Asian delegates abstained from voting on any issue until the South African question had been resolved. Moreover, the Afro-Asians have drawn unprecedented support from the Latin American states on this issue. Major decisions of the ILO regarding South Africa will be analyzed and eval-
uated with respect to the pressure the Afro-Asians have exerted on the organization. Also, interactions between the ILO and the UN on the South African issue will be explored.

Finally in Chapter VI, I will look at the feedback of the ILO on the Afro-Asian states. The question here is what demand, if any, has the ILO made of its Afro-Asian members, these states having made tremendous demands of the organization? Thus, I will primarily be investigating whether there exists a symmetrical relationship between the Afro-Asian member states of the ILO on the one hand, and the ILO on the other hand.

This thesis draws upon the readily available materials of the ILO Labor Office and the UN, and other related publications in the field of International Relations. The Labor Office materials supply the data on the Regional Conferences, the Field and Educational Centers as well as on the South African issues. The United Nations materials provide information on the interaction mechanisms through which both the United Nations and the ILO have collaborated in attempting to resolve the South African issue.
CHAPTER II
THE BACKGROUND, CREATION, AND EARLY GROWTH OF THE ILO

Background

As with any other phenomenon, it is difficult to trace the exact origin of the International Labour Organization or even the source of the idea for meliorating the condition of manual and industrial workers. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the latter came from a Scottish industrialist, Robert Owen, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, with his establishment of New Lanark. Owen built New Lanark as the living quarters for his industrial workers. Ironically, the idea never went further than that, precisely for one reason: most European statesmen and industrialists were imbued with the prevailing philosophy of Social Darwinism and

were more concerned with material accumulation and the
compétitive aspect of capitalism than with the social
emancipation of industrial workers. It was in this clim­
ate of exploitation and human degradation that Karl Marx
made himself the spokesman of the oppressed.

At the beginning, Marx was against communism, that
social and utopian doctrine of material equality; but the
social ills of the French Revolution convinced him to take
sides with the French communist elements. Upon his arri­
val in Paris in 1850 to edit a newspaper, Marx saw the
major fault in the French Revolution as lying primarily in
the ideological orientation and lack of fulfillment of its
bourgeois promises.² That is, Marx saw that the French
bourgeoisie had put aside their revolutionary promises af­
ter they had indoctrinated the so-called proletariat into
participation in the Revolution. Consequently, he has­
tened to analyze and to explain the political and social
phenomena of the bourgeoisie -- the capitalist class --

and simultaneously to find a new class that would realize the unfulfilled promises. In his view, capitalism was the basic cause of misery.\(^3\) This led Marx to direct his attention not only to the French proletariat but to the world at large. Thus, his exhortion in the Communist Manifesto, "Working men of all countries, unite!"\(^4\).

Marx, however, was concerned primarily with the capitalist states of Europe and one of his primary aims was to analyze eighteenth and nineteenth century capitalist society, which he viewed as the fundamental framework upon which the body politic was built and maintained. Another aim was to create the atmosphere in which proletarian revolution could take place. To do this, Marx engaged in extensive writings, particularly in 1848-50, when he attempted to show how capitalism would meet its own destruction when unity of the working class was achieved. That is, Marx expected the downfall of the bourgeoisie and the

\(^3\)loc. cit., pp. 73-80.

victory of the proletariat. This was the principal theme of the Communist Manifesto, in which Marx viewed state power as "merely a selected committee which manages the business of the bourgeoisie." In Political Economy, he argued that "divic society", that is, the social ties which bind individuals for the pursuit of self-gratification and individualism, "was built upon social relations in which men engage and modify their actions in pursuit of their self-interests". These common self-interests also modified their behavior. In other words, society and mankind are products of each other through constant interactions for survival. Moreover, a society attempts to condition an individual to fit its behavioral expectations.

From this perspective, it was impossible, in Marx's view,

5 Wolfe, Bertram D., loc. cit., p. 71.


7 loc. cit., p. 300.

to expect a capitalist to behave differently from the be-
havior of the capitalist class as a whole. The applica-
tion of this Hegelian philosophy of the state to capital-
ism represents for Marx the highest philosophical synthe-
sis from the standpoint of the materialist school.

This point of analysis becomes more complicated if
individual behavior is different from that of the group.
Marx was not concerned with the individual capitalist as
much as he was with the group. It would be unfair to say
strictly that Marx hated capitalists; rather he hated ca-
pitalism, which he viewed as concentrating power in the
hands of a few. Some scholars, however, have stipulated
that Marx's target of attack was primarily the capitalist
who monopolized 18th Century capitalism.⁹

In view of Marx's interest in Western Europe, it is
interesting that his thought had its greatest impact in
Russia. In Tsarist Russia the general reaction of the
exploited to the one-sided capitalism practiced there

forced them into labor movements. These movements reached their highest stage in 1917, with the overthrow of the Tsarist Regime. For years, even before the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, there had been labor movements in Russia aimed at the small capitalist class which maintained itself in power and detached itself from the rest of the society. This rudimentary form of capitalism, controlled mainly by foreign interests, was based upon the exploitation of the proletariat. As G.D.H. Cole saw it, nearly a generation later:

There was no polarization of classes [in Western Europe], but rather a growing difficulty in marking off one class clearly from another -- a blurring of the lines of outstanding class remained plain and distinct. That this did not happen in Russia, where a small sector of large-scale capitalist enterprise came into being in a country otherwise primitive, and remained a sector apart, largely under foreign influence, was one great reason why Marxist analysis appeared to apply much more completely to the Russia of 1917 than to the more advanced capitalist countries. 10

The Tsarist government could not tolerate any mass organization, including the labor movement, and consequently drove them underground. However, the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, in which Russia was defeated and lost her suzerainty over Manchuria, prepared the way once again for the emergence of the Labor Movement in Russia. That is to say that the imperialist war and its collapse prepared the way for the 1917 Russian Revolution.\footnote{loc. cit., p. 16.}

The Russian Revolution of 1917, however, did not grow out of the misery of the proletariat as Marx had predicted; rather, it was the strain that fighting a losing war imposed on the rudimentary precapitalist leadership which gave the working class the opportunity to seize power\footnote{loc. cit., pp. 120-121.} and to carry on the revolution in accordance with their interpretation of Marxism.\footnote{loc. cit., p. 140.}

Marx asserted in his treatise entitled *Wage Labor and Capital* that capitalism is the remnant of medieval feudal-
ism and that it further grew out of the history of the class struggle between competing groups and that the result of this battle was the expansion and union of workers to overthrow it. Since Marx had long regarded man as the creator of his own history, he also believed that it was man alone who would determine his own destiny. However, according to Marx, man cannot determine his own destiny as long as alienation is part and parcel of his existence. For this reason, socialism, as Marx viewed it, was a condition for self-fulfillment, the prime factor to be pursued by the workers. Socialism, however, as Marx used the term, is quite different from the contemporary view. To him, the aim of socialism was not to concentrate the economic powers of production and distribution in the hands of the state. Rather, the aim of socialism was man himself: that is, to create a form of production and an organization of society in which man could overcome alienation from his daily activities and, thus, grasp the true

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meaning of the world. As Paul Tillich puts it, "Marx viewed socialism as a resistance movement against the destruction of love in social reality."\(^{15}\)

The First World War precipitated the Tsar's abdication in 1917, and a provisional government was formed which eventually was led by Alexander Kerensky. Kerensky in turn was overthrown by the Bolsheviks in November of the same year. Kerensky's government failed because it did not weigh the odds against it and attempted to continue the war against Germany. The Russian people were exhausted by the war, and when Lenin promised to bring about its termination, there was ample support for the Bolshevik takeover. Since Lenin was a staunch supporter of Marxism, he therefore set about, after the Bolshevik victory, to implement Marx's ideas. As he put it: "peace to the army, land to the peasants, ownership of factories to the

workers." Once he got into power, however, Lenin did the exact opposite. Had Kerensky's government proved itself popular and been able to improve the condition of the working class, Marxism as a utopian revolution might not have succeeded.

Creation of the ILO

Statesmen, fearing that such Marxist revolution might spread and also hoping to get at one of the roots of war, developed the idea of rendering social and economic emancipation to workers through an international organization. As the Covenant of the League of Nations proclaimed:

The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their industrial and commercial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the or-

ganization of the League of Nations a permanent bureau of labor.\footnote{17}

The International Labor Organization, an international social mechanism for peace, was instituted by the peace conference to strive to improve the conditions of workers in the signatory nations. It was one of the principal beliefs of the peace conference that "true" international peace could only be secured by the improvement of the working conditions of labor. Thus, the International Labor Organization was born \textit{sui generis} with the hope of rectifying the former state of affairs and of instituting constructive programs of action for social justice.

The structure of the ILO was divided into three parts: (1) the General Conference, (2) the Governing Body, and (3) the Labor Office. The function of each of these component parts, however, is intermingled with the other. The Governing Body administers the work of the General Conference and supervises the Labor Office. Ana-

logically speaking, the Governing Body is like a police­
man standing at the intersection, watching and controlling
the entire traffic flow. We shall have more to say about
this shortly, but first let us view briefly the General
Conference (sometimes referred to as the Annual Confer­
ence).

The General Conference

The ILO General Conference meets annually and is com­
posed of all the member states of the organization. Each
member state is required to send four delegates, two re­
presenting the government and one each representing the
workers and employers. In addition, some states also send
several deputy delegates. These are there only to assist
the official delegates, and they are not allowed to speak
without permission or to vote. Thus, if there are fifty
states attending the Conference, it is possible to have
well over 200 or more delegates present.

The ILO General Conference has been described as the
"supreme body" of the organization and its purpose is to discuss things of ultimate concern to the organization as a whole. In addition, it elects the members of the Governing Body and adopts the budget of the organization. The General Conference also discusses such things as the extent to which the member states have complied with the adopted conventions and recommendations. The Conference also discusses the Director-General's Report, usually at the beginning of each session, and debates the items on the agenda. Finally, the Conference hears complaints from member states and/or workers' groups and passes judgement on them. Its decision is usually based on whether or not the alleged complaint was in violation of an adopted convention. Perhaps the greatest function of the ILO Conference is to adopt conventions and pass resolutions. A convention is an obligation which becomes binding on the member states who ratify it, and a resolution is an organizational pledge to a particular action or program.

18 loc. cit., p. 25.
The Governing Body

The Governing Body of the ILO is the center upon which converge all the activities and responsibilities of the organization. That is to say that all the organizational activities, whether they are being carried out by the various committees or not, fall under the supervision of the Governing Body. The composition of the Governing Body, too, is structurally pluralistic. Furthermore, the stated function of the Governing Body is to see that the various Conference decisions, adopted as resolutions and recommendations, are implemented in the member states.

Besides making major decisions in the form of proposals and recommendations to the General Conference, the Governing Body decides on the merit of the various draft items to be placed on the Conference agenda. What this means, in fact, is that whether or not a state's proposal is to be placed on the agenda depends largely on its influence in the Governing Body. Thus, it appears logical (as we shall see later in the next chapter) that the main reason the Afro-Asian states are putting up a fight for
greater representation on the Governing Body is that its policies and decisions will, sooner or later, affect them. Such policies as the defense of the Trade Union's rights and the setting up and implementation of labor standards without doubt affect all the member states, particularly the Afro-Asian states.

The members and deputy members of the Governing Body, except those that come from the states classified as those of "chief industrial importance", are elected every three years by the ILO electoral college which is composed of all the member states of the ILO. Article 8 (7) of the Charter of the ILO requires that the Governing Body elect from its membership, a chairman and two vice-chairmen, one of whom represents the employers' group and the other workers' group. What this means in effect is that only government representatives can become chairmen of the Governing Body. The workers' and employers' groups within the electoral college also appoint, in a limited number, regular and deputy members to the Governing Body. Thus, in all, the Governing Body is composed of three groups: (1) government representatives of the states classified as
"chief industrial states", as well as those government re­presentatives elected by the general ILO electoral col­lege; (2) those workers' representatives elected by the workers' group; and (3) the employers' representatives e­lected by the employers' group within the electoral col­lege.

The Governing Body meets as often as it deems neces­sary, but usually three or four times a year. When it is in session, Article 10 (2a) requires that their expenses be borne by the ILO as a whole. At the present, the Gover­ning Body is composed of 48 members, 19 of whom are from the Afro-Asian states. Finally, the Governing Body appoints the Chief Administrator of the organization, known as the Director-General. In addition, it also ap­points three vice-presidents, based on the organization's tri-partitism. That is to say that one of the three vice­presidents comes from among the workers, one from the em­ployers, and one from the government delegates. Thus, the Governing Body is the most important branch within the ILO structural framework. It can be argued that whoever con­trols this branch controls the organization. Its structu­
ral pluralism, too, attests to the fact that the ILO is indeed an international agency, utilizing those characteristic features for the socio-political emancipation of its member states.

The Labor Office

The ILO Labor Office performs several functions, the major one of which is the collection and publication of information. That is, the Labor Office acts as the secretariat of the Organization in terms of the assimilation and compilation of organizational knowledge and expertise. This information and expert knowledge serves not only the organization but the member states in planning their future social programs and actions. To facilitate these tasks, the ILO Labor Office has a handful of branch offices in a few member states. In 1963, there were three such offices in the Afro-Asian states: in Cairo, New Delhi, and Tokyo; and in 1965, another branch office was es-

established in Lagos, Nigeria. The task of these offices is to inform the mother office of the complex social changes now occurring in these states and to provide them with the information needed to handle these changes. Thus, the ILO Labor Office acts as the center of knowledge within the organization, while the branch offices act as middle-men between the Labor Office and the member states of the ILO.

We described the major function of the ILO Conference as that of adopting resolutions and making recommendations and that of the Governing Body as supervising the organization's operations. We also noted that these functions sometimes overlap one another and that it is difficult to say where one begins and ends. For instance, where does the Conference get its information on certain social problems to be dealt with in resolutions? This information comes from the Labor Office, whose funds are provided by the Governing Body. The latter body drafts information into the various resolutions and places them on the Conference agenda. These processes operate in a circle; they can begin in one direction and end in the other, or vice-versa. Thus, we have a symmetrical relationship
which attests to the cooperation among the ILO structures.

What other significance do these structures have? To begin with, their significance lies in the provision for an international organization to coordinate work on peaceful social progress. The process of international cooperation is complex, and a subdivision of the process is essential for the organization to achieve its purposes. Moreover, these structures or subdivisions prescribe the processes and means by which the organization operates. This is to say that these organizational structures work within the formal and informal norms and values of the organization and its processes.

Early Growth of the ILO

Let us turn now to see how these structures, functions, and norms have grown up and been elaborated in the ILO. The early twenties saw the infant organization as a happy institution. Allied statesmen, while cleaning up the debris of war, were moved by great enthusiasm and hoped to avoid future catastrophe by committing themselves
to the formal aspects of the constitution of the organization. The member states were so moved by such beautiful phrases in the treaty as the "right of association" and "adequate wages" for workers\(^{20}\) that the organization lost no time in setting to work. The First Session of the International Labor Conference was held on October 29, 1919, in Washington, D.C., where it attempted to tackle the problem of an eight-hour work day and adopted several conventions and recommendations. Thus, the early years of the International Labor Organization were characterized by a high degree of enthusiasm in adopting conventions without being aware of their implications.

It did not take the young organization long to realize one of the fundamental problems in international organization: that it is one thing to formulate a body of principles and totally a different thing to implement them. Employers and workers were, soon enough, in conflict with each other. In some cases, the employers got support from their government in exploiting the workers.

