POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]
Course V

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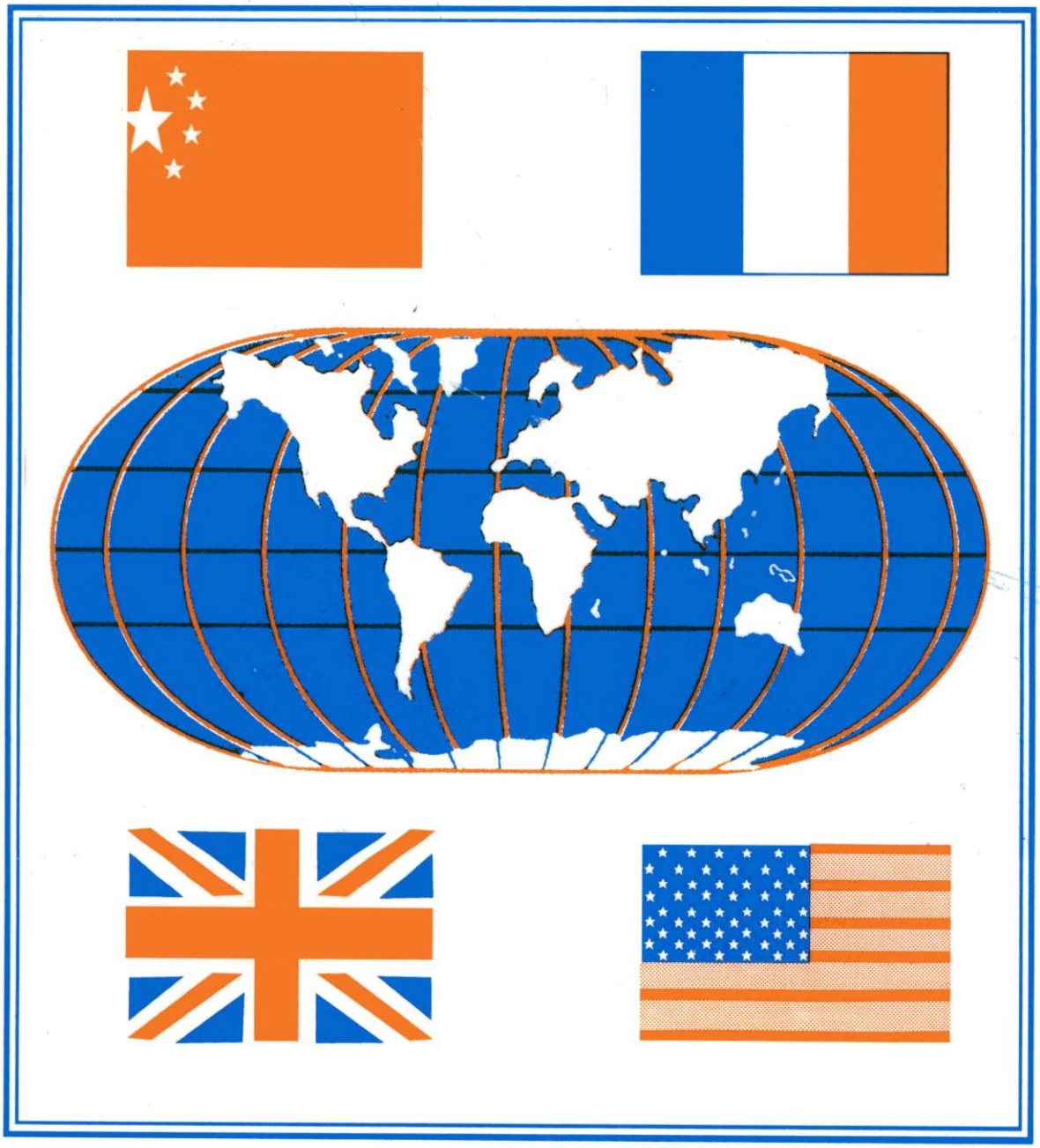

KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 7

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as instrument of democrating education.

National Education Policy 1986

ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.
.....ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಪಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system.
..... it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು **'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'**ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು **'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'**ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ಮನುಜ ಮತ**. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ**. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ತರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ **ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ**.

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these ***five mantras*** should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu

Block
7

Introduction

Unit 24
League of Nations - Origin, Objectives, Organization. 1 to 12

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Specialized Agencies - W.H.O., I.L.O., I.M.F., and U.N.E.S.C.O. 53 to 64

Unit 28
Achievements and Failures of United Nations 65 to 80

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Units 24 - 28

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Block - VII Introduction

Block - VII consists of 5 units from 24 to 28. Unit - 24 explains the League of Nations - Origin, Objectives, Organization. Unit - 25 explains Achievements and Failures of League of Nations. Unit - 26 explains United Nations. Unit - 27 Specialized Agencies - W.H.O., I.L.O., I.M.F., and U.N.E.S.C.O. Unit - 28 explains the Achievements and Failures of United Nations.

Block – VII

Unit - 24: League of Nations - Origin, Objectives, Organization.

Structure

24.0 Objectives.

24.1 Introduction.

24.2 Causes for the Growth of International Organization.

24.3 Defining International Organization.

24.4 Features of International Organization.

24.5 International Organization: Classification.

24.6 League of Nations: Origin.

24.7 Objectives of League of Nations.

24.8 Organization of League of Nations.

- 24.8.1 The Assembly
- 24.8.2 The Council
- 24.8.3 The Secretariat

24.9 Let us Sum up.

24.10 Key words.

24.11 Some useful Books.

24.12 Answer to check your progress exercises.

24 .0 Objectives

This unit is written with an objective to familiarize you about an international organization that was designed by men for peace and Security. After going through this unit you should be able to understand;

* The importance of international organizations,
* The founding of the League of Nations,
* The importance of global organizations like the League of Nations in promoting peace and prosperity of human race.

24. 1 Introduction

The study of League of Nations in an increasingly globalized world, not only throws light on the efforts made by great men to keep alive human race in the post world war- I scenario but also the goals set forth by them before such an organization. Many nations and individuals were involved in the plans for establishing a 'world governments like, institution namely the League of Nations. The current sharing of information with you on the League of Nations, to inform you of the need for, the predictable future of such institutions, keeping in view the efforts of humanity for peace and security. We shall discuss several of these in stages in the following pages.

24. 2 Causes for the Growth of International Organization

The urge of man for preserving his race and community has often inspired him to work on strategies and to design institutions that can ensure long drawn co - operation for greater utility of manpower resources. In order to ensure that the world community at large co-exists with definite purpose to preserve for posterity the world they have inherited these have been many Collective efforts. The establishment of the League of Nations was one such preliminary attempt made by the international community after the First World War to ensure that world would remain a safe place for the human race to survive and prosper in peaceful environment.

The League of Nations is the first genuine international organization although falls back on the historical context of development of international organizations, one can even trace back the growth of such institutions is recorded history to the earliest times in ancient civilizations, like that of Greek, where the first known formal organization viz. 'Amphiertyonic League,' was formed as early as in the 6th century BC to regulate inter - state relations, to avoid war and to promote. Al through history, treaties signed between states were meant to manage unity relations. The 'Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and 'The Peace of Utrecht, (1713) for example could be identified as rudimentary forms of international organisation. Later developments of 19th century, such as the 'Congress of Vienna', the 'concert of Europe', the 'Hague Conference' etc. were all important events in the emergence of 'International Organization'.

Check Your Progress - I

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) What are the causes for the Growth of International Organisation ?

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24 . 3 Defining International Organization

International organization refers to the aggregate of procedures and organs for bringing the nations together to achieve some

objectives. Some even go to the extent of saying that the larger interest that supersede the national interest also would mean in the modem terminology an international organization. This term however is often used to refer to the agencies and procedures that are definitely designed to achieve the goals that are of fundamental interest to international communities, In other words, it is an association of sovereign states which performs governmental functions but does not have powers normally deemed to be available to sovereign states.

24.4 Features of International Organizations

There may be differences in the common characteristics of international organizations with varied structures and functions to perform. Following may be considered to be some of the common features of international organizations in broad and general categories;

Membership of international organizations is generally open to sovereign states for which delegates are normally nominated by the governments who act according to the directions of governments that they represent.

All the member states are treated equally irrespective of their size, population, wealth or power and they also are entitled for the same rights and privileges.

The international organizations may not have the binding force which in other words mean that they cannot compel the member states to abide by their decisions

Lastly, international organizations seek to promote inter governmental collaboration, which is invariably on voluntary basis since, sovereignty of state is still a dominant attribute of all modern states.

24. 5 International Organization; Classifications

Many Scholars have adopted varied means to clasify international organizations on the basis of different principles such as their functions, field of operation, involvement of governments treaties,

basis of their membership and activity. Let us briefly understand them here.

On the basis of function, the international organizations have been classified as political, administrative and judicial organizations. The political organizations are primarily concerned with the preservation of international peace and security. League of Nations or United Nations Organization, could be examples for this.

On basis of field of operation, they have been grouped as global and regional. In case of global, they usually have universal membership and extensive jurisdiction .m case of regional organizations they are naturally restricted. ASEAN, SAARC and NATO could be examples for this.

On the basis of treaty concluded between states international organizations have Sometimes International Monetary Fund and United Nations Rehabilitation Administration could be examples.

Certain scholars like Norman Hill have also classified international organizations on the basis of their membership and their activity. These could be bilateral regional or universal. F AO, UNESCO, WHO could be examples in this respect.

24.6 League of Nations : Origin

The horrors of the First World War which inflicted deep wounds on the humankind led the states to evolve an organization capable of working towards the causes of humanity, so as to save the world from the evils of war. In this context the genesis of the League of Nations can be traced back to the various peace movements in the 19th century viz. The Congress of Vienna (1814 -15), The Holy Alliance (1815), the Concert of Europe (1885 - 22), the European Commission (1856), the International Telegraph Union (1856), Universal Postal Union (1874),the American Union (1890), and the permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague (1899), and others. However, the League of Nations established conventionally in the year 1919 differed from these earlier

organizations in as far as it combined in one institution a number of separate elements which had previously existed in a piecemeal fashion. It also differed from these organizations because it laid emphasis on the principle of collective security rather than neutrality which was a basic feature of organizations of 19th century. Further, it provided regular occasions for the representatives of member states to meet and discuss their common problems as well as the matters which were likely to endanger world peace.

President Woodraw Wilson of the United States was a strong proponent of the League of Nations. In one of his fourteen points he insisted, "a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of providing mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to the great, the big and small states alike'. It was at President Wilson's insistence that the Covenant of the League was made a part of the peace treaties that were concluded at the end of the First World War.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a note on Origin of the League of Nations.

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24 .7 Objectives of the League of Nations

The objectives of the League of Nations were outlined in the Preamble to the Covenant and that included the following;

1. achievement of international peace and security;

2. prevention of recurrence of war in future by establishing relations between different nations on the principles of equality justice and honour;
3. promotion of international co - operation in the social intellectual and material fields to make human life better and noble; and
4. promotion of respect for international law in the conduct of relations among states.

24 . 8 Organization of League of Nations

The League which was established had two types of members original and non - original. The states and dominions which were either signatories to the various peace treaties or actually acceded to the Covenant before 20 March 1920 were regarded as original members. In all there were 43 original members of the League. The non original members were those who did not join the League before 20 March 1920. In all 17 states were admitted as members in this category. It is noteworthy that a number of states were also denied membership in this category on various grounds. The Covenant also contained provisions regarding withdrawal and expulsion of states from the League. In all 16 states withdrew from the League during its existence. On the other hand the USSR was expelled from the League following her aggression on Finland in 1939.

