

THE QUEST FOR GLOBAL SECURITY AND PEACE, AND THE RISE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

NNURIAM, PAUL CHIGOZIE

Department of History and Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, Nigeria.
ambassadorgozie@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Among the central concerns of international politics are questions of war and peace. Why does war happen? How can wars be ended? Is it possible to avoid conflicts altogether? Throughout the course of world history, people aspired for global peace, security, socio-cultural relationship, and global federations. The Peace of Westphalia signed in October 1648 saw the rise of sovereign states in the modern sense in Europe, but the cause of global peace and security did not receive a significant boost until more than a century and a half thereafter, when the Congress of Vienna consciously attempted, for the first time in modern diplomatic history, to substitute an idea of the collective peace and security of Europe in place of old competitive security that had survived in the Balance of Power system. Against this background, this study aims to analyze how the quest for global peace and security led to the rise of international organizations over the years.

CITATION: Nnuriam, P. C. (2018). The Quest for Global Security and Peace, and the Rise of International Organizations: Historical Perspective. *Equatorial Journal of History and International Relations*, 1 (1): 1-12.

INTRODUCTION

Initially, one is tempted to believe that war is a part of human life. Even at the beginning of the evolution of human society, to avoid being attacked by fellow human beings and animals, people hunted and defended themselves collectively. It is from this early time that the concept of Collective Security started. When Nation states formed, they were forced into military alliances in order to protect what they thought to be threats to their security, especially against unfriendly neighbors. The nation-state system is consisted of different sovereign states. The sovereign states associate with one another in varying degrees and ways. The sovereign states practically depended on each other in economic, military and political fields. A certain degree of international association exists among the sovereign states. The necessity of sovereign states interdependence on one another has given rise to international organizations. Thus, one of the

exciting developments of the 20th century in inter-state associations has been the rise of international organizations. According to Palmer and Perkin, for the first time in history permanent organizations of a nearly universal type have emerged (Palmer and Perkins, 2001). In the 19th century, a few administrative and non-political organizations evolved which made way for the establishment of political organization of the 20th century. The international organizations showcase hopes and aspirations. To the world duly featured by wars, violent, arms race, and terrorism, the international organizations as forum of stress accommodation and cooperation across national boundaries become imperative and the need of the hour. The existence of international organization is the continual reminder of the world peace and security. For example, the creation of the League of Nations and United Nations was followed by a doctrine of idealism in lieu with the possibility of world order

through national restraint and association making use of the principles of collective security.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

International Organization: International organization is an organization that came into being as a result of treaty organizations between states for the pursuit of mutually beneficial goals which on their own they cannot achieve. According to Palmer and Perkins, international organization is any corporate arrangement instituted among states usually by a basic agreement to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities (Palmer and Perkins, 2001). International organization can also mean the procedure by which states develop method and continuing institutional structures for the conduct of certain facets of their interaction with one another. It is organization made by formal agreements among their members that have international treaty status.

Collective Security

Collective Security means a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each member in the arrangement imbibes that the security of one is the concern of everyone, and thus commits to a collective response to threats to and the breaches to peace. According to Andrew Heywood in the book, "Global Politics", Collective security is the theory or practice of states pledging to defend one another in order to deter aggression or to punish transgressor if international order has been breached (Andrew, 2011). Under a collective security arrangement, an attack against any one state is considered an attack against all other states, which act together to repel the aggressor. Both the League of Nations and the United Nations were founded on the principle of collective security.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Just as thoughts and ideas developed about the evolution of international organizations, theories have developed why and

