

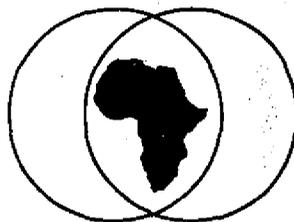
REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

Dr. Leif Egeland

Biennial Meeting of the National
Executive Council

23 February, 1976

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INSTITUUT VAN INTERNASIONALE AANGELEENTHEDE

The Biennial Meeting of the National Executive Council of the South African Institute of International Affairs was held in Cape Town on Monday, 23 February, 1976, and was attended by representatives of the Institute's eight Branches.

This report was submitted to the Council by the National Chairman of the Institute, Dr. Leif Egeland.

The South African Institute of International Affairs

Jan Smuts House

P.O. Box 31596

BRAAMFONTEIN

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South Africa

Meeting of the National Executive
Council of the S.A. Institute of
International Affairs

Cape Town
Monday, 23 February 1976
10.30 a.m.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
Dr. Leif Egeland

A. INTRODUCTION

Change in Southern Africa

The period of two years since the last meeting of the National Council, held in Johannesburg in March, 1974, has been one of fundamental change in Southern Africa. The dramatic events of 25th April, 1974, in Lisbon, led to the withdrawal of Portugal from Africa and the independence of two important neighbour states in this region of Africa. The independence of Mozambique, after a decade of war, had a traumatic effect throughout the region, and it caused a re-assessment of policies in several countries, giving rise to hopes that confrontation might be avoided and differences settled through negotiations in a spirit of détente. Unfortunately, the calm transfer of power which occurred in Mozambique was not to be repeated in Angola, where rival movements continued the struggle for power which preceded independence and which had in fact been going on since the beginning of the revolt against Portuguese rule in 1961. After 1974 with the prize of independence now at stake, the struggle increased in violence, sucking outside powers, with ambitions of their own, into the conflict. The future of all Southern Africa may be bedevilled by the continuing Cuban and Russian presence in Angola, where the intervention of these powers has enabled the MPLA to achieve a military victory over its two rival nationalist movements.

In Rhodesia the high hopes of a negotiated settlement have not yet been fulfilled, and violence has once again intruded, with the certainty of escalation if the present stalemate continues, coupled with the even graver danger of the same sort of involvement of non-African powers, which has given rise to such concern in Angola.

As the major power in this region, South Africa could not avoid involvement in one way or another in these developments, as they affect us directly. Of particular concern is the effect of the Angolan conflict on the
efforts/

efforts to find a negotiated solution to the long-standing issue of South West Africa - a solution which will enable that territory to take its place among the independent states of Africa.

Although the Angolan conflict and the renewed threat of violence in Rhodesia have raised serious questions about the future of the détente policy, it would be wrong to conclude in the heat of the moment that this policy has had no constructive results. It has shown that South Africa is widely accepted as an independent African state, however strong the differences may still be about our internal policies, and that, as in the case of Rhodesia, South Africa can work with other African states in attempts at least to settle differences peacefully. It has shown, too, that it is possible for states with strong ideological differences, such as South Africa and Mozambique, to coexist and even to co-operate on a practical level if it is in their interests to do so. It has extended South Africa's range of contacts in Africa, and it has given us concrete experience of serious negotiations with other states on our continent. Moreover, it has taught us to take our relations with the rest of Africa seriously, as a matter of vital national interest, and not simply as an appendage to our relations with Europe. The hard experience of Angola has reinforced this lesson, and above all it has brought us face to face with the realities and the responsibilities of our role as a regional African power, rather than an outpost of the West.

In the critical times ahead of us now, when decisions vital for our future will have to be taken, the bridges built in Africa and experience gained, as well as the lessons learnt, should all stand us in good stead.

Role of the Institute

We could not possibly have foreseen, when we last met, the radical changes which would take place in Southern Africa and in South Africa's external relations, within the short period of two years. Nor could we have foreseen the great increase in the demands on the services of our Institute, which have occurred as a result of these changed circumstances. It is a highly gratifying fact that the Institute has been able to demonstrate (as is clear from our activities briefly described below) that it has an important and distinctive contribution to make to a better appreciation - both internally and externally - of South Africa's position in the world. There is thus clearly a need for this fully independent, non-partisan body devoted to the objective study of international relations.