\(^{20}\) loc. cit., p. 34.
Such was the case in France in 1921, when the French government challenged the authority of the International Labor Organization and questioned its competence to deal with a dispute arising from agricultural matters. The colonial governments, too, complicated the problem by joining with the employers in exploiting the native labor in their colonies, even though Article 421 of the Versailles Treaty had, by signature, compelled the member states to apply the ratified conventions to all of their territories whether colonies or not. However, the colonial governments paid only lip service to these conventions, and subjected their colonial members to forced labor. Thus, for the first time it was found that the tremendous output of conventions by the International Labor Organization was virtually meaningless. Conventions are little unless they are being implemented. The ILO soon realized that it was going faster than its organizational resources permitted. That is, its outputs were growing faster than the governments in the organization were willing to absorb, and it

21 Morse, David, op. cit., p. 15.
soon became the target of criticism.

With backlash from the colonial governments, the International Labor Organization in 1926 created a Committee of Experts, whose primary purpose was to weigh controversial questions before the organization would act upon them. And in 1929, after the committee had submitted its report to the Organization regarding the forced labor issue, the ILO did not waste any time but immediately went to work. In dealing with the question, however, the ILO and the colonial governments differed on the very definition of "forced labor". After several arguments, the term "forced labor" took on a functional definition, referring specifically to three types of forced work: work designed for the general public; work for local public; and work for private purposes.\(^{22}\) It was, however, only on the last that general consensus was reached. The colonial governments, with the exception of France, regarded compulsory work, with pay, in local and general public projects

as beneficial to the colonies. France regarded the issue of whether or not to recruit native laborers in her colonies a special prerogative of her governor. Thus, the ILO at this time was actively engaged in trying to implement the provision of the treaty in the broad sense, as opposed to the restrictive sense of the charter. The charter of the ILO did not mention "forced labor" yet some member states realized that forced labor was in effect the direct violation of the aims of the organization to render social justice. However, the Conventions were more workable in the developed nations than in the underdeveloped nations, possibly because of the fact that the colonies were regarded as sources of labor. With the coming of the Great Depression, the status of the International Labor Organization as a mechanism for social progress became doubtful. The depression, which began in the United States, soon had international repercussions as workers in various developed countries became unemployed.

The questions of mounting unemployment were raised in

23 Ibid.
the successive Labor Conferences. It may be said that the position taken by the workers' delegates was a philosophical one. That is, in a period of scarcity, such as the depression, the scarce available resources of the society should be evenly distributed so as to give everyone an equal share. They demanded the reduction of work hours in order to increase employment and reduce unemployment. Some governments supported the workers' position, while others sided with the employers to oppose it. At the 19th session held in 1935, a convention was introduced to reduce hours of work. With the exception of four states—New Zealand, U.S.S.R., Byelorussia and Ukraine—who ratified the convention in the same year, no other member state had ratified it up to 1968.  

What chance did labor have when it was being opposed by both the employers and the government? We cannot attempt to answer this question here, but it will suffice now to quote Samuel Gompers, an American Labor Leader, regarding tri-partitism at the Paris Peace Conference:

The composition of the International Labor Conference was one of the points upon which there was serious difference of opinion. The provision in this regard is that for each nation there shall be one delegate selected by the recognized labor organization, one by the most representative organization of employers and two by the government.

Gompers goes on to state a most interesting criticism of this tri-partitism:

This makes it possible for a combination of employer and government delegates to outvote the labor delegates on any question, a contingency which, in the American view, was improper, inadvisable, and indefensible. Obviously, under such circumstances it is only by courtesy that a conference can be called a labor conference.

Gompers again accurately, but cautiously, prophesies the likely consequences:

It may be that there will never be such a combination, but the fact remains even now that such a combination is possible.25

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Gompers was absolutely right; such a combination did occur in the interwar period.

The low outputs of the International Labor Organization in the 1930's, due to the lack of implementation of various conventions, made it difficult to determine what direction it would take next in rendering social justice. It was easy to formulate idealistic principles in the Peace Treaty, but it was difficult to put these principles to work. The ILO statesmen for the first time were confronted with a simple axiom: that idealism and realism were incompatible as political instruments in international politics. That is to say, that pragmation and utopianism are by their nature natural enemies of each other. Consequently, the antagonisms between various groups in the organization increased more and more, year after year. Finally, the International Labor Organization found itself further and further away from its dream of the emancipation of workers and the establishment of international peace. The causes of the events which precipitated the Second World War lay more in the inability and the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations than the ILO. While
the function of the League was two-fold (to strive "to achieve international peace and security" and "to promote international cooperation" among the member nations), the interpretation of these principles by its member states were subjective rather than objective. That is, some member states regarded the League as a political mechanism through which they could achieve their own objectives.

As Plano and Riggs saw it:

France, for example, regarded the League's primary responsibility to be that of enforcing the provisions of the peace treaties and of guarding against the resurgence of German military power. Britain, in contrast, viewed the League as an agency to foster the peaceful settlement of disputes and protect the vital interests of the Empire.26

Subjective interpretations increased with Bonito Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, a signatory member of the League. Ethiopia, when it was attacked, was left stranded

by European statesmen since "permitting Mussolini to seize
a piece of African territory seemed to the statesmen in
London and Paris a small price to pay for the containment
of German power."27 From there on, the power of the
League dwindled year after year, and finally it found it-
self unable to curb German militarism, despite the fact
that this curbing had become the main preoccupation of
European statesmen.

Although the League of Nations was dissolved, the In-
ternational Labor Organization continued, even though for
the most part it was unable to meet its obligations and
was forced to become a fugitive in North America during
the Second World War. However, in spite of all these
difficulties, the net long-term effect of the Second World
War on the International Labor Organization was the tre-
mendous increase in its membership. That is, after the
Second World War, the United Nations came into being, with
its ubiquitous principles of self-determination which led
to the emancipation of many colonial subjects, giving them

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27 loc. cit., p. 31.
legal status as states. By 1960, the number of these states had nearly doubled on the international scene, and each demanded its place and equal voice in all international organizations, including the International Labor Organization.
CHAPTER III
THE AFRO-ASIAN SEARCH FOR A LARGER
VOICE IN THE ILO

The tremendous influx of the Afro-Asian states into membership in the ILO during the early nineteen sixties presented several problems for the organization. For example: what roles should be given the new nations within the framework of the ILO operation? And how effectively would the organization serve the needs of the new members? These were the questions the member states of the ILO began to ask. Yet, unanimity in asking the questions did not imply unanimity in the answers, as the ILO soon came to realize. The questions posed regarding the new members of the ILO could only be answered in terms of the structural changes that had to take place within the organization to accommodate the new members. That is, these questions were of an institutional nature, and as such, they could be dealt with only in those terms.

The institutional issues associated with the influx of new members follow an earlier trend: the continuing
demand for constitutional amendments. As early as 1922, less than a decade after its creation, the Afro-Asian members of the ILO began to call for some changes in the constitution. In 1922, a constitutional amendment was introduced in the Conference to enlarge the Governing Body from 24 to 32 members, with the stipulation that "six of the members of the government group of the Governing Body were to be non-European states and that two Employers' representatives and two Workers' representatives were to belong to non-European member states."¹

The term "non-European" was not defined and it caused some controversy among the members. Although it was obvious that it referred to those nations outside continental Europe, some members debated the utility of using the labels "European" and "non-European". The Indian delegate, Mr. Lall, arguing against the under-representation of the Afro-Asian states, maintained that it was undemo-

ocratic for two-thirds of the world population to be represented by only one-third of the members of the Governing Body. He further proposed that the word "non-European" be replaced by "Asiatic and African." However, the Cuban delegates regarded the latter term ("Asiatic and African") as just as bad as the former in dividing the world into sections. The delegate from New Zealand was even more blunt in his remarks. He accused the Indian delegate of arguing in favor of a "special kind" of racial discrimination without noticing that the term "non-European" was not in fact coined by the non-Europeans, but by the Europeans. If the terminology "Afro-Asian" had racial overtones, so did the term "non-European". Moreover, if the terminology had racial implications, who was responsible: the one who coined it, or the one who used it?

Several government delegates, including now even the Cuban delegate, still argued for the substitution of the term "Asiatic and African" for the term "non-European". The amendment, however, was not adopted by the Conference.

\[\text{loc. cit., p. 201.}\]
since the proponents lacked a majority. As can be seen, the significance of the attempt to expand the Governing Body and guarantee seats for non-Europeans (or Asians and Africans) was that it was an early attempt to decentralize the institutional structure of the ILO and give a greater voice to those outside continental Europe.

All of the proposed constitutional amendments have been complicated by the difficult procedures involved. The Peace Conference, out of which the ILO was born, imposed the rigorous provisions by which the ILO could amend its constitution. According to Article 422 of the Peace Conference:

Amendments to this part of the present treaty (creating the ILO) 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 by the states whose representatives composed the council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the members.³

This provision gave any member of the League Council the power to veto any ILO amendment. Hence, the beginning of the veto power in international organizations, which, a quarter of a century later, found its way into the UN Security Council, although in a somewhat milder form.

Italy exercised this right by refusing for twelve years to ratify the above amendment once it had been approved by the Conference. It has been reported that the main reason Italy refused ratification of the amendment was a three-way polarization:

The complicated three dimensional antagonism between the workers' group, the Italian government and the non-European members were among the most difficult problems of the hard pressed Director, Albert Thomas.\footnote{Landelius, Torsten, loc. cit., p. 290.}

The circumstances of the early thirties had some impact on Italy's decision to finally ratify the Amendment in 1932. Among these circumstances were the deaths of Arthur Fontaine, the French delegate and former chairman of the Governing Body from 1919 until his death in 1931, and Albert Thomas, another French delegate, who was Director-General
of the ILO until his death in 1932. Fontaine and Thomas had both criticized the Italian government's stubborn position openly in the ILO Conference. In addition, the South African Employers' delegate, Mr. Gemmill, the spearhead of the non-European movement, bitterly criticized the Italian government's position. He also criticized the Director-General's activities as leading to a "damaging situation" which had decreased the influence of non-European members. He called for an increase in the non-European members among the Labor Office Personnel. Of 420 personnel in the Labor Office at that time, only 18 (or 4%) were non-Europeans.

Other factors that might have had a greater impact on Italy's decision were the decline in the group opposed to the amendment and the ample support secured by the non-European group. That is to say that each vote the opposition lost became a gain for the non-European group.

Also, it is interesting to note here that the ILO Confer-

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5 loc. cit., p. 290.
6 loc. cit., p. 289.
ence adjourned for two years after the 1932 session and
did not resume sessions until 1934, when both the United
States and Soviet Union joined the ILO. It seems probable
that Italy foresaw the coming memberships of these two
great powers and did not want to be further embarrassed;
therefore, it gave up the fight and voted for ratifica-
tion of the amendment, increasing the Governing Body from
24 to 32 members and giving 14 seats to the non-European
group. At the 1934 session, they received two more seats,
making a total of sixteen seats. The non-European group's
greatest victory came at the 1945 session when they cap-
tured four more seats, giving them a total of twenty of
the thirty-two seats on the Governing Body.7 The inter-
esting thing to note here is that the more pressure the
non-European members exerted on the organization, the more
seats they gained.

At the 1944 session, the Afro-Asian states pushed not
only for additional seats but for another constitutional
amendment to equalize some of the financial burdens of the

7 loc. cit., p. 288.
organization. At this Conference, also, the attempt was made to replace the term "non-European" with "Asiatic and African". This question was laid aside until the next session, in 1945. However, in 1945, the diminishing position of the European group (the Europeans now had only 12 of the 32 seats) prompted the committee on constitutional amendment to recommend that the special requirements (allocating 10 seats to the non-European group) be altogether abrogated.

On the question of equalizing financial burdens, the Afro-Asian states argued that because of differences in the geographic proximity of the member states to the Conferences, travel costs would fall more heavily on some member states than on others. They viewed themselves as those upon whom the larger part of the burden would fall. For that reason, the Afro-Asians argued that their expenses for attending the Conferences should be borne by the ILO as a whole.

The 1944-46 sessions of the ILO conference dealt in part with the question of incomplete delegations from the member states. Voluminous speeches were given by the
member states, particularly the Afro-Asian states; but the essence of these speeches was the same: all focused on economic reasons as the major factor contributing to incomplete delegations or no delegation at all. In studying the trends in the distribution of the ILO Conference delegates from 1919-1964, Torsten Landelius has reported that the greatest absenteeism occurred among the Latin American and Afro-Asian states during the war. He concluded that geographical and economic factors were the major reasons.8

The opponents stressed the constitutional provision (Art. 13 (2a)), holding the member governments liable for their delegates' expenses. This question was not resolved, and it has recurred year after year. At almost every session, the question of travel expenses to the Conference has been dealt with in one form or another.

In order to analyze the magnitude of absenteeism among the ILO member states, I have made a table to that effect using Landelius' classification scheme. I have

8 loc. cit., pp. 16-44.
also grouped the states under five categories, each showing the total number of states, their absenteeism, and the average and the percentage in each category.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>NO. OF STATES</th>
<th>TOTAL STATES</th>
<th>ABSENTEEISM AV.</th>
<th>PERCENT OF ABSENTEEISM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin American States</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settler States</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Asian States</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East European States</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western European States</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>274</strong></td>
<td><strong>-</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source based on a modified version of Table 3 in Workers, Employers, and Governments, op. cit., p. 25. There is one curious thing about Landelius' table that requires comment and that is U.S., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and Japan are...
are not even mentioned. Landelius did not explain the reason for the absence of these states. One logical explanation for this would be that all these four states were either absent all the time or were not absent at all. This however, is not the case, since both the United States and the Soviet Union joined the ILO at the 18th session in 1934, and therefore, it is unlikely that they could be accepted in absentia as full members. The logical explanation, therefore, is that with the exception of the Soviet Union (which did not have active interest in the ILO until its re-entry in 1954) the absenteeism of these three states was not outstanding enough to warrant study.
## Table II

### Percent of Average Absenteeism by Category

ASA shown in Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WE</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend**

- LA - Latin American States
- SS - Settler States
- AA - Afro-Asian States
- EE - East European States
- WE - Western European States
Among the states in the Latin American category, Haiti and El Salvador led the group in absenteeism with 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) and 16 respectively. Next in this group were Paraguay and Honduras, with 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) each. In the Settler's States (Australia and New Zealand), the bulk of absenteeism was born by New Zealand, with 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) out of the total 16. The New Zealand government, however, claimed the reason behind its absenteeism was that the proposals that were before the Conference were already enacted into law in New Zealand, and that it did not think it necessary to send delegates.\(^9\)

Within the Afro-Asian states, Liberia and Ethiopia led the group with 18 and 30 absences respectively, followed by Iran with 9. The Eastern Europeans were led by Albania with 15, and the Western Europeans by Iceland and Luxembourg, with 11 and 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) respectively. It can also be seen from this table that the closer the states are to the conference session the more often they tend to attend the conferences. This can particularly be said to be true in the case of the Latin American and Afro-Asian states.

Since these states are farther from Geneva, they tend to be absent on many occasions. However, some states that are closer to Geneva also tend to be absent with some regularity. These states, particularly the Eastern European States, were absent mostly for financial reasons, coupled with diplomatic arm-twisting by the Soviet Union. The only exception to this analytical scheme is New Zealand, which accounted for 87% of the Settler States' absenteeism.

In 1953, the Asian member states, acting alone, sought another constitutional amendment which the African states generally supported. The proposal was mainly the product of two things: the Asian Regional Conference of 1950 and the 1952 proposal of the Director-General.