how international organizations evolved. Some of the major theories includes; Liberalism, Functionalism, and Hegemonic Stability Theory. "Liberalism" is use to explaining the evolution of international organizations. Liberalism holds that absolute gains can be made through co-operation and interdependence (Brown, 2005). Liberalism (and later idealism) was the first body of international theory developed by liberal thinkers in the US, Britain, and the most famous proponent of this idea is the famous United State president, Woodrow Wilson. For several thinkers, particularly in English speaking countries, a new approach was necessary to understand the First World War. These thinkers felt there was a need to explain how the world could fight such a disastrous war, and to ensure it could never happen again. For liberals, the war was possible for two reasons: absence of democracy; and flawed international institutions. If the absence of democracy caused the war, then the liberals aim was to promote democratic political systems. They believe if all states were democracies, there would be no wars. Significantly, Liberals felt the problem of anarchy would be solved by creating an international organization, the League of Nations. The league could replace the old system of secret treaties and alliances with collective security. Liberals argue that the more interdependent countries become with one another, the more of a need for international organization. They believe that international organizations are avenues for diplomacy, cooperation and international peace.

Furthermore, "Functionalism" as a theory arose during the inter-war period in 1943 by David Mitrany principally from the deep concern towards the obsolescence of the state as a form of social organization. Rather than the self-interest that realists see as a motivating factor, functionalists focus on common interest shared by states including non-state actors in a process of global integration. According to functionalists, the international integration develops its own internal dynamic as states integrate in limited functional, technical or economic areas⁶. Functionalists thereby believe that international

organization evolves because States have a common interest in establishing and maintaining international order so that they can co-exist and interact on a basis of stability, certainty and predictability.

Lastly is the “Hegemonic Stability Theory” which argued the existence of stability in the world when there is preponderance of power at one pole in the international system. As Robert Gilpin argues in “War and Change in World Politics”, a hegemonic power establishes the rules and norms of international order, and acts to provide security and stability in international system (Hans, 2005). Historically, international organizations have reflected the interest of world’s most powerful nations. Some international organizations were established during the times of global hegemony. Today’s international organizations such as the United Nations, Organization of American States, and the Breton Wood institutions were created after the Second World War when the U.S was powerful enough to create rules and institutions that other Countries would follow. In another perspective E. Howard wrote that Britain propagated the Balance of Power System in Europe and even adopted it as a cornerstone of English policy from 16th to 20th century because for Britain, it represented the only plan of preserving her own independence. The Balance of Power was used in Europe in maintaining power and stability. For instance, the principle formed the coalition against Louis xiv of France in 1661 to 1714, Napoleon Bonaparte in 1795 to 1815 from imposing power in Europe, and most of wars Europe experienced between the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 to the Congress of Vienna.

EARLY THOUGHTS AND IDEAS TOWARDS GLOBAL PEACE, SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

By understanding the nature of human conflicts and the motives behind them, scholars attempt to address not only peaceful means to the conflicts and wars, but also to redesign and make a positive idea of global peace as a condition which can work towards as both a procedure and a goal. Meanwhile, the thought about global security and peace is rooted in

early religious traditions; the development of Just War Theory and Christian Pacifism can be understood as instances of the early objections to war and the consideration of the morality and justification of violence. However, secular rationalism in the 18th century Europe may be seen as the basis for modern idea of global peace, with theorists such as Jack Rousseau and Immanuel Kant producing significant reflections on the question of the international organization of states to secure a permanent state of global peace and security.

Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) was a Dutch jurist who laid the background for international law, based on natural law. It is thought that Hugo Grotius was not the first to promulgate the international society doctrine, but he was one of the first to explain the idea of one society of states governed not by warfare but by laws and mutual agreement to execute those laws. As Hedley Bull declared in 1990:

“The idea of international society which Grotius propounded was given concrete expression in the Peace of Westphalia, and Grotius may be considered the intellectual father of this first general peace settlement of modern time.

More so, in 1631, as England recovered from her civil wars, a book titled “The Leviathan” was published, written by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). Leviathan argues that civil peace and social unity are best achieved by the establishment of commonwealth through Social Contract¹⁰. In arguing for the restoration of the Monarchy, Hobbes suggested that people were selfish and that life without government would be “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”. He said that if people were to protect themselves from the unrestrained state of nature and the evil of others, they had to submit themselves to government with absolute power, or a “Leviathan”. No one had the right to resist or revolt against their power, unless the ruler tried to take the life of a citizen, in which case the contract between ruler and citizen is broken.

