CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. THE PROBLEM

The present study is concerned with the impact of South East Asia Treaty Organization, and, Central Treaty Organization on the security of the South Asian region. After World War II global politics was bipolarized. The world was divided into two blocs: one led by the United States and the other by the Soviet Union. Bipolarization manifested itself, first in the division of Europe, where the Western nations led by the United States organized themselves into a defence pact known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. And East European nations led by the Soviet Union concluded the Warsaw Pact in 1955. In furtherance of the United States policy of containment of Communism the North Atlantic Treaty Organization concept was extended to West Asia and South East Asia in the forms of Baghdad Pact now known as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

The birth of CENTO & SEATO regarding Asia brought the Cold War to the South Asian region. Most of the countries of the region viz. India, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Nepal, Afghanistan and Burma refused to join the pacts. India was concerned about both CENTO and SEATO, because Pakistan, with
whom India did not have good relations, chose to join both the Pacts. India was particularly critical of the United States-Pakistan Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement (May 19, 1954) which aimed at rearming Pakistan.

These defence pacts are also termed as regional organizations. Therefore, it is considered expedient to examine the extent to which these organizations fit in the evolving concept of regionalism since World War II. It is particularly important to see how far they are in conformity with the norms of regional arrangements prescribed in Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

An analysis of the two organisations Central Treaty Organization and South East Asia Treaty Organization and a discussion of the impact of the two pacts on countries of South-Asia is presented in the following pages. The military pacts are discussed in general and points of interest are brought out followed by their implications.

An attempt has been made to examine regionalism from a normative and analytical perspective. This approach is in a certain way managerial in nature evaluating the impact of different appearances of regionalist trends on the current and coming character of regions. This study examines the appearance of regionalism to estimate whether it is having an actual impact on the all-round search for an
improved theory of universal order in terms of mainly in relation(ship) following aims of prevention of war, progress of universal human rights, security of environmental character and extensive sharing in the administration.

Chapter I is an introduction to the main trends of reasoning, including inside a wide of discussion of the implications of what constitute regionalism.

Many western writers put forward, a 'multibloc model' of international society. They formulate fresh conditions of equilibrium to avoid war. Such a representation is in one way an answer to those who examined international community as 'bipolar', composed chiefly of two rival blocs, subordinate to the United States and Soviet Russia. The disintegration of the cold war, decay of the two blocks, extension of nuclear arms and the claim of the present smaller nations, have been the elements that have led to discontent with the bipolar concept that was prevalent design throughout the period after the World War II. Roger D. Master's is one of the first writers of a multibloc substitute to bipolarity. The theory of oligopolistic rivalry


2. A situation in which there are few sellers, and a small number of competitive firms control the market opposite to oligopoly - that is a situation in which there are few buyer influencing the market.
in a market commanded by a few large firms. It keeps its allurement for current examination because it has described of minutely and plainly the factors of a multi-bloc pattern-universe as it suggests, although quite experimentally, this multi-bloc world as a preferable world-order alternative to be accomplished by intentionally guided practice in future. It overlooks Northsouth welfare problems, or promotion of human rights or even issues like drastic disarmament.

The prevailing concern is to understand the current working of complete international political arrangement. There are separate international sub-systems. These subordinate systems are not similar. There are different types of mutual actions amidst universal models of management and regional sub-systems. These mutual actions in complete and distinct portions are settled by the general quality of the United Nations and by the particular nature of every sub-system. There are sideways connections of these subordinate systems. Developing technology subsides the significance of remote regions and the expense of universal order.

Present arrangements and institutions that develop out of regional interests cause anxiety. The ideology and organizations connected with individual nations are not
capable of dealing with concerns of the atomic age or with the rising ecological problems. The continuous competition is made prominent by the prominence of power and strength to which the various nations attach very much importance. Such processes are being interrupted by different growths.

The emergence of transnational feelings and activities in the employments and amidst ethnic-ideological time-related circles for instance, the third world, the blacks, the young and the deviation in developed nations of general patriotism. The use of universal functional bodies to deal with numerous technological advancements that take place on universal level. The development of universal corporations in economic field. The emergence of regional trends and the development of regional devotion. The emergence of domestic disputes that diffuse power of national regimes.

It is in this broad surrounding of arranged advancements that impact of regional military pacts can be determined. Because of the concern with the regionalism, politics of South Asia and Middle East have been examined. The liberation changes in the Arab countries have not yet developed a clear activity for unification or made the design of significant regional arrangements and there is a complex domestic dynamic as well as complicated set of outside connections both with the United Nations and with other political plans.
West Asian matters generally stress domestic disputes in that region and are opposite to the trends of much regionalist origination to emphasize the accomplishment and outlook of regional joint operation.

Ultimately the impact of regional trends on the current capacity of the world organization is fixed. In this reference two types of investigations are offered.

The first type of investigation relates, to the advantages of the regional representation in the functioning of the global organization, particularly with regard to regional economic commissions and the stretch of such regional arrangements to affairs in the realm of security, human rights and environment. Regionalism inside the United Nations outline frequently round-up competitive political circles that would decline to make a scheme resting on intergovernmental settlement. The comparative achievement of the European Economic Commission in fostering co-operative relationship between to East and West in Europe have emboldened Johan Galtung to suggest a similar systematized device inside the United Nations for security problems.


Another type of investigation relates to a view of the relations in United Nations and the personal performances of individual nations, outside its authority.

The regional nation can be either an advantageous mediator or a hindering choice to the achievements of the United Nations Minerva Echizion has closely examined this aspect of regionalism and the world organization in the Western Hemisphere and has exactly explained the stretch of O.A.S. in practice particularly by the United States to intermediate more than obey the United Nations and lessen its burdens. He argues that O.A.S. is not consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, because it is worked by one member only.

Actual role of individual nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, in international society arises doubts concerning theory and practice regarding regionalism and globalism. To start with there is clear need for attempting estatation in the Charter of the United Nations and similar legal establishments of regional legitimization. This investigation shows the liberal applicability of lawful rules and legal process to the growth of various individual political regional arrangements in great

measure. This enquiry of tactful practice likewise promptly brings to view hard investigation whether or not the various regional nations, in separate pre-arranged events fulfill or thwart the theoretical image of international system as visualised in the Charter of the United Nations will regional nations evolve a principle of regional independence to oppose intervention by outside nations and to accumulate abilities for acting with internal disputes?

The development of the regionalism in the security sphere reacted to some tendencies in world order. Most particularly to the narrow limits of United States-Russia collaboration. If these circumscriptions suddenly subside or cease to be in the near future then fresh universal tendencies, visible to certain degree by this time will readily develop and reshape work and role of regional nations in security sphere.

Problems of imperialism continue when a regional arrangement adjusts a nation that is influential in relation to the remaining associates, for instance regional relations between United States and South Asian states or American and Latin American nations or among the Soviet Union and European regionalism. There are different approaches to regional integration, at the regional level.

Many times the points have been examined as a common expression, regionalism v/s globalism in the security sphere in the expressions of the bureaucratic and political discussion in the course of World War II and Post-World War II period.

In recent years, though each and every regional arrangement, may be of any kind, has been studied by scholars. Research in this field has been concentrated upon matters of integration of nations, communities or on the functional effectiveness of such arrangements.

This work no doubt is commonly looked at as connected. Books particularly on peace and security part of these


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regional arrangements, that is power of a regional arrangement by means of its combined means or still in negotiations for checking the forceful settlement of disputes between its own actors and power of the arrangements to exhibit its military might opposing an external power at least in a generalised pattern are small in number.

Certain scholars on this phase of regionalism have led to divide regional and global approaches to international security as unpractical and usually in the beginning have declared strongly regionalism to be inconsistent and lower to globalism for maintaining peace in the world. Frequently, at all events, they have not examined thoroughly and convincingly as to whether or not or to what degree this division really continues to be in the performances of states since World War II.

