

INDIA AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN ASIA. By Sisir Gupta. [London:
Asia Publishing House. 1964. xi + 155 pp. 30s.]

THE ADDIS ABABA CHARTER. By Boutros Boutros-Ghali. [New York:
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, International Concilia-
tion, No. 546. 1964. 62 pp. U.S. 50c.]

Since 1945 there has been an impetus in international life towards international integration, while the difficulties of the United Nations have laid an emphasis on regional rather than universal integration. This trend towards regionalism received

a definite fillip with the increasing number of newly independent States and the shift of the dynamism of international relations from Europe towards Afro-Asia.

Among the States which earliest saw the need and significance of some form of regionalism was India, and Mr. Gupta's monograph traces the vicissitudes of the Indian attitude to the problem. He points out how much India's position in the world has reflected — and been reflected in — Nehru's speeches, all of which emphasised a point that is often overlooked: 'In the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of the country it governs and no government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of the country . . . whether a country is imperialistic or Socialist or Communist, its Foreign Minister thinks primarily of that country'. This is even true of 'non-alignment', which is nothing but 'an instrument of pursuing the goals of India's national interests'.

Until the Bandoeng Conference India tended to favour some form of regionalism, even an Organisation of Asian States. The rise of Communism in China, however, reduced the enthusiasm for this proposal, and after that Conference took place Indian policy moved away from regionalism towards a foreign policy based on seeking agreement with all. This may well have been contributed to by the fact that 'India, unlike the USA in the Americas, does not have the necessary military or economic power to bring about some regional co-operation by throwing about her weight.' Furthermore, India is afraid of China and the author, having suggested that 'an integrated Afro-Asia might become a magnified China in world politics', maintains that there is no real basis of common understanding and outlook in Afro-Asia for integration. In fact, in his view Indian efforts should be directed at blocking Chinese aims at integration.

In Africa the prospects of integration, with the necessary institutional framework, have appeared somewhat more promising and Professor Boutros-Ghali's pamphlet is an excellent introduction to the Organisation of African Unity. He makes a point that is of fundamental significance for all the new States — and the older ones too: 'To Africa, classical international law has been merely a projection of colonialism — protectorates, concessions, capitulations — designed in part to legalise European acquisitions and privileges. Now there is an opportunity to make a fresh start, to enact and put into practice a system of law for settling interstate conflicts and regulating relations among African states.'

This 'fresh start' seems to have created a double standard. In the light of the Charter, the African States among themselves assert their sovereign equality; non-interference in each other's affairs and condemnation of subversive activities — this seems to be difficult to apply in such places as the Yemen and the Congo; respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; and peaceful settlement. All the members are members of each organ of the O.A.U. and each enjoys an equal vote, while assassination and murder are not to be supported. In their attitude to non-African States — and these apparently include any State in Africa not governed by an African majority — the members are committed to the ending of colonialism using both peaceful and non-peaceful means — this raises the nice problem whether the Charter is valid, since all its signatories are members of the United Nations and as such have fore-sworn non-peaceful means for settling international disputes.

Professor Boutros-Ghali mentions the difference in approach between Presidents Nkrumah and Nasser, with the former advocating a strong centre. The majority, however, favoured sovereignty uncontrolled, and there is now a tendency to the development of an Africa of Heads of State. The learned author himself tends to deplore continued relations between African States and their former rulers as denigrating from African unity, and it would be interesting to know to what war he is referring when he states that 'the Emperor of Ethiopia . . . waged the first successful battle against colonialism.' He does not seem to find anything to question in a system under which, 'African States may exercise their *jus tractatus* outside the frontiers of Africa as they wish', nor the fact that 'the fight against colonialism takes precedence over co-operation within the United Nations.'

Whatever reservations one may have about the author's ideology with regard to the Addis Ababa Charter and its impact upon international law, one cannot but be grateful to the Carnegie Endowment for having made available this readable account of its form and purpose by a leading Egyptian scholar.