The League consisted of three main organs - the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. In addition to these it had two autonomous organs (Permanent Court of International Justice and International Labour Organization), and a number of subsidiary and auxiliary organs viz. The Mandates Commission, International Tariff Commission, International Economic and Fiscal Commission

24.8.1 The Assembly

The General Assembly was the deliberative wing of the League. Each member state sent three representatives to the assembly even though it enjoyed only one vote. Generally the Assembly met annually

but special sessions of the Assembly could be convened as and when required. The main functions assigned to the Assembly included discussions on the following subjects;

1. Deliberation on all matters falling within the sphere of the League including discussion on various political, economic and technical questions which had a bearing on international interests and peace;
2. Formulation of annual budget and apportionment of expenses among various member -states;
3. Admission of new members of League of Nations by two-thirds majority;
4. Election of temporary members of Council every year
5. Election of 15 Judges of International Court for a term of nine years.
6. Appointment of the Secretary General as recommended by the Council;
7. Changes in the rules and regulations of the League through amendment of the Covenant;
8. Advising the members to reconsider treaties which had become inapplicable; and
9. Exercise of necessary supervision over the working of the Council.

However the functions assigned to the Assembly were purely of an advisory kind.

24.8.1 The Council

The Council was the executive organ of the League, even though it also performed certain quasi-judicial functions. The Council consisted of five permanent and four non- permanent members. But as US did not join the League the strength of permanent members was reduced to four. The original four permanent, members of the League were Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The strength of the permanent members as well as non- permanent members could

be increased by the Assembly. Actually Germany and the USSR were made permanent members and the strength of nonpermanent members was raised to eleven.

The Council met thrice a year in the months of January, May and September. The meetings of the Council were presided over by the President elected by the Council from among its members in alphabetical order. The Council could also hold emergency meetings to deal with situations which posed a threat to world peace. Though the meetings of the Council were held in public, the _uncil could also hold its meetings in camera. All procedural matters were decided by the Council by majority vote while all important decisions required unanimity.

The main functions assigned to the Council included,

1. Preventive action in situations which posed threat to world peace;
2. Suggestion for measures to be taken by the members of the League for preservation of territorial integrity of the member states;
3. Mobilization of sanctions against Covenant-breaking states.
4. Formulation of plans for the reduction of permanent members keeping in view the geographical situation and circumstances of each state;
5. Advising how the evil effects of manufacture of munitions and implants of war by private enterprises could be prevented;
6. Suggesting military sanctions against states guilty of violating the provisions of the Covenant, including their expulsions;
7. Inquiring into disputes brought before the Council.
8. Nomination of the additional permanent members to the Council.
9. Nomination of the Secretary General- to be appointed by the Assembly;
10. Execution of arbitral awards;

11. Defining scope of authority or control to be exercised by the Mandatory Powers under the mandate System;
12. Direction of the work of the Secretariat and receipt of reports from subsidiary organs of the League.

24.8.3 The Secretariat

The Secretariat looked after the day-to day administrative work of the League. It worked under the overall control of the Secretary General. The Secretary General was assisted by Deputy Secretary General, three Under Secretaries and other staff drawn from various states and recruited by the Secretary General. The employees of the Secretariat were entitled to all diplomatic privileges and immunities available to diplomatic envoys of various countries. The main functions of the Secretariat included;

1. registration and publication of treaties concluded by members and non-members;
2. providing of necessary information and data to various organs and delegates of the League;
3. preparation of agenda for meetings of various bodies and making managements for these meetings.
4. preparation of agenda for meetings of various bodies and making arrangements for these meetings
5. encouraging members to settle disputes through negotiations;
6. communicating the decisions and agreements member states for their ratification; concluded by the League to the
7. coordinating activities of various organs of the League of Nations Machinery comprised two other major agencies viz. the permanent Court of International Justice and the ILO.

The Permanent Court of International Justice consisted of 15 judges, who were appointed by the Council and Assembly of the League jointly. The Court considered several cases which were referred to it by the member countries and made significant advisory pronouncements, International Labour Organization, tried to lay down

the minimum international standards for working and living conditions of laborers. It also examined the reports from member states regarding implementation of it recommendations, This organization became the first specialized agency of the United Nations in 1946.

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the organizations of the League of Nations.

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24. 9 Let us Sum up

We have attempted to understand the phases of League of Nations as an international organization, charged with the task of ensuring peace in the Post 'World War I scenario.

We have also discussed the features of international organization, its classification, origin of League of Nations, objectives with which it was established and its organizational structure detailing their various functions.

This organization originally was designed by the urge of man for preserving his race. The horrors of war made the nations across the world realize the need for an institution above the selfish interests of the nations and to contain heir aggressive desires.

President Wilson of the United States was a proponent of this organization, although U.S. did not join the League of Nations as a member.

Today it is history, but it did not go without contributing to the creation of a much stronger and widely accepted organization viz. United Nations. In this direction the League of Nations Organization.

24 . 8 Key words

Strategy	:	Plan or policy to reach a goal.
Sovereign	:	Independent.- an important attribute of modern states.
Treaty	:	Formal agreement between two or more countries.
Covenant	:	Formal agreement or a contract.
Horror	:	Intense dislike or dismay..
Inflict	:	To cause
Preventive	:	To keep away from happening.

24 . 11. Some useful Books

J.1 Knudson F.Pollock	-	A History of the League of Nations.
F. Pollock	-	The League of Nations.
Gerald J. Mangone	-	A Shot History of International Organization.
C.K.Webster and S. Herbert	-	The League of Nations in Theory and Practice.
George Scott	-	The Rise and Fall of League of Nations.

24.12 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises.

Check Your progress - 1

1) See Section 24.2

Check your Progress - 2

1) See Section 24.6

Check your Progress - 3

1) See Section 24.8

Block – VII

Unit - 25 Achievements and Failures of League of Nations

Structure

25.0. Objectives.

25.1. Introduction.

25.2. Assessment of the functioning of the League of Nations.

25.3. Working of League of Nations.

25.4. Achievements of League of Nations.

25.5. Failures of League of Nations.

25.6 Concluding observations.

25.7 Let us Sum up.

25.8 Key words.

25.9 Some useful Books.

25.10 Answer to Check Your Progress

25. 0. Objectives

This unit is a continuation of the previous one. It is written with a view to give an account of the performance of the short lived League of Nations. After reading through this unit you should be in a position to understand;

- The working of League of Nations.
- Its achievements.
- Its failures.
- Causes for its failure.

25. 1. Introduction

It is important for a student of international organization to know about the achievements and failures of an organization that was created with high ideals at a time when the unilateral decisions of a nation were overriding the collective interest of the others merely because of its might in terms of its economy and technological progress.

It is pertinent to understand that the failure of any ideal may not be because of structural deficiency or institutional inability, but because of arrogant attitude of nations that have 'power' and 'influence'. This is very clear from the experience of the League of Nations.

25.2. Assessment of the functioning of the League of Nations

Like any other organization, the League of Nations was also the result of efforts of many nations with high ideals to establish international peace and to achieve world order. This organization during years of its existence performed its functions and cluved to realize its objectives. But it had to perform its role in a world given to 'Power' 'influence' and colonial supremacy. Apart from this the world organization had to contend with the principles of unnaturally and consensus. The task was hard and difficult. In the post 1919 world the league was active and attempted to achieve its objective in

a hurry. But when the differences among the nations came to the forge the League was in difficulties.

25.3. Working of The League of Nations

As the League was formed primarily to preserve international peace and promote co- operation among the member states, it tried to develop open, just and honourable relations among the members and encouraged them to act in accordance with international law. For the attainment of its objectives, the league worked on the following lines.

1. Formulated plans for the reduction of armaments among nations.
2. Encouraged members to respect territorial integrity and political independence of all members;
3. Encouraged settlement of international disputes through peaceful means. If a member state resorted to war in violation of the provisions of the Covenant, its action was to be taken as a war against all members of League , and action could be taken against the erring state in the form of severance of trade and financial relations as well as armed action. In extreme cases the League could also expel the state from membership of the League. Russia was expelled in 1940 following it invasion of Finland.
4. The League was to work for bringing about peaceful changes by impressing on member states to reconsider their treaties in the context of the changed international conditions;
5. It also ensured the well being of the people of Mandate Territories by insisting on annual reports from Mandatory Power and making suitable suggestions for improvement of conditions of peace in these territories;
6. It took necessary measures for the promotion of human welfare by taking measures for the protection of public health; encouraging research in medicine for various kinds of diseases like typhoid, cholera, small pox etc. All this suggests that the League was to impress upon the member states that they must co - operate with

each other to find solutions to the common problems that they faced.

These in nutshell were the prominent foundations on which the collective effort of the League depended.

25. 4. Achievements of League of Nations

The League during its short life of 19 years made considerable achievements in the political, social, humanitarian and economic spheres. In the political sphere it successfully resolved a number of disputes among the member states. It also promoted collective security and tried to tackle problem of disarmament. During its existence it handled over 40 disputes between different states Although it did meet with uniform success in all these areas. Some of the important disputes handled by it included Osland Island dispute between Sweden and Finland; dispute over Eupen and Malmedy between Germany and Belgium; Mosul Boundary dispute between Turkey and Iraq; Corfu Island dispute between Italy and Greece dispute due to Greek invasion of Belgium; dispute over Gran Chaco between Bolivia and Paraguay; conflict over nationality law between Great Britain and France; Manchurian crisis which assumed serious dimensions due to occupation of Manchuri by Japan; crisis which arose due to Italy's attack on Ethiopia; dispute over Vilna city between Poland and Lithuania; dispute over upper Silesia; case of a Hungarian optants between Hungary and Rumania; dispute between Albania and Yugoslavia; dispute over Faworzias district between Poland and Czechoslovakia; Austro - German Customs Union between Great Britain, France and Austria; etc. It is noteworthy that the League was comparatively more successful during the period 1924-30 when the major powers extended full support to its action. However, thereafter the major powers tried to promote their own interests, which naturally rendered the League less effective.

The other political achievements of the League included ensuring of proper administration of mandated territories and

protection of the interests of the people of mandatory territories. The League also tried to promote collective security by encouraging the Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1925), the Geneva Protocol (1924), Locarno Treaties (1925), Kellogg - Briand Pact (1928) and General Act (1928). Though these steps did not meet with uniform success, they certainly contributed to the power and prestige of the League. It sought to tackle the problem of disarmament by setting up a permanent Advisory Committee to formulate a programme of disarmament, but could not achieve much success. It also sought to protect the minorities in different countries and appointed a three member committee to look into the complaints of the minorities. The complaints received by the committee were taken up with the concerned government and an effort was made to resolve the issues amicably.

Probably the most notable achievement of the League in the political field was successful administration of the Saar Vally through a Governing Commission. Ultimately in 1935 the Commission held a plebiscite in the Saar valley and the people decided by over 90 percent votes in favor of union with Germany. In case of the free city of Danzig however the League could not prove effective because frequent conflicts took place between Germany and Poland over this territory.

In the social and economic fields also the League did manage noticeable success. It set up a Permanent Health Organisation in 1923 to protect public health through international cooperation. The Organization encouraged research in medicine and various kinds of diseases and made significant contributions to the eradication of malaria, smallpox, leprosy, cancer, tuberculosis, syphilis, heart disease, etc. It sought to regulate the trade in narcotic drugs and restricted trade in opium. It not only took important steps in the direction of abolition of slavery but also paid considerable attention to the improvement of the condition of workers. It also sought to

protect the interests of women and children. For this purpose it adopted a number of conventions. It even paid attention to the problem of resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees. With the help of philanthropist organizations like Red Cross, Children Fund, etc., it secured settlement of large number of refugees in Armenia., Austria Greece, Hungary, Turkey, etc. It was responsible for the repatriation of about 500,00 prisoners of war to their homelands. The League also encouraged co-operation amongst the scientists, artists, teachers, writers, etc., of various countries with a view to promoting progress of general civilization and human knowledge. For this purpose it organized periodical conferences, lectures and published relevant material.