On the other hand proposers of powerful regional arrangements as a way and method have been disposed to discard postwar multi-lateral treaties, as not 'Genuine' regional

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agencies of the kind, discussed in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Possibly the two views are right yet neither appears to grasp sufficiently the probable practical result of these regional arrangements on its members. Minute examination known only by experience centering on this regional arrangements practical protection to its members heedless of the means employed should supply the right foundation for right opinions as to its suitability with the end aimed at by global s arrangement and of its impact on the regions and specially on Southern Asia.

An effort to decide the impact of regional arrangements on certain regions and international order as a whole, by means of regional attempts to execute protection to its nine member states must take into account two different nevertheless distinctly, connected points. One is concerned with, established standard by the United Nations, that means if or not regional applicability typical of such present international activities of nations, is consistent with the aims of global order. The other a matter for empirical analysis relates to present tendency of nations in practice, that can hint if the significance and character of regional arrangements would increase or decrease in importance in future.

The study attempted starts by closely examining related clearly distinguished inclination in the manner of
organization and behaviour of international politics, since
the foundation of United Nations. For regional arrangements,
Multilateral treaties examined here grew after World War II.
Regional arrangements no doubt existed before the United
Nations came into existence but bloc politics, bipolarity,
Atomic menace forming of new states through decolonisation
are recent developments that can not be anticipated to dis-
appear in the near future. Now it is a more complicated
practice than at any other time earlier. If not for other
reason than that various types of interstate regional group-
ings have largely increased in recent years. These organiza-
tions have quite separate functions and members.

This study has stressed current authentic advances
that have assisted to form and change security from regional-
lism to military pacts. It deals with altering continuous
connection between regional arrangements and the United Nations,
particularly to the growth in models of political conduct of
nations and established legal standards as they are laid for
regional arrangement for protection of their member states.
It is based on minute examination known only by experience.
It chiefly deals with pattern and activities of present
regional arrangements practical protection activity as experi-
enced in the surrounding of the United Nations. Ultimately
from those trends deducted by close examination of the working
of the United Nations and those operating recently specially
at regional level has given a frame work of the probable protection role of regional arrangements in future and in this way its powerful advantage or disadvantage to the United Nations and its impact on various regions particularly on South Asian region. Associations in universal and regional principle are likely to differ from one sub-system to another. Approach undertaken here is that the Military Pacts which arose soon after the establishment of the United Nations have been as intensely implicated in certain regards in regional protection work as the "Original" Regional arrangements that were managed in Chapter VIII of United Nations Charter. It is advantageous to differentiate the protection role of these two patterns of arrangements additionally in certain degree. This is not a difference which can be established effectively merely in view of the dissimilarities in legal organizations of every pattern of arrangements, still this analysis can show the common position of the arrangement. Then it will be indispensable to take in to account dissimilarities in patterns of self-Defence work, which may or may not agree with the arrangements clear position. This study contains those arrangements which have resulted as representation of certain kind of regional solidarity in the face of external nations, and which own combined means to accomplish protection in their own area, with special reference to S.E.A.T.O. and C.E.N.T.O., their formation and impact on South Asian Security.
Organization of American States (O.A.S.) is most advanced of these organizations. It includes combined means both for successful settlement of disputes between its member nations, and growth of a general concept to present a common military front, in case of interference by external nation or nations. The organization of African unity and the Arab League are similar arrangements. But in those conditions for consolidation of quarrels among their own members are less matured in comparison to second above mentioned condition. Peculiarity of this class, however, is the reality that they are not groupings in the conventional manner, but apparently they are mere durable combinations whose raison d'etre is to maintain peace in a specified region. Their declared chief objective, results from regional consolidation, which is consistent, to a certain extent, with small amount of traditional ideological or racial general base.

In organizations of this kind, the wish to preserve peace between the nations appears to have been the main force informing the arrangement. In this way, both constitutional forms and current performances possibly stress the posture of the nation acting in the grouping. Besides the wordings of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations appear

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to take for granted that correct security practices of regional organizations would be limited to the points implicating disputes among member states. Yet as pointed out later both the O.A.S. and the Arab League chose to act in post-San-Francisco period to invigorate the security role of grouping. Of course, the word "original" is an expression to indicate the type of regional grouping existent at the time the Charter of the United Nations was written and hence the kind indicated in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Consequently the phrase is deceptive if taken word as concurrently existent grouping of this kind, the O.A.U. was not "original" in the way that it was not present at the time when United Nation's Charter was adopted instead it is considered, "original" for it is primarily similar to the O.A.S. also the Arab League in its orientation.

Politically these three organizations have applied certain extent of force in the evolution of groupings plans.

10. Article 53, 2: "The Members ... entering into such (regional) arrangements ... shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements before referring them to the security council." It is a fact that the treatment in Article 53, (1) of means which may be adopted by a regional agency in opposition to former enemy nations appears to reveal that the grouping possibly act as single unit with outside cover as states party to it. However, the chief push of the chapter's conditions tends to inwardly pointed safety activity.
In this way the original adjustment of these groupings facing solution of inter-territorial disputes has been frozen to a degree in use by the development of a supplementary function for the grouping as actor.

Multilateral Facts can be categorized as regional groupings, their real and potential stress has been, particularly in regard to military policy against threat from outside the region, structural development unrelated from politico-historical affairs does not by itself affirm choice about universal system. It is merely when regionalism is assessed in relationship with different social backgrounds that decision can be taken as to it is regressive or improving element in universal terms.

The O.A.S., the United Nations, and the United States have been included in the assessment for investigating the relations among regional security arrangements and the international organisation. The comprehensive adjustment for examination is given in this study by certain doubts. 

(i) What idea was included in the Charter of the United Nations of the function of regional Security attempts? (ii) What elements in the inter current surroundings have brought about regional activity in the security zone? (iii) To what degree have regional safety actions been legally according to Charter provisions and to what extent have regional security undertaking’s been instruments by which to affect the choice of
the diplomatic majority in the international organisation? (iv) What designs of experience have developed with reference to the relationships amid the universal organisation and regional security workings? (v) Are there any constructive amendments that effectively be suggested to invigorate the connection among regional and universal nations in the safety sphere so as to insure a satisfactory accomplishment of the Charter's standard or to make better co-ordination possibilities? (vi) Has the development of regional safety arrangement showed some durable regional co-ordination possibility and is this development applicable to the discussion of universal integration likelihood?

These investigations have to be attempted in such a manner as to be sensible to methodical subordinate and politico historical variables. That is different subordinate methodical variables that influence the security workings and purpose, have to be examined, like conventional regional organisations such as (OAU) the Arab League and O.A.S.; logically consistent pacts like North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and Warsaw Pact and impulsively planned undependable alliances like South East Asia Treaty Organisation and Central Treaty Organisation.

American - tactfulness is used in the OAS, framework. The important problems of usage and new meanings advance
when a regional arrangement claims to be operating in the region of security, particularly when regional mechanism claim the use of authorization in opposition to disagreeing nations in its region. It is useful in this context to take cognizance of the difference amid formal coherent regional organisations like North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, which has an aim of arranging a guard in face of outside menace and of formal regional alignments like, Organization of American State which intend to stop unwanted advancements from occurring inside the area. One of the questionable activity with reference to the OAS is the attempt to name internal engagements as acts to defeat outside intervention.

Hypothetical discussion as to the pre-eminence of regional or the global turn to inter current arrangement for the management of security and diplomatic questions is somewhat futile. Work for practical knowledge indicates that politicians neither want nor select one of these approach to the rejection of the other. In its basic pattern and increasingly in its real evolution the post-world war plan of international arrangement has united regional factors with the regional globalism of the international organisation. It possibly be disputed that the actual problem is not which advance to choose but which to stress. In these expressions the international consideration at San Francisco was plainly
to allot superiority to a common grouping of nations. In experience however even this problem results rather too theoretical.

