CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
Regional organizations have a vital role to play in any workable world order. The United Nations and regional organizations have common goals, and the efforts of the two systems should be complementary. A closer relationship between regional organizations and the United Nations would be helpful in this respect. 1

The above statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, reflects the importance that regionalism and regional organizations have come to assume in the field of international politics and organizations in the post-Second World War period. Even though the characteristics, purposes and successes of different regional organizations vary widely, the principle that common objectives in inter-state relations are better realized through common action by a group of states, is almost generally accepted. The inadequacy of universalism under the League of Nations and the United Nations systems as instruments of international security has given a new impetus to the growth of regionalism today.

In order to assess the nature and structure of regionalism and evaluate its contribution to international security, it is necessary, first of all, to clarify terms and concepts relevant to this study. Despite the growing literature on regionalism, the term has so far defied attempts to reduce it to a generally acceptable definition. This is mainly because

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of the fact that there are many kinds of regionalism depending on the "region" in question or on the purpose of any particular regional arrangement. It is desirable, first of all, to clarify as to what constitutes a "region". Because of the frequent use of "regions" to mean areas smaller than states (regions within a particular state) it is necessary to distinguish an international region from its restricted usage within national societies.

The extent and character of a region varies with the criteria selected for analysis. Traditionally "regions" are defined and demarcated primarily in geographical terms such as the Western Hemisphere, Europe, West Asia, East Asia and Africa. But the description of the Commonwealth of Nations or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NAOT) Area (which embrace various continents) as constituting "regions" poses problems in the matter of defining the term. This indicates that there are other factors, besides the geographical one, that play an important role in the formation of regions. While some writers stress the geographic contiguity of the states forming a "region" others emphasize its common political, ideological, cultural and economic interests. A region in international relations consists of a group of national states possessing

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common political or security interests, or common economic and social values and goals and often an organization. Thus a region is defined as "limited to sovereign states within a certain area or having common interests in that area." For example, the non-Asian members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) are said to have a common interest in preventing the spread of communism in a region with which they are not geographically contiguous. As Inis Claude observes: "Rational regional divisions are difficult to establish, boundaries determined for one purpose are not necessarily appropriate for other purposes." It may also be pointed out here that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations conceives of regions in the continental dimensions as is evident from the establishment of the various regional Economic Commissions. In this way, regional groupings could be considered in terms of continental type, as the inter-American system; subcontinental as the Little Entente or the Balkan Entente had been; insular as the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission; Oceanic as the North Atlantic Treaty Area, and "interest groups" such as the British Commonwealth of Nations.


Following this classification one may say that the term "regional" means pertaining to a region, and "regionalism" represents the regional idea in action. "Regional understandings" are generally international treaties having a regional character and regional arrangements are established by such treaties and represent the institutional expression of the phenomenon of regionalism. And a proper regional arrangement cannot exist without a fairly elaborate organization. A regional organization is generally based on (i) formal agreement among its constituent governments, (ii) possessing diplomatic forums, and (iii) assisted by an associated international bureaucracy. In this sense the term "regional organization" is different from and in cases narrower than the concept of a regional "system", which can be defined as a pattern of interaction among independent political units in a region. In other words, the concept of regional "system" includes a wider range of behavior than does the concept of regional "organization".

Regional arrangements are said to be composed of a mixture of necessary and sufficient elements. The necessary elements include (legal) a treaty for the maintenance of peace;

7. See J. S. Nye, Peace in Ferts; Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization (Boston, 1971), p. 5.


(sociological) a treaty based on a particular sociological solidarity embracing racial or ethnic affinities, economic cooperation, mutual defence; (geographic) contiguity of member states; and (institutional) an international agency of a permanent character. In addition to these necessary elements, regional groups require, for their success, the following: (a) legal equality of member states, (b) free adhesion, and (c) more than five signatories. 10 Boutros-Ghali defines regional arrangements (ententes) as "organisms of a permanent character, grouping in a geographically determined region of more than two states, which by reason of their proximity, their community of interests or their affinities, establish an association for the maintenance of peace and security in their region and for the development of their economic, social, and cultural cooperation with the final purpose of forming a distinct political entity." 11 According to George Liska, a regional system is a "geographically bounded area of conflict, which can include states outside a geographic region and exclude those within it, depending upon the extent of their involvement in the major conflicts of the geographic area." 12 The Egyptian delegation at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 suggested the following definition for regional arrangements:


11. Ibid., P. 101.

There shall be considered as regional arrangements, organisations of a permanent nature grouping in a given geographical area several countries which by reason of their proximity, community of interests, or cultural, linguistic, historical or spiritual affinities make themselves jointly responsible for peaceful settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and for the maintenance of peace and security in their region, as well as for the safeguarding of their interests and the development of their economic and cultural relations. 13

Neither the Covenant of the League of Nations nor the Charter of the United Nations contained any definition of regionalism. According to Article 52(1) of the UN Charter a regional arrangement or agency (a) must be concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security; (b) must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the UN and (c) must in some way be "regional".

The problem of definition is further complicated by a line of distinction that is usually made between regional arrangements or agencies proper under Chapter VIII (Articles 52-54), and Collective Self Defence arrangements under Article 51 of the UN Charter. For, many a Collective Self Defence arrangement possess regional character either because they are concluded among a group of states in a given region or because

13. United Nations Conference on International Organization (hereinafter referred to as UNCGO) (San Francisco, 1945); Doc. No. 552 (English) (11/4/4/9, 22 May 1945), vol. 12, p. 380. This definition was, however, not accepted.

14. Lynn Miller calls them "original" regional organisations and includes the following under this category - The OAS, the Arab League and the OAU. Lynn Miller, "The Prospects for Order Through Regional Security" in Falk and Block, n. 2, pp. 571-2.
they apply to a defined area that is more or less regional in nature. Moreover, strictly speaking, there are essential differences between regional arrangements proper and military alliances. According to Van Kleffens, the differences between these two categories of regional arrangements are threefold: Firstly, in alliances as distinct from regional arrangements proper, the accent is on closely concerted policy and action at all times, rather on a narrowly circumscribed geographical object. Secondly, alliances may be offensive while the aim of regional arrangements, if they are to deserve that name, is essentially peaceful or defensive, if this were not so the Charter would not authorize them. Thirdly, two partners are enough to form an alliance, whereas a greater number is required if there is to be a regional arrangement, in other words, the collective element plays a greater part in regional arrangements than in alliances.\(^{15}\) However in the present study, we may consider as regional in nature all such groupings of states as are not universal but which are limited to a region whether they technically come under Chapter VII (Articles 52-54) or under Article 51 of the UN Charter. In short, a regional arrangement in international politics may be described as some form of voluntary agreement or organization established to further joint action by a group of states comprising or having an interest in some geographical area which is either generally recognized as a

\(^{15}\) Van Kleffens, n. 4, p. 663.
region or delimited by agreement."\textsuperscript{16} And whatever be the precise definition of the concept, as Bruce Russett observes, "the notion of a region either within a single country or a region of the world embracing a number of nations has provided a valuable tool in the workflow of political and social research".\textsuperscript{17}

The complex web of present-day regional arrangements may, for the purpose of analysis, be classified on the basis of their objectives and orientation, their field of activity and the nature of their organizational structure. Based on their orientation and field of activity, regional organizations may be classified under three broad categories:

(a) \textit{Regional Political Organizations}

The Regional Political Organizations have arisen mainly as the expression of some kind of regional solidarity in the face of politics of the outside world. They are primarily concerned with the settlement of intra-regional disputes through diplomatic process or through limited peace-keeping machinery to control the use of force within the region. They may or may not present a common military or diplomatic front against outside actors or actors. Examples of this type are the Organization of American States (OAS); the League of Arab States; the Organization of African Unity (OAU); the Council of Europe, etc.