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However, while the importance of this role has been recognised during the past two years as never before in the Institute's history, the resulting demands on the Institute's services have brought about a critical situation. In brief this can be described as a case of completely inadequate resources to cope with increasing demands. There is a limit to what the Institute's small staff can be expected to do and in fact this limit has already been passed. But in addition there is much more that the Institute could and should be doing in the current critical times through which our country is passing. There is no doubt in my mind that the Institute has proved that it is capable of making a constructive contribution in its field. Therefore, if members of the Council and our many supporters throughout the country share this conviction that our work is important and justifies continued development, substantial financial resources must be found to make this possible - and they must be found urgently. The Institute is not a small amateur society, but a professional body, and it must be treated as such. We do not beg for support on a basis of charity, but rather seek to be enabled to provide the services to our members and to the country generally, on the basis of an established reputation.

It is hoped that this meeting of the Council will give its earnest attention to this matter and take the decisions necessary to ensure the Institute's continued development on a sound financial footing.

Branches of the Institute

There is no doubt that one of the great assets of our Institute is its branch system which gives the Institute a presence throughout the country and not simply at its headquarters at Jan Smuts House in Johannesburg. The branches are the means by which the Institute can fulfil its essential function of creating a wider and more informed interest in international relations and particularly the external relations of our country. But this big asset of eight branches throughout South Africa is not at present being fully exploited, and it is my hope that this will receive special attention from the Council with a view to further development of branch activities during the coming years.

In this regard special mention should be made of a founding of two new branches since the Council's last meeting, namely in the Border region and the Transkei. We welcome these two new branches very warmly into the Institute family, and we see them as evidence of the very healthy growth of our work amongst all sections of the population.

Co-operation/

Co-operation in Africa and Overseas

An essential function of the Institute, which has been developing very fruitfully in recent years, is the establishment of meaningful links with institutions and individuals in other countries, both in Africa and overseas. (See also below in part B.) By means of these links the Institute is better able to fulfil its role of deepening the understanding of international issues among South Africans and of contributing to a more informed study in countries abroad of South Africa's position in the world.

During the past two years contacts in Africa and overseas have been strengthened and extended by visits of the Director to countries in Asia, Europe and Africa - in most cases at the invitation of governments or institutions with which our Institute co-operates. This year the Director will be visiting North America, where the Institute already has co-operative relations with a number of bodies working in the same field.

An important development in 1974 was the establishment of a sister Institute of International Affairs in Rhodesia. We are very pleased to be able to have close co-operation with this new Institute which has been founded on the same constitutional basis of complete independence as our Institute, and we look forward in the future to the establishment of similar non-governmental institutes in our region of Africa, with which we will be able to co-operate fruitfully. It may be mentioned here that the only other similar institute in Africa at present is the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, with which our Institute has a publications exchange arrangement.

Special mention should also be made here of the co-operative relations which had developed between our Institute and the International Institute of Strategic Studies (with its headquarters in London), of which our Institute is now a member, together with organisations and individuals from many countries throughout the world.

Honorary Fellows

It is appropriate to announce here that the Institute recently decided to elect three Honorary Fellows of the Institute, who have made noteworthy contributions to the study and practice of international relations and diplomacy in our country. These are Professor Ben Cockram, Professor Michael Louw, both of whom are previous Smuts Professors of International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr. Anthony Hamilton who recently retired after a distinguished career in South Africa's foreign service. The award of

an Honorary Fellowship is intended not only to honour the person concerned, but to benefit the Institute in linking distinguished scholars and professional diplomats with the Institute and its work. We have no doubt that these three Honorary Fellows will contribute greatly to our work through their continued association with us.

Corporate Members

A special word of warm appreciation is due to our Corporate Members for their continued support and co-operation during the past two years. We have been very pleased to welcome a number of new Members since our last Council meeting - see the list in part B below - and we look forward to long and fruitful co-operation with them.

The role of our Corporate Members is, of course, fundamental for the continued development of the Institute's work, as the Institute has no other source of income for its programmes. We must, therefore, make every effort to achieve even wider support than at present from among South African companies.

B. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE

1. Conference Programme

During the past two years the Institute has pursued an active conference programme. In May 1974, a one-day symposium on "The Future of South West Africa" was held at Jan Smuts House. The aim of this small private symposium was to provide an opportunity for an in-depth and frank discussion on the future of the territory between politicians, academics and representatives of the Press. It was attended by approximately 50 people specially invited from the three groups mentioned, who found the opportunity to exchange views privately on this important topic most useful. On the basis of these positive reactions, this project can be seen as the forerunner of other symposia of this nature in the future.

In view of the energy crisis which followed the Middle East war of October, 1973, the Institute decided to hold a two-day symposium on "South Africa and the Future of World Energy Resources". Organised in conjunction with the Institute's two Cape Branches - Cape Town and Stellenbosch - this symposium was held in Cape Town in September, 1974, and attended by over 100 representatives of the business, academic, government and parliamentary sectors. The papers at this symposium covered various aspects of the subject, including an overall review of the international political aspects of the energy crisis; oil supply and demand; the use and protection of coal resources; the future of nuclear energy; and the development of hydro-electric power in Southern Africa. A report containing the proceedings of this symposium has been published.

The highlight of 1974 was the conference held at Jan Smuts House in December on the theme "Strategy for Development". This conference was jointly sponsored by the Institute, the Rand Afrikaans University and the Foundation for Foreign Affairs of Chicago in the United States, and it was attended by over 200 experts from throughout Southern Africa and overseas. The main speakers came from the United States, the United Kingdom, Nigeria and several Southern African countries, and the discussions were focussed on agriculture, industrialisation and development administration. As with the two previous major conferences at Jan Smuts House (1970 and 1972), the proceedings of this conference are being published by Macmillan in London in May of this year.

A symposium on "South Africa in the World : The Realities" was organised by the Pretoria Branch in June, 1975. This was attended mainly by South Africans, but the main speakers included the Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (Dr. Christoph Bertram) and a Black Rhodesian Political Scientist (Mr. Ariston Chambati).

Planning has begun for a further major conference on the Development theme, which will probably be held early in 1977, with the co-sponsorship again of the Rand Afrikaans University.

In November, 1976, a conference will be held in Umtata on the subject : "The International Implications of Transkeian Independence". This project, which is being planned in conjunction with our Transkei Branch, will deal with the Transkei's relations with South Africa, as well as the Transkei's position in Africa and in the world.

In addition, the Institute is hoping to organise during 1976 an expert workshop on the development of South African foreign policy, with the intention of preparing a major report for publication on this subject and a possible

conference/

conference, with overseas participation, in 1977.

2. Publications

The publication of the quarterly Newsletter has continued during the past two years. In addition to all our members, individual and corporate, an increasing number of people and organisations in South Africa and abroad are receiving the Newsletter which contains information on, and analyses of, current international issues, especially those affecting South Africa's external relations.

Twelve occasional papers were issued during this period, containing articles or information material on a variety of subjects, including the United Nations, Rhodesia, Mozambique, South Africa's foreign policy, the energy crisis, mineral resources, and training for the diplomatic service. A special booklet entitled South West Africa and the International Court was published in 1974 by the Institute, and the major work Accelerated Development in Southern Africa was published on behalf of the Institute by Macmillan, London. This latter book was based on the proceedings of the conference which was jointly supported by the Institute, the Rand Afrikaans University and the Foundation for Foreign Affairs of Chicago. It was the second book to be published for the Institute by Macmillan (the previous one being International Aspects of Overpopulation in 1972), and within a few months Macmillan will publish on our behalf Strategy for Development based on the proceedings of our 1974 Conference. The Institute has also produced a report entitled Education for Development in Southern Africa and two reports based on symposia, entitled International Relations in Southern Africa and South Africa and the future of World Energy Resources.

A new periodical publication of the Institute, which was begun in 1975, is Southern Africa Record which reproduces important policy statements by governments, political leaders and international organisations, on relations between the States of our region of Africa. Judging by the wide demand in South Africa and abroad for this publication (which appears approximately four times a year), it has filled an important need as a reference work, not only for students and research organisations, but for all individuals, companies, government agencies, etc., concerned with developments in Southern Africa.