In 1950, the Asian Regional Conference met in Ceylon to discuss the possibilities for increasing the Asian representations in the ILO Governing Body due to the admission of seven Asian states into the organization. In 1952, with the admission of Germany and Japan, the Director-General, perhaps with pressure from the Afro-Asian States, proposed an amendment which would increase the
Governing Body from 32 to 40 seats, distributed in the following ways: 20 to represent governments (10 of which would represent the chief industrial states), with the remaining 20 to be divided evenly between the Employers' and Employees' representatives. The U.S. and British delegates, however, objected to the Director-General's proposal, on the ground that it was not on the agenda of the 1952 Conference.

Therefore, armed with these two recent developments, the Asian states returned to the ILO Conference of 1953 to press for their amendment with renewed vigor. In several debates, the Afro-Asian states stressed the need for increased representation of the Asian states in the Governing Body. Although the Governing Body was increased from 32 to 40 in the following year, neither the Asian nor the African states gained any increased representation in the Governing Body at this time (1953), although an unopposed proposal was introduced which increased the number of de-

10 Workers, Employers, and Governments, loc. cit., pp. 204-205.
pery members in the Asian Workers' Group. The ILO was further agreeable to increase the deputy members in the Asian government and Employers' groups. But this was not what the Asian unions wanted. They wanted an increase in the number of full representatives from the workers' group not the government or the employers' group. As far as they were concerned, the governments and the employers were the same, and therefore, any increase in either was seen as posing a threat to the Asian Trade Union Movement.

The reader might get the impression that at this moment, the Afro-Asian states had split, each exerting its particular demands on the ILO. On the contrary, they had not split. The Afro-Asian states realized very well that there were similarities and dissimilarities among them, and that regional demands simply offered various ways by which they could bring pressure to bear on the ILO in order to achieve their joint aims. Thus, the Afro-Asian impact through 1960 on the ILO could be said to have been on aiming at one thing through multi-dimensional techniques.

\[11\] Ibid.
The Great Decade

The various Afro-Asian activities already discussed gained momentum in the 1960's when the majority of the African States gained their independence. Despite bloody activities in some parts of Africa—Algeria, Congo, and Nigeria—the beginning of the 1960's was symbolic. In the legal sense, it was the beginning of political freedom and the dismantling of the colonial rule. The former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, while attending the Independence celebration of Cameroun, was quoted as saying that "nineteen-sixty will be truly a great year for the rebirth of Africa." A few months later, Cameroun became a member of the United Nations and the ILO.

The "great year" and the "rebirth" of the continent, which the Secretary-General had envisioned, became realities as the African states, upon achieving independence, began to take part in international organizations, including the ILO. In 1960 alone, 15 African states joined the ILO, followed by 13 others at various times in the
60's. At this time, several Asian states also joined the ILO. Thus, the importance of the Afro-Asian states became greater as their membership increased, all exerting combined pressure on the ILO.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFRO-ASIAN STATES JOINING THE ILO 1960-1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boswana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo (Kinshasa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malagasy Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first exercise of this combined pressure came in the 1960 session, when the Afro-Asian states proposed increasing the membership of the governing body from 40 to 48 members. After achieving some dramatic victories in 1934, 1944, 1945, and 1954, why did the Afro-Asian states advance more demands? Was their main motive to control the ILO? It is difficult to answer the questions of the motivation of the Afro-Asian states for one reason: the demands and the intentions of the Afro-Asian states could, to a great extent, be known only to the members of that group. Theodore Geiger sees the main difficulty encountered by the Westerners in their attempt to explain the intentions and motivations of the non-western society as one of perception. Geiger concluded that if the West wanted to understand non-Western society, it would have to perceive them as they perceive themselves. Therefore, it appears at the moment that we cannot answer the questions of "motivation-intent" of the Afro-Asian states in

generating demand after demand for increased membership in the ILO Governing Body. However, it may suffice here to lean temporarily, but delicately, on the psychological theory of motivational gratification.

According to this theory, the individual, in order to reap richer future rewards, foregoes certain immediate needs. Moreover, according to the theory, when an individual's needs are fulfilled, he moves to the next hierarchy of needs. Psychologists further remind us that an organism in unfamiliar environment and under "certain" circumstances, develops what is known as homeostasis in order to maintain its livable balance. Thus, the Afro-Asian states first had to abstain from making certain demands until in the 1960's, when their membership group had been increased. Moreover, to maintain the position they already held, the Afro-Asian states had to make more or different demands, since, as in any social organization, in international politics silence implies content or indifference.

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Perhaps, this theoretical juxtaposition can, under certain circumstances, be said to apply to the Afro-Asian states in the ILO. Despite the increase in their representation on the Governing Body, the Afro-Asian states were not satisfied. Consequently, nineteen of them, along with two other states, communicated to the Director-General in 1960 a request for an increase in the Governing Body from 40 to 48 members.* This was their third request with respect to the increase in the Governing Body. Earlier, as noted, they had made similar requests in 1922, 1944, 1945, and in 1953. These requests, however, were not as significant as the one under discussion, due to the fact that seventeen Afro-Asian states had joined the membership of the ILO since the second constitutional amend-

*The Afro-Asian states made the request through a letter addressed to the Director-General. The letter was signed by the representatives of the following states: Afghanistan, Brazil, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Pakistan, Philippines, Sudan, Thailand, Tunisia, UAR, Vietnam, and Yugoslavia.
merit, which had increased the Governing Body from 32 to 40 members and had given the Afro-Asian states no increase in seats on the Governing Body. The significance of the 1960 request lay in the fact that the Afro-Asian states realized the preponderant influence of the great industrial powers in the Governing Body and they were now trying to minimize this influence by requesting the Director-General to reduce the permanent seats from eight to two. Thus, for the first time the great powers were directly attacked for their monopolization of the organization.

The letter of 1960 from the Afro-Asian states, requesting an increase in the size of the Governing Body, gave the Polish government representative an opportunity the following year to introduce a draft resolution. The Polish resolution was entitled: "Equitable Geographical Distribution of Seats and Posts in the Organs of the International Labor Organization." This resolution was in fact a direct support of the request of the Afro-Asian states. As the title of the Polish resolution suggests, it requested the Director-General to apply "equitable-geographical" criteria in seating and in recruiting staff.
from the new states—the Afro-Asian as well as from the socialist states.

In the debate on the resolution, the Communist bloc, in order to show the Afro-Asian states they wished them well, stressed the fact that the Afro-Arab Trade Unions were not represented in the Workers' Group of the Governing Body.\(^1\) This resolution, however, died on the grounds that the Afro-Asian proposal for the constitutional amendment, which, in effect, the Polish resolution restated, was on the agenda for the next Conference.

The Communist bloc, however, was not simply concerned with increasing the Governing Body of the ILO. They were not certain as to whether the increase in the Governing Body would reflect the increase in membership of the Afro-Asian and socialist states. As a result, in the following session (1961), the Polish delegate came back with his resolution, this time with a different title: "Proportional Geographical Distribution of Seats and Posts in the Composition of the Directorate, the Organs and the Secreta-

\(^1\)Workers, Employers, etc., op. cit., p. 209.
riot of the International Labor Organization."

The debate that followed on the Polish resolution was perhaps the greatest debate to come before the ILO in the 1960's. The magnitude of the debate was due not only to the number of delegates that took part in it, but even more to the various arguments for and against the resolution. According to the Communist bloc, the ILO had long been dominated by the industrial powers, and now it was time to abrogate that monolithic outlook and give the organization universalism. In other words, because of the increased membership of the ILO, unilateralism must now give way to polycentrism. The Communist bloc, moreover, cited Article 4, Paragraph 2a of the Constitution of the Staff Regulation, which they claimed required that staff selection should be based on a geographical basis.

Some delegates, particularly the Western Europeans, wondered what was to be the basis for the proportional distribution which had become the cryptic touchstone of

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15 The Record of Proceedings, 45th Session, pp. 702-3.

16 loc. cit., p. 70^.
the Communist position. Would proportional distribution be based on the government contributions on the budget, or on a continental basis? If it were based on a budgetary or continental basis, they claimed, certain states would be favored more than others. Moreover, since the developing Afro-Asian states lacked training, the Western European members regarded the process of staff recruitment as the special prerogative of the Director-General. The Polish delegate fired back that this was exactly the reason they would like them to be on the staff, since the ILO would provide them with the opportunity to learn and to provide the ILO with valuable information about their problems.\textsuperscript{17} It has been reported that the Soviet Union, upon her re-entry into the ILO in 1954, had to make new friends.\textsuperscript{18} It appears that the targets of this new drive for friends were the new Afro-Asian states since the U.S.S.R. started opposing measures that were not in the

\textsuperscript{17} loc. cit., p. 707.

\textsuperscript{18} Landelius, Torsten, \textit{Workers, Employers, and Governments}, op. cit., p. 206.
interest of these states or of the socialist states. The
Soviet delegate, Mr. V.G. Shkunaev, at the 45th Session of
the ILO Conference, regarded the Western Europeans reason-
ing as a political technique designed by the capitalist
states to suppress the Afro-Asian and socialist states.

For five years the International Labor Conference
has dealt with the right of Employers of the So-
cialist countries to participate in the work of
the committees, and even now the solution has
been solved only incompletely, even though it is
a simple solution indeed... In this century of
extra-ordinarily rapid changes the ILO is still
creeping along at a snail's pace.

Speaking indirectly of the Afro-Asian states, he conti-
nued:

Indeed, how can one speak of the existence of
normal conditions - absolutely normal conditions -
in the ILO if countries that represent 12 per
cent of all states' members of the ILO have less
than 4 per cent representation in the Governing
Body of the ILO; if countries which contribute
more than 15 per cent to the budget of the ILO
are represented by less than 2 per cent?¹⁹

Among the outstanding opponents of the Polish resolu-

¹⁹ The Record of Proceedings, 45th Session, p. 709.
tion were the United States, Great Britain, and France. The Afro-Asian states, on the other hand, took no formal position lest they antagonize the great powers, even though they agreed with the stipulation of the Polish resolution.

The Conference finally sent the resolution to the Resolution Committee, which considered it but altered it. The final resolution read: "Full Participation of Member States in the Work of the International Labor Organization." The significant and operative part of the resolution reads: "The Conference...(1) requests the Director-General to recruit staffs in accordance with the Constitution and Staff Regulations; (2) commends the Governing Body on the proposal it has made to enlarge the Governing Body." This resolution, after a long period of debate and accusation, was finally submitted for ratification. The Polish delegate and a few of his allies voted against it.  

Why did the Polish delegate, after a long fight, vote

\[ \text{loc. cit., p. 710.} \]
against the redrafted resolution? In attempting to answer this question, one must look at the principles and the politics involved in the resolution. Morgenthau reminds us that prestige is one of the characteristic features of international politics.²¹ The Polish delegate, to be sure, had to retain the dignity of his government by voting against the resolution when it was not in his government's interest. One can say that his main interest was centered around the principle of "equitable geographical distribution", the principle which was blotted out of the resolution. Furthermore, as Haas has pointed out, the influx of the new states into the ILO had induced the Communist states to regard the organizational machinery as a political arena to further their anti-Western ideology. In doing this, they had to support the new nations on

whatever issue, hoping in turn to win their support.22

For the Afro-Asian states, their victory simply induced them to bring more pressure to bear on the ILO regarding their interests. Finally, in 1963, the Afro-Asian states' proposal to increase the Governing Body from 40 to 48 was approved by the ILO without debate, presumably as a result of the previous and lengthy fight. The Afro-Asian victory, however, was of little meaning since instead of the 20 seats they held before, they had 19 in the Governing Body as the result of this increase.

The increasing demands of the Afro-Asian states in seeking greater representation on the Governing Body of the ILO reveal an unmistakable fact of international politics: the struggle and/or the competition for power. Yet, as competition for power among the nation-states increases, there also tend to be certain members who oppose vigorously to the redistribution of power relations among the states or group of states. One example was Italy's

refusal to allow the constitutional amendment increasing
the Governing Body from 24 to 32 members. Nevertheless,
the vigorous fight of the Afro-Asian states and the ad-
dition of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. as new members of the ILO
forced the Italian government to abandon her stand. Con­
sequently, the Afro-Asian states gained some important
position in the power locale of the ILO: the Governing
Body.

After World War II, the resistance was less obvious,
although still reasonably effective in preventing a total
shift of power within the Governing Body. However, as
membership burgeoned during the 1960-70 period, the Afro-
Asian states were finally able to obtain what they felt
to be a more equitable representation in the organs of the
ILO, particularly the Governing Body.
CHAPTER IV
THE AFRO-ASIAN IMPACT

The ILO concern with Africa and Asia grew as its Afro-Asian membership increased. When established in 1919, the ILO had only four Asian states\(^1\)—China, India, Japan, and Thailand—and three African states\(^2\)—Liberia, the Union of South Africa, and Ethiopia. Today, Africa and Asia account for well over 50 percent of the ILO membership.

Engineering Social Development

With the increase in its membership, the ILO had to reshape its program to take into account the new forces of "rising expectations" in the world. The Director-General, Mr. Morse, was aware of this phenomena as early as 1956.

\(^1\)The ILO and Asia, Geneva: International Labor Office (no date), p. 11.

He outlined, in his report, three basic forces that were shaping the world and the work of the ILO. Among these forces, he cited the increasingly complex importance of the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America in international affairs (including the ILO) and the world-wide tendency toward industrialization and urbanization, and the imperturable force and dynamism of the technological breakthrough in the twentieth century.

With this prognostication of the impact of twentieth century technology on the peoples of the underdeveloped states, the ILO began to redirect its energy. It engaged in various activities to help the new states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America enjoy part of this technological dynamism and enculturation. To do this, however, the ILO first had to scrutinize its budget, and secondly, it had to make priority judgements on the basis of which projects would receive the greatest support. As mechanisms for engineering social development, the ILO established educa-

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tional and regional centers in some of the new states in order to come to grip with the fundamental problems blocking their socio-economic development. Why did the ILO engage in these activities? Was it humanitarianism that motivated the organization? Answers to these questions lie in the general purpose of the United Nations (UN) specialized agencies. The general purpose of these agencies is to assist the various member states of the UN in solving their social and economic problems. Thus, the primary purpose of the World Health Organization (WHO), as a specialized agency of the UN, is to give medical assistance to member states, including information on health and population control. The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) concerns itself with the economic development of the member states by encouraging and facilitating trade between them, etc.

The ILO became a part of the UN general framework in 1946 by a special agreement. This agreement stipulated that the ILO would "participate in the work of the UN Administrative Committee on Coordination composed of the Secretary-General and the administrative heads of the"
Specialized Agencies." Thus, it appears logical that the ILO's operations are supposed to be in line with those of the UN in assisting the development of the new states, particularly the Afro-Asian states. This is one of the main reasons why the ILO has engaged since 1960 in various activities for the development of these states. We shall return to this subject shortly, but first let us briefly look at the concept of "development", which has become an important concept in the vocabulary of today's social scientists.

The term "development" is difficult to define, for several reasons: First, from whose point of view is the term being defined? Second, in what period, and in relation to what particular mode of life? These questions create problems when we attempt to define "development". In doing so, we either end up with ethnocentrism or with subjectivism or both.