are also described by some writers as "macro-regional political organizations",18 and "original" regional organizations.19

(b) Regional Military Organizations

The Regional Military Organizations function primarily in the military-security sphere and are composed of states bound together by multilateral defence treaties designed to present a common military or perhaps diplomatic front against an outside actor or actors. They are "outer-directed" military organizations which have come into being as a result, generally, of a felt threat from a common external enemy. Examples of this type are the NATO; the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO); the Treaty between the United States, Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS); SEATO; the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO); the Western European Union (WEO). They are also called regional alliance organizations by some writers.20

(c) Regional Functional Organizations

The Regional Functional Organizations are welfare-oriented organizations dealing with economic, social, cultural and other non-political and non-military aspects of international cooperation. They regard the military-security component as totally irrelevant to the purpose of the organization and

20. Ibid., pp. 572-3.
concern themselves with the mutual desire to improve the economic relations and to deal with other technical problems resulting from proximity and growing interdependence. They make no attempt to provide military collaboration and are basically "inner-directed" in their transnational ventures. This group includes most of the European communities such as the European Economic Community (EEC); the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC); the Nordic Council, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); the European Free Trade Association (EFTA); the Customs Union between Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg (BENELUX); Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON); and similar functional groupings outside Europe, such as the Caribbean Commission; the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA); the Central American Common Market (CACM); the East African Community (EAC); the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); the Colombo Plan, the South Pacific Commission etc. They are also called micro-regional economic organizations.

The first two of the above types constitute what may be characterized as "security regionalism" and the third type may be called "functional regionalism". However, many a


23. The only other major international intergovernmental association which does not fall within the above classificatory scheme, though sometimes described as a regional organization, is the British Commonwealth of Nations.
regional organization today defy such classification because of their multi-functional and multi-dimensional patterns.

III

Even as regards the theoretical validity and practical significance of regionalism as a basis of inter-state cooperation and international organization, there is no agreement among writers. The controversy between the "regionalists" and the "universalists" is well-known in international relations and it has considerably influenced the process in which the world has been organizing itself for security and welfare. During the preparatory stages of the United Nations, particularly at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, there were mainly three theories competing for adoption as the basis of the proposed world organization, namely, the universalist, regionalist and functionalist theories. The need for functional - non-political, welfare oriented - international organizations was taken for granted and hence the controversy mainly centred round between the advocates of universalism and upholders of regionalism.

The regionalist arguments are primarily based on five hypotheses. The first among these is related to the restoration of multipolarity. Bipolarity is said to either erode or explode, as new nations and blocs of states emerge on the world scene. The creation of the new European Community and the

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emergence of China as a nuclear power is said to have shifted the fulcrum of power from the two Super Powers. 25

Secondly, it is argued that some states are too small to exist independently in the present complex international system. Decolonization has led to a proliferation of small and weak states more sovereign in name than in reality. 26 Some see this as a temptation to foreign intervention and conflict that could be removed if these states were amalgamated into larger regional units. And a regional organization may be able to make available to them the economic benefits of larger size. Regional common markets and regional common service organizations might improve the prospects for the economic development of very small states and also diminish the prospects of conflicts among them.

A third argument in favour of regionalism is that micro-regional economic organizations are a means of going beyond national sovereignty in political institutions and of creating "new relations between men and states". 27 It is argued that the ultimate causes of violent conflict lie in human nature, and it is possible through creating new regional institutions, to limit the conflict-laden consequences of the division of


mankind into sovereign national states. The creation of regional federations, going beyond the nation states, it is argued, can better control violent conflicts among them. Pointing out that the sovereign nation-state is a relatively recent phenomenon that is simultaneously too large for some functions and too small for others, many European regionalists advocate a resurrection of internal regions and the strengthening of supranational regional institutions that will cut into national sovereignty from a different direction.

