

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LECTURER NOTE

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Abstract: -

International Organizations are based on bilateral or multilateral relations of sovereign States. International Organizations are both regional and global in characters. In its regional character, it centralizes limited number of States, e.g. East African Community (EAC), with regional centralized structures. While in the global character, it centralizes most of the States in the world, e.g. UN.

In other international organization is an institution with formal membership and procedures

Some International Organizations focuses their objectives on single issues, while others focus their objectives on a number of issues. International Organizations are either open to new members or consist of a closed system. On occasion, International Organizations are established for certain duration as specified in their respective characters, but more often, no time restriction is applied.

In some older literatures, IOs tend to be sub-divided into political and apolitical (not interested or involved in politics) organizations. Apolitical organizations refer to military organizations such as NETO, while the other refers to organizations dealing with administrative and technical issues.

The differentiation between political and technical IOs is not helpful. It makes more sense to differentiation between International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) for example, UN, NATO, IMF, and World Bank, with International Non Governmental Organizations (INGOs) such as Amnesty International, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), World Health Organization (WHO).

By the end of the 20th Century, there were at least 500 IGOs, and 11,000 INGOs. They were all lumped under the general umbrella of The Union of International Organizations, founded in 1907 in Brussels, Belgium.

The INGOs helped to clarify International rules and regulations which enable the societal actors to cooperate in the coordination of certain specified trans-national and cross border issues. Unlike the INGOs, the IGOs are based on cooperation of Nation States. The creation of IGO is based on bilateral or multilateral treaties of sovereign States for pursuit of certain common interest in the International arena.

It is helpful to differentiate between Supra-national and semi Supra national IGOs or looser confederations of States and Non Supra IGOs such as the UN.

Despite the equality of recognition of nation states in the international system, in fact a hierarchy of power and influence exist even within non supra IGOs, e.g. the UN Security council is dominated by its five permanent members, as well as other international organizations like the IMF, World Bank, all of which are dominated by the established great powers of the West on the account of their political and military influence and capabilities and their financial and economic cloud, with exception of China and Russia, all these influences and dominance come from Western powers.

We should note, however, there are some institutionalized meetings and conferences which can be mistaken as IGOs, for example, G7/8 meetings of developed nations and meetings of World Trade Organization (WTO) whose heads of State periodically meet. These are loose organizations of temporary nature.

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International Organizations

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TYPES OF INTER GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS:

1. **Arab League:** International Organization of Independent Arab States formed in 1945 to promote cultural, economic military, political and social cooperation. From time to time it intervenes where there are common problem, for example in the case of Syria Civil war.
2. **European Union:** This is an International Organization for European countries, formed after the World War II, to reduce trade barriers and increase cooperation amongst its members.
3. **NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an International Military alliance organization created in 1949 for the purpose of collective security.
4. **OPEC:** Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, formed in 1961 to agree on a common policy for the production of petroleum.
5. **CIS:** Common Wealth of Independent States is an alliance made up of States that had been Soviet Socialist Republics in the Soviet Union prior to its dissolution in December 1991.
6. **UN:** The United Nations is an organization of Independent States formed in 1945 to promote International peace and security.
7. **W T O:** World Trade Organization is an International Organization based in Geneva that monitors and enforces rules governing International trade.
8. **Common Wealth of Nations:** The British common wealth, which is an association of nations consisting of UK and several former British colonies that are now sovereign States but still pay allegiance to the British. However, non-former British colonial States such as Rwanda have joined.

9. **AU:** African Union is an organization of African States set up for peace, unity and prosperity.

OBJECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

International Organizations have been established to accomplish all or some of the following objectives:

1. Regulation of International relations primarily through techniques of peaceful settlement of disputes among States.
2. Control or at least Minimization of International conflicts and wars.
3. Promotion of cooperative developmental activities among Nation States for the social and economic benefits of certain regions or human kind in general.
4. Collective defence of a group of Nation States against external threats.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

- ⇒ Have Permanent office staff or Permanent Bureaucracies such as the Secretariat of the UN General Assembly.
- ⇒ Their employees are supposed to be International civil servants. These civil servants are expected to develop supranational organizations rather than national loyalties.
- ⇒ Have General Assemblies/ Conferences in which all member States or representatives meet in plenary sessions.
- ⇒ Most of the IGOs are governed by executive councils that are made up of small elected/ selected governmental organizations.

CLASSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

IGOs are classified into four major categories based on membership and purpose:

1. **General Membership and General Purpose Organization:** This category primarily refers to as the League of Nations and its successor the United Nations; such organizations are global in scope and serve a variety of functions such as security, socio-economic cooperation, human rights protection, cultural growth and exchange.
2. **General Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations:** These are known as Functional Organizations because they are developed to specific functions such as the functions performed by UN Agencies.
3. **Limited Membership and General Purpose Organizations:** These are Regional Organizations with a wide range of security, political, social and economic functions and responsibilities, for example, OAS, Arab League, AU, and EU etc.
4. **Limited Membership and Limited Purpose Organizations:** These are sub-divided into social, economic and military defence organizations, for example, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWOS), EAC, and for military purposes, NATO and the Defunct Warsaw Pact.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

By 431 BC, the Greek city states had become involved in the game of International bargaining, alliances and negotiations, which could be looked at as the origin of modern International Organizations. Similar organizations were organized by Persians, Romans, and among the Arab states.

Philosophers such as Ican, Jerome, Bentham and Ruston had advocated over the years various approaches with which to attain global government and perpetual peace. The major changes in the political and social landscape in the 19th century and the 20th century were favorable in creating the environment for the multiplication of the International organizations and determining their agenda.

The major change was in the field of trade. The massive increase in production triggered the industrial revolution, which led to trade increase and opened up the international communication and led to interdependence.

These changes had great influence on International institutions, namely; **the greater number of transactions increased the risk of wars.** This was one factor that led to establishment of **International arbitration for various types of disputes.**

The other influence was that, **there were agreed regulations and common standards which determine the classification of goods for custom duties and deciding exchange rates for different currencies.** This led to the setting up of **Public International Union that supervised International standards of goods and practices.**

The third development was **the creation of the General Postal Union in 1875 and its successor the Universal Postal Union in 1878.** The postal activities were governed by numerous **bilateral treaties rather than a single convention.**

Finally, **the economies of the major powers were becoming increasingly interdependent which provided them with certain mutual interests to settle against their many rivalries.**

So the 19th century marked the first attempt to translate this interdependence into institutional form through establishment of International community organs to regulate trade and this 19th century showed the beginning of dealing with issues at international level rather than national levels. This is exemplified by the following:

1. The control of disease was one area of International cooperation, for instance in 1838, the International Health Organization was involved in prevention of cholera in Turkey. This cooperation was followed by forming what was so called centering council which resulted in important centering convention in 1903 and establishment of International Office of Public Hygiene (IOPH) in 1907, the foundation of the modern World Health Organization (WHO). While

there were these positive developments, many countries resisted; e.g. France feared possible financial losses to join the Postal Union. Britain restricted for many years attempt to sign the Center Convention for fear of its maritime.

2. The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 became controversy between States. These two conferences were convened by the Emperor of Russia to discuss disarmament. These two conferences worked the high point in the history of International arbitration, they were also important because they were the most attended conferences to date with delegates from Europe, North America and Asia. Some specific agreements came up such as the idea of Permanent Court of Justice (PCJ), which provided for the International Commission of Inquiry in certain disputes.

The second conference was revised and added ten new conventions, these ten conventions were mostly concerned with laws of war, indeed it dealt with laws of war. The Hague's agreements were held at the time of a new beginning (young discipline)

3. The other important area that influenced International Organizations is the Concert of Europe, which took place in 1815AD. The word concert means – concerted effort – joining effort – working together before the next action was taken in Europe. The main architects of the concert of Europe were; Emperor Alexander of Russia, Martini, the Prime minister of Austria. The main idea was that there was to be informed arrangement such that the European powers have to confine together at the time of crisis.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

The League Idea and the role of Woodrow Wilson:

Woodrow Wilson is believed to be the architect or the Father of the League of Nations. He was the president (Vice Chancellor) of the Christian University in United States. He was the professor of history. Later he became the Governor of New Jersey in United States. He is an idealist or liberal theorist and academician. He shared the Paris Conference of 1913 and he came up with his 14 points program which formed the basis for the peace treaty from 1918 – 1919 which concluded the Versal settlement (Treaty). Versal was the palace of the Emperor of France. The following are the 14 points:

On the 8th January 1918, Woodrow Wilson delivered a speech in Washington DC on the process of open peace process to be undertaken, without secret understanding of any kind.

According to Woodrow, the days of wars of conquest and power struggle as well as the secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments to upset the peace of the world have gone. Now things must be done in open, in public view such that the mind of people do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, so that it is possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to accept.