One of Hobbes younger contemporaries was John Locke (1632- 1704), who took the opposite view by arguing that humans were rational and self-interested rather than selfish. His political theory was founded on Social Contract; he argued that people had natural rights to life, liberty, and property and that they entered into social contract with government to protect these rights (Robert, 1983). Like Hobbes, Locke maintained that the sole right to defend in the state of nature was not enough, so people developed civil society to settle conflicts in a civil way. He stated that the only basis for governmental power was the consent of the governed and that it is the responsibility of government to protect these rights of citizens. He also disputed the divine right of monarchs and argued that men were born equal with rights that no monarch could remove. The change of powers from the monarch and the church to the people in England was confirmed in Locke's lifetime with the 'Bills of right' made up in 1689 following the restoration of the monarchy to confirm the supremacy of parliament over the Monarch.

During the 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht, one of the French secretaries, Saint Pierre published his project for everlasting peace, upon in which he has been working since 1711. He stated that there should be a "Corps European" (European body) with a law court, a Senate of Representatives and a Central City of Peace (Utrecht). Saint Pierre worked out the scheme in very considerable detail, but its basis was the renunciation of war and acceptance compulsory arbitration by all states.

Furthermore, Jean Jacques Rousseau in the book "The Social Contract" published in 1762 argued against the idea that the Monarchs were divinely empowered to legislate, he asserts that only the people who are sovereign have that all powerful right. However, Jean Jacques Rousseau made significant observation about Saint Pierre's project that it was doomed to failure because it needed a fear of common enemy to make nations agreed to such an idea. Nevertheless, Rousseau promulgated his own "Federation of Europe"-a perpetual irrevocable alliance with a permanent diet of congress to

settle disputes by arbitration or judicial pronouncement.

Immanuel Kant's political ideas are contained principally in his four essays: "The Principles of Progress", "The Principles of Political Right", "Natural Principle of the Political Order", and "Perpetual Peace" (Robert, 1983). In these essays, Kant expounded his contention that the one possible system for the world was one of international law acknowledged, abided and obeyed by every state. There would eventually and inevitably evolve a world society founded on right (the law of nature or the law of god) and enjoined by reason. In "Perpetual Peace", Kant stipulated:

Representative government for each state, that no independent state was to be acquired through inheritance, purchase, exchange or donations, that standing armies were to be abolished, that no state was to interfere with the constitution or government of the another, that wars were to be limited, that the law of nations should be founded on a federation of free states, and that the rights of men as citizens of the world should be limited by conditions of universal hospitality (Hedley, 2002).

Kant had definite reservations about Utilitarianism, but that did not make its founder, Jeremy Bentham from contributing his essay on international organization. Jeremy Bentham proposed a "European Tribunal" and stated that the two essential conditions for the avoidance of war were the reduction of the armed forces in Europe and the emancipation of the colonies. Bentham sets out fourteen pacific propositions relating to the establishment of international court of arbitration with a congress consisting of deputies from each state empowered to execute the decrees of the court.

The most famous advocate for maintenance of world peace and security was U.S president Woodrow Wilson with his 14th

point agenda which he presented to US congress. The principles of the 14th point agenda was outlined in a January 8, 1918 speech on war aims and peace terms. The 14th point of the point agenda enunciated for 'a general association of nation' which must be formed under specific covenant. Wilson did not only used the 14th point as the basis for negotiating the treaty of Versailles that ended the first world war but used it as a basis for the creation of international organization; the league of nations in January 1920. Lastly, it is worthy to mention that Lord Robert Cecil (a British diplomat) and Jan Christian Smuts (a South African statement) were the two major drafters and architects of the covenant of the League of Nations.