In the economic sphere the League made a serious bid to rehabilitate the world economy which was badly shaken during the First World War. It appointed a number of committees and commissions to delve deep into the mater. It even organized a Conference at Brussels where numerous steps were suggested to control inflation and eliminate wasteful expenditure It called for balancing the budget and return to gold standards. In 1927 it held the Second World Economic Conference which made useful suggestions for free flow of labour, capital and goods in all countries. In 1933 it organized a Monetary and Economic Conference in London to take stock of economic problems confronting different countries. Some of the other economic problems where the League did commendable job related to handling of the problem of counter feiting, falsification in gold prices, etc. It even told some of the countries to rehabilitate their economies by rendering them necessary assistance. Some of the countries which were provided assistance included Austria, Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, etc. The League even tried to encourage international travel and laid down rules and regulations for smooth travel amongst different countries. It was responsible for more humanitarian and scientific endeavors than any other organization in the history.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) List out the Achievements of the League of Nations.

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25.5 Failures of League of Nations

Despite its numerous achievements in the social economic and cultural spheres, the League failed to achieve its main objective viz. 'save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war', because within two decades of its establishment the world was confronted with the Second World War and the League could not do anything. The main causes which contributed to the failure of the League were as follows:

1. In the first place, as the League of Nations was made a part of the peace treaties concluded at the end of First World War, this gave rise to several suspicions in the minds of the vanquished powers, who looked upon the League as an instrument for the maintenance of status quo. Even the neutral states which never aligned themselves with the war aims of the Allies looked upon the League with suspicion.
2. Secondly, the failure of the U.S. to join the League of Nations (because the American Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles) also rendered the League ineffective because members like England became quite lukewarm in their support to the League.

3. Thirdly, the lack of universal character also rendered the League ineffective. At no time were all the big powers members of the League. At the time of its establishment Germany, Russia, Austria and Turkey were kept out of the League which naturally gave them the impression that it was an organ for the preservation of fruits of victory and maintaining status quo. No doubt subsequently these powers were admitted as members of the League, but at no time all the major powers were members of the League. This naturally rendered the League of Nations less effective.
4. Fourthly, the various member states looked upon the League of Nations as a convenient tool for the promotion of their interests rather than a forum for international co-operation. Thus France wanted to use the League to keep Germany weak and supported Italy's action in Abyssinia to gain advantage against Germany. Britain wanted to use the League for preservation of balance of power. Germany joined the League to get the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles expunged. Potter has observed 'It was not the League of the Nation, but the nations of the League which failed'
5. Fifthly, the organizational defects of the League of Nations also contributed to its failure. The Covenant accepted war as a normal method for settlement of international disputes by permitting to resort to defensive war. Further, under the Covenant a country could be held guilty of resorting to war only through a unanimous resolution of the Council, which was not possible in view of persistent political rivalry among the various member states. The lack of an international force which could help the League to enforce its decisions also rendered it ineffective. Further, under the Covenant the League could not take immediate action. It had to wait for some time before it could initiate action, which often resulted in various powers adopting rigid stand on the issue

which was not easy to change subsequently. Above all the Covenant accorded equal status to all the members states irrespective of their size and resources, which was naturally resented by the big powers. Naturally they were not willing to assume major responsibility for the resolution of conflicts.

6. Narrow nationalistic interests encouraged the people of different countries to support even undesirable activities of their national governments. Thus the people of Japan, Italy, Germany and Russia supported their own government's aggression, without realizing that it posed a serious threat to world peace. Likewise the people of England ,France, and the United States did not favour the involvement of their governments in the conflicts with the Axis powers because of purely selfish considerations. This naturally rendered the League of Nations less effective.
7. The economic depressing of the 1930's also contributed to the failure of the League. It only caused serious financial difficulties for the League but also encouraged the states like Japan and Germany to resort to programme of militarism on the plea of providing employment to their people. It could hardly do anything to check all this . This resulted in piling of armaments, which ultimately jeopardized world peace and contributed to the collapse of the League of Nations.
8. Deliberate flouting of the Covenant of the League by big powers and the failure of the League to keep powers like Japan, Italy and Germany under check greatly undermined the faith of the smaller states in the League. The latter were convinced that the League could not protect them against the big powers and that they must find other methods to protect themselves.
9. The shabby treatment meted out to powers like Italy and Turkey at the peace settlement of 1919-20 made people in general suspect peace intentions of the League. As these powers were not happy with the peace settlement they were determined to

flout the authority of the League at the first available opportunity.

10. Above all it has been argued that the League failed because it was ahead of time. The states were not willing to compromise with their sovereignty and still considered that national interests were paramount. They agreed to accept the Covenant of the League because they did not want to displease the American President (Wilson) who had rendered great service to the Allies during the first World 'War and was largely responsible for their victory over the Axis powers.

Though the League of Nations became a casualty of the Second Wor1d War, but the ideals which it sought it promote, the hope to which it gave rise, the methods it devised, the agencies it created become an essential part of the political thinking of the civilized world whose influence will survive until mankind enjoys a unity transcending the division of states and nations.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) List out the failures of League of Nations.

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25. 6 Concluding Observations

The lesson one learnt from the above balancing act of the League between its achievements and failures is that success eludes those who fail to master courage, accept responsibility and enforce collective action to carryout any activity of the magnitude which the League assumed as an international agency operating in a crucial time

i.e. between the wars. The major cause for its failure rang from egoistic self aspirations to failures to act as a group.

25.7 Let us Some up

The lessons learnt from the functioning of the League clearly indicate the need for coherence, cogency, collectivity and selflessness as pre conditions for working together for the greater cause of humanity.

If success is one sided and shared by a few in any organization, it would only catapult the efforts of others. As an organization, as a leader of strong sovereign nations, as the first international organization charged with the task of promoting peace, international order, collective development, it was not easy for the League of Nations achieve any success without hurdles.

In fact, one should sum up with a positive note, that success of the League of Nations, however short lived and limited is notable and worthy of emulation by other succeeding organisations.

25.8 Key words

Ideals	: Nearly perfect standards set for attainment
Collective effort	: Working together towards a goal.
Consensus	: General Agreement of opinion.
Mandate	: Authority given to perfonn certain task.
Mandatory	: Obligation or Compulsory
Rehabilitation	: To restore to a good condition.
Repatriation	: To send or bring back to his/her own country
Commendable	: Worthy of praise
Scourge	: Thing regarded with great affection.
Vanquished	: The conquered.

25 .9 Some Useful Books

E.H. Carr - International Relations between two Wodd Wars.

F. Pollock - The League of Nations.

Gerald J. Mangone - A Shot History of International Organization.

C.K.Webster and S.Herbert - The League of Nations in Theory and Practice.

George Scott - The Rise and Fall of League of Nations.

25.10 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises.

Check Your progress - 1

1) See Seection 25.4

Check your Progress - 2

1) See Section 25.5

Unit - 26 United Nations

Structure

26.0 Objectives.

26.1 Introduction.

26.2 Establishment of United Nations: Brief Summary.

26.3 United Nations Organization: Origin.

26.4 United Nations: Objectives.

26.5 United Nations: Organization.

- 26.5.1 The General Assembly
- 26.5.2 The Security Council
- 26.5.3 The Economic and Social Councils
- 26.5.4 The Trusteeship council
- 26.5.5 The International court of Justice
- 26.5.6 The Secretariat
- 26.5.7 The Secretary General

26.6 Let us Sum up.

26.7 Key words.

26.8 Some useful Books.

26.9 Answer to check your progress

26.0 Objectives

This unit is designed to share with you details about the United Nations. After reading through this lesson you should be able in a position to learn about the;

- The status of United Nations in the contemporary world.
- The achievements of United Nations
- What United Nations needs to do to achieve the visionary ideal of a "world government" .

26.1 Introduction

The argument for and against United Nations in the 21st century assumes greater significance in the context of United States of America 'unipolar' status and her indifference to the point of ignoring very existence of United Nations itself. The armed attack of United States against Iraq has raised the question of the role of the U.N. is a world dominated by one super power. In the following pages you will be learning about the origin, objectives, organization and functions of United Nations to understand and appreciate its present day status.

26.2. Establishment of United Nations

The foundations of the United Nations were laid on the ashes of the League of Nations .The League's failure to avert war and promote the cause of peace encouraged the statesmen of the world to reiterate the conviction of the people all over the world to work for enduring peace. This task was rendered easy because by this time even the United States of America was willing to enter into a system of collective security. Though the statesmen could have thought of reviving or improving the League of Nations, they decided to start afresh due to several reasons. First, they thought that psychologically it would be better to establish a new organization than revive an organization to which the stigma of failure was attached. Secondly, it would not have been easy to revive the covenant in the changed conditions, It was felt that it was easier to draft a new

document than to modify the old one. Thirdly, U.S. President Roosevelt felt that the American people would be willing to join a new world organization rather than join the League which had evoked bitter political controversy in the United States of America. Fourthly, it was realized that no security organization could be effective unless all the Great Powers were members of the organization. Russia which was expelled from the League of Nations in 1939, would have been reluctant to join the League of Nations. Hence it was felt desirable to have a new international organization in the form of United Nations.

26.3. United Nations Organization : Origin

The first step in the direction of establishment of United Nations was taken in June 1941 when the representatives of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and United Kingdom, and exiled governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portland, Yugoslavia, and France joined the Inter Allied declaration in London. They asserted that "the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world which is, relieved of the menace of aggression, and may enjoy economic and social security". These representatives asserted their intention" to work together and with other free people, both in war and peace, to this end".

The Atlantic Charter

The next important step in tbe direction of the United Nations was taken in August 1941 when President Roosevelt of the USA and Prime Minister Winston Churchil, of Great Britain, signed the Atlantic Charter on a battleship in the North Atlantic. The Charter outlined eight general principles on the basis of which the future world was to be raised.

1. The two leaders stated" after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny they hoped for a peace that would enable all nations to dwell in safety within their own boundaries and could ensure

that all people in all lands could live out their lives in freedom from fear and want".

2. They stated that their countries do not seek acquisition of territories.
3. All the nations must abandon the use of force because peace could not be maintained if nations continue to use arms to threaten other nations outside their frontiers.
4. Disarmament was essential 'pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security'. The two governments promised to aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten, for peace-loving people, the crushing burden of armaments.
5. The two governments assured that they would respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wished to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who had been forcibly deprived of them.
6. Peace should enable all men to transverse the high seas/ oceans without hindrance.
7. They assured all the states the access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
8. They expressed desire to bring about the fullest collaboration among all the nations in the economic field with the object of securing security for all, improved labour standards, economic advancements and social security.

Declaration by the United Nations

The signing of the declaration of United Nations on 1 January 1942 by representatives of 26 nations involved in fighting against the Axis powers was the next important step in the direction of formation of United Nations. In this Declaration the signatory governments proclaimed their support for the purpose and principles of the Atlantic

Charter and their conviction that complete victory over their enemies was essential for the defence of life, liberty, independence, religious freedom, human rights and justice and that they were engaged in a 'common struggle against the savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world'. The representatives of these 26 nations pledged to employ all military and economic resources against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents, with which their governments were at war; and to cooperate with the other signatories; and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies. The declaration was left open for signatures by other nations which may render material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Moscow Declaration

On 30 October 1943 the Foreign Ministers of Soviet Union (Molotov), the United Kingdom (Anthony Eden), and United States (Cordell Hull) , and China's Ambassador to Soviet Union (Too Ping Sheung) signed the Moscow Declaration. The four governments proclaimed that they "recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small for the maintenance of international peace and security". According to V endenbosch and Hogan "from the point of view offering a new international Organization this document was very important, since its statements on this subject were more specific than those of the Atlantic Charter, and it also definitely committed the Soviet Union to active cooperation in establishing a security organization" .

Teheran Conference

In November 1943 President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Stalin met at Teheran and issued a joint statement on 1 December 1943 by which they accepted the supreme responsibility

to make peace which will command goodwill of the overwhelming mass of the people of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations. They further sought the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind were dedicated to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance.