Economists define "development" purely in economic

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terms. For them, "development" implies in part an economic system in which the economic rate of growth is at least ten percent of the annual increase in gross economic activities. This is the principal theme of W.W. Rostow, who regards this ten percent rate of growth as the developmental rate of economic growth. Any state whose gross economic activity fails to reach this demarcated economic line, by Rostow's analysis, is considered underdeveloped. To an industrialist, on the other hand, "development" implies the existence of industrial sectors utilizing the labor force of the state. This view regards the existence and industrial utilization of human resources as the necessary pre-condition for development. The simple view, however, holds that any state which lacks capital is underdeveloped. What, in effect, these frameworks of developmental analysis posit is both relative and absolute. It is relative because it depends upon who uses the term and in what time and space. It is also absolute, because

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it seems to posit that there is a particular society or state which has reached the economic stage in which no further progress is possible. This, however, as we know, is not the case; however, we cannot dwell very long on this concept in analyzing the complex problems of the Afro-Asian states. Moreover, Theodore Geiger has warned us that the term "development" is misleading as a designation for the complex social problems now taking place in the new states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Without taking into consideration the underlying reasons for these problems, he says:

It [development] diverts attention from the much more meaningful ways of characterizing and analyzing countries on the basis of their common cultural, social and historical elements...all of which have major implications for the nature of their societies.\(^6\)

To other social scientists, "development" connotes a dynamic phenomenon which culminates in the emergence of opportunities--social and economic--for all members of the

society. This is the view the writer adheres to in analyzing the politics involved and the activities of the ILO in helping the Afro-Asian states to catch up with the rest of the world.

The ILO policies for the development of the Afro-Asian states stems from the unique character of these states. Fifty years ago, these societies were predicated on mutual social responsibilities and communalism as mechanisms of equitable distribution of wealth. With the advent of colonialism, the social life of these societies took on new forms and concepts, emulating their colonial masters. Concepts such as individualism replaced those of communalism and ethnicity and detached the encapsulated native from his fellow native men. This break from tradition resulted in the fragmentation of society and contributed to social dislocation so that even with the achievement of independence these basic problems remained.

Among these problems are the inability to match the rising expectations with material reality due to political corruption and instability, the lack of education in spite of the high value and prestige placed on it, and finally,
the lack of economic and social planning and the technological know-how. These problems became further complicated because of the increasing school dropout rate of the youngsters due to the frustration at being educated in the wrong fields and to the inadequate amount of capital that their states expended for education. The last two situations, as they existed in Nigeria, Senegal, and Tunisia, have been reported. In Nigeria, the school dropout rates in 1964 and 1966 were 52.5 and 58.0 percent respectively. And in Senegal, in 1966, 38.5 percent of the educated youths, as compared with 11.0 percent of the illiterate, were unemployed. In Tunisia, on the other hand, of the 42,000 twenty-year-old youths, only 13,000 were employed. Albert Tevoedjre as late as 1969, cautioned:

Africa is saddled with growing numbers of young persons turned out by primary and secondary schools who have none of the skills required by industry and who therefore remain not only unemployed but unemployable. These young persons

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potentially constitute a constructive force for development: but, left in idleness, they could become a destructive force owing to frustration and resentment against society.\(^8\)

Some African leaders have realized the potential danger which lies in this unemployed group, and their response to this situation has been varied. The emergence of such concepts as "African socialism" in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania is simply one of the means by which the leaders in these states hope to erase the problem of unemployment.

It is not being implied here that these leaders prefer socialism as such, but rather an ideology with a particular reference to Africa, in order to galvanize the masses into a popular movement as defined by these leaders. The ideology of African socialism, as expounded mostly by Kwame Nkrumah, Presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyere, presupposes that the African economic and social needs must be based on communalism. Yet, these needs have not been based on this "declared" purpose since the few enjoy the most of the benefits of the society. More-

\(^8\)loc. cit., p. 67.
over, once an ideology has exhausted its mobilizing force, it can no longer serve its purpose—implicit or explicit—without reinforcement or the development of new ideology. Such an ideology as Pan-Africanism or African Unity has not solved the social problems in the individual states, and as a result, the ideology of African socialism has been invented to replace the former. However, this ideology has not fared well and the politics of the ILO activities in Africa have been directed toward thwarting Communism, the target of which are the unemployed youths in these states. The points we are making here are these: First, that the only benefit of colonialism in Africa and Asia was the consolidation of the various ethnic and tribal groups into states: Second, that the colonial governments, in doing so, created social problems not only by cutting the political boundaries arbitrarily acrosss the ethnic lines but by increasing the empathy and expectations of their subjects; and, thirdly, that these problems became the post-independent problems with which the new leaders of Africa and Asia had to grapple, and finally, that one of the ILO major objectives has been to assist
these states in solving these problems.

Immanuel Wallerstein has analyzed the African society before the Europeans came and has refuted the claim that colonialism brought civilization to Africa. He said:

Africa before the Europeans came: It was neither anarchy nor barbarism, nor unchanged and unchanging villages. It was movement and splendor, conquests and innovations, trade and art. It was above all wide variety and experimentation. There is no single or simple stereotype we can call "old Africa" against which we can measure how far Africa has evolved today. It is as true of Africa as of medieval Europe, where Roman gens and Scottish clan, Benedictine monk and Druid priest combined to form a varied backdrop against which the Reformation and the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, all evolved into a movement we have come to call modernization.\(^9\)

The ineffectiveness of the new states, particularly the Afro-Asian states, to provide the mechanism for social change has resulted in a further complication of these problems by creating an atmosphere favoring military or Communist opportunism. That is, the lack of direction of

the post-independence states has manifested itself in military supremacy or communist agitation in many parts. The major cause of discontent within these societies has been the lack of employment of the semi-educated. Where this kind of situation exists, it is possible for the semi-educated to eventually enlist the support of the military, with the result that the intellectual elite will be forced to react to the economic and urban problems of the masses. This situation has been reported as it existed in Nigeria and Ghana before the military coups in these states. In Nigeria, there existed a general economic discontent among the civilians and the military. In Ghana, Nkrumah was accused of bankrupting the national treasury, and to complicate the matter, he frequently resorted to using the army for strike breaking. In other words, in the new states, the motivation for the coup derives from the elite, and its success depends upon popular support and generalizing grievances.

However, where these generalized grievances exist, and the military remains calm, it is possible for the Communist elements to infiltrate the masses and mobilize them into insurgency or revolution. Thus, the generalized grievances against the regimes in the new states seem to be the major factor creating an atmosphere favoring military or Communist opportunism. The politics of ILO engagement in Asia and Africa are directed toward minimizing these situations since many of the leaders in these states have not been able to cope with the problems concomitant with political independence. The reason for this is that some of the so-called democratic leaders in these states are engaged in the practices of political corruption, nepotism and the accumulation of public funds in Swiss banks for self-aggrandizement. Finer saw the political reality in the new state as predisposing the military to intervene:

...to say that a society is ready and able to govern itself is not the same thing as saying that its people are ready to govern themselves. It may simply mean that a few of its people are just as capable of governing the mass as the administrators and agents of imperial
power. And in most instances, this is just what it does mean...\textsuperscript{11}

Part of the impact of the Afro-Asian states on the ILO has been the tendency to involve the organization in assisting them with their social problems. These have become the greatest post-independence problems to have challenged the leadership in the new states. It appears that the Afro-Asian states do not know where to place the blame for these problems anymore. Colonialism has become a dead villain, at least in the pure political sense, though economically, it may still exist. One important avenue left open to the leadership for initiating social changes is through an international agency which can utilize its available means and resources. This is why the Afro-Asian states have brought pressure to bear on the ILO to assist them in redirecting these changes by peaceful means. However, the ILO response to this pressure has also resulted in anti-communist rhetoric with the Afro-Asian leaders.

\textsuperscript{11} Finer, Samuel E., \textit{The Man on Horseback. The Role of the Military in Politics.} New York: Frederick A. Prawger, 1962, p. 239.
usually going along whether they agree with this rhetoric or not. That is to say that although the leaders of Africa and Asia have realized that the lack of directions or solutions to their social problems constitute favorable grounds for communist opportunism, they are all by no means anti-communists. While the West regards these programs as antidote for communism, the communist states have also regarded them as havens for their propagandistic activities. Thus, it appears that the Afro-Asian states, in their attempt to reap some benefits of the organization, are placed between two values diametrically opposed to one another.

The Regional Conference

The politics of the ILO activities with respect to Africa and Asia has taken two dimensions. On the one hand, it involves the attempts of the Afro-Asian states to bring pressure to bear on the ILO in order to reap some of the benefits of the organization. On the other hand, it involves the attempts of the western democratic states and
the eastern communist states to win the friendship and confidence of the new states. That is, the East-West politics within the ILO has been centered around the uncommitted "souls". This struggle has at times resulted in bitter criticism of each other.

As early as the mid-fifties, when the ILO Conference considered the problem of forced labor, the Soviet delegate was quick to refer to the Taft-Hartley Act as the "slave labor act". His American counterpart, of course, denied it but actively indulged in the enumeration of the various instances in which the government of the Soviet Union has perpetuated forced labor in her territory. 12 This seems to suggest that while the ILO was founded as an international agency to facilitate international cooperation, the ideological orientations of the East and West have emerged as powerful forces affecting the organization. The emergence of these forces has been helpful to

the Afro-Asian states as they have gone about seeking to achieve their aim of better social standards for their people.

The Communist ideology is predicated upon attainment of Marxism-Leninism: that is, on the furtherance of the philosophy of Marx and Lenin. Marx considered Communism in terms of the proletariat, and his philosophy was primarily monolithic. Lenin, on the other hand, concerned himself with the application of this philosophy (Marxism) on the international scene. The target of these philosophies today is the unemployed youth of the world, particularly those in the new states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—where capitalism has been associated with imperialism, where racial discrimination, mass poverty, illiteracy, and political corruption of the native regime have been associated with capitalism; and, finally, where the glories of Communism and the evils of capitalism have been appropriated to fit the Marxian prognostication of the inevitability of class warfare and to equate this class warfare with the realities of life in the underdeveloped states. Perhaps, the Vietnam War served them as
a major example of the imperialists' attempt to control the destiny of the people in the developing states.

For the West, the Wilsonian democratic ideology "to make the world safe for democracy" has dominated the political thinking of the present century. The western political ideology reached its climax after the Second World War when colonialism met its deathbed in Asia and Africa. The West, in order to retain what were once the benefits of the colonial masters and to hold "spheres of influence" in the new states, has actively engaged in numerous activities to that end. These activities, such as foreign aid in various forms, the Alliance for Progress (in South America), the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Western Europe (the counterpart of the Warsaw Pact), are all means designed to contain Communism, if not to establish spheres of interest in various parts of the world. However, the possible ambiguity involved in these political techniques, with particular reference to foreign aid, has been indicated by Nelson:

In Ethiopia the United States has sought simultaneously the right to operate an important mi-
litary communication center, to encourage modernizing forces in a country where feudal authority is still strong, and to clamp down on the long smoldering border dispute with Somalia. Military aid is a *quid pro quo* for the communication center.¹³

The above policy is not only absurd, it is a logical impossibility. Let us briefly analyze it with the hope of throwing some light on its absurdity. What Miss Nelson is saying here is that the United States government will have to pay the Ethiopian government with material that the latter can use to defend her national security before the former government can, in turn, protect the latter's national security and simultaneously improve the country. The conclusion to the above quotation is self-deductive. Like all political foreign aid programs, it is based on the attempt to win partners in the cold war or to establish spheres of influence. That is, the political purpose of the U.S. foreign aid program is to answer the following questions: On whose side should the uncommitted

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states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: How can the U.S. go about gaining the friendship and confidence of these states? If she does, how can she retain them and, thus, hold the balance of power on her side? These are some of the questions that a foreign aid program tries to answer by attaching a string to foreign aid programs in a particular state (Ethiopia, for example).

Thus, the aid becomes an instrument for the continuation of the cold war. As soon as the recipient state accepts the aid, it has in essence become a participant in the cold war on the donor's side. How does this relate to the ILO and the regional conference? We are operating here under the assumption that the United States and the Soviet foreign policies follow their ideological lines and moreover that these ideologies have become political norms under which these countries operate on the international scene to further their interests. One of these interests is to conduct propagandistic activities as part of the general fight for the uncommitted states of Africa and Asia, and the ILO provides the ground for these activities. Furthermore, the Afro-Asian states are reaping the bene-
fits of this fight, since they get from the ILO what they demand, particularly in the regional conferences, simply because the super powers do not and cannot object to these demands. Thus, it appears obvious that the Afro-Asian states are truly benefiting from the ILO, as we shall see shortly in the discussion of the African and Asian Regional Conferences. I do not propose to deal with all the African and Asian regional conferences. I will concentrate instead on only two of these: namely, The First African Regional Conference and the Sixth Asian Regional Conference. This is not meant to imply in any way that the rest of the conferences are not important enough to merit study. My reason for selecting these two is that I regard them as the most significant. A social philosopher would declare it to be a truism that a human society is made possible only if it is predicated upon the ability to initiate and implement change in those areas of life where changes and adaptations are vital for individual well-being. As the name implies, the primary purpose of the Regional Conference is to deal with the specific problems of a particular geographic area. That is to say that the
ILO developmental program is designed to initiate and implement changes in those areas where changes and implementations are preconditions for human socio-political development.

At the beginning the primary concern of the ILO was with the problems of industrial and urban workers without taking into consideration the overall problems of the various regions. The organization was soon surrounded with so many problems that it could not solve them all in one regional conference. Consequently, regional offices were created to deal with these special problems as it was assumed by the member states that the problems affecting the new states were multi-dimensional in nature and therefore should be solved by going directly to them. Thus, the main reason for the establishment of the regional centers alongside the regional conferences was to provide the means whereby the various leaders could discuss with the ILO problems of mutual concern. One of these mutual grounds was The First African Regional Conference held in

\[\text{Lodge, George C., op. cit., pp. 219-222.}\]
Lagos, Nigeria in December, 1960.

The First African Regional Conference was perhaps the most significant for several reasons: As the first such conference on the African continent, it provided the opportunity for workers to meet with their employers and their governments to discuss problems of mutual concern. Thirty-six representatives of African governments participated. Second, the Conference attracted the attention of the Soviet Union and the U.S. Government. President Eisenhower of the United States and Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union sent messages to the Conference. And, finally, several speeches were given in the conference, all attesting to the pressing needs of Africa. The need for social and economic development was seen as the major concern the ILO should have in Africa. 15 This general opinion of the delegates was no surprise to the ILO, as we saw earlier (Chapter I). Between the year of its establishment and the outbreak of the Second World War, the ILO was actively engaged in the formulation of con-

ventions and recommendations with particular reference to Africa. Now, it was time to give practical effect to its obligations by shifting the emphasis from conventions to more concrete issues: How will the organization assist new states in their developmental problems?

Various items were discussed in the Conference, among which were vocational and educational needs, freedom of association, and the extent to which the African states would protect the workers' right to organize. The Conference was gradually leading into political issues, despite the earlier request of the Director-General that the Conference should avoid such issues. The Prime Minister of Nigeria, Tafawa Balewa, made it plain in a speech to the Director-General and the delegates of the Conference that politics could not be dissociated from social problems. He said:

I have noted with a good deal of sympathy the request in the latest Report of the Director-General that this Conference should avoid political issues. But I must confess that my sympathy is divided equally between the Director-General and those delegates who believe in all honesty that labor problems are so closely related to politics that it is unrealistic to
to try to separate them.