2. The Sovereignty of Nations

Different from John Austin, Hugo Grotius considered that sovereignty kept its fundamental nature inspite of restrictions, and constraints placed on it. And in reality no subject in mutually relying affairs with other states can retain an unlimited, unrestricted sovereignty. This is certainly confirmable with smaller units whose decreasing ability involve degrading power deterioration of their Sovereignty as much as of other organizations. Thus it is not possible to maintain actual, identical inseparable sovereignty in contact with the actualities of power differences and the demands of inter-related requirements. Actual sovereignty is on the one side, an alternative measure of real intergration of plans and means amidst nations, agreeing to direction of viewpoint from too much superiority to mutual nationalism expressing the acknowledgement of combined inter-relation; on the other side, operative sovereignty is a variable relying on the influence of the nation and its capacity and duty in inter-current affairs and arrangement. This possibly signify real lack of sovereignty for minor nations and true or extra
established actual sovereignty for major nations as considered by the Charter of the United Nations. Unequal rights, responsibilities privileges are recognised all over the Charter, based on unavoidable fact of power differential.

Countries possibly co-operate, amid other affairs, by a vigorous feeling of extended society, requirements of inter-relation, and the expectations of facilities resulting from a rather comprehensive alliance. They likely search mutual security in opposition to general extraneous menace. However, states having an unfavourable past and an anxiety for future possibly be persuaded to nearer unification, inclusive alliance, and also by the wish to be safe against one-another. Safety has been customarily looked for by the medium of a victorious battle or treaty, creating an advantageous supremacy. Collective security was planned to adapt this design.


3. **Theories of Regionalism**

It is said regional arrangements are formed out of a number of essential and valid factors. The succeeding required principles enclose.

**Legal:** An alliance for the preservation of peace.

**Institutional:** An international arrangement of permanent type.

**Sociological:** An agreement resting on special sociological aims including, ethnic and racial relationships, mutual defence, economic co-operation.

**Geographical:** Proximity of member nations. Although a region obviously refers to geographical area, geographical factors such as topography and location are not alone sufficient to define it. To add to complexity a state may belong to several regional arrangements, which may overlap and contradict each other on specific points; it besides these required aspects, all these factors are interdependent.

To work well regional organizations need over five members, an association on equal terms, and juridical parity of members. Required and satisfactory outlines are interconnected and reciprocally strengthening because regional groupings that are based on one rudiment of unity are doomed to be defeated, to the degree that they are not founded upon various causes which are inter-dependent. For instance the continuous disputes inside NATO have often been ascribed to
a regional arrangement barely resting on military unity. Diplomatic connections between the nations of regional organizations frequently present hard issues of reliance. The only foundation on which regional arrangements can be composed to work is that of mutual respect for the independence and sovereignty of all members.

Ordinarily, region means a restricted geographical area, as different from a wider unit of which it forms a part, adjoining states are best suited as participant in a regional arrangement. But geographically contiguous nations likely not be well wishers but foes as Germany and France. In addition on the side of geographical proximity as a condition, a difference in created in exact nearness and intrusion in which a number of nations have a mutual motive in an area though they are not geographically adjoining to one another for instance United States and Turkey are not next to each other but the two have a respective concern in western bloc which is achieved by their belonging to NATO/CSNTO.


If certain extent of geographical contiguity is underlying principle of a regional grouping, the region itself is not counter measured to geographic exactness. Finally, regions are politically described in agreement with power abilities of nations for while natural obstacles likely part one area from another they have not restricted nations from making orbits of power far separated from the mother country. Geographically unrelated nations in NATO and CENCO show interventional tendencies of major nations.

Different elements of sociological unity create the base on which conditions like pacific settlement of disputes, enforcement action legal form also social and economic collaboration are gambled. Regional Unity is explained in order of basic components preceding will of the people like faith in the connection of supposed race, relating regard for homogenous complicated past, the presence of an assumed geographical condition also some awareness of organized idea that likely govern in the future emergency. Inspite of the existence of some sociological unity or aim Western Europe was broken in rival and autonomous parts till lately. Like wise in the Middle East a common Arab racial or ethnic affinity has not turned out to be an adequate foundation for regional connection for a loosely arranged Arab League Organization.

Although parity in law is required to improve a regional arrangement inequality among legitimate balance and political
disparity by one or more major nations are acknowledged, 
these constituents are comparatively symmetrical merely in 
small nation regional grouping. These unlucky have not 
proved much influential or enduring.

The difference among diplomatic disparity and lawful 
parity that is peculiar of Western regional organizations 
will cause their disintegration is controversial. Alliances 
below the strength of a major nation will move to a limited 
solidarity prompting the displacement of the common coalition. 
Ultimately, the collective bond will unfasten itself. Every 
little state taking excuse and returning to its earlier freedom like Iraq in CENTO and France in NATO though disintegrating inclinations are obvious in the Western alliances orders of NATO, OAS, CENTO and SEATO, they have been insufficient to accomplish their dislocation. NATO, CENTO and SEATO subsist only because of the danger of the Russian and Chinese offensive. Practical experiment of the Swiss cantons and American colonies show trends that ended in union of former far removed states in making of political arrangements like CENTO and SEATO. To his study of such regional arrangements, Professor George Liska shows weighty doubts concerning their success. Sphere predicted (they) would perish cold and low.

About all one can reasonably conclude is that an international region consists of the area of a number of states with certain common interest which at least for one purpose distinguish it from others. While the sociological aspect to regional arrangement is advantageous, it calls to examine mutual action in those factors that incline nations to search interaction and the arrangements made to accomplish such co-operation. Little work has been done on importance of the institutional element in slackening or quickening regional solidarity. This gap is partially made up by Ernst Hass, who worked on the influence of regional arrangements on political and economic unity in Western Europe.

In Panama city the first attempt at regional co-operation in the Americas was made as early as 1926. In the Western hemisphere, the idea of a regional organization, of the world was put forth by Chilean Jurist and diplomat, Alejandro Alvarás of the International Court of justice, as early as 1910. In his opinion, there is no hard rule to determine regions; their existence must be understood by state of affairs, and as peculiar by the states who establish

then regions are set up by certain states having nearness of race, established orders or above all political concerns. The term regionalism did not come into wide use until 1930's. While region and regionalism may appear to be simple terms they are quite ambiguous. A significant characteristic of the United Nations Charter is a series of Articles providing for regional arrangements adopted after a number of amendments to the Dumbarton Oak's Proposals.

A region must be constituted of nations with common qualities. Regions should be areas of connected nature in the sense of physical geography any part of the world's surface whose natural qualities are resembling for example. Ordinarily there is a question of social and economic organization. Or the United social region might unite a connected homogeneity limited by numerous connected aims or classifications. This means it must include both the social factors


and the natural factors and above all political factors.

But areas of homogeneity have been wrongly exhibited as areas of organizations. Consequently regions sometimes clearly mean mutual-dependence as areas where there is great interdependence in comparison to dependence on external areas, arrangements where nations are interdependent due to some interests. Similar areas are differentiated as purposely interlinked community region. This means people of same patriotism or loyalties by force of instincts ascertain themselves a portion for instance and regional arrangement is a form of international organization limited in membership with functions and activities which may be


23. Alejandro Alvaréz, op. cit.


27. Professor Hill suggest "limited international organization instead of regional might be more precise and 28 less confusing. Many scholars name it "limited internationalism". Or peace by pieces.