Fourthly, it is maintained that regional organizations, particularly those involving economic integration, provide the best setting for functional co-operation that can make states less prone to exercise their sovereign power for violent conflict. Along with this co-operation, a sense of community or positive feeling may develop between the people of different states. The emphasis is not so much on diminishing sovereignty but on making it less dangerous by tying up states in a tight web of functional relationships, though it may not abolish war itself.

Fifthly, advocates of regionalism claim that regional organizations have a special capacity for controlling conflicts among their member states. It is argued that by "making peace divisible" regional organizations isolate conflicts and prevent solvable local issues from becoming tangled with irrelevant

23. See for example, Denis Rougmont, "Vers une fédération des régions", Naissance de l'Europe des régions (Geneva) (1963); quoted in Nye, n. 7, P. 15.
problems and thus changing into insolvable global issues. In addition, it is pointed out that regional organizations are particularly effective at conflict control and resolution because geographical neighbours are more likely both to understand the factual background of a conflict and to share the norms that are relevant to the task.30

Besides, the "regionalists" believe that a universal organization is still too unrealistic and ambitious a proposition and cannot command the degree of allegiance needed to fulfill its objectives in a world of opposing power groups. Also that a regional solution to problems of security and welfare is more practicable. Nations in a given region could work together with better co-operation and efficiency in selected fields than could nations in a cumbersome global system. The experience of the League of Nations had demonstrated that only those countries whose interests were directly affected by a dispute could be expected to take active interest to secure a settlement.31

The supporters of regionalism also maintain that defence and security of a geographic region is easier to establish on the regional rather than on the universal level. They assert that -

The regionalist approach to peace and security here amounts to a denial of the soundness of the theory of collective security by denying its major assumption, the indivisibility of peace. The regionalists assume that the outbreak of aggression will be of direct concern only to those states located within the area and that states outside the region will not respond with assistance because their vital interests are not threatened. Such states would be less willing to send their forces to be used in settlement of distant disputes in which they have little or no interest. Thus, it is maintained that it is far more easier for peoples and nations to accept the principle that an attack against one member must be considered an attack upon all, within a region. The experience of the League of Nations has shown that in the application of sanctions, the members tended to limit their activities to areas close to their homelands.

It is also argued in support of regionalism that many a dispute that arises among states are local in nature and can be handled more effectively by a local agency better equipped with

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33. Yates, n. 31, pp. 89.
a first hand knowledge of the situation. It is pointed out that consultation and consensus will be easier in regional agencies than in universal bodies. It is on this assumption that some writers advocate the establishment of regional courts of international justice for the settlement of intra-regional disputes. 34

Further, it is maintained that the process of economic development and functional integration can more easily be attempted and accelerated on a regional level. The experience of the micro-regional economic organizations in Europe and elsewhere is mentioned in support of this view. The successful working of the regional economic commissions of the United Nations strengthens this point.

It is also pointed out in favour of regionalism that a regional organization affords a more equitable system of representation to relatively smaller states than is possible within a world organization where such states often find it difficult to secure places on the major decision-making councils. It is further argued that the progress toward universalism or world government must be attempted gradually rather than in one jump. As E.H. Carr observes:

A world organization may be a necessary convenience as well as a valuable symbol. But

34. See, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, n. 32, pp. 28-29.

35. Yalem, n. 31, pp. 10-12.
the intermediate unit is more likely to be the operative factor in the transition from nationalism to internationalism... The history of the League of Nations, beginning with the insertion in the Covenant of the original Monroe Doctrine reservation, bears witness to the persistence of attempts to escape from a theoretical and ineffective universalism into a practical and workable regionalism. 36

Nevertheless, the lure of universality has had equal fascination among the champions of a stable world order. The universalists hold the view that at the present stage of the development of science and technology, the problems of world peace and security as well as economic development and cooperation have assumed global dimensions. Nations located many hundreds and thousands of miles apart may have far more in common than those situated closer together by geographical accident. Further, rational regional divisions have become a virtual impossibility in an increasingly inter-dependent and highly complex world society. Moreover, the past performance of regional organizations, especially in the security field, has not been very satisfactory. It is pointed out that regional groupings are basically restrictive in nature; aggressive in design and competitive in outlook. 37 It is alleged that regional alliance groupings are likely to revive the dangerous balance of power model of world politics. The existence of competitive

regional security systems mostly generates hostility and resistance even if they may be only acting 'defensively'. The NATO cannot avoid provoking counter 'deterrence' in its rivalry with the Warsaw Pact. This stability through mutual deterrence can be precarious.