Dumbarton Oaks Conference

Concrete plans for the creation of the United Nations were drawn up at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference held at Washington from 21st August 1944 to 7th October 1944. The proceedings of the conference can be broadly divided into two phases. During the first phase the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union conferred for six weeks on the main outlines of the proposed international organization. In the second phase the representatives of the Soviet Union were dropped and replaced by those of China. The proposals for the establishment of a general International Organization were published on 9th October 1944 and were sent to all other governments for review. These proposals can very well be considered the first draft of the United Nations Charter, particularly in respect to economic and functional aspects.

At this conference the four powers agreed on proposals for the aims, structure and functioning of the world organization. It was agreed that China, France, Soviet Union, USA and United Kingdom would be permanently represented on the Council. However, these powers could not reach any agreement on the voting procedure to be followed in the Council.

The Yalta Conference

In February 1945 President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Stalin met at Yalta and took up the question of voting procedure in the Security Council, which had remained unsolved at

Dumbarton Oaks. They also drafted a plan for the occupation and control of defeated Germany and for keeping order in liberated Europe. The 'veto' formula, later embodied in the UN Charter, was also finalized at the Yalta Conference. At Yalta a system of trusteeship limited to the following three categories was agreed upon (i)Former mandate of the League of Nations (these were former colonies of Germany and Turkey which had been put under the supervision of the League), some of which had not yet gained independence. (ii) Territories taken from Germany and Japan after World War II (iii) territories which the colonial powers would voluntarily put under the supervision of the projected United Nations trusteeship system. The, conference, however, reassured the British that no part of their empire would be put under the control of the United Nations without their consent.

The Yalta Conference also deliberated on voting and decision making procedures and decided that the decisions of the permanent members of the Security Council should be decided by majority of 7 of the 11 members. At the Conference, Soviet Union agreed that veto world not apply in convening matters peaceful settlement of a dispute. But in the Security Council considered any enforcement action, the parties to the conflict would also have right to Veto.

It was announced at Yalta Conference that a conference on United Nations would be called to meet at San Francisco on the United Nations on 25th April 1945 to prepare the Charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations held at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were studied by the nations of the world, both individually and collectively. The representatives of 20 Latin American countries met at Mexico City between 21 February and 8 March 1945 and adopted a set of points to be taken into consideration in the drawing up of the Charter of the proposed organization. Similar talks were held in London among the

representatives of the British Commonwealth from 4 to 13 April 1945 where the participants concluded that Dumbarton Oaks proposals provided the basis for a Charter, and also opined that improvement and expansion were called for in certain respects.

The San Francisco Conference. which marks the culmination point in the emergence of the United Nations, started on 25 April. This conference officially known as United Nations Conference On International Organization was held under the chairmanship of Edward Stesttinius, the U.S. Secretary of State. The Conference was attended by 260 representatives from 50 states. The Conference met for two months in full session and in small committees. It considered the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, Yalta Agreement and amendments proposed by various governments. Out of these deliberations emerged the 111 articles of the Charter. At the plenary session the delegates unanimously adopted the Charter of the United Nations on 25 June. The signing ceremony took place the next day at auditorium of the Veterans' Memorial Hall. The Charter actually came into force four months later on 24 October 1945 when the permanent members of the Security Council and majority of the other signatories had filed instruments of ratification.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a short note on establishment of U.N.

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26.4 United Nations: Objectives

The purposes of the United Nations are set forth in I Article I of the Charter. These include the following:

- Maintenance of international peace and security.
- Development of friendly relations among nations.
- International co-operation is sought in solving problems of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature; promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom.
- It has to act as a center for harmonizing the actions to achieve the above ends.

For the purpose of maintenance of international peace and security, the UN can take effective and collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace, and to bring about any peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustments or settlement of international disputes of situations which might lead to a breach of peace.

In the second place UN seeks to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of the people and can take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace. Both the above purposes of the United Nations are essentially political in Character because they have a direct bearing on the struggle for power among the nations.

The third purpose of the United Nations is to ensure international cooperation for solving international Problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian nature. It promotes and encourages respect for human rights and assures fundamental freedom to all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion.

Finally, the United Nations is expected to act as center for the coordination of various international economic, social, cultural activities. It is noteworthy that the United Nations alone does not

coordinate all the activities. A number of other organizations also playa vital role in this regard. However, the charter expects the UN to be the centre of all these activities.

For attainment of the above mentioned purposes the UN acts in accordance with certain principles which have been outlined in Article 2 of the UN Charter. These principles include the following:

1. The organization is based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all its members.
2. The members shall fulfil in good faith obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered.
4. All members shall settle their international relations without the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.
5. All members shall give the United Nations every assistance to any action which it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations takes preventive or enforcement action.
6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not members of the United Nations act in accordance with the principles of the Charter.
7. The Organization shall not intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. This provision shall not however, prejudice the application of enforcement action with respect to threat to peace, breaches of peace and acts of aggression.

It is now desirable to know how far the above stated principles have actually been adhered to. As regards the principle of sovereign equality of states, though the UN Charter has accorded

equal representation to the states in the General Assembly and such state enjoy equal votes, yet this Principle has been compromised by according 'veto' power to the big five members in the Security Council. With regard to the second principle also, the members of the UN have not fully lived up to their obligations set forth in the Charter and their commitment has merely proved to be a pious wish. With regard to the third principle, though the members have made use of their instruments like negotiation. Inquiry, mediations, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement for the settlement of their disputes, they have also made use of regional agencies or arrangements for the protection of their interests. The members have also followed the fourth Principle of refraining from use of force against territorial integrity or political independence of other states. Members have also generally shown readiness to assist the United Nations in any action it proposed to take in accordance with the Charter. The UN has also tried to ensure that the non-members act in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter and thus impart universal Character to matters which fall within the domestic jurisdiction of a state. It is indeed difficult to determine when a particular issue falling within jurisdiction of the state ceases to be a matter of national concern.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) What are the main objectives of the U.N?

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26.5 United Nations: Organization

United Nations Organization was created for maintenance of international peace and security, development of friendly relations among the nations, achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social or humanitarian character, and the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion. For the achievement of these objectives the UN Charter provided organs:

1. The General Assembly.
2. The Security Council.
3. The Economic and Social council.
4. The Trusteeship Council.
5. The International Court of Justice; and
6. The Secretariat.

26.5.1. General Assembly

The General Assembly is the apex body of the United Nations .All the members of the United Nations are ipso facto members of the General Assembly. Each member has a single vote even though each state can send five representatives to the general Assembly. These representatives are the nominees of their respective governments. The General Assembly is more of a diplomatic conference than a legislative body.

President: The General Assembly at its first session elects a president for a term of twelve months. As a matter of convention, the president is invariably from a minor country. It may be noted that though the president is elected by the General Assembly, in reality the choice of the candidate for the post of president is made through consultations before the session of the Assembly and a candidate who is acceptable to the majority of the members is elected as president.

Vice - President and Chairman of Standing Committees: In addition to the president, the General Assembly at its firrst session also elects 12 vice-presidents and seven Chairmen for the seven Standing Committees. All these officials, along with the president constitute the General committee, which acts as the steering committee for each session. This committee acts as an advisory body to the president. However, its recommendations are not binding on the president. While nominating the seventeen vice -president of General Assembly effort is made to provide representation to all the geographic areas. Sessions of the General Assembly. The regular session of the General Assembly is held once in a Year. The session commences on the third Tuesday in September and continues until mid- December. Resolutions on all important questions are adopted by two-third majority of the members present and voting. The General Assembly performs varied and extensive functions which can be conveniently studied under the following heads.

Deliberative Functions:

The General Assembly can discuss any question or matter within the scope of the UN Charter and relating to any organ of the United Nations. It can also invite the attention of the Security Council to the situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security and recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of situation which is likely to disturb the friendly relations between nations.

The General Assembly can also initiate studies and make recommendations for (a)promoting international co-operation in political arena and encourage progress of international law and its codification, (b) promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields and assisting in realization of human rights and fundamental freedom for all without discrimination of race, sex, language or religion.

Supervisory Functions:

The supervisory functions of the General Assembly include the power to exert control and regulate the working of other organs and agencies of the United Nations. It receives and considers annual and special reports from other organs of the United Nations.

Financial Functions:

The General Assembly enjoys important financial powers. It apportions expenses among the member states and approves the budget of the United Nations. Thus with its power of financial control, it is able to review the working of other organs of the United Nations.

Electoral Functions:

The electoral functions of the General Assembly include the admission of new members and election of members of other organs. It admits new members to the UN on the recommendation; of the Security Council. It may be noted that no new members can be admitted without an affirmative vote of the General Assembly. The-General Assembly can also suspend a member on the basis of recommendations of the Security Council on the ground of violating the principles of the UN charter continuously.

The Constituent Functions:

The General Assembly enjoys significant power with regard to amendment to the Charter. However, these amendments have to be ratified by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all permanent members of the Security Council in accordance with the constitutional process.

Evaluation:

The General Assembly occupies a predominant position among the organs of the United Nations. It not only exercises supervision over the organs like the Secretariat, the Trusteeship Council and the Economic and Social Council, but also provides direct guidance. It

is true that the Assembly does not exercise any direct control over the Security Council and the International Court of Justice, but these organizations have been assigned only specific powers. On the other hand the General Assembly has the right to discuss and make recommendations on any matter mentioned in the UN Charter. The Security Council is often described as the enforcement wing of the United Nations.

26.5.2 Security Council

Composition: The Security Council is a smaller body. Initially it consisted of eleven members- five permanent members (United States, United Kingdom, USSR, France and Nationalist China) and six non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. The strength of the non-permanent members was raised to ten in 1965. Thus at present the Security Council comprises 15 members five permanent and ten non-permanent.

Functions and Powers;

The UN Charter has entrusted the responsibility of maintenance of international peace and security to the Security Council. The main functions of the Security Council can be conveniently studied under the following heads.

Deliberative Functions; In the first instance the Security Council has the power to discuss and investigate any dispute or situation and make recommendation to the member states to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Disputes or situations likely to endanger international peace and security may be brought to the attention of the Security Council by any member of UN, by the General Assembly, or by the Secretary General. Even nonmember states can bring the dispute before the Council, provided they accept in advance the obligations of peaceful settlement contained in UN Charter. The Security Council can also take up general questions regarding maintenance of international peace and security.

Enforcement Functions; The Security Council has been vested with important powers. When the Security Council finds that a peaceful settlement among the disputant countries is not possible, it can decide upon measures which it considers necessary for the maintenance of order and restoration of international peace and security. On account of this power, the Security Council is often described as the, 'enforcement arm' of the United Nations. To assist Security Council on all questions relating to its military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, a :Military Staff Committee has been established. This Committee also assists the Security Council with regard to employment and commend of forces at its disposal the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament.

Electoral Functions; The Security Council enjoys extensive electoral powers which pertain to admission of new members and the constitution of the other organs of the United Nations. The new members to the world body can be admitted by the General Assembly only on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Security Council along with the General Assembly also takes part in election of judges of the international Court of Justice. It also makes recommendations regarding the appointment of the Secretary General. Again the recommendation of the Security Council is essential for the suspension of a member of the United Nations by the General Assembly.

Role of the Security Council; Though the UN Charter made the Security Council the most important organ of the United Nations, it has not been able to play the role which was envisaged for it. Since its inception, the scope of the political issues considered by it has considerably narrowed down mostly because of the veto power. Two factors contributed to the reduction of the importance of Security Council in the 1950s. First, adoption of the Uniting for Peace Resolution by General Assembly in 1950 which provided that if the

Security Council failed exercise its primary responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security, due to lack of unanimity of the permanent members, the matter shall be immediately considered by the General Assembly. This resolution made the General Assembly the ultimate custodian of collective security and rendered the Security Council less effective. Secondly, the development of powerful regional security alliances outside the United Nations like NATO, SEATO, WARSAW Treaty, etc. also greatly contributed to the reduction of importance of the Security Council. The growth of these alliances was only indicative of lack of unity among the permanent members of the Security Council as an instrument of collective security. After 1960 onwards the Security Council showed signs of playing more effective role in the maintenance of peace and security. In recent years there has been growing desire among the members to make the Security Council an effective body as originally envisaged by the UN Charter. For this purpose, it is proposed that its powers should be revised; the composition of the Security Council should be changed; and the system of 'veto' should be replaced by equal voting rights for all the members of the Security Council.