While many others accept boundary a standard, variance in the nature or frequency of communications and inter- 30 workings. This is not last meaning of regionalism. A region possibly in addition be a regional solidarity deter- mined for a special intention. One doubt, United States Chief declaration to regional role with Southern Asia is plainly the warning effected to the entire region by communist China. Arrangement of geographically scattered nations in SEATO and CENTO is illustrative of intervention by big powers. This directs to one more meaning of regionalism, a contrivance to pose authority in a far removed region from the home territory. The expression Middle-East appears to have begun, by the British towards the close of nineteenth

century, to apply to the region with simple interests of Her Majesty's tactics. Regionalism stipulate transfer of administration and management of central government to a local one of political strength, consequently regions can be areas of administrative suitableness.

According to recent practice there is no special hidden meaning to recognize them and acting with them as units of dissection they are usually practical geographic areas for which economic, social schemes have been thought of, designed and attempted and have been obtained helpful. Occasionally these areas are described by normal forms like farming belts, riverside regions, forest areas. At times these regions are defined in usage of trading regions wherein economic affairs and transactions are more close, in comparison to their economic connections with external regions.

Sometimes religious place is the centre of chief interest. In some instances an area will be distinguished by comparative cultural resemblance for instance a racial or communal area, a tribal region, with such self-consciousness, a distant backward, part, or a separate political sphere for example a republic or a province. Thus regional idea has been presented advantageous and turned up to be effectual and

justifiable in different conditions. Still it has certain image as its basis.

In this manner we arrive at a series of definition and models in the approximation of regionalism, by certain regionalists. This surely was worthy of belief of Howard W. Odum and Harry Delmar Moore, who defended the transfer of regional power, particularly one for Southern Asia of governmental activities which they considered could correctly be performed neither by the federal, government nor state governments the identical view of the situations is obvious in numerous international relation studies. Much discussion among scholars regarding regional political integration is founded upon assumed similarity or mutual dependence or firmness which may continue to be in the opinions of the onlooker. Thus decision makers interpret geographical environment in extremely different manners.


34. For instance Latin American and Arab Countries.


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Many regional organizations have consistently maintained their original forms. Some have evolved into new associations as in the replacement of Brussels' Treaty Organization by the Western European Union. This was NATO in miniature. In other instances more formal and comprehensive arrangements have succeeded simpler relationships of an earlier era. The Organization of American States is illustrative of this tendency. The members of O.A.S. played a very important role in creating the United Nations and setting the Caribbean disputes. Two treaties of alliance entered into by the Soviet Union with the United Kingdom and France were aimed at the protection of three states from Germany only if entire Europe be considered a region, could

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these be called regional. In fact so far the term regional arrangement has meant nothing more than a polite phraseology for "Lebensraum." A definition in a precise legal term has not been made at any international gathering so far. Regional arrangement order take in, all restricted membership combinations whether or not they are regional in the sense including nations that are geographically attached. Thus Commonwealth whose members are now dispersed everywhere in the Universe can be taken as such a regional arrangement as the Nordic Council whose membership is restricted to nations in the geographically close Scandinavian region. Even Commonwealth secretariats direct activities toward regional economic stress among its members. They are different from the United Nations because they do not aim to be global, and the functions of particular regional arrangements are in general less diverse than those of the United Nations. Generally, the causes of their restricted membership are historical in character — result of obvious cultural,


economic, political or military bonds. The Arab League mentions to a restricted degree, the ordinary culture of its members. BENELUX is the product of economic necessity for three little but highly developed European nations faced with high politics - economical rivalry of bigger states. Commonwealth is the creation of the common back ground of its members under the Britain's sovereignty, the NATO is plainly the creation of a mutually felt security threat to the nations of the North Atlantic region.

In fact term, 'region' has tended to come to be so comprehensive that it is useless. Even if once a definition or set of definitions are ultimately agreed upon, possibly homogeneity or similarity with the addition of mutual dependence plus geographical divergence. The question of deciding adequate rules for marking regions remains to be solved. Israel is centrally situated in physiographical demarcation of Middle East region, yet is culturally different to the other states of this area. Geographically delimiting, Turkey is a region of Europe, but still is aligned, to the United States. Egypt is unrelated to from the Arab East and idea of an Atlantic Commnity does not basically rest on signs. Likewise, the United states, the United Kingdom, Newzealand Australia, France ———

43. Oman, Young, Professor Russell Industries Tailor to a Naked Emperor, "World Politics, XXI, April 1969, p.483.
members of South East Asia Treaty Organization, can not be termed southern Asian states. Their membership in these organizations, however, make a difference in the politics of this region. At best the idea of region is but an analytical design for parting certain regional forms considered relevant. World does not divide naturally along clear penetrated lines. The United Nations Charter clearly permits for security agreements within regional arrangements.

Military - Pact like N.A.T.O., C.E.A.T.O., C.E.N.T.O., Warsaw Pact are frequently described as included within somewhat vague explanation of regional in this setting because word regional is not determined with precision.

The Soviet Union has consistently refused to admit N.A.T.O., as a legal regional arrangement. At the time of the framing of the Charter an Egyptian delegate tried to define the word regional, but alternation suggested was

44. Janel, Claude. 

45. Article 51.

46. Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr. 
not accepted. And any shared treaty can be represented as a regional arrangement.

4. **Monroe Doctrine**

There is a self-help supposition in a particular trust, practiced by the United States. This assumption connected with the United States of its activities in the hemisphere dates back to one sided formal statement of Monroe Doctrine in a Presidential speech delivered by James Monroe on December 2, 1823. At the beginning Monroe Doctrine assumed non-intervention in European matters as an exchange for European non-intervention in Latin American matters. Recognition of Monroe Doctrine by the League of Nations, though a blot on Covenant, was the tide mark of its quasi legitimacy.


49. Complete descriptive report of American activities in pursuance of Monroe Doctrine also describing its quasi imperialists" Appearance reference, France & Spain Chapter IV Regarding Venezuela Chapter V. Dexter Perkins "A History of Monroe Doctrine" Little Boston 1965, Chapters IV and V.


51. Article 21 of the Covenant of League of Nations.

In the 1930s, the United States, according to the guidance of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, started the years of the "Good Neighbour Policy." This policy officially announced by the United States discarded original American Policy and Privilege and agreeing to the terms of non-interference in inter-hemispheric matters and the development of hemispherically organized system for collective action, for the sake of hemispheric defence.

5. **Concert of Europe**

Concert of Europe though not much institutionalized was quite effective both in political and security sphere.


from 1815 to 1949, and moderately enough throughout the nineteenth century. The Permanent Court of Arbitration supplied more assured conditions to the European system, and a number of technical organizations came into being in quick succession between different states and persons therein to assist them.

6. **Regionalism in the Covenant of the League of Nations**

The Covenant of the League of Nations recognized the existence of "International engagements such as, treaties of arbitrations or regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace", and provided that the terms of the Covenant, should not be deemed to affect the validity of such engagements. This provision was inserted mainly at the insistence of the United States Government,

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57. Article 31 of the Covenant of League of Nations.
which desired official recognition of American rights, to act in matters affecting the Western Hemisphere without interference from the League of Nations.

Mexico and Argentina, in joining the League of Nations, stated that they do so without recognizing the Monroe Doctrine. It was a disgrace to the Covenant to recognize the validity of Monroe Doctrine without any clear definition of it. Whether this provision was in contradiction of Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant of the League could never be settled, due to the failure of United States to join the League as a member.

The terms of the Covenant did not preclude the existence of regional agencies, but such agencies, where not brought within the framework of the League of Nations. Although Pan American Union has been called "Twin policy" to the Monroe Doctrine, it had no agreement with the League. No doubt, during this period nations, followed their own political

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60. G.H. Blakeslee, The Recent Foreign Policy of the United States, Problems in American Co-operation, with other Powers, New York, 1926, p. 139.
interest, they were not happy about Ethiopia. Hence in 1936, at Buenos Aires, the various nations still preferred the League, the world organization, in comparison, to Pan American Union, with U.S. supremacy.

But the League had no armed forces at its disposal. Its Council could only call upon the Members to collaborate in taking an enforcement action when an emergency had arisen. It had become a highly unpopular institution in wide sections of public opinion and was terribly weakened by the bitter feelings between Germany and her neighbours.