Although the Institute's record of publications over the years is no doubt a very creditable one, we are nevertheless conscious of the fact that we should be doing more in this field, especially when we consider the wide range and complexity of the international issues which are of direct concern to our country. Moreover, it is an unfortunate fact that in this field South Africans have to rely mainly on the publications of individuals and institutions overseas; there is relatively little published in South Africa on international affairs, even on our own external relations. The Institute is in a good position to contribute to filling this gap through its own work and by encouraging South African scholars to devote more attention to this field of study. But here we come back to the basic problem of our need for the resources of manpower and finance to tackle this problem adequately.

A real and urgent need is for the publication in South Africa of an independent and scholarly journal of international relations, so that experts in Southern Africa will have a regular and independent forum for the publication of their work. There are various journals overseas devoting attention to Southern African questions, but these cater mainly for the work of European and American scholars, and indigenous Southern African studies are rarely

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included. The overseas scholars themselves and others complain that not enough original work is coming from this region. It is hoped, therefore, that the Council will give serious consideration to enabling the Institute to undertake the publication of a Southern African journal of international affairs at an early date.

It should be made clear that such a journal would not be intended to propagate a particular political or national point of view. In line with the Institute's consistent policy, the journal would have to be clearly non-partisan, containing only material of a high academic standard.

3. Research

Directly related to the question of publications is the research programme of the Institute. As pointed out in my 1974 report, "the area where lack of adequate resources has hampered the Institute most seriously is that of original research and in-depth study of international questions, particularly those directly affecting South Africa". I cannot report now that there has been any major improvement in this regard, although, as foreseen in the 1974 report, the Institute has made a significant start with the establishment of study groups composed of members from the academic, business and other professional sectors. One group is now engaged in a study of the role of the Multinational Corporation in the world, with particular reference to South Africa. A second group has been established to study the international implications of the policy of Homeland independence. So far this group has concentrated mainly on aspects of the Transkei's forthcoming independence, and it is assisting in the preparation of background material for the Institute's November conference.

It is intended that further study groups will gradually be established to deal either with special projects or with questions of on-going concern. Examples of subjects for research by these groups are South African/United States relations, strategic questions of concern to South Africa (such as our role in the Indian Ocean, Soviet and Chinese strategies in Africa, etc.) and economic and other aspects of inter-state relations in Southern Africa.

In a relatively modest way the Institute has been able to assist in the sponsoring of research by scholars in the international relations field, including a Black Rhodesian Political Scientist working on the subject of South Africa's relations with Africa, and a South African expert in the field of strategic studies.

While the Institute's staff is at present able to engage in a limited way in on-going research work and is able to provide the facilities for study groups and individual researchers, the amount of original research currently being undertaken within the Institute is entirely inadequate in terms of the obvious needs in our country. I am not referring here to academic research of a theoretical nature, which has its own value, for instance in our universities, but to research of a practical nature which can be applied to concrete situations facing governments and organisations in the private sector. There is a clear need for such research conducted on a scientific basis, the results of which can be made available to relevant bodies which do not have the facilities for doing such work themselves. The Institute is trying to fulfil this need at present within the limits of the resources available, but substantial increased resources must now be found specifically for this purpose.

4. Branch Activities

Reference has been made in the Introduction to the great importance of the branches whose activities are the chief means by which the Institute reaches out to people throughout South Africa who wish to develop a more informed understanding of international questions.

Mention has also been made of the very welcome establishment of two new Branches, Border and Transkei, bringing to eight the total number of branches.

With no staff of their own, these branches depend on the willingness of their committee members, and especially their Chairmen and Secretaries, to devote time and energy to organising branch activities. The Institute as a whole has every reason to be grateful to these branch officers.

The branches have all continued to hold meetings for their members and guests, at which authoritative speakers from overseas and Southern Africa have dealt with a wide variety of subjects. Some branches have been more successful, in organising their programmes of meetings, than others which have had to face special local problems. But it can be said that overall the level of branch activities has improved during the past two years, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Special efforts are being made, within the limits of financial resources, to assist branches from the national headquarters, particularly in finding speakers for those branches which experience difficulties in this regard.