The Prime Minister went on to refute an earlier statement in the speech by his Labor Minister that the "number of conventions ratified by the African States" was sufficient proof of the African states' acceptance of the ILO standards. He continued:

For instance in this continent the principles of the ILO regarding freedom of association and freedom of choice of employment...were being shamefully ignored...16

The Prime Minister was correct in saying that the ILO principles were being neglected in many parts of Africa, since several African governments were, and still are, engaged in perpetuating forced labor in their respective states. It is also possible that the Prime Minister was referring to the South African Government policy of Apartheid, especially when he concluded his speech by pointing out that "these matters are being taken up elsewhere by the African states."

Thus, the importance of the First African Regional Conference was that the African leaders had for the first time brought their social and political problems to the direct attention of an international agency. It is important, too, in the sense that the African governments at this time indicated a willingness to allow the ILO to share in making some political decisions on selected social problems in their stages.

Next in significance to the Conference just discussed was the Sixth Asian Regional Conference held in September, 1968 in Tokyo. Unlike the First African Regional Conference which made demands to the ILO in general terms, the Sixth Asian Regional Conference was more specific. The Asian states unanimously agreed, and specifically pinpointed the principal factors they regarded as contributing to the retarded growth of the Asian states.\footnote{\textit{ILO Official Bulletin}, Vol. LII (March 1969), pp. 30-31.} Among these factors were the inadequate development and utilization of resources, the inadequacies of the various ILO aid programs to Asia, and, of course, the problem of pop-
ulation explosion, with all of its concomitant difficulties. The Asian states further brought to the attention of the ILO the fact that they were being hampered by the current international arrangement which restricted trade in manufactured goods from the outside, in effect, meaning that the Asian states had to manufacture their own products or go without them. Without drawing the conclusion as to what this international arrangement would do to their economy, the Asian states singled out specific areas in which the ILO should strive to assist.

The Conference, in order to facilitate the ILO operation in Asia, passed resolutions which urged the Asian states to: (1) adopt population policies consistent with national conditions and the Asian Manpower Plan; (2) consider providing adequate information relating to health and family planning; and (3) enlist the cooperation of employers and workers in the preparation and execution of these activities. The Conference further requested that the Governing Body of the ILO authorize the Director-

18Ibid., pp. 32-35.
General to assist the Asian states in the fields of ILO competence and in cooperation with the UN specialized agencies. 19

Thus, the significance of the Sixth Asian Regional Conference is that the Asian states made specific demands of the ILO in the exact areas in which they thought the organization was fit to assist them. To make sure of the positive reaction of the ILO, the Asian delegates (unlike the African delegates in the conference discussed earlier) avoided all political questions and emphasized the human aspect of their problems.

The significance of the two conferences is that the new states finally realized that they could make use of the ILO in solving their social problems. That is, they realized that social problems of their states could best be solved by the concerted energy of an international body designed for that purpose and, moreover, that if the states which experienced these problems cooperated with each other, they could exert powerful influence in putting

the international agencies to an acid test. The interesting thing to note here is that, unlike the issues concerning constitutional amendments or equalizing the financial burden of the member states of the ILO, the super powers did not raise any objection to the Afro-Asian states' demands. Instead, they cooperated with them and everyone agreed, at the conclusion of these conferences, that the conferences were indeed successful.

The Field Offices

The creation of the ILO Field Offices in Asia and Africa goes back to 1949 and 1950, respectively. One of the main reasons for their creation was the threat posed by, and the success of, Communism in mainland China. Another reason was to help coordinate the various programs of the ILO. After the Communist victory of 1948, the ILO, in order to curtail further Communist victory in the rest of Asia (and Africa), established field offices to that end, first in Asia and later in Africa.

What conditions, contributing to the success of Com-
munism in Asia prompted the ILO to guard against it by establishing several field offices, not only in that continent but in Africa as well? This is a very significant question, and we should not be disappointed when we cannot fully answer it here, as it is beyond the scope of this study. However, let it suffice here to briefly summarize the findings of C.P. Fitzgerald, who points out that before the 1948 Communist victory, Chinese society was predicated upon the philosophy of feudalism (as opposed to agrarianism), the doctrines of Confucianism, Taoism, and the Universal Empire. The doctrine of the Universal Empire denied the existence of an outside world superior to that of China. The philosophy of Confucius emphasized submission and obedience to leadership as virtues emanating from the mandate of Heaven, or the belief that God rules the universe through his appointed men. Taoism, on the other hand, repudiated Confucianism and emphasized revolution as the necessary precondition for

the attainment of a good life under unjust leadership. These social doctrines created social dislocations, thus, giving Communism an opportunity to build on the doctrine of the Universal Empire, and Marxism on the doctrines of Confucianism and Taoism. Mr. Fitzgerald concludes by pointing out that the "coalition of peasant and scholar" was the major factor for the "triumph of the Chinese Communism." Thus, it can be agreed that the success of Communism in China was due more to the fabric of Chinese society than to the dogmatic appeal of Communism. For these reasons, it appears that the ILO was compelled to establish field offices not only as the supervisory mechanisms for its programs and activities in the new states but as means of reducing social polarization in order to prevent another Communist China.

It appears that while the primary function of these offices was to help to reduce the disparities between the developed states and the underdeveloped states by providing information and assistance in establishing the ILO

21 loc. cit., p. 274.
Manpower Programs, the field offices were also to act as agents against Communist infiltration in the new states. Whether these offices have been successful in this political role is not our concern here. Our concern is to trace the activities of these offices and to show how they have been more the product of the general Afro-Asian impact on the ILO.

The ILO field offices assist the organization in several ways toward social development. One of these is by thwarting the potential targets of Communism. That is to say that a particular region not only helps to coordinate the ILO technical assistance in a particular region, but also supervises the work of experts and informs them on the applicability and inapplicability of the adopted recommendations. Moreover, these activities are directed toward economic development, which in turn, if successful, leads to the eradication of the constant problems of unemployment. This, in effect, means the minimization and/or eradication of Communism, since the Marxist influence is greater among the unemployed than among the employed. This point is self-deductive if one looks, in retrospect,
at the past five or six years in the United States. Such chants as "Burn, Baby, Burn" and the present Black Panther policy based on Marxist-revolutionary ideology are indications of how socio-political phenomena can force the estranged masses into various activities.

George C. Lodge has analyzed the purpose and activities of the ILO in the past several years and has concluded that the "ILO is indeed an anti-Communist organization." Nevertheless, there is an organization in the U.S. which, at one point, regarded the ILO as a Communist-Socialist organization. This is the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), which requested not to be represented in the ILO and refused to attend the 1961 session. NAM further sought in vain the withdrawal of the United States government from that organization.

The ILO has accurately described the work of its field offices in the Asian states. It says, among other things, that:

22 Lodge, George C., op. cit., p. 212-216.

23 loc. cit., p. 217.
...the field office remains in close contact with the local, national, and international institutions in the region; it advises governments on the types of assistance that would be most useful for them; it gathers information on political, economic, and social events which might have an influence on the technical cooperative program; and it seeks to inform public opinion in the Asian countries about this program.\textsuperscript{24}

In order to disseminate ILO information to the local people, national correspondents are attached to the ILO field offices. The job of these people is to make ILO activities known to the local people by publishing this information in the local dialects. In 1962, in order to increase and facilitate the social and economic commitment to the less developed states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, UN-ILO Liaison Offices were created. At present, there are four such offices in Asia, and three in Africa. In addition, there are offices of the UN Economic Commission, one each in Africa and Asia. These are two examples of interaction between the UN and the ILO.

In addition to the various activities of the ILO

\textsuperscript{24}ILO and Asia, op. cit., p. 16.
field offices mentioned above, the ILO has also, through these offices, assisted the Afro-Asian states in other ways toward social development. Prominent among these are: (1) the development of cooperatives; (2) the establishment of the Institute for Labor Studies, with its emphasis on the bargaining process; and (3) the growth and development of trade unions. I have placed all these latter activities under the heading "The Process of Socialization" which is the next task. The reader should keep in mind, however, that we are describing and analyzing only the major activities of the ILO in Africa and Asia.

The Process of Socialization

The different attempts of the ILO to establish educational and training centers in the Afro-Asian states are, as noted above, included in the process of socialization. My reason for saying this is primarily based on the usual definitions of the term "socialization". Socializa-
tion has been defined as a "process of enculturation",\(^\text{25}\) or the "general process of learning"\(^\text{26}\) which takes place in different dimensions.\(^\text{27}\) Thus, any human activity, whether economic, educational, political, or social, which is designed to induce attitudinal change in behavior or contribute to social progress can, to a great extent, be referred to as a process of socialization.

The greater part of the ILO socialization process for the Afro-Asian states lies in the field of education. The reason for this is that the ILO is interested in educating workers of these states to become active participant in matters affecting them. And it declares that "in order to foster economic advancement and social progress every effort must be made to ensure financial and technical assis-


tance" for the less developed states. This effort to ensure "financial" and "technical" assistance has taken the form of re-education for the workers of the Afro-Asian states. I say "re-education" because the so-called educational process with which these states formerly indulged their citizens was irrelevant to their social needs, since it emphasized mainly the western philosophical speculations of knowledge predicated upon Cartesian metaphysics and Aristotlian logic. Kwame Nkrumah, writing on the irrelevance of African education under colonialism, has pointed out that such irrelevancy was a politically calculated technique of the colonial masters to prepare the young Africans for the colonial system. Moreover, the educational systems in the African and Asian states were structured to glorify states and their leadership as well as the colonial system rather than to increase the empathy of the individual to the outside world. Such Western

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slogans of Social Darwinism as "a man is poor because he does nothing" and the more recent political slogan, "Do not ask what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country" are used invariably, and without knowing their meaning, by the leaders of the new states to indoctrinate the masses and co-opt the educational system to their motives.

In other words, African and Asian educational systems were not structured to conform to the needs of these societies in terms of economic and social advancement. As a result, today, when as African or Asian speaks of freedom, he does not mean individual freedom but freedom from foreign oppression or domination. Yet, any fight for freedom today in these states lies not in colonial suppression but in overthrowing the present leadership in many of these states. This is the ambiguity in Afro-Asian political thought. Today, the real suppressor of freedom in these societies is not colonialism but Africanism or Asianism. That is to say that the destroyer of African or Asian freedom is not the villain, "colonialism", but the African and Asian leaders who regard their respective
governments as a family institution and regard laws as mechanisms by which these institutions and their norms are protected.

Thus, the educational systems in the Afro-Asian states seem to support these caricatures of political institutions based on usurpation of privilege to govern, and they fail on closer analysis to be the instrument for social progress. Only proper education can be viewed as a mechanism for social progress. It is for this reason that the ILO, in conjunction with the other specialized agencies of the UN, began to take the greater part of the burden to redirect social changes in many parts of the Afro-Asian states. The reader should also keep in mind that the ILO does not indulge in political matters as a means to redirect these changes. However, by introducing an educational system that is conducive to social mobility and economic and social advancement, the political problems retarding social progress will, sooner or later, be

\[29\text{Energy and Skills for Human Development, op. cit., p. 56.}\]
overcome. Education not only makes a man conscious of himself but makes him critical of the problems of his society.

The problem of redirecting ILO energy in this channel was recognized as early as 1958 by the Director-General in his report. He said:

Today the ILO must, I feel, be prepared for yet another departure...It seems to me that the formulation of standards on the one hand and transmission of technique on the other, do not cover all the needs for international social action today. They leave a gap; there remains the need to be able to understand and deal constructively with social problems in concrete shape as they arise in specific times and place...It is primarily a matter of education, and of education in the classical sense of development of individual's latent capacities which will enable him to assume social responsibilities and to help to work out his own ways the solutions to the social problems of his community...
The ILO objectives can be achieved only to the extent that national societies are resilient and can respond creatively to the problems which confront them. We, in the ILO, therefore, have the greatest interest in promoting this resiliency,
and the best way we can get at the problem is through education. \[^{30}\] (Italics mine)

Two years later, in Oct. 25, 1960, the Director-General reiterated the ILO position in a speech in London in which he emphasized that education must be the core of the ILO development program. \[^{31}\] The ILO, however, has explained its socialization process in the new states of Africa and Asia—with particular reference to Africa—in this way:

The African governments are turning more and more to the ILO and to the other specialized agencies \[^{32}\] of the UN] for help in assessing their resources, in developing their institutions...skills of their peoples and in formulating their overall economic and social problems.

The tendencies not only of the African states but of the Asian states as well to turn to the ILO for assistance have also had great impact on social legislation in these

\[^{30}\] The 1958 Report of the Director-General as quoted in Energy and Skills for Human Development, p. 27.

\[^{31}\] loc. cit., p. 71.

\[^{32}\] loc. cit., p. 68.
states. That is, the conventions and recommendations of the ILO soon began to influence the leaders of the Afro-Asian states as the ILO formulated standards that had direct bearing on them. Furthermore, the International Labor Standards that were formulated by the ILO provided the patterns for national legislation in many parts of Asia. The government of Pakistan declared, in 1960, that its labor policy "shall be based on ILO conventions" that had been ratified.

The Labor Minister of Nigeria, Mr. J.M. Johnson, expressed his government's position on the ILO contribution to social progress at the First African Regional Conference in December, 1960. He said:

Practically all our labor legislation...even that dating back as far as 30 years, has been largely based upon the principles enunciated, accepted and codified by the ILO.

However, in the same speech, the Labor Minister went on to assume respectively the Utopian and Wilsonian postulates that when nations make covenants they will always honor them, and that international covenants create international morality. He continued:
The same [ILO standard] applies in varying extent to most of the African countries and territories represented here today. This is evidenced by the number of conventions ratified by the member states in Africa.\textsuperscript{33} [Italics mine]

This last sentence in the quotation is misleading. Many African governments, even though they ratified the Forced Labor Convention (No. 30), continued to perpetuate forced labor in their territories. Thus, this contradiction led to the Nigerian Prime Minister's reaction to politics and forced labor in Africa. (see page 96)

The case of Pakistan, however, is remarkable, not only when we look at the number of conventions it has ratified but when we consider the priority it has placed on some of these conventions. The government of Pakistan has ratified a total of 28 conventions, among which 14 are placed on the priority list. Next to Pakistan is India, having 27 and 13 respectively, with Japan trailing behind

with 24 and 6. Thus, of all the Asian states, it can be said that Pakistan and India regard the ILO social standards as having ultimate importance to their social development. We shall return to this subject in Chapter VI, where we will deal with the ILO feedback on the Afro-Asian states. At the present, we are mainly concerned with the various ILO socialization processes in the Afro-Asian states.

The ILO has, since 1960, realized two facts about the Afro-Asian development program: first, that its primary concern should not only be with the accumulation of legislative standards but also with creating the institutions needed to give these standards practical effect; and, secondly, that the problems affecting the new states are of different natures, and as such, they must be dealt with in special ways. These special ways led to the creation of educational and vocational centers as part of the general process of socialization. What kind of education does the ILO aim at for the development of these

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\[34\] International Labor Review, op. cit., p. 312.
The ILO education process in the new states has been mainly concerned with the ManPower Development Program as a mechanism for social progress and as a means to thwart Communist appeal. Under the ManPower Program, the young Afro-Asians are taught how to function effectively within their societies. They are taught useful skills, both mechanical and technical. When the young people learn these skills, they are ready to take employment in factories and plants and to become active participants in the economic and social development of their society. The social mobility of these younger people may serve in turn as an encouragement to other young people. Thus, these mobilizing activities, predicated upon individual skills, tend to create new meritocracy and may help to abrogate the traditional mobilization system based on kinship. What this means, in effect, is that the new mobilization system of meritocracy becomes an instrumental value (as opposed to a consummatory value) hindering the progress of Communism on the one hand, and bringing pressure to bear on the leadership for equitable distribution of wealth on
the other hand. That is to say that the new skills within these societies provide the means by which societal wealth can be distributed and enhance the atmosphere conducive to social progress. We are operating here purely under a theoretical framework and at the same time avoiding the question of the brain drain. For example, what happens when the individual in a particular society learns that he can make more money for his skills elsewhere than he is making now?