The League of Nations has been disappointing, because the major nations have been reluctant to administer sanctions, except where it pleased their individual national concerns to do so and because democracy on which the innate ideas of the League leaned for support had failed over half the world. Walter Lippmann criticised the League both as a disguised treaty in the region power politics and as an, "imaginary pipe dream". League achieved considerable success in resolving disputes among smaller countries. It failed when large powers violated the Covenant.


7. **Regionalism in the U.N. Charter**

When the United Nation's charter was drawn up at San Francisco, the nations of the Western Hemisphere, insisted on the recognition of validity of regional arrangements and agencies. The terms of the Covenant did not preclude the existence of regional agencies, but such agencies, were not brought within the framework of the League of Nations. The Charter, on the other hand, provides for a positive relation between regional agencies and the United Nations. Within the framework of the United Nations such agencies are to assist in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The Charter in no way restricts "the existence of regional arrangements or agencies, for dealing with such matters, relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, as are appropriate for regional action", provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of United Nations. Where appropriate, the Security Council may make use of such agencies and arrangements for enforcement action. But no regional agency may take enforcement action, without the

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63. Article 52, paragraph 1.
authorization of the Security Council. With the exception of measures, against any state, which during the Second World War was an enemy of a member of the United Nations. The United Nations is to be kept informed of activities undertaken or contemplated under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Without violating the principle of universality, therefore the charter enables regional arrangements and agencies to play a useful part in accomplishing the purposes of the United Nations.

In U.S. view, regionalism does not withhold from global harmony of universal peace and security on the opposite regionalism join tightly these important regional units in the universal arrangement. And in this way permits regionalism a fresh existence. In this way by Western statesmanship

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64. Proposals for the establishment of a General Organization, Department of State Bulletin, October 8, 1944 (Volume II, 276) p. 372.

65. Article 53.

66. Article 54.


Regional organizations like CENTO and SEATO based on the right of self-defence are rationalized under Article 51 of the UN Charter. But American rationalizations have been unconvincing.

This right of self-defence permitted in the United Nations Charter is deeprooted in International Law. Even in 1928, outside of the circle of the League of Nations, Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed to which some sixty nations subsequently subscribed. It condemned recourse to war, "as an instrument of national policy." The parties to the pact agreed to settle all their disputes by pacific means. The Pact, however, provided for no machinery whatever, and the Pact did not make all wars illegal.

The result was that each state could name the war in which it became involved, as a war of self-defence. Aristotle Briand warned League Members not to do so, but instead refer the matter to League. In 1926, Greece claimed her act against Bulgaria to be in self-defence, but the League was successful


enough to terminate the controversy. The Geneva Protocol was the most important attempt made to strengthen the League of Nations, but it failed, after its failure, the Locarno Pact was signed on 16th October 1925 outside the network of the League of Nations, as a substitute regional security measure. Like the Locarno Pact, the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual assistance signed on 22nd May 1935 was an arrangement for the security of particular nations, while Geneva Protocol was to provide security for all nations. The creation of this Treaty was a significant measure of the actual failure of the general system of security under the League of Nations. Failure of collective security under the League, even at that time, gave rise to various alliances founded upon primary law of self-defence. Between two world wars, countries thought alliances to be a surety of security. In their view, these regional organizations were in fact a special kind of treaty. By the end of World War II and the advancement of schemes for a new universal arrangement to take


the place of the League of Nations, there was a great deal of thinking and discussion among the leaders, scholars and administrators in Britain and the United States as to the global or regional character of the organisation to be set up by the United Nation's Charter. Although Sumner Wells and Winston Churchill were two main speakers of the regional security access, the draft that came out from the Dumbarton Oaks discussions obviously approved a global security effort to a degree based on the model of the collective-security system of the League of Nations. However, regional organisations were given somewhat provisional sanction on the basis that they be according to the aims and principles of the United Nations. The sketch stipulated that enforcement action could be applied merely with the approval of the Security Council.

Discussion at the San Francisco, nevertheless, The Latin American envoys, among others, disapproved the obvious subjection of the regional arrangements to the International arrangement, the supposed basis, that it would provide already authoritative Security Council still more influence. As a

75. Dumbarton Oaks Proposals Chapter VIII Section C Paragraph I.
76. Dumbarton Oaks Proposals Chapter VIII Section C Paragraph, II.
consequence of these protests, the Charter of the United Nations that came out of the discussions included conditions that appeared to give regional arrangements some extra power than had been visualised at Dumbarton Oaks. In actual practice thus, the instructed relation between the regional arrangements and the international organization remained largely undetermined than it had been in the previous draft proposals. The meaning of the Chapter VIII, by and large, was comparatively plain in its proposal that even though regional organizations possibly work more positively in the peace and security sphere than had been expected by the chiefs of the major nations yet such doing was designed to have a low-profile in the ultimate ascertainment to the managing of the security Council.

What kind of security organization founders of the Charter tried to plan? In their specification to form the Security Council the powerful, influentiality of international security the framers of the charter tried to make a departure from the collective security idea of the League of Nations but succeeded partly in doing so. Right of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council made sure that they would be competent to stop any enforcement action being adopted against the wishes of any of them. The veto

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77. Article 52(2), Article 33/1.
rule was clear assertion that the framers of the charter discarded the concept of an international organization designed to provide collective security in situation, where the offender or aggressor was a major power. However, in the policing authority given to the Security Council of the United Nations it was implied that the Council was certainly able to adopt real collective security action against any other member, who had committed offensive activity. It was in this type of acting that regional organizations possibly take certain and significant part not as central points of major nations resistance but either (i) as delegates of international collective action, under the Security Council control (Article 53) or (ii) the means of adjustment at the point of the struggle where complete universal society was not needed (Article 33).

6. Regional Challenge to U.N. Supremacy

Article 51 was not intended to be a grant to the regional organizations, this article was included in Chapter VII which dealt with enforcement action and not in Chapter VIII which dealt with regional arrangements.

Atomic age was going to dawn on human history and the U.N. Charter is preseasonal. Since the introduction of nuclear weapons, the planning of defense ahead of the attack has become expedient, hence the U.S. and Western nations interpret Article 51 to justify their military alignments. N.A.T.O. contend if a revolution were helped and aided by an external nation such help may be taken as an armed attack. In this way self defense had obviously no legal limitations.

79. The wording The United Memorandum No. 3 of July 12, 1946, after writing the wording of Article 51 of the charter of the United Nations, following is written, explaining its rules regarding atomic energy affairs it is obvious that if atomic arms were used as portion of an armed attack the just claims preserved by the countries to themselves under article 51 would be suitable. It is equally evident that an armed attack was now certain matter completely unlike from what it was previous to finding out of atomic arms. It would therefore, appear to be both of great consequence and suitable under current state that the alliance fix the limits of armed attack in a way and suitable to nuclear weapons and take in the fixed limits in not merely the real dropping of atomic bomb but some as well in themselves preceding to such activity.


But it clearly was not what had been anticipated in the charter of the United Nations. In reality, claims of self defence originate at the time of real armed attack for instance Japan’s attack on Manchuria during 1931, and there too the state would operate on its own risk as its behaviour would be subject to investigation by the security Council.

The chief problem in 1945, was to stop future disputes among nations. The idea was, during crisis regionalism, being at lower level, could tackle the question better and would work as insulation not Crushup and thus prevent the change of local conflict into universal issues. United Nations, possibly be an unavoidable necessity also an emblem of high value, but an intervening part is more possible to be the working element in the stage from “Nationalism to internationalism”.