Many are of the opinion that The Security Council can play an even more effective role in future if the strength of the permanent members is increased and seats are provided to countries like Japan, Germany, Brazil and India.

26.5.3 The Economic and Social Council

The framers of the UN Charter were fully conscious of the importance of the social and economic conditions for the preservation of world peace. Therefore they provided the establishment of the Economic and Social Council to coordinate the economic and social work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and institutions. The Economic and Social Council is one of the six

principal organs of the United Nations and operates under the authority of the General Assembly.

Composition: The Economic and Social Council at present consists of 54 members. Each year the General Assembly elects 18 members for a period of three years but the retiring members are eligible for immediate re-election. No criteria has been laid down for the election of the members by the General Assembly. However, the General assembly tries to give representation to a variety of social economic, cultural and geographical interests. The council elects a president for one year from among its members. Usually the President is taken from a country which is not a great power. All decisions of the Council are taken by a simple majority with each member enjoying one vote. The Council generally holds two month-long sessions every year.

Functions of Economic and Social Council :

The Council performs a variety of functions through studies and reports, discussion and recommendations and coordination.

1. It can make or initiate studies and reports with regard to international economic, social, cultural educational health and related matters.
2. It makes recommendations to the General Assembly, the members of the United Nations and specialized agencies with regard to the international economic, social, cultural, educational, health. and related matters.
3. The Economic and Social Council can prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly with respect to matters falling within its competence. Some of the important conventions drafted by the Economic and Social Council relate to prevention and punishment of crime of genocide and Protocol relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.
4. The Economic and Social Council convenes international conferences both on its own initiative as well as on instructions from the General Assembly.

5. It coordinates the work of the specialized agencies which are created through inter governmental agreements and have wide international responsibilities.

The subsidiary bodies of the Economic and Social Council include five regional commissions, six other commissions, six standing committees and other standing expert bodies.

Though the UN Charter has accorded the Economic and Social Council the status of one of the six principal organs of the United Nations, it functions under the authority of the General Assembly. In recent years the Economic and Social Council has tended to assume more extensive role and has held discussions on issues like housing, human rights, narcotic drug control water resources, desertification, population problems, trade, industrial development, literacy, refugees, science and technology, etc. The Council has also produced studies which have helped to overcome the dearth of statistical and other kinds of information on economic and social conditions in the world.

26.5.4 Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council has been indicated as one of the principal organs of the United Nations in the UN Charter. But actually it works as an auxiliary organ of the General Assembly.

Composition: The Charter did not prescribe the size of the council and merely provided that the Trusteeship Council must reflect a balance between members that administer Trust Territories and members that do not. To ensure this balance, it was provided that the General Assembly may elect for three years as many members as may be necessary to ensure that the total membership of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those members that not. The Council elects a president from amongst its member. In addition it also elects a vice- president from amongst the members. The permanent members of the Security Council are also the permanent members of the Trusteeship Council but they do not enjoy

'veto' power. All decisions of the Trusteeship Council are taken by majority vote of the members actually present and voting. Generally, Trusteeship Council meets once a year. It is now confirmed to only five permanent members of the Security Council.

Functions and Powers :

The functions and powers of the Trusteeship Council have been outlined in article 87 of the Charter. Its functions include (i) consideration of reports submitted by the administering authority; (ii) acceptance of the petitions and their examination in consultation with the administering authority; (iii) arranging periodical visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and (iv) taking other action in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

2.6.5.5 International Court of Justice

Composition: International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It works according to the a statue which forms an integral part of the UN Charter. The statue of the International Court of justice is based on the statue of the Permanent Court of International Justice which was prepared by the League Council and unanimously approved by the League Assembly in 1920.

Membership: All the members of the United Nations are ispo facto members of the International Court of Justice. A State which is not a member of the United Nations can also become a party to the statue of the International Court of Justice upon the recommendations of the Security Council. The Court consists of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. These judges are elected not on the basis of nationality, but on the basis of their qualifications and high moral character. Care is also taken to ensure that all the principal legal systems of the world get represented in the world court.

Election: As regards the method of election, the initiative is taken by the Secretary General of the United Nations, who addresses a written request to the states which are parties to the present statue and to the members of the national groups asking them to nominate persons who are in a position to accept the duties of member of the Court. These groups can nominate not more than four persons (not more than two from own nationality), in consultation with their own court of justice, legal faculties and schools of law, etc. On the basis of the names thus submitted the Secretary General of the United Nations prepares a list of all the persons in alphabetical order. Thereafter the General Assembly and the Security Council proceed, independent of each other, to elect fifteen of these candidates. The candidates receiving absolute majority of vote in both the General Assembly and the Security Council are considered elected as judges.

Tenure : The judges of the International Court of Justice are elected for a term of nine years. However, they are eligible for re-election. The term of the judges is so staggered that the tenure of only five judges expires after every three years. The vacancies thus falling vacant are also filled through regular elections.

The International Court of Justice has its permanent seat at the Hague.

Officials of Court and Procedure

The Court elects its own president and vice-president for a term of three years. Both these officials are eligible for re-election.

Functions and Powers

The International Court of Justice enjoys two types of powers viz. settlement of disputes and rendering of advisory opinion.

Settlement of Disputes: The Court hears all cases involving sovereign states which have accepted the Statute of the Court. The other states can also refer their disputes to the Court on fulfillment of conditions laid down by the Security Council. Though the Court does

not enjoy any compulsory jurisdiction, "the States, parties to the present statute, may at any time declare that they recognise it compulsory and without special agreement, in relation to any other state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning (a) the interpretation of a treaty: (b) any question of international law: (c) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature of extent or the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation. In simple words the Statute permits the states to concede compulsory jurisdiction to the court either conditionally or unconditionally.

Law Applied: The court decides the cases referred to it in accordance with international law, international conventions, and the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

The Court does not enjoy any enforcement power. It has to mainly rely on two factors for enforcement of its decisions First each member of the United Nations has an obligation to comply with the decision of the Court in any case to which it is a party. This implies that once a state has agreed to submit the case to the Court, it would accept the decision of the Court. Secondly the Security Council can undertake enforcement of action in order to give effect to the judgments of the Courts.

Advisory Opinion: The International Court of Justice also enjoys power to give advisory opinion to the General Assembly, the Security Council and other specialized agencies of the United Nations, on legal questions.

2.6.5.6 The Secretariat

Composition: The Secretariat is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. It comprises the Secretary General and such other staff as the organisation may require. It provides services to the other organs of the United Nations namely the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the

Trusteeship Council as well as their subsidiary bodies. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The other staff of the Secretariat is appointed by the Secretary General as per regulations laid down by the General Assembly.

The Secretariat is located at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. It also has branch offices in Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi. The Secretariat also includes the regional commission's secretariats at Addis Ababa, Baghdad, Bangkok, Geneva and Santiago.

Functions of Secretariat:

The Main functions of the Secretariat include:

1. Production of reports and other documents containing information, analysis, historical background, research findings, policy suggestions, etc. to facilitate deliberations and decision-making by other organs and their subsidiary bodies.
2. Provision of secretarial services to legislative organs and their subsidiary bodies.
3. Provision of meeting services to the legislative organs in accordance with the policies adopted by the General Assembly.
4. Provision of editorial, translation and document reproduction services for the issuance of UN documents in different languages.
5. Conduct of studies and provision of information that answers to the priority needs of the governments of member countries in meeting challenges in various fields.
6. Production of statistical publication, .information bulletins and analytical work which the General Assembly has decided.
7. Organization of conferences, expert group meetings and seminars on topics of concern to the international community.
8. Provision of technical assistance to developing countries.

9. Undertaking services missions to countries, areas or locations as authorized by the General Assembly or the Security Council.
10. To arrange for dissemination of information on United Nations activities and decisions among the public.
11. Provision of programme planning, financial, personal, legal, management and general services which are essential for rational selection of work items and allocation of resources among them for effective, economic and efficient performance of the services and functions of the Secretariat.

While discharging the above listed functions the Secretariat gets involved in the policy formulation. The studies and reports prepared by the Secretariat serve as a useful input for the government policy.

26.5.7 The Secretary General

The Secretary General is the chief administrative officer of the Secretariat. He is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council. He is appointed for the term of five years- The functions and powers of United Nations Secretary General can be conveniently studied under the following heads.

Administrative and Service Functions: The Secretary General is responsible for the organization and the activities of the secretariat. The staff of all UN organs, excluding the International Court of Justice, falls under his purview. The responsibility for registration of treaties and agreement entered into by the members of the United Nations also rests with the Secretary General.

Financial Functions: The Secretary General has been entrusted with important financial responsibilities. Subject to the authority of the General assembly he prepares the budget of the United Nations.

Representational Functions: As the chief executive the Secretary General represents the UN in negotiations with other

agencies and governments. He also occupies a central position in the working of the various organs of the United Nations.

Political Functions: The Secretary General has been also assigned important political functions. Through these political functions he exercises profound influence on the formulation of the policy.

The Secretary General can also present information or state opinions on matters already under the consideration of the Security Council.

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Mention the main organs of the U.N

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2) Discuss the organisation and functions of the any one organ of the U.N

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26. 6 Let us Sum up

As a student of International Organization you have now understood the importance of United Nations Organizations, its origin, objectives, organization and functions. What is most important to note here is the fact that in the aftermath of the League of Nations

the necessity for a global level government to mediate, negotiate and regulate the activities of the individual nations was both felt and appreciated by the world community. The whimsical behavior of any nation is a matter of concern to all others in this interdependent world. This message is absolutely made clear by UNO's existence. That apart, its organization and membership will also tell us that it is a democratic institution, ethical in content and moral in obligations. However its strength and success would depend upon the support and cooperation of its members.

26.7 Key words

Visionary	-	One who imagines the future shape in mind.
Controversy	-	Prolonged argument or dispute
Whimsical	-	Impulsive
Sovereign	-	The supreme ruler of a country.
Conviction	-	Firm opinion belief.
Enforcement	-	Impose by force.
Mandate	-	Authority given to someone to perform certain task.
Self-determination	-	A nation's determination of its own form of government or alliance.

26. 9 Some useful Books

H. Nicholas	-	The United Nations as a Political Institution.
Gerald J. Mangone	-	A Short History of International Organization.
A. Vandenbosch	-	The United Nations.
United Nations Publication	-	Everyone' United Nations - a Hand book of the United Nations.
S. Rosenne	-	The WorId Court: What it is and how it works.

26.9 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises.

Check Your progress - 1

1) See Section 26.3

Check your Progress - 2

1) See Section 26.4

Check your Progress - 3

1) See Section 26.5

2) See Section 26.5.1 to 26.5.7

Notes

Block - VII

Unit - 27 Specialized Agencies - W.H.O., 1. L.O., I.M.F., and U.N.E.S.C.O.

Structure

27.0 Objectives.

27.1 Introduction.

27.2 Classification of Specialized Agencies.

27.3 World Health Organization (WHO).

27.4 International Labour Organization (ILO).

27.5 International Monetary Fund (IMF).

27.6 United Nations Educational, Scientific And Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

27.7 Concluding Observations.

27.8 Let us Sum up.

27.9 Key words.

27.10 Some useful books.

27.11 Answer to Check Your Progress

27.0 Objectives

This unit is written to give an account of the functioning of United Nations specialized agencies. After reading this unit you should be in a position to understand;

- The reasons for the establishment of specialized agencies under United Nations.
- Their functioning and utility.
- Their role in realizing the goals of the United Nations.