We cannot answer this question, as it is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it suffices here to point out that the ILO probably thought of the problem of the brain drain when it established institutes for labor study in parts of these states where the Afro-Asian workers learn the mechanics for the formation of trade union and the process of collective bargaining. The formation of unions also affects the cause of Communism, since where strong trade unions exist, the individual worker is less concerned with the Marxist utopianism of the "ownership and the means of production" of workers than with his desire to reap some benefits of his labor. Therefore,
strong trade unions tend to become an anathema to communist activities. Thus, Communism is, to a great extent, undermined. Moreover, the formation of trade unions also affects the traditional societies by exerting influence on their regimes, hence forcing a change in government. Pareto, commenting on the rise and fall of the Italian elites when industry was developed and trade unions formed says: "Where industry is highly developed the working class is bound, sooner or later, to achieve great power."35

The ILO socialization process for the Afro-Asian states—though it takes many forms: education, vocational training, etc.—provides the means to implement its standards. The widening of these dimensions of the organization makes it a true mechanism for social progress. As education in the new states is redirected to take account of the pressing needs for self-actualization of the people, the beginning of social progress is indeed underway.

At present, the ILO spends $20,000,000 (as compared to $55,000 in 1959) on technical training as part of the general process of socialization, and this constitutes the major part of the UN Development Program. This is another example of the cooperation between the ILO and the UN with respect to the social development of the developing states.

In short, the ILO socialization technique in the new states is based on the assumption that the transformation of individuals precedes the transformation of societies. As individuals learn new useful skills, their contributions to the society becomes more tangible, which induces a new behavioral synthesis among the people within the society. This synthesis provides the framework within which peaceful mobility can take place. This mobility, in turn, leads to social progress and eradication of violent social change, the agent of which is Communism, its philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, the Afro-Asian

states are utilizing the resources of the organization to achieve this end and, therefore, the impact of the Afro-Asian states on the ILO can be analyzed in terms of the positions they have won and their influence on the organization to respond to their needs. Some of these positions and influences have been the various categories described: the Regional Conferences, the Field Offices, and the Socialization Process. Another impact is the position the Afro-Asian states induced the ILO to take with respect to South Africa. This subject will be taken up in the next chapter.
CHAPTER V
SOUTH AFRICA: THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

The past several years have seen the government of South Africa put into effect a series of measures aimed at disenfranchising the black majority and ensuring socio-political control of the state by the small white minority. Prominent among these measures are the Bantu* Education Act, the Bantu Self-Government Act, and the Pass Law Act. These enactments, to a great extent, have added to the social hardships which the blacks endure in South Africa.

The Bantu Education Act cuts the educational system of South Africa in two: one part for blacks, and the other for whites. The Pass Law Act, which the late Albert J. Luthuli, the former leader of South African blacks, was quoted as saying makes the South African blacks "political

*The term "Bantu" as used by the South African government refers specifically to Africans of no mixed blood. Mulattos and 'colored' are not included in this terminology. In this paper, unless otherwise noted by 'Act', we will use the word 'blacks' instead of Bantu.
and social outcasts," puts the blacks on reservations which they cannot leave without permission to do so. And finally, the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 abrogated Parliamentary representation for black Africans and euphemistically provided for Bantu self-governing units. Leslie Rubin views the creation of these units as based on the following principles: (1) the existing representation was "the source of European fears of being swamped by the Bantu in the political sphere"; (2) the "legitimate needs and desires of the African would receive better attention under the proposed system." Thus, we find in South Africa the existence of two separate states, one of which is subject to the other.

The South African government's claim of being a democracy is questionable, not only because of the existence

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of institutional conflicts, but especially because of inattention given to the peaceful solution to these conflicts. This lack of attention simply complicates the conflicts, the solution to which depends on "genuine democracy" for South Africa. By "genuine democracy", I mean the search for peaceful resolutions of conflicts between peoples within a state and the equal coexistence of social and ethnic groups within a politico-territorial organization, sometimes referred to as the nation-state. No matter what political liberties exist within a state, they must be consummated with social and economic liberties; otherwise, the claim of democracy is fictitious and it becomes a matter of triviality. The South African government's claim is self-defeating when we view the measures designed to suppress blacks. In this chapter, we will briefly discuss these problems: i.e. South Africa's policy of apartheid, and the attempts of the Afro-Asian states of the ILO to bring pressure to bear on the organization in respect to this policy.
What Is Apartheid?

To a stoic philosopher, the term "apartheid" is synonymous with lack of feeling and absence of emotional involvement. To him, the world is structured in such a way that "true" happiness and the gratification of needs can only be achieved through the cultivation of these conditions. To the South African government, apartheid is an official policy based on the social "justice" and reasonableness of separating the races, particularly to prevent the blacks from contaminating the purity of the Afrikaner's race and its civilization. It is, therefore, a mechanism for the separation of the races and a type of social discrimination based on race and supported by law.\footnote{loc. cit., p. 945.}

To the black African, apartheid is the instrument by which South African whites deprive the black population of their political and social liberties. It is the instrument by which the whites maintain themselves in power. Apartheid is a policy which denies social and racial equality. It
is the belief of the South African government that a
black man, whatever his education or wealth may be, is
inferior to a white man because God made him so. Cecil
Northcott has summarized the general effect of apartheid
on South African blacks in this way: "They (the blacks)
must go where they are sent, stay where they are put.
They have no political or human rights, and the debased
doctrine which controls their life and movement offers no
machinery of protest."^ Thus, apartheid is the political
euphemism for black slavery, which rests on the coercive
power of the state, enforced and perpetuated by law.

However defined or rationalized, apartheid is what
the former U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Arthur J. Goldberg,
described as "one of the greatest offenses against human
rights still existing in the world."^ The offenses to
which Mr. Goldberg referred continue to be the official

^Northcott, Cecil, "Two Nations in One." Christian

^Speech of the U.S. Ambassador, Arthur J. Goldberg,
at the UN General Assembly as quoted by Leslie Rubin, "A-
domestic policy of the South African government and have caused much psychological pain and even many deaths. Between 1911 and 1968, 2,323 persons have been hanged. The non-whites accounted for about 99 percent of this number and more than half of these hangings occurred after World War II. A law professor in South Africa, Barend Van Niekerk, has described the execution this way: "South Africa is responsible for 90 percent of all judicial executions in the Western World" and he added, "We simply believe in death as a mode of life." Another law professor in South Africa has compared that state with the eighteenth century England: "The environment in which the scope of death penalty has been so greatly increased over the past 12 years bears a marked resemblance to the environment in which a similar process occurred in England toward the end of the 18th century."


7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

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Apartheid as an official policy in South Africa is a recent phenomenon. The policy of apartheid did not exist at the time of the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1909. For two hundred years, blacks and whites lived together without color implications in politics or in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1829, a question was raised in the Dutch Reformed Church as to whether the non-white members should celebrate communion with the whites. This question was answered unanimously in the affirmative, based on the Christian principle of the "unshakable rule" of the equality of mankind before God. Twenty-eight years later, in 1857, the church changed its position on the "unshakable rule" and established a separate church for blacks, in the belief that this would encourage the founding of an indigenous church. Blacks and whites, however, still continued to celebrate communion.

together, and there were black and white ministers of mixed congregations, despite the recent claim of some white South African writers that the process of apartheid began three hundred years ago "with natural apartheid" between the races.\(^{10}\)

In 1909, the South African Imperial Parliament passed the South African Act which established South Africa as a union of several states. It also disfranchised the non-white population of South Africa—especially the blacks—by the abrogation of parliamentary representation for them. In resistance to this act, in 1912, the Africans organized themselves as a political party, the African National Congress (ANC), under the leadership of the late Albert J. Luthuli, in order to denounce the political and social inequalities directed at them. However, this movement never gained momentum until after World War II, when, in 1948, the Nationalist Party came to power and, according to Rubin, "coined" the term "apartheid" as its offi-

cial policy. That policy was "based on the Christian principles of justice and reasonableness" to maintain and protect the various racial groups in separate communities.\textsuperscript{11} Eleven years later, in 1959, the Parliament passed the Bantu Education Act, referred to earlier as the summation of its policy to actuate the separate development of the races.

The developments during these eleven years (1948-1959) created a consciousness among the South African racial groups. For the first time, they began to consolidate their ethnic organizations into a massive alliance in defiance of these laws. The ANC, which existed mostly in name only, emerged as the most powerful organization. In order to mobilize support, the ANC sought in vain to join with the South African Indian Congress, another political party, in the belief that the latter would provide them with leadership through its principles based on Gandhi-ism.\textsuperscript{12} However, the extreme nationalism of the ANC was

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11}Rubin, Leslie, loc. cit., p. 947.
\item \textsuperscript{12}Callan, Edward, loc. cit., p. 28.
\end{itemize}
incompatible with the goals of the South African Indian Congress, making it impossible for the two parties to merge. The ANC, therefore, shifted from the Indian Congress to the Congress of Democrats, a South African political party with an extreme Communist orientation and philosophy. This time, the ANC was successful, partly because there was no other political organ for them to join, and partly because the radical members of Congress of Democrats, mainly whites, were determined to use the blacks to further their own ends.

Within the ANC, however, there developed ideological conflicts between party members. The ANC began to weaken, as some members favored extreme African nationalism, while others preferred moderation. Consequently, the ANC split into two groups, one headed by Robert Sobkuwe, the other by Albert J. Luthuli. The "Africanists" or the Pan-American Congress, as the Sobkuwe group were called preferred alliance only with those political groups whose members were black. Luthuli headed the rest of the ANC members. Dr. Callan has explained the Africanist nationalism in this way:
They [the Africanists] objected to the alliance of Congress with white liberals, or with Indian or Cape colored organizations. They criticized the Freedom Charter [the ANC platform] because its preamble declared that Africa belonged to all who lived there; for they wish to exclude from political rights all except the descendants of indigenous Africans.¹³

Dr. Callan also reports that the Africanists received moral support from some other African leaders, notably Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Touré, which in no way influenced the ANC to alter its policy based on political democracy.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the militant and extreme nationalism of the Africanists continued, resulting in the Sharpville incident of 1960. This incident received international attention, both in the UN and in the ILO, thus, creating embarrassment for the South African government.

Cecil Northcott has pointed out the diplomatic embarrassments experienced by the South African government with respect to her apartheid policy.¹⁵ Among those he

¹³ loc. cit., p. 39.
¹⁴ loc. cit., p. 40.
cites, the increasing world opinion against the government of South Africa, resulting in the loss of international contacts in travel, sports, and professional association. He quotes the South African Ambassador to the Netherlands, Colonel P.I. Hoogenhout, as saying that the government of South Africa has few friends, even among those with whom it has diplomatic relations: "Other countries maintain that there is such a thing as human right, and that we are passing oppressive and unjust laws against people who have no voice in our Parliament." Yet, with all these injustices of the government of South Africa, the African leaders are, at the present moment, considering establishing diplomatic relations with that government as a means of opening dialogue. This gesture creates problems when we try to evaluate the forces hindering the cause of black men in South Africa. Is it the white doctrinaire Boer or the black African leaders who are at fault?

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For the UN, however, the Sharpville incident was not surprise, however unfortunate. The UN involvement in South Africa's racial issues began as late as 1946, when it considered the treatment of the non-white population in that state. From 1951 to 1952, it also considered the social conflicts deriving from the apartheid policy unanimously adopted by the National Church Congress of South Africa in 1950. In 1954, the UN General Assembly adopted the finding of the commission which reported on racial situation in South Africa and described apartheid as a "threat to peaceful relations between the ethnic groups." Yet, none of these activities received wide attention until 1960, when the Sharpville incident occurred.

The Sharpville incident was the first great incident regarding South Africa to come before an international


organization in the 1960's. The incident arose when the South African police fired on some blacks who had gathered to protest against the Pass Laws—laws restricting the movement of blacks out of a designated area. Eighty blacks were killed, and about two hundred more wounded. In the UN Assembly, various proposals were adopted as resolutions, including diplomatic or economic sanctions against the government of South Africa. None of these resolutions, however, were put into effect, as most member states, particularly the Western states, did not wish to damage their political or economic interests in that state. Consequently, they only paid lip service to these resolutions and continued their usual affairs with the government and the economic elite of that state. However, the significance of the UN actions was that an international organization which represents almost the entire world condemned the people and government of South Africa for its apartheid policy. Of this alone, every South

African should be ashamed.

For the ILO, the Sharpville incident of 1960 required more action than simply official condemnation of a government policy. It appeared that the ILO was aware of what made the League of Nations wither away: the lack of effective action, secret diplomacy between member states, and subjective interpretation of the League's responsibility by its members. The ILO, determined to avoid these pitfalls, chose three methods of attack. The first of these was a request by the ILO for the government of South Africa to refrain from its policy of apartheid. The second was the condemnation of that government by the organization. And the third was the Nigerian Resolution, which called for expelling the government of South Africa from the ILO.

The Nigerian Resolution was introduced in the 1961 session of the ILO conference, and was the strongest proposed with regard to the South African government policy of Apartheid. It is true that the ILO had long been aware of the racial situation in South Africa through its reviews of the enacted laws of that state. As early as the
1926 Conference session, the Indian Worker's delegate, Mr. Lajpat Rai, criticized certain laws enacted in South Africa (presumably the 1909 Act), to which the South African government delegate is quoted to have replied: "we have to have special regulations in that country to protect the European races." Yet, none of these accusations against, or justification of, apartheid became as great an issue before the ILO as the Nigerian Resolution.

The Nigerian Resolution asked for withdrawal of the government of South Africa from the ILO, with the belief that the presence of South Africa in the organization constituted, in essence, an insult to the independent African states and the principles of the ILO. When the resolution was considered, the South African delegate challenged it by making a comparison between the wages of black laborers in South Africa and those of other African States, pointing out that South African blacks earned more money

21 Landelius, Torsten, op. cit., p. 466.

22 loc. cit., p. 483.
than any other black men in Africa.* After several speeches on the Nigerian resolution, some members thought that it would not be possible to apply the resolution without repercussions from the government of South Africa on the black population in that state. That is, if the government of South Africa were expelled from the organization, it would be a difficult thing for the ILO to bring pressure to bear on her with regard to the apartheid policy.

The Italian government delegate, Ago, who had chaired various committees bearing his name, suggested having South Africa stay within the organization, with the understanding that she be compelled to respect the principles of the organization and show cause for her violation of these principles.

*This comparison was meaningless because the Union of South Africa is the only industrial giant in Africa. For South Africa to have a case, it would have had to compare the wages of its black men with those in similarly developed states. The claim is also meaningless because it has been shown that the annual percapita income of South African blacks in Transkei, the so-called black governing territory, was $36.00. See also Rubin, Leslie, op. cit., pp. 948-949.
principles. Mr. Rossetti, the British government delegate, put his views this way: "Once one starts trying to exclude countries whose policies are considered offensive, where will one stop?" He pointed out that there might be another South Africa tomorrow, and he wondered what the ILO would do. Could the ILO ask that government to stay? The French delegate regarded the issue of expelling the government of South Africa as simply a means of releasing her of her obligation. That is to say, if the government of South Africa were expelled, the organization could not expect her to live up to its principles. The Canadian Workers delegate was, perhaps, the most diplomatic of all. He suggested that the ILO use moral, as opposed to legal, force on South Africa to bring its policy in line with that of the ILO. He further suggested that the ILO should say to the government of South Africa, in so many words: "We cannot expel you, but we feel uncomfortable when you are in our midst, and we therefore ask you to leave volun-

\[\text{\textsuperscript{23}}\text{loc. cit., p. 486.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{24}}\text{loc. cit., pp. 486-487.}\]
Though the Nigerian Resolution received a majority vote, it was changed, perhaps for diplomatic reasons, from direct withdrawal to condemnation of South Africa. It condemned the government of South Africa and further advised the Governing Body to advise that government to withdraw from the ILO until it had changed its racial policy. The government of South Africa, however, did not withdraw, but returned to the 1962 session the following year.