Without a precise definition the meaning of charter provisions were explained in different ways and the legality of regionalism was earnestly subjected to doubt; for instance both in Berlin blockade and Korean conflict, Soviet representative maintained that Article 107 not merely allowed operation
without reference to the Security Council, but also prohibit even deliberation of problems of this kind by the United Nations. Article 51 clearly mentions merely United Nations members while Article 54 further mentions non-members which are parties of a regional arrangement. Chief obligation of regional organization is to resort to pacific settlement of disputes. It possibly be given authority by the Security Council to apply force. Single instance under which a regional arrangement can apply force at its own pleasure is when it works in opposition to an enemy state's aggressive policy (Article 53 and 107). Once a state is allowed to enter United Nations its rights and duties are same as of all other members. The fact is Articles 53 and 107 partly reduce Security Council authority, enabling regional arrangements to act without its authority as they are deemed measures against enemy states. Security Council's responsibility under Article 34, 1 and Article 39 is comprehensive and has no geographical restrictions.


Article 51 places a time restriction on collective self-defense and it remains operative only up to the time the Security Council takes necessary action. To enable to prolong military action by its friends, a permanent member can easily prevent the Security Council from adopting powerful means or any means at all. When these nations start aggression as an excuse of self defense they do not permit the Security Council to intervene in their plans.

However, the General Assembly can be implored for assistance. But General Assembly can only advise as during the Korean Conflict 1950-51. Middle East Suez Crisis in 1956, Congo-Crisis during 1960-61. It did intervene and led to solve the dispute.

As the only exception lies in the inherent right of the states to legal self defense, a right likely be invoked if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations though merely upto such time as the Security Council has adopted measures necessary to maintain peace and security. (Article 51). It is a logical conclusion that the right of

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87. Out of Korean Crisis came the "Uniting for Peace Machinery set up by General Assembly Resolution 377(v) 3rd November 1950.

88. 2/3719 SCOR Year II meeting 751, paragraph 71 and Security Council Official Record Year II meeting 754, paragraph 70.

self-defence exists likewise in the events where the Security Council is not in the position to use its authority of exclusive decision. John Foster Dulles, who had worked as an adviser to the United States Delegation at San Francisco said, if however the Security Council is incapable to maintain peace and inspite of the existence of the Security Council there is an armed attack then the regional arrangements begin to act without looking at the Security Council. To this extent self-defence under Article 51 has taken up in a different way, the range of Security Council as an effecting instrumentality of collective peace.

The struggle over the part of regional arrangements which had been indicated at Mexico city came about according to programme at San Francisco centering in committee 4 of commission III of the conference. The United Nations Charter provision of Article 53 were accepted as an amendment to Dumbarton Oaks proposals, it implicitly refers to such


bilateral arrangements as the treaties of alliance between the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom on May 26, 1942 as bilateral ones. Thus European major nations were adjusted by a condition inserted in Article 53, which freed their anti-axis mutual assistance pacts from this condition for an indefinite period. In turn, the supporters of the autonomy of Inter-American system were satisfied by the insertion into the charter of Article 51 acknowledging a right of collective as well as individual self-defence. In practice of which a group of states might respond to an armed attack inform their action to the Security Council and continue it until and unless the Security Council should it self assume to act with the cases. There was a time between starting with an armed aggression and ending with actual interference by the Council when enforcement action in pursuit of the claim of self-defence was allowed without any previous sanction of the Council. This condition suitable only in situations concerning armed attack defeated the importance of defence mechanism in the Security Council. The significance of this clause in the charter can hardly be exaggerated in view of the reality that Security Council still has no arms

93. The Critical issue related to the fear stimulated by the Dumbarton Oaks clause prohibiting enforcement action under regional patronage without the sanction of the Security Council.

strength employed under it and also in view of continued frustration of activity by the Security Council, through the use of veto. Negative vote by one of the permanent members could and would preclude enforcement action by the Security Council. A permanent member aiming to use enforcement means by a regional arrangement could by its dropping a negative vote, block interference of the Security Council, but a hostile vote could not be applied to obstruct regional operation. While article 51 was expressed in conditions of common applicability it was proclaimed by Latin American envoys and acknowledged by others as a formula planned chiefly to discipline the existing regional organizations of Western Hemisphere from the influence of the Security Council restraint, in the most critical situations. The Latin Americans were not specially interested to struggle for regionalism in general. Some of them aimed that the charter should select the Inter-American system as a valid regional organ having a great degree of autonomy.


The American envoy was explicitly unsatisfied at the plan of the liberation of all and various regional arrangements under the stipulations of Article 51. Those members of the delegation who had disagreed with senator Vandenberg in his improvement of the prescription had not been so much opposed to autonomy for the Inter-American system as worried about the universalization of regional autonomy. Vandenberg argued that Monroe Doctrine could not be saved without including regional arrangements in the world organization, but he held with much dislike the requirement of universalizing the special favours of Article 51. He had trifled with the prospect of trying to get distinct exclusion from the condition of article 53 advantageous to Western Hemispheric agency and he did his best but to no purpose, to begot a prescription which would have the force of legalizing autonomous actions by that organization without providing equivalent freehand to other regional arrangements whose movements he regarded would be harmful to world order. Afterwards America has set-up unusual practices for article 51 but it upheld the adoption of that condition in the United Nation Charter not due to the


fact that the article reduced the influence of the Security
Council over collective self-defense organizations other
than those intended in the act of Chapultec.

At San Francisco many Latin American delegates desired
acceptance of conditions that would have stipulated the role
of helping the peaceful settlement of inter-regional quarrels
to regional bodies allowing the Security Council to intervene
only if the regional organization managing an accorded condi-
tion should so demand or if a dispute should also extend to
the limits of others areas. As a consequence of this urge
committee III advised and the Plenary Conference accepted the
inclusion in the charter of the condition that members of
regional arrangements should try to settle their regional
quarrels before referring them to the Security Council (Article
52,3), and the addition of regional agencies to the list of
suggested ways of peaceful settlement which states should
explore before turning to the Security Council (Article 33,1).
Thus the chapter went importantly farther than Dumberton
Oak's proposals in emphasizing the role of regional organization
organizations as agencies of first resort for settling disputes among
their own members. Behind the generality of
of these conditions was special intention of recognizing the
supremacy of Inter-American Institutions.

According to Article 33 recourse to regional arrangements of pacific settlement was dealt as one of provided different alternatives for disputants in their preliminary attempts to get solution of their problems. Article 32(2) was more vivid in that it seemed to favour to members of regional bodies, to use the peace making possibilities of those agencies before looking to world-organization, but this restriction was limited and possibly confused by the addition of Article 32(4) providing that the article did not disqualify the use of article 34 and article 35 which acknowledged authority of the Security Council to enquire disputes or conditions to decide in any event, if they likely are able to endanger international peace and Security and justified nations to persuade such situations to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly. Further, according to article 36, the Security Council was authorized at any stage of the dispute to recommend methods of pacific adjustment. Looking at these articles (i.e. Article 32(2), chained to article 32(4), 35 and 36 respectively), one can infer that the settlement at the San Francisco conference designed to allot to regional bodies a preliminary part in solving domestic problems while holding the basis that the Security Council should have primary responsibility and unlimited authority to interfere in any event at any moment (Article 32(4), 34, 35 and 36 respectively).
An indistinct settlement was made at San Francisco Conference permitting defenders of regionalism to insist that they had gained plain success for the sovereignty and supremacy of regional bodies and allowing universalists to assert that they had won clear victory for the primacy of Security Council in maintaining peace and security in the world. Regionalism is not a post war development. Nations may be equal in law but they can not be equal in power. Regionalism is not defined in the Charter because no definition was possible and agreeable to all. Individual and collective self defense right was permitted under article 51 because no international organization could have been possible at that time without its inclusion. This indistinct settlement puzzled nations even at that time.

To stipulate for the use of regional arrangements to help peaceful settlement of disputes is different from stipulating sole authority of regional arrangements over such events in their original stages. This explanation finally rests on Article 52 paragraph 4, as Stettinius explained the article made legal power of the Security Council complete and

its claim to involve itself if necessary with conflicts of inter-regional nature.

In short San-Francisco conference maintained superiority of world organization, stipulating important grants to regional arrangements. With reference to enforcement action, framers of the Charter stipulated the ambiguous union of article 51 and 53. This ambiguity was the advantage of regional arrangements. With reference to the power over conflicts at the pacific settlement of disputes the conference made ambiguous union of Article 52 paragraph 51, with articles 34 and 35 chained to article 52 paragraph 4. This ambiguity was to the advantage of world organization.

In spite of the provisions that regional attempts should have preference, the sentences protecting descritituary power of the Security Council subordinated regional action to the overall authority of the Security Council.

Charter was very much clear, than covenant had been, in trying to connect the regional arrangements to the United Nations and to harmonize the motives of regionalism and

universalism, but in view of above mentioned combination of ambiguities each pushing in a contrary direction it is hard to hold the possibility that a plain description of the connection in global and regional arrangements was written into the Charter. It was plain merely that the world organization and regional arrangements would exist together and that political contention regarding their appropriate connection was possibly in the real working of the order, as the United States expected the Inter-American system would establish a principle of a collective security order extending over the world, in the absence of constituting a model which possibly engender competition between regional arrangements at the cost of universal protection. These remarks expressed persistent prejudice of the United States authorities approaching the fundamentals of globalism in the affairs of peace and security. The Council itself after fruitless debates has at times transferred conflicts to the General Assembly like Palestine dispute (1947, 1948), disputes in Korea and Hungary, disputes in Middle East 1956 and 1957.


105. Report to the President by the Chairman of the United States delegation, op. cit., pp. 101-108.
But General Assembly resolutions are mere recommendations, but have the pressure of public opinion.

The framers of the U.N. Charter at the San Francisco Conference were aware that the United Nations would be successful only if major nations would co-operate. In fact the only security of peace existed in the joint force of 'Big Five', but even at San Francisco their disagreement was so clear that no one expected that they would continuously co-operate. The plan was not that they should continuously co-operate, but that without their co-operation entire safety plan of the inter-national organization would fail. As a result logical conclusion was made, if the plan failed through lack of agreement amidst major nations the members would have to reclaim their inherent right of self defense." Because an international organization can not coerce a major nation. Thus in an atmosphere of mutual doubt and being quite aware of the breaks in the Universal Security plan, on which they themselves had persisted, both the blocs gambled for security and added additionally difficult plans of sectional safety with the international security system.

106. Article 10, Article 11, paragraphs 1-2, Article 12, Article 13, Article 14, Article 17.


9. **United Nations & Regional Economic Integration**

United Nations aims to raise standards of living economic and social development, promote full employment and establishes thereby state of stability and well being (Article 53). Formerly such activities had not ordinarily come in the capacity of League of Nations. Responsibility for the activities in question is vested in the General Assembly and under the assemblies authority in the Economic and Social Council (Articles 60-61).

The Council may enter into agreements with intergovernmental agencies, which in virtue of international agreements and the terms of their statutes exercise extensive international functions, in the economic, social cultural, educational and public health regions as well as in other related fields, the purpose being to establish connections in such inter-governmental agencies and the United Nations. The agencies thus connected are called specialized agencies of the United Nations (Article 57 and article 63).

109. Related Agencies are:
- I.L.O. (International Labour Organization)
- IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency)
- F.A.O. (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations)
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)
- Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development)
- WHO (World Health Organization)
- IDA (International Development Assoc.)
- IFC (International Development
In the economic sphere regional co-operation is fostered through the help of economic regional commissions, 110 the specialised agencies, UNDP and the World Bank. Such joint-operation is of worth not only to regions themselves but to the larger purposes of the world organisation and it is in the universal organisation itself and in no other agency, that this work can be reconciled and used for the service of humanity. Regionalism being at the lower level can be more effective in maintaining peace in the region.

Then it must be constructed as a foundation for the maintenance of peace at the international level.

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111. Allen D. Russet, Strengthening the Frame Work of Peace, Royal Institute of International Affairs 1959, p.123.
There are two unclear matters to be taken into account. The word regional in this study relates to proper regional arrangements thus does not take in alliances, blocs, subsystems. There is however particularly in the defence field somewhat confused limit in the function of arrangements like S.E.A.T.O., CENTO, NATO and O.A.S. The function of O.A.S. particularly after ejection of Cuba during 1962. This limit can not be decided by indicating to the clauses of the United Nations Charter, which anticipate, "a collective security arrangement", in chapter VII and Regional arrangements in chapter VIII. It would be useful to make clear the effects of the separate legal functions practised by these two types of arrangements. Practical use of each requires to be examined relating to the nature of action, also by studying Charter Clauses. The Military Pacts and regional arrangements estimation comes to be more hard as Military Pacts widen their interests, to include non-security regions such as those connected with widely situated regions.

Second there is a fundamental difference in the making of regional functional bodies by the chief organs of the United Nations as a method to achieve its works and establishing of regional bodies beyond the United Nations as a method

to achieve its sub-systematic function. When the United Nations establishes a regional functional unit, as it has by arranging regional economic commissions, there is actually no cause to foresee a contest in its workings with those of the United Nations because such regional arrangements are subordinate regional arrangements of the global organisation helping it carry out its work.

113. ESCOSC has a number of functional commissions like Human Rights, status of Women and five regional Economic Commissions under its authority, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP, Bangkok).

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA, Addis Ababa) for Europe (ECE, Geneva) for Latin America (ECLA Santiago Chile) and for Western Asia (ESCWA).


In this relation is advantageous to compare and accomplish with the more closely arranged regional activities that have evolved in East and West Europe. For an ascertainment of E.E.S. in the rising of European System see - International Conciliation No. 561, January 1967, pp. 5-66.
To maintain international peace and security is the main trust of the United Nations. Attempts to arrange regional security very nearly ever intrude upon this function by placing arrangements with greater partisan spirit, aims and determinations. Although economic and social questions likewise afford issuing of arrangements beyond the range of the United Nations there is by far little indication that they gradually weaken global arrangement partly because this distinction is the common experience that the United Nations was set up to restrict war and that any diffusion of this function undermines whatever little possibility there is to establish a foundation for peace.

This distinction in economic and war-peace approach partly and certainly expresses the attempt of the United Nations to restrict the liberty of the Nations to apply force in solving their international conflicts. The United Nations charter forbid application of force by national governments (Article 21) it however does not prohibit national governments with economic and social arrangements although a policy of customary growth has appeared to afford certain ground to the blurred obligation to help forward human rights (Article 55, of the U.N. charter, paragraph 3) for example, Indians attack on Portuguese territory of Goa during 1962, issued an indecisive discussion in which Afro-Asian and socialist nations backed India’s attitude, inspite of its
deviation with the obvious obligations with the Charter to reject force except for purposes of self-defence.

Only once Security Council determined, on December 16, 1966 in accordance with Articles 39 and 41 of the United Nation's Charter, to command a series of blockade means, against the rebellious British Colony of Rhodesia to which means it intensified by its judgement of May 30, 1969. These two judgements were taken by the reality, that in the view of the Security Council the existence in Rhodesia of an administration that was illegal and opposed to human rights constituted a threat to the peace. On strength of Article 25 of the Charter, included in Council's resolution the means in question were compulsory upon all member nations. The world political condition was such that the majority of Council members, and all the permanent members agreed on the imposition of these sanctions.

Article 63 of the United Nations Charter stipulates for the making of Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and plan functional standard for their setting. The legal past of the Charter show small concern specially as opposed to functionally determined organizations in the Economic

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sphere. Soon after the formation of Charter the United Nations began a plan, in economical field, a process neither encouraged nor prohibited at San Francisco. First commission on Economic for Europe was created soon after San Francisco. The idea of making it was a reorganization after war. Following forceful tedious debates commissions for Asian and Latin Americans were made over the opposition of West American and West European members. Thus, United Nations made five regional economic commissions. Had set up the base of recognizing the rights of other regions, and had widened the work of these commissions from reproduction to economical advancement.