27.1 Introduction

The United Nations is not only concerned with the establishment of peace and security in the world but is also expected to provide higher standards of living, full employment, and better, economic conditions and social progress and development. It is charged with the responsibility of providing solutions to the international economic, social health and related problems and for promoting universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without any distinction of race, sex, language and religion. In this task the United Nations is assisted by a number of Specialized Agencies which play an important role in promoting these ideals.

27.2 Classification of Specialized Agencies

The Specialized Agencies can be broadly classified into four categories which include agencies like International Civil Aviation Organization (IC AO), world Meteorological Organization (WMO), Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) Universal Postal Union (UPO), and International Telecommunication Union (ITO), International Maritime Organization (IMO) in the first category which are concerned with technical matters.

There are agencies like the International Labour Organization (ILO), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO),

International Fund for Agricultural and Development (IFAAD) in the second category which are concerned with social and humanitarian activities.

There are agencies like International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (The World Bank), International Finance Corporation (IFC), UNIDO, GATT, etc in the third category. which are concerned with financial and economic development. There are agencies like Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), and International Trade Organization in the forth category which are concerned purely with economic problems.

Let us now deal with some of these prominent agencies which are identified for your study.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a short note on Classificaton of Specialised agencies.

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27.3 The World Health Organization (\VHO) .

The World Health Organization came into being on 7th April 1948 when 26 United Nations member states ratified its constitution. Its membership is open to all the members of the UNO. The states which are not members of UNO can become members of WHO after their applications are approved by the World Health Assembly. Its aim is to create proper health conditions through international

cooperation around the globe and to fight the epidemic diseases such as SARS in the recent times by pioneering research in these areas of common concern.

Organization

The WHO consists of the World Health Assembly, the Executive Body, and the Secretariat. The World Health Assembly is composed of representatives of all the members states. The Assembly holds annual meetings and is responsible for laying down general policies. The Assembly appoints the director general, who heads the Secretariat. The Executive Board consists of 31 members. These members are selected by the World Health Assembly from amongst persons who are qualified by their technical competence in the field of health. These members are elected for three years.

Objectives of World Health Organization

The main objective of the WHO is attainment of good health conditions for all the peoples in the world. This goal can be realized through the combined efforts of governments and people, and involves education pertaining to prevailing health problems; proper food supply and nutrition; safe water and sanitation; maternal and child health, including family planning; immunization against major infectious diseases; control of local provision of essential drugs.

Functions

The World Health Organization performs the following functions:

1. It tries to prevent the spread of disease by providing assistance to the states to check the disease at the source, and to prevent it from spreading to other countries.
2. Tries to cure the disease once it has spread, by imparting scientific knowledge about the disease by providing assistance to the states to check the disease at the source, and to preventing from spreading to other countries and suggesting ways to combat the same.

3. It provides training to personnel of different states in the prevention of diseases.
4. It helps member states to improve health administration by imparting education regarding health through seminars, comerences and training projects to deal with problems like environmental hygiene, eradication of disease, control of disease, etc.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a note on World Health Organization.

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27.4 The International Labour Organization (ILO)

This Organization was created in April 1919 as a part of the League of Nations system. 1946 it became first specialized agency of the United Nations. The main task of the organization is to improve the living and working conditions of the workers throughout the world.

Organization

The International Labour Organization has three organs viz., International Labour Conference, the Governing Body and the International Labour Office. The International Labour Conference is the general Conference of the member states. Each member sends four delegates to the General conference representing the government (2)*, workers (1)and employers (1)The Labour Conference lays down the minimum international standards of working and living

conditions. If approves the annual budget and elects the members of the Governing Body.

The Governing Body of International Labour Organization consists of 56 members - 28 representing the workers. It elects a chairman and a vice- chairman for one year from amongst its members. It elects the Director General and exercises general supervision over the working of the International Labour Office.

Functions

The International Labour Organization performs very extensive functions. Its functions include the following:

1. It tries to raise the standards of workers by setting international labour standards through international conventions.
2. It prevents unemployment and conducts comprehensive studies of the factors which can help in achieving the objective of full employment.
3. It looks after the problem of social security of employees in industry, commerce and agriculture.
4. It tries to improve the working conditions of the merchant sailors.
5. It protects the industrial as well as field workers by insisting on inspection, prevention of industrial accidents, etc.
6. It encourages the employees as well as employers to form their own associations.
7. It plays special attention to the problems of women and children.
8. It provides technical assistance to member states.

The International Labour Organization through its activities seeks to create a sense of solidarity among the workers of the world. Though its recommendations are not mandatory and their acceptance depends on the sweet will of the states, it has made valuable contribution and tried to ensure that the benefits are extended to groups which have been less successful in obtaining improvements through national channel.

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) What are the functions of the SLO?

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27.5 The International Monitory Fund (IMF)

The International Monitory Fund was set up in December 1945. It aims at promoting international monetary co- operation through a permanent institution which provides the machinery for consultation and collaboration on international monetary problems, (ii) It facilitates the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and promotes high levels of employment and real income (iii) It promotes exchange stability and orderly exchange arrangements among me members (iv) It assists in the establishment of multilateral system of payment in respect of current transactions between members and eliminates the foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade, (v) It provides fund resources available to the members with a view to correct mal- adjustment in the balance of payments without resorting to measures destructive of national or international system.

The Organization of the International Monitory Fund comprises of Boards of Governors, the Executive Board and the Managing Director. It meets once a year. Executive Board comprises of 22 Executive Directors. It is headed by a Managing Director.

Functions

Firstly, it establishes a code of conduct regarding exchange rate policies and imposes restrictions on payments for current account transactions, Secondly, it provides the members with financial resources to enable them to observe the code of conduct while correcting or avoiding payments imbalances. Thirdly, it provides a forum in which members can consult one another and collaborate on international monetary matters. The funds provided here ensure the necessary resources to augment the member states resources to overcome their problem of payments.

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) What are the main functions of the IMF?

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27.6 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization came into existence in November 1946, and was recognized as a speacialized agency of the United Nations in December 1946. The Organization aims at promoting world peace by constructing defences for peace in the minds of men.

Organization

The United Nation_ Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization consists of a General conference, an Executive Board

and the Secretariat. The General Conference which is the governing body of the organization consists of representatives of the member states. Each member state can send up to five delegates but has only one vote. It elects the members of the Executive Board and with the consent of the Board appoints the Director General of the Secretariat.

The Executive Board is composed of 51 members elected by the General Conference :ITom amongst delegates appointed by the member states. While electing these members due consideration is given to their qualification, experience and administrative capacity to discharge their duties. The members of the Executive Board are elected for three years. The Board meets at least two times in a year. The Secretariat is headed by the Director General, who is appointed by the General Conference on the recommendations of the Executive Board for a period of six years.

Functions

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization performs three types of functions. Firstly, it tries to promote education among children as well as adults. It helps in promotion of education by providing advice and expert assistance on matters like teachers training, schools construction, preparation of curricula and textbooks. etc.

The UNESCO helps in bringing about improvement in the teaching of basic sciences at various levels and also encourages application of science and technology to development.

The UNESCO has also attached great importance to problems of human rights and socio - economic implications of disarmament. It is also promoting international exchange of persons and plays a vital role in disseminating knowledge about the human rights. It tries to promote a spirit of intellectual co- operation amongst the people of countries of the world with a view to promote peace, and understanding.

Check Your Progress - 5

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) What are the functon of the UNESCO?

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27.7 Concluding Observations

The United Nations as a body was not only designed to prevent wars but also to work towards the emancipation of humanity as a whole. In this endeavor the organization was prepared to take on the task from various angles, encompassing all sections of the population across nations. Specialized agencies thus came into force to specifically sensitize those whom they cover under their organization for the global good. WHO for example takes a pioneering lead in the current SARS virus issue and makes decisions to support its containment. These varied organizations give the UNO not only a political face but a " Social Face" that supports the cause of humanity.

27.8 Let us Sum up

A proper understanding of the working of the various organizations of the United Nations Organizations give us an idea of the social importance of the UNO. It must be noted that no political institution can reach out to the hearts of the people and nations without becoming socially acceptable to the population.

In the existence of the *UNO* as an international organization, there have been times when UNO success in political field has been little compared with its work in social reconstruction. In times of natural

calamity or war. Proved specialized agencies have given good account of themselves and have proved credible, lending voice to the UNO which had been weakened politically because of its inherent defects. Thus specialized agencies have been gaining importance in the U.N. System.

27.9 Key words

Preventive	-	To keep away from happening
Pioneering	-	That leads the way for others to follow
Priority	-	That which is more important than others
Imparting	-	To reveal information
Pertaining	-	Relevant
Comprehensive	-	Including much or all
Multilateral	-	Involving three or more parties in negotiations

27.10 Some useful books

UN Publication	-	Everyone' s United Nations.
UN Publication	-	Basic Facts about the United Nations
Jacob and Atherton	-	The Dynamics of International Organization
Elmandjra Mahdi	-	The United Nations System: An Analysis.
H. Spaull	-	The Agencies of the UN: A Survey of Economic and Social Achievements.

21.11 Answer to Check your progress

Check Your Progress - 1

1) See Section 27.2

Check Your Progress - 2

1) See Section 27.3

Check Your Progress - 3

1) See Section 27.4

Check Your Progress - 4

1) See Section 27.5

Check Your Progress - 5

1) See Section 27.6

Block - VII

Unit - 28 Achievements and Failures of United Nations

Structure

28.0 Objectives.

28.1 Introduction.

28.2 Assessment of the functioning of United Nations.

28.3 Achievements of United Nations.

- 28.3.1 Social Accomplishment
- 28.3.2 Economic Accomplishment
- 28.3.3 New Role

28.4 Failures of United Nations.

28.5 Concluding Observations.

28.6 Let us Sum up.

28.7 Key words.

28.8 Some useful books.

28.9 Answer to check your Progress

28.0 Objectives

This unit is a continuation of previous one. It is written with a view to give an account of the performance of the United Nations Security. After going through this unit you should be in a position to;

- Assess the working of United Nations.
- Evaluate its achievements and
- Point out its failures.

28.1 Introduction

Ever since its inception. the United Nations has always been called upon to maintain international peace and security. Whether it was the problem of the Balkans, Iran, Palestine. Kashmir, Berlin, Blockade, or Korea or the issue of U.S. hostages in Iran, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan or Israeli attack on Lebanon, UN has always heeded the call and has done its best to find solutions to these problems.

Maintenance of international peace and security is the major responsibility of the UN, Generally, The UN comes into the picture whenever the disputes assume serious dimensions and pose a real danger to the world peace. Under the UN Charter, the countries are supposed to settle their disputes through peaceful means, but when these efforts fail, the General Assembly of the Security Council is called upon to maintain peace. The United Nations acts when peace and security is in danger and ensures preventive measures to avoid such an eventuality.

28.2 Assessment of Functioning of United Nations

The United Nations, which was created to ensure peace and harmony all over the world, has not been able to achieve its basic objectives because the world continues to witness conflicts which have jeopardized international peace. It is true that the United Nations has succeeded in preventing large scale wars, but could not prevent wars as such. In fact there have been more than 2000 large and small

conflicts since the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. Though in these wars nuclear weapons were not used, yet liberal use of conventional weapons was made. Under the UN Charter peace and security are the responsibility of the great powers as is evident from the veto power granted to them in the Security Council. But within a few years of the creation of the U.N the great powers took opposite position while using their veto power. This often prevented the Security Council from taking decision and also deterred the UN to act and check aggression through use of 'collective force' as envisaged under the Charter.

An effort was made to overcome these obstacles either through 'informal' amendments in the Charter, or by granting greater responsibility to the General Assembly to deal with tl1reats to peace and security, through the adoption of Uniting for Peace Resolution. Even the Secretary General was granted more powers to enable him to playa more effective role during the various crisis.

The United Nations also made use of peacekeeping force to maintain peace between warring parties. Peacekeeping force was for the first time instituted in 1956 during the Suez Crisis. It was entrusted with the responsibility of keeping the opposing forces on the Arab-Israeli border disengaged and thus to reduce tension. Similar peacekeeping forces were also set up in subsequent years to defuse tension and contain conflicts in various parts of the world.