EARLY ATTEMPTS FOR GLOBAL PEACE, SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Global international organizations are 20th century concept; however, their roots go far back into the past. Prototypes of modern organizations are to be seen in old and medieval history. The modern pattern of international organization has been evolving ever since the nation-states system arose, and especially since the Congress of Westphalia of October 1648. Long before the city-states system of ancient Greece, interstate relations existed in countries like India, China, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. There was a fair area of agreement on diplomatic practices, commercial relations, treaties of alliances, rules of warfare and terms of peace, and according to Gerald Mangone, in the book, "The Idea and Practice of World Government; the treaties of the past are the first steps towards international organization (Hedley, 2002).

The oldest Hellenic organization was probably the "Amphictyonic league" in the early 7th century long before the Peloponnesian war, the antiquity of which is indicated by its being arranged on a tribal rather than on a state basis

(khanna, 2013). The existing twelve independent tribes sent representatives twice a year to the council which met in Anthela and Delphi. The objectives of the league were clear; to guide the Holy places and to reduce the brutality of war, and in accordance with the provisions of the oaths, sacred wars were waged in 595, 355, 340, and 280 BC because of acts of sacrilege (khanna, 2013). The Good offices of the Amphictyonic League were readily present for settlement of disputes. Its political influence and activities were enlarged in 346 BC by Philip of Macedon and later by Alexander the Great and Augustus Caesar but for all this, the league did not lend itself to transformation into political mechanism and it later submerged under an imposed Roman administration, leaving as a legacy that fostered national identity for the Hellenes and a model for the much later project of Henry IV of France. In another vein, the Ancient Greece provides examples of various political interstate organizations, two of such organizations were significant because they did evolve some importance machinery for international cooperation. The first of the organization was the "Delian League" consisted of diverse maritime city states including the Hellenic cities in Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, the Cyclades, Euboea, and others on the shores of Thrace and the Propontis. The chief city was Athens, and although the league was established as a defensive alliance against the common threat of Persia, Athens found it useful to transform it in due course into an "Anthenian Empire". The second organization the "Archaean League" also created as a defense alliance against some common enemy. Based on the city of Achaia in the gulf of Corinth, it had lived in a nebulous form for some time, until the threat of Macedonia invasion after the death of Alexander the Great and the growing power of Rome to the west produced a lively interest among most of

the Poleponnesian cities in using the league structure as a defence organization (khanna, 2013). The essential characteristic of the league was the federal structure with city autonomy for domestic matters and a central assembly for foreign issues. The major financial challenge and the league late rise as a political force showed that it was in no position to stand the unified pressure from Rome.

In the meantime, king of Bohemia, George Podebradsky established a practical and well detailed scheme for an international organization for the preservation of peace in Europe as early as 1464 (khanna, 2013). This scheme was called Zourek. The project disallowed recourse to arms in settlement of problems and provided for obligatory arbitration by an international court. The league's members were to use all ways to settle disputes amicably between and among members, even in cases of clear aggression, and were to unite to get a settlement by arms only after all other means had failed. Disturbers of the peace and those that aided them were to be punished and provisions were made for economic aid for the victims of aggression. The project failed to be executed because it was highly advanced for its time and would have tended to diminish Papal authority (Kant, 1795).

The next attempt was the "Grand Design" attributed to Henry IV of France in 1603 and modeled on the Amphictyonic League of ancient Greece. The "Grand Design" was to be comprised of fifteen states of three kinds, each state to send delegates to a General Council which was continuously assembled to deal with problems. It was created to eliminate war and settle disputes amicably. The immediate aim of the project was to checkmate the house of Spain in Europe and to preserve the Balance of Power, and ultimately, to expel the Turks (Kant, 1795). This scheme however failed as it was too radical and narrow. Moreover, it was a European organization because its members were European states and was by no means an international organization.

The Westphalia Treaty of 1648 after the thirty years war of 1618 to 1648 was the next project. The thirty years war began when the Archbishop of Prague destroyed a number of protestant churches (Gerald, 1953). The combined power of the French and Swedes was enough to overcome the Holy Roman Empire. Meanwhile, negotiations to settle the conflict began in 1644. Eventually, on 24th October 1648, the treaty of Westphalia was signed in Munster and Osnabruck. According to Martin Griffiths in the book, *International relations: The Key Concepts*;

The war had been one of the bloodiest conflicts in European history. It left Europe in ruins and reduced the population of Germany by almost one half. It took 200 years for Germany to recover from the effects of the war. In essence the world brought the Middle Ages to a close and undermined the power of Holy Roman Empire in Europe (Gerald, 1953).

The Westphalian congress came to be seen as the first European international relations. The result of the war and the negotiations was the establishment of the first international Balance of Power system. It was a significant event in the development of international organization as well as in the evolution of modern state system. The significance of Westphalia congress has been well described by Gerard Mangone:

No international organization was established by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648...But the joining of practically every European state in a diplomatic conference signaled the opening of a new era in international relations, however, was the gathering of hundreds of envoys in a diplomatic conference which represented practically every political interest in Europe (Gerald, 1953)

In another vein, the conference system, which has been the most seen characteristic of modern international organization, was developed to a high degree in the 17th and 18th centuries. Major conferences, which had been convened since the Westphalia conference, led to the gradual codification of international law and the structuring of Europe. The treaty was credited with establishing the legal basis for the Modern State system, and created a basis for self-determination and Balance of Power, and as well recognized state as the main actor (Charles, 1968).

Finally, the treaty of Utrecht, which established the "Peace of Utrecht", was a series of individual peace treaties, rather than a single document, signed by the participants in Spanish war of succession in the Dutch city of Utrecht in 1713. It was another attempt to European peace and security. These treaties between several European states Spain, Britain, France, Savoy, Portugal and Dutch republic, helped end the war. This treaty accorded international sanctions to new dynasties and gave a serious setback to the imperial aspirations, marked the end of French ambitions of hegemony in Europe expressed in the wars of Louis xiv and preserved the Balance of Power system in Europe (Charles, 1968).

THE QUEST FOR GLOBAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE RISE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The 19th century witnessed major steps toward the creation of international organizations. It was the congress of Vienna (1814-15) that proved to be the essential turning point in history, when certain conditions made a number of European states to put in a series of inventions, innovations, and learning process that influenced the core of what we today called international organization. After the French revolution of 1789, Napoleon Bonaparte upset the Balance of Power in Europe with its armed campaign of conquests. Following his defeat at the battle of Paris in March 1814, he was forced to abdicate. Treaty of Chaumont was signed on March 1814 by four European powers of Britain, Russia, Prussia, and

Austria in order to unify against France. The motive of the treaty was to defeat Napoleon and protect European map. The Treaty of Chaumont was followed by Treaty of Paris in May 1814 which gave birth to the idea of holding the Congress of Vienna. It was signed to make peace with France and six coalitions. With this, the Congress of Vienna gathered in September 1814 and continued for eight months (September 1814- June 1815). The Congress of Vienna regulated the 19th century diplomacy, and the European states decided to protect the order and balance of power in Europe. However, the three results of the congress were the Holy Alliance, the Quadruple Alliance and the Concert of Europe. Congress of Vienna ended with the Battle of Waterloo and defeated Napoleon, and after this, European states constituted new alliances between themselves. These alliances were made in order to protect the order in Europe and were the seeds for Concert of Europe. Furthermore, Holy Alliance was signed in 15th September 1815 by Russia, Austria and Prussia at the instance of Tsar Alexander 1 of Russia. The Holy Alliance was Tsar's attempt to have hegemony over Europe and his ego (Charles, 1968).

The Holy Alliance was made as a step in order to protect the system and order after the Congress of Vienna. The purposes were going to be done under the title of religion. It has the intent of preserving social values and traditional monarchism. More so, four allied powers of Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia signed the second Paris treaty setting up Quadruple Alliance in November 20th, 1815 at the instance of Austria king Metternich. Four states who signed this alliance promised to protect the regulations that were accepted in Chaumont, Paris, and Vienna for twenty years by using power. Therefore, Concert of Europe was created too, because four states accepted to make periodic meetings in order to take necessary measures for protecting peace in Europe and to consult each other about other concerning common benefits. Meanwhile at the Congress of Aix la Chappelle in 1818 France was admitted and they became Quintuple Alliance. Subsequently, the great powers recognized that

the existing state system was no longer adequate and that they had to seek new institutional arrangements. Vienna Congress brought the idea of Concert of Europe: The concert of Europe was a system of dispute resolution adopted by the major conservative powers of Europe to maintain their power, oppose revolutionary movements, weaken the forces of nationalism, provide framework for the settlement of crisis, and uphold the balance of power (Charles, 1968). Concert of Europe, however, remained a quasi-institutionalized system even after the Holy alliance had broken up. According to Abrecht Carrie René in the book, "Diplomatic History of Europe since Congress of Vienna"; Metternich used it to suppress all liberal movements in Europe for more than thirty year (Charles, 1968).

It was used to solve the 1821 Italian uprising. Also, in 1832 Britain and the French had to take military action to force the Dutch government to accept the decisions of the London conference on the delineation of the border after the separation of Belgium from Holland. The London conference of 1912-13 at the end of the Balkan wars was the last conference or congress within the framework of the concert system. Although, the concert of Europe settled the Balkan war and Italy uprising but it failed as the common goals of the powers were replaced by growing political and economic rivalries especially the great revolutionary upheavals of 1848, and the outbreak of the Crimean war in 1853, which signified the downfall of the Concert. Some of the problems with the congresses include; each new problem which arose, a new conference had to be convened, generally upon the initiative of one of the states concerned. The necessity of convening each conference anew complicated and delayed international cooperation in dealing with the problem; the conferences were not debating forms in the same way as the later assemblies of the league and UN; the conferences were held by invitation of the sponsoring or host state. There was no principle of membership which conferred on automatic right to representation; the conference adhered to the strict rule of state

equality, with the consequence that all states had equal vote and all decisions required unanimity; and it was not ideally suited to the determination of legal questions.

To this end, the major breakthrough for international organization would be the year 1919, a year after the First World War which killed over 9 million people, and the Versailles peace settlement which followed the First World War. On 8 January 1918, the US president Woodrow Wilson made his famous 14 points speech in which he called for the creation of a General Association of Nations. The principles were outlined in "Speech on War Aims and Peace Terms" to the U.S congress by President Wilson. Wilson used the 14th points as the basis for negotiating the Treaty of Versailles that ended the First World War. On June 28, 1919, the 5th anniversary of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the peace treaty was signed. The part one of the treaties provided for the creation of The League, an organization for the arbitration of international disputes. It took force on January, 1920 in Paris peace conference. The main constitutional organs of the League were the Assembly, the Council and the Permanent Secretariat. It also had two essential wings; the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization (ILO). The League of Nations was formed to guarantee peace and the establishment of a system of collective security, following which an attack against one of the member states of the league would give the rest the right to come to the attacked states rescue. According to Martin Griffiths:

The major attempt to implement a system of collective took place at the end of First World War, with the signing of the League of Nations covenant. With article 10 of the covenant, peace was guaranteed. Every member was asked to guarantee the territorial and political integrity of all members (Griffiths and Callaghan, 2002).

The league was different from other previous organizations because the latter were merely agencies of consultations while the league signified the beginning of collaborations. It established various permanent agencies for the states of the world to come together for those problems which have potential to make threat of international peace and stability. The league immediately proved its value by solving the Swedish-Finnish dispute over the Aland Islands in 1920-21, guaranteeing the security of Albania in 1921, settling the division of upper Silesia in 1922, preventing the outbreak of war in the Balkans between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925, resolved a dispute between the kingdom of Iraq and Republic of Turkey over the province of Mosul in 1926, and importantly discourage armament and arms race. However, the issue of asserting its political influence to bear especially on the big powers soon made itself manifested. American diplomatic historian Samuel Flagg originally supported the league, but after two decades changed his mind:

The League of Nations has been a disappointing failure. It has been a failure, not because the U.S did not join it, but because the Great Powers have been unwilling to apply sanctions except where it suited their individual national interests to do so and because democracy, on which the original concepts of the league rested for support has collapsed over half of the century (Griffiths and Callaghan, 2002).

The league was never fully representative of the international community. US senate did not ratify the treaties and didn't become a member. South Africa and Liberia, and some extent Ethiopia were the only African States, Soviet Union was not invited to Versailles treaty and did not join the league until 1934. Few South American states were represented, and only China, Japan, and Thailand represented Asia. Germany was missing from the start in light of its alleged responsibility for the First World

War. Similarly, the League was forced to standby powerlessly in the face of the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, Italy's occupation of Kerkira in 1923, failure to take action over the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, the inability to stop the Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay, Italy's attack on Ethiopia, Japan's resumption of war against China in 1937, Hitler seizure of Austria and finally the appeasement of Hitler at Munich in 1938. These actions made the league to collapse and subsequently led to the outbreak of Second World War on June 1938. Perhaps the greatest impact of the league was its influence in spreading the idea of international cooperation. By 1938 the league had become a powerless organization and it could not prevent the Second World War which broke out in 1939. The existence of The League came to an end when the Second World War broke out, but it made a shadowy existence until 1945, when it was formally dissolved and the UN took its place. Second World War was the deadliest military conflict in history killing over 60 million people. And following the devastating effect seen in the Second World War, the United Nations was created as a means of better arbitrating international conflict and negotiating peace than was provided for by the previous League of Nations (Alexandrowicz, 1968). The growing Second World War became the real impetus for the United States, Britain, and Soviet Union to begin formulating the original U.N declaration. On January 1st 1942, representatives of by 26 nations at war with the axis powers met in Washington to sign the declaration of the U.N endorsing the Atlantic charter, pledging to use their full resources against the axis and agreeing not to make a separate peace. At the 1943 Tehran conference, the allied powers agreed to create a new body to replace the League; the United Nations. President Franklin Roosevelt enunciated an international organization comprising an assembly of all member states and a ten member executive committee to deliberate socio economic issues. Moreover, U.S, British, Soviet and Chinese representatives had met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington in August and

September 1944 to draft the charter of a postwar international organization based on the principle of Collective Security. They recommended a General Assembly of all member states and a Security Council consisting of the big four plus six members chosen by the Assembly. Voting procedures and veto power of permanent members of the Security Council were finalized at the Yalta conference in 1945. Representatives of 50 nations finally met in San Francisco in April- June 1945 to complete the charter of the U.N. In addition to the General Assembly of all member states and a Security Council of five permanent members and six Non-permanent members, the charter provided for eighteen members Economic and Social Council, an International Court of Justice, a Trusteeship Council to oversee certain colonial territories and a secretariat under a Secretary General. To this end, the U.N was established in October 24, 1945 after 29 nations had ratified the charter with headquarters in Manhattan, New York. The UN charter is divided into 19 chapters and contains 111 articles. The preamble of the UN charter reads:

We the people of the UN are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained (Alexandrowicz, 1968).

This opening words of this UN charter reflect a realization born of world war 1, world war 11, and the advent of the atomic age, and whatever the toll of past warfare. More so, it has been identified that the major central mission of the U.N is the maintenance of world peace and security, and the 'U.N achieve this by working to prevent conflict; helping parties in conflict make