In fact, the regional economic commissions, while subordinate parts of a global international arrangement, are

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117. E.C.E. was set up by ECOSOC Resolution 36(IV) on March 23, 1947; ECAFE by ECOSOC Resolution 37(IV) of March 22, 1947 and ECLA by ECOSOC Resolution 106(VI) of February 25, 1963.

118. The Economic Commission for Africa was created under ECOSCO Resolution 671 A and B (XXV) of April 29, 1959. Creation of commission for the Middle East had been thought of and would very nearly have been created were it not for the continuing breach in Israel and Arab State.
real regional arrangements with all that, that really means with reference to relevant neighbourhood homogeneity. Moreover they are not regional duplicate copies of the United Nations (like military facts). They are restricted in aim, sharing social and economic works of the United Nations, but not in any order its works in the spheres of peace and security self-determination or human rights. When in reality United Nations itself has been marked by various shifts, reveal neighbourhood instability has contended for specific causes integrating precedents. The regional commissions have not struggled directly and clearly with the changing turns of cold war and colonial struggle. They work under overall control of Economic and Social Council.

During the recent years there has been a continuing interest in the possibility of revising the charter. Regional


120. The conditions of Reference annexed to the yearly accounts of the commission to ESOSOC, Official Records (37th Session) supplement No.2 (Annex XIII (ECAFE), Supplement No.4 Annex XIII (ECIA) supplement No.7, Annex XIII (ECE) and supplement No. X Annex XIII (ECE).

plans are rising to function in the setting up of United Nations activities, means for organisational improvement of the main organs of the United Nations incline to organize actual regional plans, particularly plans for widening the membership of United Nations organs to suit more firmly with

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122. In order to give greater representation to new members of the United Nations. The Amendments of article 23 of UI, Charter enlarges the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen.

The amendment article 27 provides that decisions of the Security Council on Procedural matters shall be made by an confirmative vote of 9 members (formerly seven) including the concerning votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The amendment of article 61, which entered into force on 31st August 1965 enlarged the membership of the Economic and Social Council from eighteen to twenty seven.

The subsequent amendment to that article, which entered into force on 24th September 1973, further increased the membership of the Council from twenty seven to fifty 4. The amendment to article 109, which relates to the first paragraph of that article, provides that the General Conference of Member states for the purpose of reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two third votes of the members of the General Assembly and by the vote of any nine members (for seven) of the Security Council Paragraph of article 109, which deals with the consideration of a possible review conference during the length regular session of the General Assembly has been retained in its original form in its reference to a vote of any seven members of the Security Council, the paragraph have been acted upon in 1955 by the General Assembly, at its tenth regular session and by the Security Council. Vide "Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice" office of the Public Information United Nations, New York, p. XIX-IV, No. 0PI/511 2001 (G-71)."
the allotment of authority and values between community of nations. The operations of regional economic commissions acting in the setting of United Nation's outline have not got such help. Today world order can not progress by fundamental reforms such as radical revision of the United Nations Charter. The regional economic commissions, ECLA in Santiago and Mexico City, ECAFE in Bangkok, and ECA in Addis Ababa are three regional economic commissions. An institute for Economic and Social Planning was created with UN special fund and Inter-American Bank (IDB) to help in Santiago. Identical entities were established in Bangkok for Asia and the Far East and in Dakar for Africa, periodic rivalries among the international organization and OAS in the pacific settlement of disputes and enforcement action spheres had thought.


providing effect in the conflict amid ECLA, and the Inter
American Economic and Social Council (IA-ECOSOC) of the
O.A.S. Though the treaty for progress (CIAP) has encouraged
structural forms for improving works of the two groupings to
agree. (An ad hoc committee on co-operation was created to
assure adjustment amidst OAS, ECLA, and the (Inter-American
Development) IDB. ECLA is also joined to the Inter-American
Committee on the alliance for progress (CIAP), a committee of
IA-ECOSOC (of the OAS) in an advisory capacity. The effec-
tual harmonization has been slight and ECLA and IA-ECOSOC
(of OAS) continue different and rivalling bodies. It is not
an overstatement ECLA's repute in the area and in which the
America has been a minor, and objecting sharer has been
exaggerated by the reality that the O.A.S. is extensively
looked as an American governed organization. Regional dignity
in E.C.L.A. and a tendency to give attention when the ECLA
directs for the region's grievances likely be counter-connected
to regional adoption of the O.A.S. mechanism.

No doubt the scope of ECAFE extends from Mongolia to
Western Asia and New Zealand but it is only in name, suit-
ing to be a sub-division managed by the United Nations not a means
for political unifications in the region. If the number of
trials in regional or subregional groupings is some standard,
Asia assures very little development of any of the progressing
regions in direction of economic even lesser political
instability. Causes of South Asian disjunction are obvious. The hindrances are geographical scattering of areas, variety of culture, languages, and religions, great political differences, much difference in the proportion of states, E.C.A.F.E. works in these surroundings. Practical likeness is obviously in this spreading territory. Its two regional associates Newzealand and Australia are much great user companions with a G.N.P. for each capital of greater than 1300 $, four of its, belingers, Afghanistan, Laos, Burma, and Nepal are conventional native fellows with a G.N.P. each capita of not so much as $ 70 and just one big state Japan 127 G.N.P. per capita rather $ 300. Groups of nations that can somewhat be compared in magnitude and strength are parted by linguistic, ideological, religious intense animosities. If Civil War is alienated in personnel strife, wars for power, 128 and constructional battles. In Latin America Civil War is ordinarily a personal war or strive fought for power, while in South Asia, it is often structural. Hence its effects are far reaching and it is not easy for the Commission to


take full notice of the matters of economic progress in this region. Between other intakes which have hindered commission's consideration are the deep distrust of Japan's supremacy since long, concern and certain displeasure over India's deposition about priority in the region and ECAFE. Disagreement brought in the Asian setting by the making and constant presence of SEATO. In single ECAFE, existence of three commissions of both Russia and America. Continent of China exists in the geographical scope of the commission. It constantly meddles with Asian matters. But it does not participates in ECAFE under these events economic development is hard. Attempts to create economic agreement have accomplished much and are quite convincing. The United Nation Economic commission for Asia and Far East (ECAFE) has worked from 1947, and the Colombo Plan from 1950. Both contain majority of the nations of the system also external states. The two were planned to help the gradual economic advancement still the two are recommedatory in nature. ECAFE has a permanent secretariat that does advantageous investigation; and advises on plans to its member states, who assemble yearly in organized discussions and more often in various councils; but ECAFE only proposes it is its member nations that practically arrange and accomplish these plans.
10. **Concluding Observations**

International decision during 1945 at San Francisco was clearly to allot superiority to the universal arrangement and not to blocs, alliances or sub-systems. Charter allows regional organization and agencies to deal with peace and security affairs under the subordination of universal arrangement. United States officials also maintain the aspect, that the existence of regional arrangement or agencies is necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security, but these should be under proper subordination of world organization. Superiority of world organization implies, superiority of those states possessing veto-right. Security Council can act if it gets required votes. The success of the United Nations, therefore in maintaining peace and security is dependent on voluntary co-operation of great powers. The veto provision is a clear statement, makers of the charter discarded the idea of making the United Nations a means of

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collective security in events involving aggressive action by major nations. The success of the United Nations, therefore, in maintaining peace and security is dependent on the voluntary co-operation of the Great Powers. The United Nations can take effective preventive and enforcement action against small powers. The League of Nations likewise achieved considerable success in resolving disputes among smaller countries, it failed when large powers violated it.