Despite its various limitations the United Nations during the first two decades, continued to be at the centre of international stage and the member states looked towards it for an effective role during the various conflicts.

UN in Sixties and Seventies

The Western Nations in general and the United States in particular, got disillusioned with the Untied Nations in the mid 1960's because they could not count on the support of the Afro-Asian countries which had majority in the Assembly. Therefore, Untied

States preferred to deal with the issues outside the United Nations. In the 1970's even Soviet Union also got somewhat disillusioned with the role of the United Nations. In the 1970's the two Superpowers preferred to deal with each other directly on all bilateral issues such as negotiations on strategic anus or regional conflicts. As a result of this approach, the role of the United Nations in maintenance of world peace was considerably undermined.

UN In Eighties and Nineties

In the 1980(as a result of improved relations between the two Superpowers and their joint interest in making the UN work in solving regional conflicts the United State once again had to rely increasing on the United Nations. As a result of the reforms undertaken in the late 1980's United States was given greater voice in the UN decision making bodies.

As a result of sudden invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in August 1990, a new life was injected into United Nations. On account of co-operation between the two superpowers the United Nations took the drastic step of asking Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait. It passed a resolution (No.678) stating that if its directive was not complied with by the fixed date, the UN member-states could use all necessary measures to make Iraq pull out its forces from the illegally occupied territory. This virtually amounted to an ultimatum to Iraq to quit Kuwait. It also cleared the way for a war against Iraq. It is noteworthy that though the Security Council permitted only minimum use of force and that too for the limited purpose of enforcing mandatory sanctions approved by the Security Council, USA went full steam ahead and threatened the use of force to starve the people of Iraq of food. USA interpreted the Security Council Resolution as a mandate for mounting full scale offensive against Iraq. Like\vise, though the Security Council did not sanction naval blockade and merely directed the member-states not to have trade relations with Iraq, the United States exceeded the limits of the resolution and

mounted naval blockade and deployed ships to physically prevent imports or exports of commodities. It even did not care for the objections raised by the Soviet Union that the mandate was for the liberation of Kuwait and not for the liberation of Iraq from Saddam Hussein. USA even did not care for the objection of President Mitterant of France that the UN mandate had terminated with the liberation of Kuwait and did not extend to the internal affairs of Iraq. In fact USA repeatedly interfered in the internal affairs of Iraq in defiance of UN resolutions.

Later on in April 1991 when United Nations proposed to hold a conference on peace in West Asia, the United States did not favour any major role for the United Nations and insisted that peace in West Asia can be assured only by the countries of the Gulf region under the aegis of USA and USSR The dominant role played by the United States in the Gulf War made critics skeptical about the effectiveness of UN regarding maintenance of world peace and settlement of international disputes through negotiations. In fact the United States has tried to cloth its foreign policy goals in the garb of collective world consensus and has been to persuade other countries to toe its line in the United Nations. This has not been favored by the countries of the third world, which have suggested that certain structural reforms must be carried out to make the United Nations an effective guardian of peace, and to ensure that the Secretary General and the Security Council do not succumb to the pressure of the United States.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write a note on accessment of Functioning of UN.

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28.3 Achievements of United Nations

Despite its alleged failure and shortcomings, the United Nations has left a permanent imprint on almost all major political, economic, social and humanitarian problems. It has served as an important meeting and debating forum for nations where the different members have putforth their viewpoints and understood those of others. This has promoted a spirit of understanding and accommodation among the member states. It was chiefly due to the United Nations that East-West detente became possible because it provided them an opportunity to settle their differences through discussion and dialogue. Again the United Nations was instrumental in focussing on the problems of racism, colonialism and new international economic order. The United Nations contributed towards decolonisation by implementing the provisions of the UN Charter concerning trusteeship of non-self governing territories. Through trusteeship it ensured accountability of Trusteeship powers for the transformation of the colonial states into independent states. Once these states gained independence the United Nations provided them with a forum where by they could stand on terms of equality with their former colonial masters.

The various agencies of the United Nations have also rendered valuable service in the field of health, transportation, communication, science, education, reduction of trade barriers to promote international trade, etc. They have also done commendable work in the field of protection and settlement of refugees, and promotion of the interest of children. The United Nations system also contributed to the flow of aid and technical assistance to the less developed countries, and it has helped in the development of these countries. Through its activities the United Nations has been able to impress upon its members the fact that the development of the backward countries is an international responsibility. It has also rendered great service to the cause of promotion of human rights through discussions,

declarations and international covenants.

It is true that the United Nations has not able to achieve all its Objective. This has largely been due to differing ideologies, cultures, material interests and levels of development prevailing in different parts of the World which rendered multilateral co-operation difficult. The lack of necessary force at the command of the Untied Nations also prevented it from playing an effective role because it could not enforce its decisions on states reluctant to conform to them. Above all the reluctance of the member states to compromise with their sovereignty for the sake of international good, also rendered the United Nations ineffective.

Though the United Nations has achieved only limited success, it cannot be denied that it has set certain norms for the conduct of international relations. In the first place, it has formulated procedures for legitimate political activities of the individual states. It has provided opportunities for multilateral contracts and acted as catalyst of change in the international system. It has provided a forum where the various members of the United Nations meet and express their respective views and try to arrive at some sort of consensus. In other words, it has provided a forum for communication among states where the member states can freely meet and discuss problems.

Secondly, the United Nations has tried to bring about some sort of stability in the international system by keeping the conflicts within reasonable limit by imposing restrictions on the contestants.

Thirdly United Nations has sought to bring about political changes without disrupting the system. For example it has played a significant role in the liquidation of colonials and was instrumental in bringing about political change in Congo, In recent years also the United Nations has played an important role in international politics specially with regard to racial problems of South Africa and distribution of economic resources between North and South.

Since its inception the UN has done a commendable job in

the field of maintaining international peace and security. It has been instrumental in settling numerous controversies which could have proved a potential danger to world peace and security. From Kashmir to Palestine to Korean crises it has played vital role in resolving issues where international peace and security were at stake. The Suez crises, the Congo riddle, Cuban missile crises, Arab- Israeli war, the Kampuchean question, the Russian Intervention in Afghanistan, American hostages in Iraq. U.S. intervention in Grenada. U. S. attack on Libya, etc, are such issues which had threatened world peace and security from time to time. Though UN failed to settle permanently a majority of the disputes, it has not played a negative role in alleviating the tension. It provides an opportunity to the disputant parties to put across their viewpoint and thus evolve a world consensus in tackling the issue. It is the arrogance of power and non-cooperative attitude of the member states which render the UN action ineffective. The UN itself is dete1111ined to discharge its duties as envisaged in the Charter. It is indeed the custodian of world peace and security.

United Nations made use of various methods and machinery to prevent or terminates conflicts. Thus it has acted through peace-keeping forces, observers, fact - finding mission, good -offices mission, mediators, special representatives etc. It has served as forum of debate and negotiations. The effectiveness of the United Nations to preserve peace was greatly reduced due to mutual bickerings between the two super powers for quite some time. The refusal by quite a number of member countries to pay their annual subscription, fixed in accordance with their GDP and annual revenue, financially starved the United Nations. In fact whenever a UN decision or policy didn't suit any major power the country withheld its share. The most notable defaulter in recent years has been United States. The main reason which prompted United States to stop payment of its share was that the third world countries which dominated the General

Assembly, quite often voted against the United StatesHowever the U.S. has started paying its contribution with the condition that others also pay their share.

28.3.1 Social Accomplishments

The United Nations is not merely confining its activities in the domain of maintaining international peace and security. It is equally alive to its responsibilities of promoting conditions which foster better economic, cultural, social and humanitarian Relations. In this realm the UN is assisted by the ECOSCO and its Commissions and other specialized agencies. The UN and its various specialized agencies have undertaken tremendous efforts to improve the living condition, housing, town and country planning, family welfare, etc. The UN1CEF has rendered valuable services in the field of family and child welfare, education and vocational training, etc. In the field of health it has to work for the improvement_ of the health of people through the World Health Organization and provide! necessary advisory and technical assistance to various countries to eradicate diseases like malaria, tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, smallpox, leprosy, etc.

The UN has made frantic eff0l1s to eradicate illiteracy and improve the standard of education by fostering scientific research. It has rendered valuable service in the direction of improving textbooks used in schools and arranged periodic seminars and conferences with a view to promote better understanding among the people of the world.

The UN has sought to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which envisages basis for the rights to be achieved throughout the world.

The UN has also done commendable work to improve the lot of women and uplift their status. It has also sought to protect the interests of the minorities.

28.3.2 Economic Accomplishments

The role of the UN in the economic field has been remarkable. It has tried to focus attention on improving the standard of living, providing full employment and creating conditions conducive to economic development. Realizing that stability and well being are pre-conditions for peaceful and friendly relations among the nations, the UN has laid emphasis on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people and tried to promote higher standards of living and full employment to ensure economic and social progress. The United Nations has paid special attention to the development of underdeveloped countries by rendering technical assistance in the nature of advice, training making available advance knowledge of developed countries for solutions to the problems of the underdeveloped countries. In other words it has tried to encourage "co-operative pooling of wit, wisdom and skills in economic development in which all countries are able to participate".

The United Nations has made available necessary finances for various technical assistance programmes through provisions in its budget as well as by raising voluntary contributions. In 1965 the UN created a special fund known as United Nations Development Program with a view to promote activities in the fields of agriculture, health service. resource surveys, tec1mical education, training institutes and applied research in the developing countries. Various agencies of the United Nations such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA) and International Finance Corporation (IFC) have rendered great help in the economic development by providing necessary funds. The United Nations has also conducted a number of studies on the problems relating to movement of international capital, conditions governing private investment in certain countries, and the domestic financing of economic development etc.

In the promotion of international trade also, the UN has rendered valuable service. Realizing that the trade barriers like customs tariffs, foreign exchange controls, import quotas ,etc, hamper international trade, the UN has insisted on the need for elimination of these barriers. In August 1947 the General Assembly took a lead in the negotiation of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with a view to reduce trade barriers. The GATT has been holding periodical meetings since then and working for reductions in trade barriers. It impressed on the developing countries the need for according favorable treatment to the developing countries in matters of trade.

The United Nations has also sought to tackle the problem of food shortage. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) an agency of the UN, has impressed on the need for building up world food reserves to ward off against starvation in any part of the world. It has suggested remedies to overcome the problem of low productivity, diminishing returns, famines etc. in different parts of the world. It has taken measures for the conservation of soil and prevention of soil erosion. It has also paid attention to the development of fisheries as well as problems of animal and plant diseases.

The UN has not neglected the interests of the working people and through its agency ILO (International Labour Organization) it has sought to improve the standards of the labour. It adopted a number of conventions concerning freedom of association, collective bargaining, social security, employment services, etc. It has also helped in the conduct of manpower surveys and analysis of labour conditions, which play a vital role in the economic progress of the country. Above all it has made available large number of experts to the less developed countries with a view to raise the productivity and working standards of laborers.

In short we can say that the institution of United Nations is a manifestation of human dreams having come true after years. The human folly led to the failure of the League of Nations and resulted in devastation and annihilation in the form of Second World War. The United Nations represents the collective determination of the mankind for a better world free from the scourge of war and fear. It is true that the United Nations has not been able to accomplish all that it wished to achieve, primarily due to the internal bickerings of the members and shortage of finances. However, it has to be admitted that its contribution towards the improvement of the lot of millions of people throughout the world has been significant.

28.3.3 New Role for United Nations

The ideological differences and Superpower rivalry, which earlier rendered the United Nations ineffective, have now disappeared, As a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and end of the cold war, the United States has emerged as the only Superpower, which is now dominating the international system, However, some scholars have contended that with the rise of new economic powers like Germany, Japan and Europe, the political rivalry in international politics has given way to economic power confrontation in which U.S. has very tough competition.