Woodrow called this process a war against violations of right which had occurred and had touched everybody and made the life of the people impossible unless they were corrected and the world is made secure once and for all against their recurrence.

What is demanded in this war is that the world be made fit and safe to live in and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.

1) He called for partnership of all the people of the world in this interest, and justice must prevail. This program of the World peace is covered in his 14 points, in which he called every peace loving person to own:

2) All the covenants of peace processes must be done openly in public view, and diplomacy shall proceed frankly without private international understandings of any kind. Currently all peace processes and open diplomacy has been carried out openly especially in the UN Charter.

3) He called for absolute freedom of navigation in the International water of the seas, outside the states territorial waters, through enforcement of international covenants. This second point effected the enactment of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) 1982, as expressed in Art.2 (1)(2)(3)

a. *“The sovereignty of a coastal State extends, beyond its land territory and internal waters and, in the case of an archipelagic State, its archipelagic waters, to an adjacent belt of sea, described as the territorial sea.”*

4) The removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the States consenting/ageering to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance. This has developed to the current treaties of regional integration, where there is free movement of goods, people services and capital across States.

5) He called on reduction of arms so that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. This led to the current Arms reduction Treaties of SALT I and SALT II.

6) He called for abolition of colonialism, which indeed resulted in the end of colonialism throughout the world.

7) The evacuation of all Russian territory and settlement of all questions affecting Russia for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing.

8) Belgium must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever compromised/impaired.

9) All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

10) A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

11) The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

12) Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

13) The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

14) An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. (The League of Nations)

The Environment through which the League of Nations was formed:

One of the reasons was due to two main factors:

1. The destructive experience of World War I, States in Europe wanted to form an organization to put an end to further World Wars.

2. Fear of spreading communism: Bolscovic revolution communism was suppose to have no national boundary. It was known to be the workers' revolution and it was suppose to be worldwide. So there was a need from the West to stop the spread of communism.

So a France man called Bourgeoisies came up with the idea of the League of Nations. He wrote a book about the League of Nations or the society of nations. He was supported by some leading figures from several countries who advocated for a new system for the management of International relation even before the outbreak of the World War I. This included the two former US Presidents; Roosevelt Johnson and Taft who called for a collective security system which made arrangement whereby aggressors would incur automatic economic and military sanction by the whole International community. They made impact on the new League of Nations that was to emerge.

Woodrow Wilson wrote that, the beginning of the League is a complex one. It is clear that he was convinced in the early stage that a new International system was required which was to stop the spread of communism, concluding a new treaty with the defeated power, democratizing the world, establishing a new economic order, and ending the colonial system. With all these ideas, he had no defined idea of the actual form of the new organization, which was to bring about the diplomatic revolution. Wilson emphasized the notion of mutual guarantee in common with collective security principles and the balance of power which he had wanted it to be replaced with community of power.

At that time balance of power means stators quo; the strong remains strong and the weak remains weak, until the unification of Germany before the World War I. Britain did not want Germany to build strong weapons and war planes because that would means disturbance of power.

PEACE KEEPING:

Sometimes Wilson spoke as if the League peace keeping objective was to be achieved by mainly open diplomacy and by pressure of opinions whenever strong and aggression are planned or contemplated would be turned upon them and men everywhere will ask, what are the purposes that you hold on heart against the fortunes of the world, just a little exposure will set off most questions. The defeated powers Germany and Austria would have understood such principles, then the World War, would have not been waged.

Wilson's chief contribution was not so much as originator of the covenant but rather laid a system throughout 1918 that some structures bearing the little League of Nations should be created, and that the League should be the first system in the Paris agenda and that should be the integral part of the peace treaty.

THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES AND ASSUPTIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER:

1. **The issue of Collective Security.** Its central theme is meant to deterring aggressors by agreeing in advance to approve them with a united front with all, in the peace treaty of 1918-1919.

The collective security idea originated in the belief that the First World War would have been prevented had Germany been aware beforehand how the extensive opposition to it would come.

The collective security notion was interpreted by the allies differently, for the France it was a creation of a permanent strong International army and permanent general staff.

2. **Justifiable Disputes:** Smuts described justifiable disputes are those which concerns matters of fact or law which are capable of legal or judicial handling. They involve mainly interpretations of treaties or some other questions of International law such as the situation of sundry or amount of damage done by any breach of the law. In short, It is about International law in regard to treaties, boundaries or borders.