The present approximate membership of the branches is as follows:

Cape Town 154; Witwatersrand 745; Pretoria 135; Natal 86;
Eastern Province 36; Stellenbosch 44; Border 30; Transkei 65.

There are in addition 60 Country Members who do not belong to any particular branch, making the total individual membership of the Institute approximately 1 355.

5. The Library

The Library at Jan Smuts House is the only specialist library in Southern Africa in the field of international relations, and it is of basic and vital importance for the work of the Institute. Apart from use by the Institute staff and by corporate and individual members, the Library is extensively used by Universities, other research bodies and increasingly by visiting scholars. The services of the Library are in fact available to any person with a serious interest in the study of international affairs.

The Library now has a collection of approximately 9 000 books, and it receives nearly 600 periodicals dealing with international relations from all over the world. The periodicals are essential as supplementary material to the monographs and in order to keep the Library adequately equipped as an up to date resource centre in the international relations field. Even though additions are only made on the basis of established need, and in spite of the fact that many of these periodicals are obtained gratis from other organizations on an exchange basis, the overall cost of subscriptions is increasing dramatically each year.

It is essential that the Library be kept as up to date and as comprehensive in its field as possible. However, the escalating cost of books and periodicals,

in addition to the unavoidable increases in salaries, is a source of very serious concern to the Institute.

6. Visitors

The Institute's headquarters at Jan Smuts House is an important centre for overseas visitors, and it provides a forum for the exchange of views between such visitors and South Africans of many shades of opinion. Numerous private meetings and discussion groups are arranged for this purpose, often at the request of other organisations, such as the Department of Information, the South Africa Foundation, and foreign embassies and consulates. This function of Jan Smuts House as an international study, information and contact centre has become well-known in South Africa and abroad, and the number of visitors, as well as of special meetings arranged for them, has increased dramatically over the past few years.

7. Contact and Co-operation in Africa and Overseas

As indicated in the Introduction above, special attention is being given to the developing of links with similar organisations in other countries, and such links (which include publications exchanges) now number over 60 in Africa and overseas.

A special relationship exists for historical reasons with Institutes of International Affairs in the "old" Commonwealth countries, in particular with the Royal Institute (Chatham House) in London, but fruitful relations have also been developed in recent years with other organisations. Such links have been strengthened during the past two years by visits which the Director has paid abroad. In September/October 1974 he was invited by the Institute of International Relations in Taiwan to pay a study visit to that country, and he took advantage of this opportunity also to visit the Institute of International Affairs and other organisations in Tokyo and the Institute of World Affairs in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In November/December 1975 the Director was invited by the Academic Exchange Service of the Germany Government to pay a study visit to Germany for one month and, in addition to discussions with Government officials in Bonn, he was able to visit approximately 12 institutions throughout Germany, concerned with research on Africa and international relations generally.

Mention has been made in the Introduction of the Institute of International Affairs in Salisbury which was founded in 1974, with the assistance of the South African Institute. That Institute has made a very good start under difficult circumstances, and our Institute is confident that close co-operation will continue.

Mention has also been made in the Introduction of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, of which our Institute became a Corporate Member in 1974. We were able to invite the Director of the International Institute, Dr. Christoph Bertram, to South Africa in June 1974 to participate in the Pretoria Symposium. In December 1974 the Director of our Institute was invited to address a seminar of the International Institute in London on "Détente and Security in Southern Africa".

Later this year the Director will be paying a visit to the United States on a United States Government invitation. He will, inter alia, be visiting a number of institutions concerned with international affairs, including the Council of Foreign Relations in New York (which is the American equivalent of our Institute) and the Foundation for Foreign Affairs in Chicago, with which
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we have been co-operating in the organisation of the important development conferences (1972, 1974 and, possibly, 1977).

Finally, mention should be made of the fact that the Institute co-operates with other South African organisations whenever appropriate. Particular examples of co-operation, which has been mutually beneficial, are with the Rand Afrikaans University in the organization of the development conference and with the Africa Institute of South Africa in various ways. In August 1974 our Director travelled to Senegal and the Ivory Coast with the Director of the Africa Institute in a delegation sponsored by the Africa Institute to attend a conference in Abidjan of the Society for International Development.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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