In the 1962 session, things were different. The government of South Africa sent a complete delegation. Perhaps, what was more surprising was that one of these delegates was a black man who claimed to be an African. An African, as defined by South African Law, "is any person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa", whereas a 'colored' person is defined as anyone "not a white person or

25 ibid.

26 loc. cit., p. 490.
an African." It seemed doubtful that the government of South Africa would allow an African to be a representative of any recognized group in that state. Therefore, Mr. Deane, the black representative, must have been a 'colored', not an African, according to South African racial terminology. Mr. Deane, who was the Workers' delegate, was believed to be the secretary of a local trade union and the president of the South African Trade Union Council (SATUC). He reported that the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which had formerly discriminated against Africans, had amended its rules to enable Africans to join. In his speech, Mr. Deane severely criticized the government of South Africa for its racial policy but urged ILO members not to boycott the country. In his view, the boycott would be ineffective, as it would not be enforced by all of the member states of the ILO and

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would only undermine the chances of race relations and jeopardize the blacks' position in South Africa. He indicated that his presence was, as he called it, "a happy augury for the future." 

Nevertheless, the Ghanian and Nigerian government delegates kept pushing for stronger action against the South African government, particularly in the 1963 and 1964 sessions of the ILO General Conference. In these sessions, the Afro-Asian states, with support from the Latin American states, became more vigorous opponents of the government of South Africa.

Shortly before the 1963 Conference began, the Afro-Asian states acted as a watchdog over the organizational activities. When the Daily Bulletin, in which the speakers' names are published, appeared, the Afro-Asian states immediately began checking out the names of the speakers. It appears that the name of the South African Workers' delegate, Mr. Hamilton, was among the speakers. It also appears that the Afro-Asian group had decided to bring con-

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29 ibid.
continuous embarrassment on the South African delegate whenever he was to speak. As Mr. Hamilton approached the speaker's microphone, the Egyptian government delegate, Mr. Abou-Alam, rose to make a point of order and sought the opinion of the chief administrative officers of the conference as to whether or not the South African delegate should be allowed to speak since his government had not complied with the 1961 resolution. In the same conference session, when the South African delegate was permitted to reply to a certain question of another delegate, the Liberian Workers' delegate, Mr. Tubman, interrupted him on a point of order as he was speaking, indicating that "when governments [do] not recognize each other, and

30 loc. cit., p. 495. The 1961 resolution, known as the Nigerian Resolution, condemned the government of South Africa and requested her not to participate in the ILO activities until it had refrained from its racial policy. Why this point of order did not occur earlier in the 1962 session is not clear. One logical explanation, however, is that the 1962 session witnessed the first black South African delegate, which pleased the Afro-Asian delegation.
diplomatic necessity require[s] that they communicate, they usually [go] through a third party.\textsuperscript{31} These 'points of order' manipulations were means by which the Afro-Asian delegates hoped to embarrass the government of South Africa. Landelius has pointed out that Mr. Slipchenko, the Vice-President of the 1963 session and its presiding officer, "proceeded to grant the floor to all those who wished to speak on a point of order",\textsuperscript{32} whenever the South African delegates were speaking. The major rationalization for this and the Afro-Asian group's refusal to hear from the ILO legal adviser regarding South Africa was: "the contention that the conference was supreme regarding this [racial] question."\textsuperscript{33}

The activities surrounding the South African delegate's rights to speak during the 1963 general conference have been reported by Landelius:

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{loc. cit.}, p. 497. Tubman, however, was wrong, as the circumstances to which we referred only happen in bilateral, not multilateral relations.

\textsuperscript{32}\textit{loc. cit.}, p. 495.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{loc. cit.}, p. 499.
When Hamilton South African Workers' delegate subsequently received the floor, a row broke out. The majority of delegates left the hall. In addition to the Afro-Asian and East European delegations, the Workers' delegations participated in the walkout. Several Africans ...stood in the farthest doorway and shouted "Assassin criminal" in a rhythmic chant the whole time the speech was being given. From a distance it looked like some form of ritual dance...  

Mr. Johnson, a Nigerian Workers' delegate and the President of the conference, resigned. The reason he gave for his resignation was that the conference had violated its 1961 resolution and, thus, imposed South Africa on the delegates. On the eve of the plenary session which was to discuss the budget, the African delegates called a press conference in which they criticized the government of South Africa for her undemocratic attitude towards its black citizens. They explained that "it was beyond their imagination to participate in a conference where the Re-

\[34]_{loc. cit., p. 499.}

\[35]_{loc. cit., p. 500.}
public of South Africa was represented; thus, they had decided to travel home.\textsuperscript{36}

When the conference met the next morning, the hall was almost empty. Not only the African delegates were absent, but the Asians and the Latin American delegates as well. This incident prompted the Polish government delegate, Mr. Chajn, to suggest that it would be an abnormal situation to continue the conference in the absence of the dissenting group:

About 40 percent of the members are absent from this afternoon's meeting. A whole continent in fact, the continent of Africa, is absent. This young, dynamic and active continent is not present among us this afternoon. Is it possible to consider that such circumstances provide the necessary legal prerequisites for taking up the study of such an important instrument as the budget of our Organization? What will people think if the ILO adopts its budget in such abnormal circumstances?\textsuperscript{37} Italics mine

The budget was not passed, and after eight days of demonstration against the government of South Africa, thirty-

\textsuperscript{36} loc. cit., p. 504.

\textsuperscript{37} loc. cit., p. 505.
six African delegates had left the conference,\textsuperscript{38} with fewer returning in the following session (1964).

The 1964 session of the ILO general conference became the testing ground for the impact of the African states on the organization. The African and Asian states could always count on each other's support. What is more, in the 1964 session, a new force that had emerged earlier in the 1963 session continued to give its support to the Afro-Asian stand. This was the Latin American bloc. Many of the Afro-Asian and Latin American members of the ILO were absent during the 1964 session as the result of the presence of the government of South Africa. I have summarized this absenteeism in the following table, by the groups.

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{loc. cit.}, p. 117.
TABLE IV

Average Number of Group Absences at the Twelve Record Votes During the 1964 ILO Session

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>LA</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>WE</th>
<th>SS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: AA = Afro-Asian States  
              LA = Latin American States  
              EE = Eastern European States  
              WE = Western European States  
              SS = Settler States  

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The ILO was quite aware of the reason behind the absenteeism. Consequently, in the 1964 session, despite the high absenteeism among the opponents of South Africa, the ILO amended its constitution to empower the Conference "to expel from membership of the ILO any member which the UN has expelled", provided such a decision is agreed upon by a two-thirds majority including two-thirds of the governments. This constitutional provision, stemming from Afro-Asian pressure, made the government of South Africa decide to terminate its membership in the ILO. South Africa, however, was considered a full member until 1966, since according to Constitutional provisions, it takes two years' notice before a member state can officially renounce its membership.

Was it the 1964 constitutional provision that prompted the government of South Africa to renounce its membership in the ILO? This question can be answered in the negative. In order for the 1964 amendment to apply to the government of South Africa, she first had to be expelled

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39 loc. cit., p. 16.
from the UN membership. That government, however, still holds a charter membership in the UN, where she maintains a considerable political and economic influence on the great power governments. Therefore, the reason for the decision of the government of South Africa to withdraw from the ILO membership lies somewhere else: first, in the embarrassing situation in which she found herself in the ILO, including its various committees; and second, in the equally embarrassing situation of her diplomatic relations with other states. The embarrassment for the South African government at the 1963 Conference resembles that of a ritual dance. The African states not only disregarded parliamentary procedures at this conference; what is more, they became so unruly that one would hardly think of such a conference as a form of parliamentary diplomacy. Also, the less publicity given the ILO conference (as compared with the UN) served as positive security for the behavior of the African states. At the UN, where the world's eyes are focused on the entire organization, parliamentary diplomacy tends to prevail. The writer has the profound conviction that this embarrassing situation in
which the government of South Africa found itself was the major cause of her decision to withdraw from the ILO.

With regard to the diplomatic embarrassment, the government of South Africa simply moved to a higher level within the organization framework (the UN), where she finds herself in a more relaxed diplomatic atmosphere, and where the capitalist states are, to a greater extent, determined to sacrifice the Union's non-white population for selfish economic reasons.

Various international agencies have brought pressure to bear on South African government with respect to her apartheid policy. Despite these pressures, the government of South Africa remained stubborn with respect to her racial policy. The ILO response to this continued defiance of her charter principles by the government of South Africa resulted in the latter's withdrawal from the organization. For the UN, however, the situation has been different. The continued existence of normal relations between the Union's government and the great power governments, particularly the United States, based as they are on economic and political realities, has made South African go-
vernment position in the UN much stronger than in the ILO.

It is also interesting to note that in the ILO a simple two-thirds majority is all that is required to pass a resolution or defeat a motion. Moreover, since the 1922 constitutional amendment, a veto power does not exist in the ILO. In the UN, however, the situation is different. Before any government (including the South African government) can be expelled from membership of the UN, such activities have to be recommended or approved unanimously by the Security Council. With any member of the Security Council objecting the expulsion will be impossible. Since the government of South Africa commands a considerable influence on certain members of the Security Council, the United States particularly, the chances of expelling her from the membership of the UN does not exist at present. This seems to explain why the government of South Africa, expelled from the membership of the ILO, continues to remain a charter member of the UN.
CHAPTER VI
ILO FEEDBACK ON THE AFRO-ASIAN STATES

In the preceding chapters, we saw how the Afro-Asian states exerted several pressures on the ILO. Among these were: (1) the demands for greater representation on the Governing Body by amending the ILO Constitution; (2) the economic and social pressures resulting in the establishments of Field Offices and Regional Centers; and (3) the pressure on the organization with respect to South Africa's Apartheid Policy. In this chapter, we are mainly concerned with the ILO demands on these states or the ILO feedback on the Afro-Asian states. The term "feedback" as is used in this section means the pressure of the ILO on the Afro-Asian member states to conform with its organizational principles.

Implementation vs. Non-Implementation of Conventions

Despite the fact that several Afro-Asian member states of the ILO have ratified its conventions, many of
them still fail to implement these conventions in their respective states. Some do this deliberately, others inadvertently. Some are more successful than others in implementing these conventions. The major reason, however, for those states that are successful is mainly the flexibility of their national constitutions in terms of amendment procedures. The failures of certain states to implement these conventions is mainly due to the diversity of their social systems which makes the implementation possible in one sector of the state but impossible in another sector. Thus, we have two truisms here: One, the flexibility of a national constitution facilitates future amendment. Two, the diversity of a social system within a state, due to a lack of communications, tends to make interpretations of its constitution subjective according to the different social segments, and hence, it weakens the universality of its constitution. The state of India falls in these two paradigms, whereas, most African states fall in neither of these two. Rather, most African states fall in what I call the "Bismarckian Paradigm": a system in which the constitution has little practical effect and
the power structure within the state is allocated strongly to one man.

The Asian states, despite the religious and linguistic problems that beset them and/or often go with plural societies, are more responsive to ILO conventions. The reason for this seems to be that these states have realized the need for social development not only in one sector of the continent but in the entire society as well. For this reason, the Asian states have developed various means hoping to achieve this initial purpose.

Implementation in Asian States

Let us examine some examples, beginning with India. Before 1935, the constitution of India presented problems to the ILO: Though it was the Federal Government which ratified the international conventions, including those of the ILO, the implementation of these conventions were left to the individual autonomous states. Thus, the government of India was powerless to enforce the implementation of ILO conventions throughout its territory. How-
ever, a 1935 amendment to the constitution gave wider scope to the central government, including the power to regulate and promote trade unions, and to protect the welfare of labor. In short, the amendment gave the Federal Government the power to enforce the application of ILO conventions in all parts of the state. Two years later, a committee was established to inquire into the conditions of life affecting laborers in industries. In submitting its report, the committee recommended unemployment benefits for workers.¹

With this increase in its concurrent power—in this case, granting an exclusive power to the Federal government—the government of India established a Tripartite Labor Organization resembling that of the ILO which was composed of the following representatives: Federal and State governments representatives, the Workers' representatives and the Employers' representatives.² The objec-


tive of this group was to promote uniform labor standards, including the application of the ILO labor standards, in all parts of the state. The formation of this group (Tripartite Labor Organization), however, was preceded by the establishment of the Royal Commission on Labor, before which the Indian delegates to the ILO conference appeared on their return and reported on the various items agreed upon by the conference. The delegates also assisted the Commission in formulating these reports into recommendations for the Tripartite Organization. The latter, as noted, was to implement these draft recommendations into conventions and see that they were applied in all parts of the state. Thus, the Indian Labor code was almost a direct result of the ILO effort to promote social progress. Therefore, the ILO did not have as much trouble with the government of India as it did with some governments of the Afro-Asian states.

Other Asian states trod somewhat in India's footsteps particularly during 1960 to 1970. In this period alone,

\[3\]"loc. cit., p. 35."
nearly every Asian state formulated some type of a labor code reflecting those of the ILO, either directly or indirectly. For example, the government of Pakistan declared that its social policies would be based on those of the ILO. In order to consummate this declared policy, the government of Pakistan in 1965 initiated a twenty-year plan designed particularly to provide employment for the future generation, women in particular, the majority of whom (68.5%) were, because of religious reasons, unemployed or underpaid. Three years later, the Asian states reiterated this intensive drive for social progress, not only for physically able persons but for those handicapped as well. "What next for the blind in Asia" was the theme of the Third Asian Conference on Work for the Blind held in Manila, Philippines, August 1968. The fourteen Asian states that attended the conference were all unanimous in their commitments to rehabilitate the blind. After adopting certain resolutions, the conference recommended that

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all Asian states concern themselves with integrating the blind in the general educational system. It further called for establishing programs for the rural blind in all Asian states.\(^5\)

Thus, the Asian member states of the ILO are not only responsive to the organizational conventions but even go beyond those in initiating their own as part of their general program for social progress, copying those of the ILO as guide to these programs.

**Implementation in African States**

What, then, is the general pattern for the African states, having described briefly those of the Asian states? The realities of the African political life have been, and will continue in the future to offer the major difficulty to the realization of certain ILO programs in these states. Basically, these realities are three: (1) The historical legacy, (2) the decrying of colonialism and

imperialism, and (3) the role of the Organization of African States (OAU). We will now examine each of these briefly.

