

ity of territories, the pace of preparations for independence and the extent to which the United Nations can interfere in the programme worked out by the administering power. It is difficult to estimate what effect the Special Committee's deliberations and decisions have on the timetable of independence, since the schedule is, in effect, laid down by the colonial power. If it is sympathetic, it may heed the views expressed in the United Nations and do what it can to meet them but, if not, the United Nations cannot enforce them. The Special Committee's function is essentially, therefore, to keep a spotlight trained on colonial issues in the hope that it will have some effect on the granting of independence to it.

The *apartheid* policies of the South African Government remained in the forefront of United Nations issues in 1964 and were discussed in a series of meetings of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid, the Myrdal Committee and the Security Council¹. Particular attention was focused on economic sanctions, and the Security Council set up a committee to study their feasibility — the first time that the Security Council had gone so far in this direction, though in 1963 it called on all states to cease the sale and shipment of arms to South Africa.

Conclusions

The United Nations, to paraphrase the words of Dr. I. L. Claude, the distinguished American scholar, is an instrument in the hands of its members, all of whom have purposes which they would like to have it serve, and the political process within the Organization is, in essence, a continuing rivalry between the advocates of conflicting purposes — a struggle to determine whose ends will be served by the United Nations and whose priorities recognized. The rivalry and conflict of interests between East and West is perhaps best known, but there is also the conflict of priorities between North and South, with the North perhaps more concerned with political issues and the cold war and the South absorbed by the problems of economic development. But, whatever their viewpoint, all recognize that, in answering the question of what sort of United Nations is needed, the only avenue to an accommodation between East and West, North and South, lies in a multi-lateral approach with differences and positions of principle not being pushed to the point of schism. The fact of such recognition is important in itself and the restraint shown so far by the members of the United Nations gives reason to hope that a solution will be found and that a door will be opened on a new era of co-operation and progress in the United Nations.

¹ See Page 33