In this regard, it was widely regarded that an extension of the existing legal remedies such as arbitration could take place under the auspices of the League. Therefore, Wilson and Smuts both proposed compulsory arbitration system.

3. **Crisis Management:** The crisis management consideration was based on the principle of prevention of another war which has just ended. Several suggestions were made for crisis management amongst which a moratorium (troth) was to be compulsory while peaceful means for settling disputes could be tried.

There was also a public discussion on the matters of disputes since Wilson believed that the secrecy of the traditional diplomacy was supposed to answer for all forms of diplomacy. So Wilson strongly believed that the allied powers could have opened up to open diplomacy, which could have stopped the war.

4. **Disarmament:** This idea was derived from the view that, the arms race before the war started in 1771, Germany started to build strong arms such as drodonals which scared Britain and the International attention, and the League need to develop some system of arms control.

For France who suffered more during the war, proposed total disarmament of Germany, to avoid another war. For Britain, disarmament means abolition of conscription by defeated powers. USA wanted a general arms limitation agreement including abolition of private manufacture of weapons.

5. **A Great Power Concert Principle:** To Western allies, this great power concert must be made similar to war council which would be a powerful one. Some of them had the idea of reviving the old concert of Europe of 1815, after the defeat of the Napoleonic wars.

The common aim of proposing arms control was to exclude the smaller states from any significant role.

6. **Principle of Functionalism:** This is an approach to International organizations which holds that political integration amongst States can best develop from more limited attempts at cooperation in specific functional areas, principally, relating to economic welfare.

Therefore Wilson initially did not include many functions in the League of Nations but later on more functions were added on the covenant.

7. **Organization of Principles:** The organs within the League include; the executive council, deliberated assembly, administrative secretariat. These organs still exist today in the UN, except the nature of the Security Council is new which consists of five permanent members of the winners of the world war and temporary members elected every two years into the council.

CONCLUSION:

As a legal document, the covenant had many deficiencies, e.g. some articles were ambiguous or contradict other articles, the crucial provisions for collective security was full of loop holes. However the criticism made was misguided. The significance of weak or ambiguous formulation of covenant might permit war and reflected the doubt felt by many States about committing their security to the new system.

A part from its role as provider of collective security, the League may be said to represent two points of departure in the history of International Relation: Firstly, it embodied a limited consensus to the existence of certain International standard of conduct which could be given some stators in the International law. More generally stressed and intention to extend the role of International law, as the words of the preamble to the covenant, "The actual rule of conduct to the governments".

Secondly, it was an acknowledgement of increasing rank of communication interest shared by States and the need for more effective centralized provision of these. The subsequent history of International Organizations was to be much concern with all these developments.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

The International order established at the Basal settlement (Paris agreement) was inherently unstable because the temporary weakness of Germany and Russia made the balance of power upon which it was founded essentially artificial, not permanent and would come under increasing strength as those two States regain their strength in so far as the League was associated with them. The document was called Dictat.

The Germany and Russian delegations were not allowed into the assembly, they were only called to sign. The foreign minister of Germany signed but when he reached home, he was fired, while Russia ignored it and did not sign.

To understand how and why the League of Nations was firmly established, between 1919 and 1939, four distinct aspects of the League need to be considered: a) the Collective Security Operations; b) the League's role as corner stone of International Legal order; c) Its functions as overseer and coordinator of a variety of economic, social and technical activities; d) the development of its principle institutions. To be looked at one by one.

A. COLLECTIVE SECURITY:

First, Right from the start, there was inflow of international security, a collective security that was capable of bringing effective sanctions. The first difficult encounter by the League of Nations was regarding International Security, was how to define its precise powers in peace and security matters. One complicating factor was the continued existence for several years after the war of the Allied Ambassadors Conference put forward by the European States. The continued presence of this conference seems like a rivalry or competitive with the other International security organs, after the World War I. From time to time the Ambassadors conference interfered with the work of the league as manifested by Yugoslavia V Albania crisis in 1920.

Secondly, some of the European traditional minded diplomats were first reluctant to grant the league any more responsibility.

Another blow to the collective security was the withdrawal of USA from the League of Nations followed by a wide spread move to water down the crucial collective security provisions of Articles, 10 and 16 of the League of Nations.