Besides, experience has shown that in most of the present-day regional arrangements created during the Cold War period and dominated by one or the other of the two super powers, the smaller states are placed at the mercy of the dominant power in the group. The US domination of the OAS or the Soviet domination of the Warsaw Pact are too well known. The Guatemalan Crisis (1954), the Hungarian Crisis (1956), the Dominican Crisis (1965), and the Czecho-Slovak Crisis (1968) amply illustrate this point. The small and even middle powers can, therefore, play their rightful role only in a world organization. Besides, sanctions - diplomatic, economic or military - to be effective must be taken on a world wide basis. If enforcement action were to be attempted through regional systems, authority and power would be considerably reduced. Economic sanctions cannot effectively be applied within a region as they must be universal if they are to be effective.

Another argument against regionalism is that it would weaken the world organization, encourage isolationism and narrow loyalties. The regional groupings also possess the danger of encouraging religious and racial ties as the basis of the formation of regional organizations and undermining the modern concept of a secular internationalism.
The arguments for and against regionalism tend to cancel each other out. The validity of each argument usually depends on the particular circumstances of a regional organization. An objective assessment of these arguments will reveal that both these approaches are valid and useful in their own ways and are not and cannot be mutually exclusive. Basing their experience of the working of the League of Nations, most of the writers advocate a type of world organization where both universalism and regionalism would have a complementary role to play. It must be the nature of the problem to be tackled and the needs of the situation that should determine the organizational pattern - whether regional or global. Some problems are global in nature while others are restricted in character so that a regional association can handle them better. Inis Claude rightly observes:

The theoretical debate as to the superiority of the regional or the universal approach to international organization for handling political and security problems is a rather sterile exercise, for experience suggests that statesmen need not and do not choose one of the approaches to the exclusion of the other. 38

The real question, therefore, is not one of regionalism versus universalism, but one of pragmatic and realistic integration or reintegration of the two for attaining common goals. Properly organized and harmonized regional organizations can prove to be very useful auxiliaries to the indispensable universal system. Both these forms of international organizational

38. Inis Claude, n. 5, p. 44.
activity, each functioning in its own assigned sphere, could help to lessen international tension and promote transnational co-operation. No general characterization of regional arrangements as desirable or as undesirable is possible. Some regional arrangements can contribute to international peace and security and others are dangerous. For a foreseeable future world peace and world order will have to be pursued in a combination of ways, bilaterally, multilaterally, regionally and through the universal organizations. Each of these approaches has its limitations as well as advantages. The pertinent issue, however, is how best these could be made compatible to each other for the attainment of peace and security. Pitman B. Potter has realistically argued that “the principal task is not to waste time debating over regionalism versus universalism, but to study the ways in which in concrete cases the two principles can be utilized in combination and the standards to be applied in determining the degree of each to be adopted”.40

III

The idea of regionalism and regional organizations is by no means a new one, although it assumed significance mainly after the Second World War.

39. See Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, n.
    32, p. 32.

40. Pitman B. Potter, “Universalism Versus Regionalism”, American
Since ancient times, it was common for a group of states in a particular geographical area to band together for the attainment of common objectives. Mutual security groupings existed among the Greek city-states as early as the fifth century B.C. in the form of confederacies and leagues like the Boeotian, the Thessalian, the Peloponnesian, the Aetolian, the Achaean and the Lucian Leagues. In 1290 B.C., the peace treaty between Ramses II of Egypt and Hattusili of the Hittites provided for the renewal of peaceful relations, mutual guarantees against invasion, and the extradition of fugitives. As early as 651 B.C., the Small States of China formed a league for mutual defense when threatened by the Ch‘a Kingdom. On the Italian peninsula, the Latin city-states formed similar leagues for defensive purposes before the might of conquering Rome amalgamated them into the Roman Empire.  

