



REVIEWS

STUDIES IN WORLD ORDER By Harnam Singh (ed.) 1972. Kitab Mahal (w.d.) Private Ltd., N. Dehi. Pp. ix+448. Rs. 45.

HERE IS an interesting collection of fourteen essays written by Indian scholars. As may be expected in works of this kind the contributions range far and wide: B.S. Murty writes an introduction on "The World Order Study" as well as a chapter on the "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes"; S.A.H. Haqqi on "The Nature of World Conflict" and "Nationalism and Internationalism"; S.P. Varma on "Struggle for Power"; G. Parthasathy on "World Economic Order"; B.N. Ganguli on "Economic and Social Problems of Disarmament"; K.V. Rao on "Peaceful Co-existence"; P.N. Masaldan on "Collective Security" and "Peaceful Change"; R.P. Anand on "International Police Force", P.S. Muhar on "Gandhian Approach to World Order"; and N.R. Deshpande on "Methods of Achieving World Order".

The study is edited by Harnam Singh who himself contributes an essay on "Disarmament" and also writes a "Postscript".

The theme of this study has for long held the imagination and attention of jurists and philosophers alike. In the past, the Dutch jurist—Hugo Grotius and the German philosopher—Immanuel Kant—had made their contributions to this theme through their respective disciplines of international law and philosophy. Contemporarily, scholars, statesmen, and organisations like the World Peace Council, World Peace Through World Law and International Peace Research Council have been striving for the establishment of international peace and security—the twin goals of world order. Although the efforts of these organisations have not yielded substantial results, they cannot be abandoned, since the quest for peace must continue until its establishment.

That the world order cannot be born of dreaming, wishful thinking, or rhetoric is a commonplace truism. However, it deserves repetition as the truth therein is seldom realised. What then are the ways and means for ushering in world order? This is too large a question which cannot be answered satisfactorily in the present review. Yet a brief answer is not out of place. One of the first tasks in such an undertaking would be to carry out scholarly studies in depth of the economic, political and legal foundations underlying world order. Secondly, the findings of such studies should be disseminated internationally with a view to creating favourable public opinion. Thirdly, continuous dialogues among decision-makers in foreign offices the world over should be encouraged to remove the basis for suspicion of the underlying goals of world order. Finally, measures should



be taken to set up institutions on a transnational basis to further the objectives of world order. All these inevitably entail time and energy. But just because they are time-consuming, we cannot fail to make a beginning. Professor Harnam Singh by bringing together a body of Indian scholars to make a contribution to this beginning has rendered a significant service.

The readers of this journal probably would be specially interested in the legal and institutional perspectives on world order. Therefore, the present reviewer will take the liberty of dealing with them at greater length. Where necessary, however, other relevant perspectives will also be referred to.

B.S. Murty's introduction to "The World Order Study" is in the nature of a general perspective on the Study. Murty holds that the Study is a "futuristic and policy-oriented one"¹—a claim which is no doubt partly evidenced by his own chapter but is not sustainable by the Study as a whole. The reference to "policy-oriented" approach, in Murty's chapter is apparently similar to the famous Yale jurisprudence according to which all law is policy but all policy is not law. The Yale approach appears to resemble Lenin's famous *dictum* that law is politics. The similarity between the two ceases there, however. For beneath the seeming resemblance there are basic differences between the two schools. Having first set out his frame of reference, Murty sums up the gist of several of the succeeding chapters, as he sees them. This summation reflects the traditional learning rather than "futurology" or a "policy-oriented" approach. Murty's other chapter on the "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes" is also of the traditional variety. It classifies disputes settlement procedures into diplomatic and adjudicatory and then discusses such familiar modalities as negotiation, inquiry and diplomatic procedures in international organizations. Realising that these modalities are not effective, scholars have recently been experimenting with the idea of using psychological techniques, such as "Sensitivity training", "Role Reversal" and "GRIT" (Graduated Reduction in Tension) in conflict-resolution. These and other techniques as well as their potentialities are described in UNITAR studies on the peaceful settlement of disputes. The attention of the Indian academics is drawn to these studies.

The chapter on "International Police Force" by R.P. Anand is also of traditional vintage. It describes the abortive attempt by the United Nations to conclude military agreements under article 43 of the Charter, *ad hoc* military missions under the United Nations, and concludes with the finding that no "U.N. Force" is possible in the present circumstances of world politics. Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant have been represented as having opposed a permanent U.N. Force. The only international forces possible, concludes Anand, are "*ad hoc* forces of interposition". Even this modest conclusion is subject to the limitations of the constitutional restraints on Security Council's functions, the availability of funds, and above all, the identity of the super-power interests in a particular situation regarding the maintenance of international peace and security.

1. Studies in World Order 6.



Disarmament is crucial in any planning of world order. Harnam Singh devotes a whole chapter to this problem surveying comprehensively the measures that have been taken in respect of disarmament since 1899. Included in this historical survey of disarmament is India's effort towards the formulation of the Test-Ban Treaty of 1963. Ganguli's chapter on "Economic and Social Problems of Disarmament" rightly draws our attention to the significance of general and complete disarmament for developing countries. It has been pointed out that developing countries have been spending about \$5000 million a year on military expenditure.² Imagine the beneficent effects of disarmament on developing countries!

The concluding chapter of the Study on "Methods of Achieving World Order" by N.R. Deshpande contains some useful, if only pedestrian, generalisations. For example, it is said that the "United Nations is... essential and it must continue in spite of its deficiencies"³, and that the "United Nations is still our chief hope in our efforts to build the edifice of peace".⁴ Deshpande concludes his chapter by referring to the Dag Hammarskjöld observations of 1960 that the United Nations was passing through a period of transition between institutional systems of international co-existence and constitutional systems of international cooperation.

One final observation: this book is designed to be used as a text-book by students of world affairs at the Indian universities; assuming that it is possible to accomplish this design, its price is quite high by Indian standards. The sponsors of this study may well consider producing a paper-back the price of which is within the reach of most university students.

M.K. Nawaz*

2. *Id.* at 182.

3. *Id.* at 422.

4. *Id.* at 426.

* Director, The Indian Society of International Law, 7-8 Scindia House, New Delhi-1.