Furthermore, in 1924, the Geneva protocol which would have provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes failed primarily because of the British objection. However, despite these flawed in collective security as the League became more familiar with International landscape; the great powers began to make a greater use of it for a vast range of purposes. E.g. In 1920, London brought the dispute between Sweden and Pin land over Alan Island before the council. Even Loid George the prime minister of England discovered a lead in the League of Nations, when he threatened Yugoslavia with sanctions in its conflict with Albania.

Other issues were passed to the league by the ambassadors and these issues normally were the most difficult times confusing and included numerous border disputes in Eastern and Western Europe, the problem of establishing the international conference.

The resolution passed by the league council led the British foreign secretary to declare in 1925 that he had created what he has seen at work. The league existed in part to prevent minor crisis from escalating into major confrontations. A number of conflicts in 1920s were referred into the league by one of the dissident such as Greece and Italy in 1923, Greece and Bulgaria in 1925, and Bolivia and Paraguay in 1928.

By the end of 1920s, the league had developed a number of techniques which it had used with varying degrees of success in several conflicts, yet as the major crisis of 1930s unfolded the league seemed increasingly irrelevant.

The 1930s witnessed the entire range of possible league responses to crisis but that, what was done was little or too late.

The major crisis where the league failed greatly are as follows:

1. The first great crisis of 1930s when the Japanese troops over ran Manchuria (in China) in 1935. China appealed to the League of Nations under Article 11 of the covenant, where the emphasis was on conciliation rather than on collective security resolution of Article 15 and 16. The council called for a cease fire and withdrawal of the Japanese troops, but the Japanese advance continued. On 27th March 1933, Japan withdrew from the league. The Manchuria crisis manifested the complexity of the problem faced by the collective security in general and the league in particular.

2. The second major crisis was the Italian invasion of Ethiopia on 3rd October 1935. Ethiopia was a sovereign State and a member of the league, so it was not correct for Italy to invade a sovereign member State in the league. Britain in particular and other members condemned the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the council agreed that Italy had gone to war in violation of the covenant regulations of the league, and on 11th October 1935, the assembly imposed sanctions on Italy. These sanctions although universally not observed, inflicted significant damage upon Italian economy. But it became apparent that more severe sanctions should be applied to force Italy to withdraw. In the mean time, Ethiopia appealed for finance aid to buy more confiscated arms to deal with Italy. Britain however refused to grant a collective loan to Ethiopia. After the Ethiopian crisis, the league lingered on with increased irrelevancy until 1946.

The possible explanations for failure of the league in the area of the International security are as follows:

1. It lacks universality, with USA, Germany, Soviet Union, Italy, Japan and several Latin American States not being members. The league had to cope with crisis of extra ordinary magnitude and frequency in the light of worldwide economic depression and other problems.

2. The association of the league with the Vassal treaty in France made it automatically unpopular in Germany and in Russia. The league and the "Dictat" treaty of vassal are the same.

3. The covenant was a flawed document from the start with too many ambiguities/doubts with loopholes for would be aggressors and impracticable in the world of sovereign States.

4. Financially, the combined budget of the League of Nations was around US\$.6 billion. There was also a realist argument that there was a lack of solidarity amongst the member States.

B. THE LEAGUE AND THE INTERNATIONAL LAW:

The covenant pact was part of the International law and the central theme of all aspects of the league's work, in which all States should be guided by rules of conduct. The league's activities are part of the international law, manifested in the following:

The league attempts to carry out its peace treaties by the previcides or referenda, when investigating disputes or when it tries to decide on rules and guidelines to govern International economic relations, for such matters as the post war refugees problem or when to drew up International conventions on environmental and ecological questions or preventing spread of epidemic or controlling the drugs trafficking. In all such activities, of sanctions, the league was entertaining tasks at very least important implications for International law.

The major innovation of the league was the creation of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). This permanent court had received relatively little consideration, prior to the peace conference. From 1922, this court consisted of 15 judges, one was a Ugandan, called Sabitunde, a woman judge, to represent the main form of civilization and principles of legal system of the world.

The court had capacity to make judgement on disputes brought before it and to give advisory opinion when required by the league. The league heard 66 cases between 1922 and 1939. States had the opinion of declaring in advance their acceptance of the court jurisdiction on certain classes of disputes. Many of the cases stamped from frictions arising from peace treaties. The court was not a major force for peace and stability as with any legal system; the effectiveness of international law is in direct proposition to the existence of order and a sense of community in the society which it serves.

The importance of the court was three folds:

- 1) It showed that the standing International court did a part to play in providing orderly International relations in conditions where there was an underlying desire for order.

- 2) It was a significant land mark in gradual acceptance by States that rules had a place in International politics.

- 3) It developed a body of jurisprudence of the International law to changing circumstances which in a sense acted as a new sense of International law.

Although the league was far from being International legislature, other aspects did work in the creation of the International law. 120 International conventions were concluded by the league before 1939, and 8 agreed to by the International Labour Organization. (ILO)

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FUNCTION OF THE LEAGUE:

It involved a lot of bureaucracy and an expensive venture, e.g. the collective security issue; the league spent over 60% of its budget on economic and humanitarian work by 1939. There was very little reference in the covenant a part from Article 23 that called for equitable treatment of the commerce of its members or there was little reference in the league's covenant in regard to economic or commerce of all its members.

The other economic functions of the league grew out of the needs of the time, and most importantly of the needs about the economic reconstruction of war devastated Europe in 1920s. The league succeeded in this field especially in the financial reconstruction and stabilization of Austria.

The financial committee of the league was involved in similar exercises in Hungary, Algeria and Greece. A part from these reconstruction problem, the world faced an economic crisis between 1920 and 1933, during this period, several major conferences and global economic affairs were held under the auspices of the league while a variety of technical committees of experts on economic and financial matters were almost in constant session.

USA which was out of the league participated in many of the activities of such conferences one was in 1927 which adopted a resolution recognizing global economic interdependence and set out certain fundamental principles such as removal of imports and exports restrictions which were thought to be central in improving and reducing unemployment. The last of the great economic conferences held in London in 1933 during a desperate world wide economic crisis and failure, mainly because the US the only State with necessary economic power to make a stabilization scheme refused to involve. It pulled out of the League, after this the league agencies tended to concentrate on mainly research activities.

When the economy collapsed in Europe and in America, it led to worldwide economic depression. The economic reality in 1930s dictated unless USA was prepared to assume a kind of responsibility a global economic order which it did in 1945, there could be little hope of any real progress.

Now having looked at the League of Nations, difficulties were there with few achievements only in the technical institutions such as, health organizations, communications and transit organizations as well as numerous committees such as the drug trade, refugees, the trafficking of women and children etc.

It is interesting to note that important non members including Germany and USA participated in such activities from start.

THE AGENCIES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

In health matters, the league continued and expanded the work done by earlier century authorities who provided the model for the UN and WHO. Under this organization, the league established new procedure numbers for combating epidemic, standardized a great numbers of medicines, stimulated interest in nutrition problem and imitated the study of child welfare, public health training and many other services.

Another area in the agency of the league was the creation of the (ILO) which is the only significant part of the league structure to serve the International community after 1945. Its constitution gave it far reaching function and it asserted that the League of Nations had for its object the establishment of universal peace and such peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice, as it was enshrined on its constitution.

The ILO has given some responsibilities such as presentation of unemployment and the provision of adequate living wages. Its influence upon States was enhanced by the fact that most of the non members of the League including USA joined the ILO. The trade union movement was powerful constituency for the ILO.

STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE LEAGUE:

One aspect of the League which had for better or for worse, the last impact on future International organizations and wider conduct of diplomacy was the structure of its bodies:

1. Council – cabinet,
2. Assembly – parliament,
3. Secretariat – civil service.

In each case, the basic pattern set in the league was maintained in the UN as well as in several regional organizations.

The council initially was conceived by the allies to be similar to Great Power concert. This council was not quite similar to the council they had anticipated.

The second feature of the council was that it was allowed to deal with detail important disputes. There were several disputes especially territorial disputes.

In the assembly, many members were automatic from their States. The assembly was to be a forum for discussions and would debate public affairs issues and the covenant gave it the capacity to deal with any matter within the spare of the league or affecting the peace of the world. Article 11 the members of the assembly “friendly right to bring before the assembly and the council any circumstances threatening International peace. There was also a provision in Article 15 for disputes to be transferred from the council to the assembly, if so required, to meet every year instead of every four years. The assembly was also give over all financial control in the league, a responsibility which was not specifically allocated by the covenant and this made the assembly to intervene in almost every aspect of the league's work.

During its life time, the assembly tended to be the principle initiator of most of the day to day business of the league. The Assembly committees promoted various projects in the league's technical agencies and drew up many international conventions.

Finally, despite its role as initiator and supervisor, of general league's policy, the assemblies real significance still lay in its performance of the functions for which it was principally designed, i.e. International for expression of world opinion.

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