For successful working of the United Nations, it is absolutely essential that the members of the United Nations, must be, willing to accept the decisions of the United Nations even if they do not coincide with their immediate desires and interests, This can be achieved by negotiations and diplomacy, In recent years the emphasis has shifted to economic and social relations and issues like human rights and economic co-operation which have assumed great importance. The United Nations would have to playa more effective role in the resolution of these problems,

The United Nations, which was established to ensure peace and harmony all over the World, failed to achieve its basic objectives.

The world continues to witness conflicts of all kinds, which jeopardized international peace. Many countries, specially the Super Powers, continue to use United Nations as a tool for furtherance of their interests and often violate its mandate if it went against their national interests. This has made the United Nations quite ineffective. The sudden invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on 2 August 1990 injected a new life and activity into the United Nations. The United Nations, for the first time in its history, took a drastic step and asked Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait. It passed a resolution stating that if its directive was not complied with by the fixed date, the UN member-states could use all necessary measures to make Iraq pull out its forces from the illegally occupied territory. This virtually meant an ultimatum to Iraq to quit Kuwait. It also cleared the way for war against Iraq. However, the current war against Iraq (2001) without U.N. sanction only speaks of the UN's helplessness in the face of big power egoism. It is now suggested_that to make the UN an effective guardian of peace, certain structural reforms must be carried out to ensure that the General Assembly and Security Council do not succumb to the pressure of super powers specially USA.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Write Note on achievements of UN.

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28.4 Failures of United Nations

Success or the failure of any political organization is dependent on the political situation that prevails during that period. what is important however is its continued existence which for the humanity is of great concern, From the League of Nations to the UNO, the failure of these institutions is directly tied to the hegemonic attitude of the big powers, US. in particular. From Finances of the organization to its activism everything depends on the will of the member nations, A charter established by will must also be adhered to. If will is not there then the institutional existence will be jeopardized. Failure of UNO therefore is both from within and without. Its dependence on member status for finance and other activities, and its inability to develop its own army or forces have a direct bearing on the organizations warring. From without, UN's inability to work independently, its subservient status, its -inability to build itself into an independent organization such as the European Parliament, and its inability to plan ahead to restructure, could also be considered as failures.

28.5 Concluding Observations

The effective role expected of the United Nations in the present context demands certain changes in the United Nations, Some of the important improvements which can go a long way in improving the working of the United Nations include the following:

1. In the first instance there is need to broad-base the organization and functioning of the United Nations. The International organization which originally had only 50 members in 1945 has now more than 190 members However the Security Council continues to have 15 members with only five permanent veto holding powers. Since the world of 21st C has undergone tremendous change in terms of power relationships it would be helpful and appropriate to increase the number of permanent members to include such process as India, Germany and Japan.

Again if the UN is to function as representative of our world today, there is an urgent need for broadbasing its functioning also.

2. Secondly, the value of votes of different members in various agencies of the United Nations, which at present is decided on the basis of their financial contributions, can be modified and greater weightage can be given to the size of the country and its population.
3. The U.N. needs to address itself to the problem of arms race in a move comprehensive way. In the field of non- proliferation also there is need for change. At present the North, especially the US and Britain, have determined the structures and norms or control.The Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) have been devised by the advanced countries and are hegemonic, restrictive and discriminatory in approach, organization and aim. They do not aim at controlling weapons proliferation but at securing the sole possession of these weapons for the countries that have already manufactured and proliferated them. Their aim is to prevent the developing countries from acquiring capability to build the weapons. They certainly do not aim at achieving genuine disarmament.

28.6 Let us some up

The study made so far was an attempt to assess the performance of the international organization which is currently in a pivotal position to assist the world in maintaining peace and order. It is an accepted fact that the performance of the UNO has been quite appreciable and laudable. Whenever we make an assessment of an organization of a mammoth size as the UN we must ensure that we assess its work without over looking the performance of all its agencies.

28.7 Key words

Preventive	-	To keep away from happening
Eventuality	-	Possible event
Jeopardized	-	To endanger
Aggression	-	Unprovoked attack
Disillusioned	-	The state of being freed from illusion.
Consensus	-	General agreement in opinion
Ideology	-	The Ideas that form the basis of an economic or political theory

28.8 Some useful books

Jamers Barros (ed.)	-	The United Nations, Past, Present and Future.
Evan Luard	-	The United Nations in a New Era.
Robert Adams and Kingsbury Benedict	-	UN. Divided World - the UN's Role in International Relations.
Kenneth J. Twitchett	-	The Evolving United Nations: A Prospect for Peace.

28.9 Answer to Check your Progress Exercises

Check Your progress - I

a) See Section 28.2

Check your Progress - II

a) See Section 28.3

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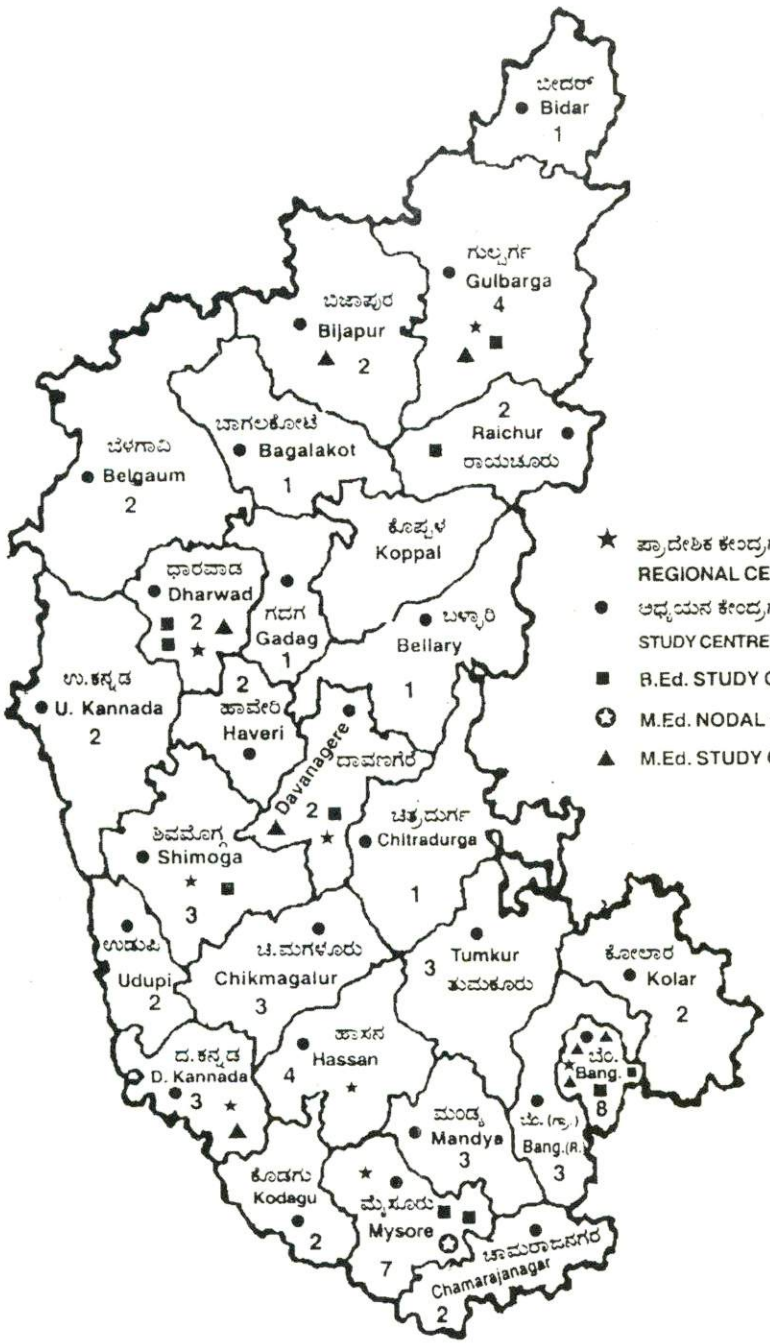
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ನಮೂದಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)

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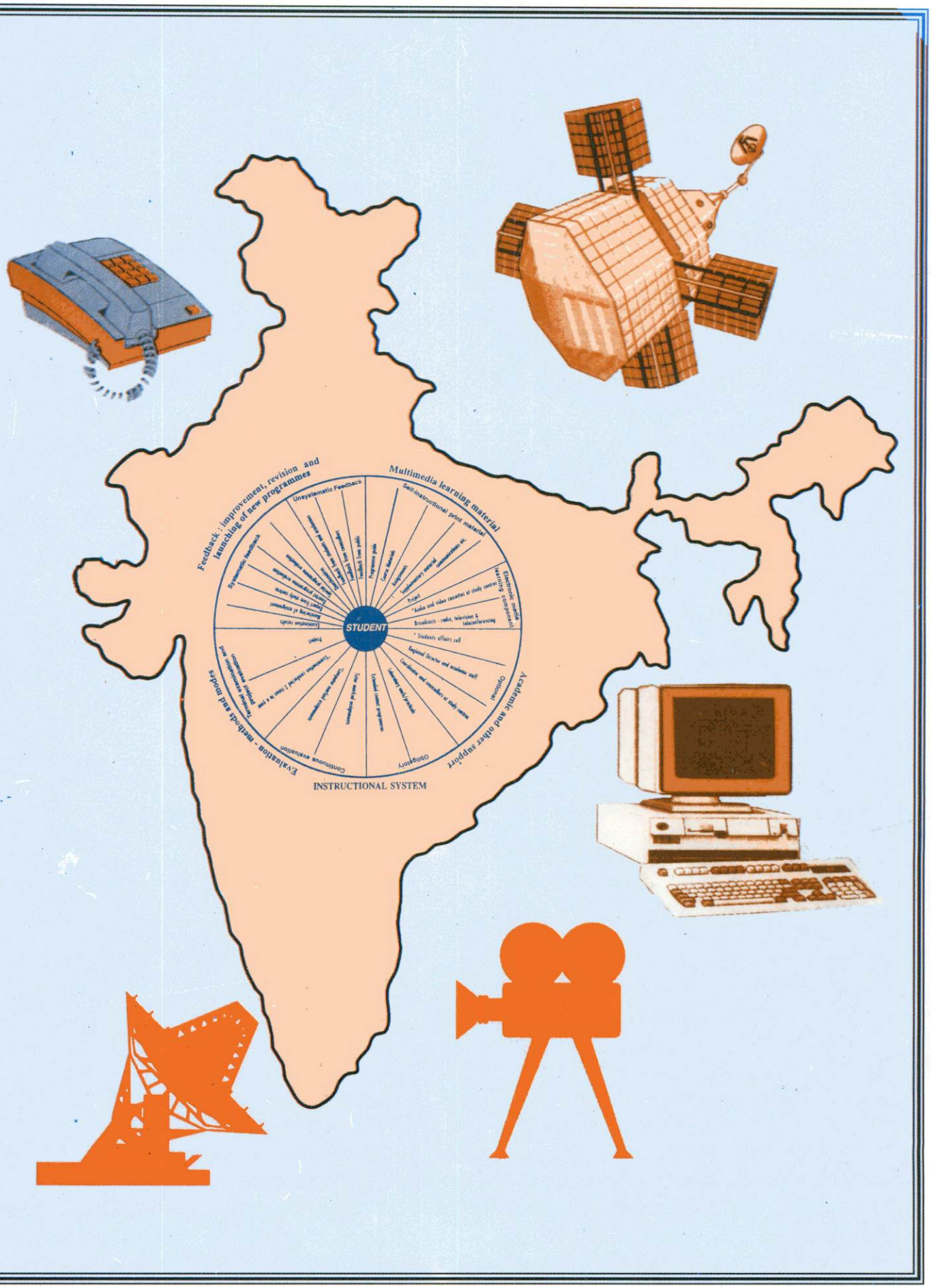
Feedback : improvement, revision and launching of new programmes
Multimedia learning material
Academic and other support
Evaluation - Methods and models
STUDENT
INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM