

Sohn, L.B. ed., BASIC DOCUMENTS OF AFRICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, Vol 1. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., Oceana Publications, Inc., 1971. x, 394p. \$35.00

This volume on Africa is the first of a series on regional organizations outside the Western hemisphere. The overall task is formidable, and it may be for this reason that neither the pattern nor subject matter for succeeding volumes are disclosed. The present volume is limited to but a few basic documents, the shortcomings of the book admitted, and suggestions invited for a contemplated revision.

The text of three basic documents are fully set forth each as part of a separate chapter. These consist of the Charter of the Organization of African States (OAU), a regional arrangement continental in scope; the Agreement Establishing the African Development Bank (ADB), technically an instrument for economic cooperation; and the Charter of the African and Malagasy Common Organization (OCAM), a partial grouping of Francophonic states organized for mutual cooperation and serving as a means of institutionalizing the continuance of their relations with France.

Each such document is preceded by the texts of various antecedent documents and summary of events, a useful bibliography, and a selective, valuable, summary of other pertinent documents and where they may be found. Finally, the texts of numerous instruments mostly procedural supplementing the OAU and OCAM charters are included, and appended to the agreement establishing ADB is the text of its elaborate regulations. The former more usefully could have been summarized, and the bank's regulations omitted so as to make room for documents applicable to East Africa unaccountably excluded. As a lone example of a concerted activity, there is included the text of a Manifesto on Southern Africa directed against Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, approved at a conference of East African and Central African states, and later endorsed by OAU.

Although at the time of the creation of OAU some flirted with the thought of political integration, such notion was

rejected in favor of gradualism.¹ Unity as conceived by OAU consists of functional cooperation in restricted areas not inconsistent with sovereignty. Other than support for insurgent movements, activity in quieting a number of border disputes, and declarations against residual colonialism, with the advent of partial groupings throughout Africa, OAU remained largely passive. Notwithstanding a concern with neo-colonialism on the part of Africans, the basic documents included in the text are structured upon western organizational concepts evidently in the hope of encouraging the economic cooperation of the developed countries notably capital imports. Nevertheless, unlike the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank in both of which the United States plays a major role, OAU and ADB confine their membership to African states and in this sense have no counterparts elsewhere.

What followed after the creation of OAU need not necessarily be described as disunity, but rather a pragmatic pursuit of national development. The Francophonic states developed a partial grouping of their own, Malawi resumed economic relations with the Union of South Africa; East Africa continued mutual economic cooperation short of federation, and established an East African Development Bank; Uganda and the Ivory Coast also are reported to be glancing towards South Africa and various customs unions exist, including the 1969 South African Customs Union Agreement which grants increased proportionate shares of customs revenue to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland by reason of their weaker economic development similar to an approach employed in Central Africa and East Africa.²

¹Illustrative is the article in 1963 by Julius K. Nyerere entitled "A United States of Africa" where he advocates a policy of gradualism with the ultimate objective of political integration. In the same article he thought that East African Federation should be comparatively easy to achieve, a hope not fulfilled. The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 1, No. p. 1 (March 1963).

²Biff Turner, A Fresh Start for the South African Customs Union. AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Vol. 70, No. 280, p. 269 (July 1971).

Ordinarily, in a volume such as this, the cold documentary print adds little to reflect the movement evolving in a developing continent. The association of a chronological summary of events with the related document is necessarily descriptive furnishing little of the drama taking place. A map of migratory movements throughout Africa, a comparison of customs union agreements illustrative of the advantages shared by weak partners as yielded by the stronger one, material graphically or otherwise depicting the paths pursued in development by ADB and other community resources, and comparable sketches in other areas suggest the kind of material that might be included as processes initiated or induced by regional organizations.

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