An instance of the regionalist trend found in the medieval times was the treaty among the Swiss Cantons of Lucerne, Zurich, Glams, Zug and Borne forming themselves into a League for co-operation in repelling attacks. The unitarian Roman Empire and its successor, the Holy Roman Empire, however, successfully suppressed the growth of regional groupings. But, with the rise of nation-states, the tendency toward the formation of regional groupings again manifested itself. A significant

manifestation of regionalism could be found in the Treaty of
Chotteri, 1670. Besides, some of the historic peace plans of
the Middle Ages contained regionalist ideas. The nineteenth
century presented several possible examples of regional security
arrangements. These included, in Europe, the Holy Alliance,
which was a famous mutual aid pact and the Germanic Confeder-
tion of thirty-eight Central European States and free cities
established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. In the second
half of the nineteenth century the establishment of the various
Public International Unions in Europe also signified the
regionalist trend in the non-political field. In the Western
Hemisphere the great example of regionalism was the Pan American
movement.

However, it was only in the twentieth century that
there occurred a striking growth of regionalism. Before 1920,
however, the existence of regional security arrangements was not
a controversial problem involving interrelationship of
regionalism and universalism as there was no universal organi-
sation for peace and security.

When the Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted,
effective regional security arrangements were non-existent and
hence the principle of regionalism had few advocates at the
Paris Peace Conference in 1919. It is significant to note here

42. See Adolf B. Drucker, Regionalism and World Organization
(Washington, D.C., 1944), pp. 102-05.

43. For details see Chapter XIII of this study, pp. 68-129.
that the original draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations contained no reference whatever to the subject of regional
arrangements. 44 It is well known that President Woodrow Wilson,
who presided over the Commission on the League of Nations at the
Paris Conference, wanted the League to supersede and be incom-
patible with any form of partial alliance or union. It was
widely held that such arrangements in the form of alliances
constituted a threat to the peace with the opposition of the
Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente seen as a major cause
of the World War I. President Wilson desired to see the balance
of power arrangements replaced by a new community of power. He
said:

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid
entangling alliances which would draw them into
competition of power, catch them in a net of
intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their
own affairs...with influences intruded from
without. There is no entangling alliance in a
concert of power. 45

Based on such a conception of a universal system of collective
security, President Wilson urged the formation of "a general
association of nations...affording mutual guarantees of political
independence and territorial integrity to great and small states
alike". 46

44. E. Howard Ellis, Origin, Structure, and Making of the League

45. Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics (New York, N.Y.,
1953), edn. 6, p. 212.

46. Quoted in S.P. Walters, A History of the League of Nations
Ironically, however, Wilson himself had to press for insertion of Article 21 in the Covenant, which left regionalism unaffected by the world organization, on account of pressure from the inter-American system, as well as from public opinion in the United States which wanted him to uphold the Monroe Doctrine. Article 21 provided:

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as the treaties of arbitration, or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

This clause provided a wide latitude for establishing almost any type of regional arrangement, although the phrase "regional understanding" was coined merely in an effort to define the Monroe Doctrine. Nonetheless, it was clear, that the insertion of Article 21 did not result from the belief that the principle of universalism must be tempered with regionalism.