The Historical Legacy

Today, it is a customary practice for leaders of post-independent Africa to evoke the past glories of Africa. They tell how Africa was the center of learning, knowledge, arts and sciences, and hence, the center of civilization. Whether some, or all, of these past glories may be historically true, do they really serve in place of social development for the continent today? Why did Africa lose its glory in the first place? These are some questions that every African ought to ask himself. It is not sufficient to know only the past glories; it is more important to know why these glories were lost. As a philosopher remarking on the imperative of knowing history said, "those who know nothing about it are prone to repeat..."
Some Africans indicate that the decline of African glories was due to the emergence of colonialism on the continent. This view, however simple, is implausible for one reason: the fact that colonialism was successful in penetrating the previous system indicates that the system had already lost its vitality. A similar argument can also be made for the death of colonialism in Africa. With the exception of those areas where political independence preceded bloody crises, colonialism had already lost its practical aim and it had become financially difficult to maintain. Therefore, neither the historical legacy nor the attainment of independence can be anything for the African to brag about. What Africa really ought to brag about is what she has done after independence, not what she did in the past. Few African leaders have realized the potential needs of Africa in terms of both educational and social development plans. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was

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one of these. Within one year after independence, the
government of Ghana had built two universities, two col-
leges, and twelve teachers training institutes, not to
mention primary and secondary schools.7 Furthermore,
living conditions in Ghana could not be matched with any
other state in Africa, save that of the Union of South
Africa. Thus, it was no wonder that Kwame Nkrumah was
regarded by many in the West as the champion of African
freedom despite the fact that many disliked him. His
concern for Africa's political and social development
were his major preoccupation until he was deposed by a
military coup in 1966.

The Decrying of Colonialism and Imperialism

Another technique perfected by many African leaders
to sustain themselves in power is the continuous beating
of the "dead horse" of imperialism. While many African
states have, politically speaking, gained their indepen-

dence, they nevertheless have attempted in almost meta-
physical terms to portray imperialism as a reality oper-
ating within the realm of their domestic and international
politics. For this reason, they have blamed imperialism
and neo-colonialism for all their social problems. It is
true that many aspects of imperialism can still be found
in many parts of Africa, but not in all of them. What
reasons can there be for such political paranoia? Is it
a political fabrication by some African leaders to guard
their leadership? While we cannot answer this question
here, it is sufficient to point out that these behavioral
patterns, when viewed analytically, show that most African
leaders employ these methods as a means to rally the popu-
lation behind them and, thus, legitimize their rule.
Moreover, while the decrying of colonialism before inde-
pendence in many parts of Africa became the major politi-
cal instrument by which the African leaders rallied politi-
cal support, after independence they have had to fabri-
cate new techniques for this purpose, although they con-
tinue the beating of the dead horse of imperialism as one
means to remain in power.
Akin to this method is that for gaining political power. This method operates primarily by outlawing any major opposition party as a subversive element which poses a threat to the system. This is one reason why many African states are characterized by one party. Some leaders of these states view the opposition not as offering alternatives to their policy formations, but rather, as posing a threat to the values upon which the state is built.\(^8\)

The real reason for this, however, is that for the leaders of the new states, "politics is their profession. For them to go out of office is, in effect, to become unemployed."\(^9\) Apter, however, goes on to give some undue credit to the leaders of the new states for having put priority on industrialization. He continues, "...most new leaders are anxious to industrialize. Whatever the obstacles, industrialization is attractive to political leaders. The urge is great to catch up with the West and modernize

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economic and social institutions."¹⁰ I just cannot imagine how a government can modernize a society when political opposition does not exist; when the individual is limited in the choice he can make; when the public money is perpetually being stashed in the Swiss Banks for the aggrandizement of the few ruling groups. This is the major fault I see with Apter's analysis. While it is true that some leaders are striving vigorously to improve the social conditions of their people, far from all the leaders of the new states act in this role.

The fear of losing political and economic power is the major reason some African leaders emphasize one party system. They do this by putting the emphasis on a personal-nationalism which tends to equate the state with a personal domain detached from the rest of the African states.¹¹ They hold that paternalism and communalism are the African ways of life and that Western democracy is not

¹⁰ ibid.

the indigenous form of life for Africa. Yet, none of the proponents of this view would historically argue or prove that absolutism and aristocracy are indigenous to Africa. Immanuel Wallerstein, in analyzing the historical life in Africa before colonialism, has pointed out that African society was predicated neither on kinship, nor aristocracy but on a pluralism with well-defined lines of responsibility and that when a leader failed to perform his duty he could be removed from his post.12

The Role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

The story of the continent of Africa, in general, is like the biblical story of the Pentacost. According to this story, Christ's disciples uttered various speeches that they had never known before as a result of the power of the Holy Spirit. The continent of Africa, recently emancipated from direct colonial rule, is also uttering new and previously unknown expressions. Some of these expres-

visions are as realistic as those of Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah regarded the political freedom achieved through African unity as the necessary pre-condition to all other freedoms. Thus, his prophetic exhortation, "Seek ye political kingdom first all others shall be added unto you."

Some African leaders, however, regard African unity primarily in terms of economics. According to this view, economic cooperation between the African states should be the major focus for unity. The latter view has prevailed among the dictators and aristocrats. The two views, however, have caused a continuing intellectual debate among African intellectuals.

Kwame Nkrumah, the spearhead of post-independent Pan-African movement has argued vigorously that African unity is trivial without political unity. According to Nkrumah, "neo-colonialism", which is defined as "the sum total of modern attempts of the colonial powers to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about freedom", can only be combated through political unity, not economic
Furthermore, according to Nkrumah, neo-colonialism is imperialism in disguise since the latter has testified to its inability to rule any longer by the old method. This attempt to integrate Africa politically and economically has resulted in the establishment of the OAU. The OAU, however, has not proved itself capable of political integration nor has that been its real aim.

The first OAU Conference sometimes called the Conference of Black African Leaders was held in 1959 in Sani-quollie, Liberia. The conference was attended by the then three leaders of independent black Africa: William Tubman of Liberia, Sekou Touré of Guinea, and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Nkrumah had anticipated that the purpose of this conference would be to lay the framework for African political unity with the expectation that as more African states received their independence, they would join it. Rather, the purpose of the conference, as it turned out,

was to safeguard each other's independence.\textsuperscript{14}

The question of African unity was raised, but it was argued that this unity should be based only on economic interdependence until the majority of the African states had received their independence. Nkrumah, however, disagreed with this view. To him, it was time to lay the foundation for African political unity. After all, the U.S. began with only thirteen states. The major achievement of the Saniquollie Conference, however, was that it paved the way for the subsequent conference known as the Monrovia Conference, held in the capital city of Liberia in 1961.

It was expected that the Monrovia Conference would be more spectacular. While foundations for African unity had been discussed somewhat in Saniquollie, the Monrovia Conference reiterated these and made much more specific the points raised earlier. This time, the three African leaders, despite the fact that they disagreed with each other, set the principles of sovereignty as guiding future

\textsuperscript{14}Thaim, Dandou, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 43.
relations between African states. These principles were:
(1) absolute equality of all member states, (2) non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, (3) respect for each other's sovereignty, and (4) condemnation of subversive activities directed from the outside.15 Thus, these two conferences simply showed that the African leaders did not regard the question of African unity as important as that of safeguarding their independence. This original paralysis of the OAU has continued throughout its short history.

In the various OAU Conferences, the member governments have simply reiterated their positions to maintain their independence. Moreover, the OAU does not provide protection for workers, political parties, or trade unions in the member states. This is the uniqueness of the OAU. The OAU is also unusual in that its charter is vague and each member state is virtually left free to determine for herself what actions to take in case of national and international crises. The charter of the OAU permits the

15 loc. cit., p. 45.
member states to pursue independent foreign policies based on the erroneously termed "positive neutralism" and "non-alliance". Whatever meanings these phrases, "positive neutralism" and "non-alliance" might imply, it is believed by many that these phrases, as they apply to Africa, are meaningless since foreign military and naval bases are found in many parts of Africa.

To become a political instrument for the development of African society and to foster economic development, the OAU would have to have certain powers to which the member states were compelled to conform. Its power would have to include the right of political opposition. Since the purpose of a two-political party system is to provide the people with alternative choices, the OAU should then act as the machinery to foster and to safeguard this right. In this way, an opposition could emerge and use the constitution of the OAU as its safety device to stay in existence and seek power. But the OAU, since it serves the interest of only a few groups, has contributed little to the development of African society.

Thus, one can easily visualize the reasons why some
African states violate the ILO conventions: the historical legacy, with its emphasis and distortion of the past and negligence of the present and the future; the decrying of colonialism which creates both compulsive and paranoid behavior by the entire society and which is used to rally support for the dictatorial regimes; and the OAU which acts as a protective shield for oppression. When one considers these three forces at work simultaneously in the African society, it becomes clearer why the ILO had its greatest problems in enforcing conventions in the African states.

The questions concerning the failure of certain member governments to implement the ratified conventions in their states resulted in major ILO feedback on the Afro-Asian states, particularly the African states. Symbolic among these states was Liberia. Accusations against the government of Liberia were pressed by the government of Portugal after the latter had itself been accused of non-compliance by the government of Ghana.

On October 25, 1961, the government of Ghana lodged a complaint against Portugal for failing to implement the
forced Labor Convention (#29) in her African territories, and further requested the Governing Body to set up a special commission of inquiry to investigate the complaint. Ghana was advised by the Governing Body to back up her allegations by furnishing some evidence supporting the complaint. The government of Ghana fired back that it should be the responsibility of the commission to prove or disprove her allegations. After a long debate, the Governing Body finally went along with the government of Ghana and established the Commission of Inquiry which went to the Portuguese territories. Many of Ghana's key witnesses, it has been reported, were either missionaries or political exiles from the Portuguese territories. The Commission, however, found that there was no evidence to support Ghana's allegation, but urged the government of Portugal to improve the labor condition in her territories. For the government of Ghana, however, the Commission decision was seen as a victory as it drew the attention of the entire organization. Moreover, the Commission...

16 Haas, Ernest, op. cit., p. 363.
sion's decision did result in the improvement of labor conditions in the Portuguese territories.

Six months later, the government of Portugal lodged a complaint against Liberia for: (1) failing to remove from her legal code measures permitting the use of forced labor—in this case, porterage or compulsory participation in public work and cultivation; (2) failing to furnish the ILO with annual report on ratified conventions (including the Forced Labor Convention); and (3) tolerating the use of forced recruitment practices by the Firestone Plantations Company. The government of Liberia, wishing to avoid the same embarrassment as Portugal, moved to dismiss the complaint on the grounds that it was politically motivated. When this request was turned down, the government of Liberia refused to allow the Commission of Inquiry to enter the country to investigate the allegation. This position of the Liberian government seemed to some to support the validity of the accusations. Although the Commission did not go to Liberia, it, nevertheless, reported

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17 loc. cit., p. 367.
to the Governing Body in January, 1963, that the legisla-
tion of Liberia until the date of the complaint was in-
consistent with the ILO obligations and constitution, and
it further declared:

"It may be convenient for us to recapitulate
the position in a nutshell. Liberia ratified
the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, on 1 May,
1931, but major discrepancies between Liberian
legislation and the requirements of the Con-
vention were not eliminated until February and
May 1962; there was, therefore, throughout the
period, a failure to secure the effective ob-
servance of the provisions of the Convention.
Though a few anomalies remain to be rectified,
the action necessary to bring the law into
substantial uniformity with the requirements
of the Convention has now been taken. Liberia
has repeatedly failed to make the reports on
the application of the Convention required by
Article 22 of the Constitution of the Interna-
tional Labour Organization and Article 22 of
the Convention itself, but a report has now
been made for the period 1960-62, undertakings
have been given that reports will be made re-
gularly in the future, and administrative ar-
rangements have been made for this purpose.
A full inquiry into the facts relating to the
application of the legislation which has now
been repealed would be profitless; it is clear
that the major expansion of Liberia's economy
in recent years, due largely to rubber and iron
mining and characterized by major public works
which have opened up the country, has not been based on forced labour."\textsuperscript{18}

The second case with respect to Africa was that of Dahomey. In November, 1962, the government of Dahomey decreed and ordered the dissolution of one trade union in that state. This action of the government prompted the ILO Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association to refer the incident to the Committee of Experts. The latter examined this question in 1963 and in turn referred it to the Committee of Application of Conventions.

The Committee on the Application of Conventions set the following year (1964) as the date to investigate the allegation. Meanwhile, the government of Dahomey hastened to mend its ways and reported to the ILO Governing Body that the alleged decree was no longer in force. She further reported that the organization concerned had been

reinnstituted. 19

Our third example is Kenya. Before 1964, it was found that the government of this state had permitted forced labor by allowing the passage of certain local laws and regulations which permitted forced labor for a certain amount of years. 20 Since local regulations of any governmental system are subordinate to the central government, the ILO, therefore, regarded the government of Kenya as having the responsibility to nullify this law. Consequently, in 1964, the Committee of Experts was able to put pressure on the government of Kenya to repeal this provision and the government of Kenya complied.

The African states, as it appears, when pressed by the ILO to observe its conventions generally agree to do so. The question, however, is, will they do so in the future? Some African states tend to place greater priority on some of these conventions, while neglecting others,


particularly the forced labor convention. Still, other African states neglect all of these conventions simply because their governmental systems are not based on law but rather on men. Thus, the major problem balkanizing the African states, as we have emphasized, is not colonialism or imperialism, but Africanism. By the term "Africanism", we mean both the misunderstanding and the misconception of the realities of life in historical perspective as they are being interpreted by leaders in these states. Their arbitrary interpretations, moreover, serve the conscious motives of these leaders to influence the masses of the population. When a historical misinterpretation of a people's way of life is consciously employed by a leadership group, the end result is likely to be indoctrination. In Africa, as we have seen, several methods are employed to serve this end.
The International Labor Organization evolved as a response to the social problems of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The First World War had convinced the European statesmen that the major cause of war and social unrest was labor unrest. For this reason, the ILO was established as Part III of the Peace Covenant to strive to improve the conditions of labor. The ILO activities at first were ill-defined and were primarily European-oriented. However, as the years went by and particularly after the Second World War, when its membership began to increase and new forces and ideologies continued to threaten peace, these same statesmen saw the need for the first time to make the ILO activities more inclusive of the entire human race.

With the increase in its membership, particularly of the Afro-Asian states, the ILO began not only to experience active politics stemming from these new member states
but to function as a truly international agency as well. The new states began to pressure the organization for greater voice in the decision-making, these pressures being exerted primarily by their vigorous and constant demands for constitutional amendments. By 1970, the new states had already commanded considerable influence in the organization and became the center for international politics, with the great powers vigorously competing over them.

The political importance of the Afro-Asian states and the ILO response to their membership led to the establishment of several Regional and Education Centers to coordinate the social activities of these states. By 1970, these states have had more benefits of the ILO than even those European states which originally initiated the organization. For the Asian states, the organizational knowledge and benefits served as models for them to initiate social developments of their own. Many African states, on the other hand, regarded the benefits and expert knowledge as posing threats to the security of their political systems: nepotism and dictatorship.
Nevertheless, the influence of the African states in the ILO continued and lead to the withdrawal of the government of South Africa, during the debates on her apartheid policy. The African fight was generally supported by many member states, particularly the Asian and the Latin American states. The African states, however, faced an embarrassing situation as they criticized certain European states for violating the ILO conventions without realizing their own faults and violations.

Having had greater influence, prestige and benefits from the ILO, and having complained of the failure of certain states to respect the conventions, without seeing their own faults and weakness, African states, too, began to get pressure from the ILO to live up to the standards they expected of the other member states. The pressure of the ILO on the African states became the major feedback of the organization. Whether the ILO will continue to put more pressures on these states and whether these states will live up to the organization's principles is a question that only a future history of the organization will tell. What is clear, however, is that there will
be important and symmetrical relationships between the ILO and the Afro-Asian states, with the African states, at times, offering separate problems and voting coalitions.
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