During the inter-war period, the ineffectiveness of the collective security system of the League of Nations led to wider reliance on regionalist solutions to problems of peace and security. Within Europe, the first attempt to create a regional security system, supplementary to the League of Nations, could be found in the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1922-23). Article 5 of this Treaty stated:

The participation to military, naval and air force operations will not be, in principle required from the other contracting parties situated in a continent other than that in which the operations are to take place. 47

47. See League of Nations Official Journal, Special Supplement no. 14, September 1923, p. 27.
The Draft Treaty, though failed to be implemented, reflected the influence of the regional idea in providing for the possibility of regional defensive arrangements supervised by the major power in each of the several world regions. The Geneva Protocol of 2 October 1924, in certain respects expressed regionalist tendency through its clauses relating to "particular treaties of guarantee for the application of the most effective sanctions foreseen and to the establishment of the demilitarized zones."\(^4\)\(^3\)

On 12 March 1925, Great Britain submitted the Salfour Memorandum to the League Council, advocating a security system based upon regional arrangements. The memorandum declared that:

> the best solution would be to supplement the Covenant, with the co-operation of the League, by making special arrangements in order to meet special needs. That these arrangements should be purely defensive in character, that they should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League and under its guidance, is manifest.\(^4\)\(^9\)

Perhaps the most eloquent expression of regionalism during the inter-war period is to be found in the Locarno Pact signed on 16 October 1925. The Pact, signed by Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy, provided for mutual guarantees of the western frontiers of Germany and perpetual demilitarization of the Rhineland. This was the direct result of the

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\(^{43}\) See Articles 9 and 12 of the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, 2 October 1926.

unwillingness of Great Britain and France to take a positive
stand on international security on a universal basis. Thus,
although the League of Nations had been established to guaran-
tee collective security, the Locarno Pact replaced universal
responsibility with regional concern.

Following the Locarno Pact, other regional agreements
were entered into. First, a system of bilateral mutual assis-
tance treaties, negotiated shortly after the First World War
among Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, gradually
developed into a broad political union known as the Little
Entente (1933), with a definite diplomatic and organisational
structure. It created a permanent secretariat at Geneva and an
economic council, and played a significant role in helping to
stabilise conditions in Central Europe till the military
conquest of Hitler.

There was also the Balkan Entente, formed among
Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece and Turkey (1934) which was an effort
to promote regional cooperation in maintaining the status quo
as regards security in the Balkan area. The Balkan Pact provid-
ed for a permanent council for discussing common problems.
Also in 1934, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia placed their hopes
for peace and security in a Baltic Pact. This regional co-
operation was designed to enable these countries to meet the
troubled situation in Europe created by the rise of Hitler.

60. For example see The Four Power Pact, 7 June 1933, the
Oriental Pact (Jass Abad Pact) 8 July 1937.
attempted within Europe during the inter-war period, failed for want of continental community. Moreover, these smaller associations could not be entirely independent of the balance-of-power system among the Great Powers. It was a different story in the Western Hemisphere, for, after the First World War, the inter-American system expanded steadily both in purpose and in organization until, on the eve of the Second World War, it achieved recognition as the outstanding example of regional arrangement.

However, regional groupings formed during this period was transient in character, and it was generally believed that the maintenance of world peace required a world organization. The hope that the regional security pacts offered a good chance to deter aggression proved illusory, and none of the regional arrangements in Europe could function at the moment of threat. Nevertheless, the lessons of the regionalist experiments of the inter-war period greatly helped the future growth and development of regionalism.

During the Second World War, the regionalist movement and regionalist ideas gained strength along with the growth of universalist ideas as a basis for the proposed world organization, and as a means of transnational co-operation in war and peace. The controversy between the "regionalists" and the "universalists" had become a major feature of the private researches as well as official governmental discussions during the period 1932-1945. The regionalists criticized the idea of a permanent alliance of the Great Powers that was being slowly crystallizing during the
latter part of the war, and the idea of establishing a world state was brushed aside as dangerous, visionary, and utopian. Numerous plans and proposals were put forward by the advocates of the regionalist approach to world organization, while the moderates among the advocates of regionalism proposed a regionalized world organization – based on regional organizations harmoniously integrated in the general world organization – the extremists among them advocated the mere organization of regions – such as an organization for Europe, America, Asia, Africa etc., as the universal organization was still considered to be impracticable and utopian. Special mention may be made here of the British Premier Winston Churchill’s war time suggestion of a two-tier United Nations – a World Council at the global level underpinned by regional Councils. In his “Morning Thoughts: A Note on Post-War Security”, Churchill


expressed his ideas on post-war world organization. He stated:

> It is the intention of the Chiefs of the United Nations to create a world organization for the preservation of peace, based upon conceptions of freedom and justice and the revival of prosperity. As a part of this organization an instrument of European government will be established which will embody the spirit but not be subject to the weakness of the former League of Nations. The units forming this body will not only be the great nations of Europe and Asia Minor as long established, but a number of Confederations formed among the smaller States, among which a Scandinavian bloc, a Dalmatian bloc, and a Balkan bloc appear to be obvious. A similar instrument will be formed in the Far East, with different membership. 53

The major powers, he thought, should be represented on all the proposed regional councils in which they were directly interested. The United States, he hoped, in all the three; the Soviet Union probably in both the European and the Pacific; while Canada "would naturally" represent the Commonwealth in the Western Hemisphere Council. But the Prime Minister also emphasized that

the last word would remain with the Supreme World Council, since any issues that the Regional Council were unable to settle would automatically be of interest to the World Council. The central idea of the structure was that of a three-legged stool - the world council resting on three regional councils. 53a

Walter Lippmann, the noted American writer, advocated regionalism when he stated in 1944:

> The question is whether some sixty to seventy States, each acting separately can form a universal organization for the maintenance of

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53 Quoted in Russell, n. 6, p. 104.
53a Ibid., p. 107.
peace. I contend that they cannot and that sovereign states must combine in their neighborhoods and that the neighborhoods must combine into larger communities and constellations which then participate in a universal society. 56

These ideas necessarily influenced the growth and development of regionalism and regional organisations during and after the Second World War. The ineffectiveness of collective security under the United Nations and the compulsions of Cold War conflicts and practical considerations led countries to search for additional or alternative devices of security. It was in this context, that the United States Senate in June 1948 adopted the famous Vandenberg Resolution with the following objectives:

(1) "Progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with the purposes, principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter."

(2) "Association of the United States...with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security."

The subsequent establishment of mutual security arrangements with nations in Western Europe, the Far East, the Pacific and indirectly in West Asia was the institutional and political

56. Walter Lippmann, The United States For Asia (Boston, 1944), p. 18.
embodiment of the response.\textsuperscript{55} The trend toward regionalism was found in the Communist bloc as well. The Soviet Union on its part concluded a large number of bilateral and multilateral treaties with the satellite states of Eastern Europe, the most outstanding example of which being the Warsaw Pact.\textsuperscript{56} There exist today a very large number of interlocking regional organizations that function in the political, security, economic, and social fields, covering almost the whole of the globe. According to a recent study,\textsuperscript{57} about fifty major regional inter-governmental organizations have been created since 1945, and as of in 1970 of the 127 (now 132) members of the UN, 109 belong to at least one regional organization and 72 of them belong to several.

Regionalism will hinder or help in the evolution of a new world order depending on the type of regionalism and on the stage of development of international society. Many of the regional security organizations are involved today in the conflict between the two power blocs; others represent a genuine and positive search for units larger than nation states, and yet others reflect the traditional forms of local

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{55} See Ros W. Berkos, "NATO and the UN", \textit{World Affairs Intermediator}, Summer 1957, p. 160.
\item \textsuperscript{56} See H. W. Kulski, "Soviet System of Collective Security Compared with the Western System", \textit{AJIA}, vol. 44 (1950), pp. 463-76. Also see Chapter V of this study.
\end{itemize}
co-operation. To do away with regionalism in favour of an abstract idea of a world organization would be to ignore international realities. Regionalism has in fact been a persistent trend in international organization since 1920. The proliferation of regional organizations since 1945 has posed new problems for the United Nations. The relationship between the regional organizations and the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security is discussed in the next chapter.