peace; peacekeeping; and creating the conditions to allow peace to hold and flourish'. The UN charter equally allows the member states to settle disputes through peaceful ways and only when the peaceful methods prove insufficient, the Security Council and the General Assembly are called upon to step in to maintain order. The UN has contributed to the settlement of disputes which could otherwise have caused a serious threat to world peace and stability. However, "Collective Peace and Security" has been cited as a principle of U.N, Collective Security is laid down in chapter 7 of the U.N charter and its title reads: "Action with respect to threats to the peace, Breaches of the peace, and Acts of aggression" (Alexandrowicz, 1968). It was used for the first time in Korean crisis of 1950 after North Korea invaded South Korea on the night of 24-25th June 1950. The response of the members to the Security Council resolution was quite favorable as 53 countries expressed their willingness to support the collective security action against North Korea. After the Korean experience, collective security system underwent a second major test at the time of Suez crisis of 1956. But the results were secured less due to the action of the U.N and more due to the Soviet threat to Britain, France and Israel. Going forward, the period from 1956 to 1990, Collective Security under the U.N failed to work successfully in securing international peace and security because of cold war and bipolarity in international relations, and changed nature of aggression and war. The various local wars especially the Iran-Iraq war and Lebanon crisis were a case in point. Nevertheless, it is worthy to note that the last decade of 20th century; the collective security was successful to meet the Iraq aggression and occupation of Kuwait. In the meantime, the U.N peacekeeping forces have been established in many instances, for example, in Palestine in 1948, in Congo in 1960, in Cyprus in 1964, and in Lebanon in 1978. Today United Nations multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate political processes, protect citizens, assists in the disarmament,

promote human rights and assist in restoring rule of law.

In the meantime, the world has witnessed, since the end of the second war, a proliferation of regional organizations of various types and forms. After the second war a significant progress has been made in this direction. According to Lawrence Onoja, in the book, *Peacekeeping and International Security in a Changing World*:

The cold war, the failure of the security council of the United Nations in performing its primary responsibility in maintaining international peace and security, the eagerness of the newly independent states to cooperate together for common interests, all stimulated the creation of regional organizations (Rene, 2002).

The major aim of the regional organization is to maintain regional peace and collective security; whether defensive alliances such as the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization formed in 1948) and the defunct Warsaw pact (formed in 1955), or general cooperation organization such as the League of Arab states, African union, and the Organization of American States, or economic cooperation such as the European Union. NATO for instance, is best known collective defense organization; it remains the largest peacetime military alliance in the world. Its article five calls on members to assist another member under attack. This attack was invoke after the September 11 attack on U.S, after which other NATO members provided assistance to the U.S was on terror in Afghanistan.

Be that as it maybe, the underlying fact remains that like the Universal Multipurpose Organizations, the quest for peace and stability and importantly avoidance and conduct of warfare necessitated the formation of these regional groupings and organization. Though the UN has failed to settle most of the disputes yet this is not to say that it has not relieved tensions in many crucial situations, importantly

it has succeeded in ensuring that global wars like the First and second world wars have not erupted.

CONCLUSION

Although there were other factors that contributed to the development of international organization, for instance trade, diplomatic activities, regional integration, poverty, hunger, insufficiency and a myriad of other challenges. In general, it is suffice to conclude that the desire for global peace and collective security was a catalyst that spurs the idea of international organizations. The modern idea started with the congress of Vienna in 1814 which later metamorphosed to Concert of Europe. The settlement in Vienna Congress was seen as the most comprehensive treaty that Europe had ever seen. However, the actual international organization, the League of Nations was formed in 1919 after the First World War to prevent another war and provide collective security. The inability of the League to prevent the Second World War led to the formation of U.N in 1945 which though faced with serious challenges has prevented the outbreak of another world war. Be that as it may be, this century has witnessed two world wars and other local conflicts which have claimed about 100 million people. Irrespective of the arrangements made under the League of Nations which obviously failed, and the United Nations (which have prevented a major outbreak of world war), war continues to be part of human existence. To this end, the maintenance of global peace and security which is the mission of the UN should always be strengthened and implemented in the areas involved through the detection of early warning system.

REFERENCES

- Palmer and Perkins, *International Relations*, (New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors, 2001).
- Andrew Heywood, *Global Politics*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 45.

<http://www.un.org> accessed 15 Dec 2006).

- Brown, C. Understanding International Relations, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Hans M., Politics Among Nations, 7th edition, (New York: Mcgraw-Hill Education, 2005),
- Robert Gilpin, War and Change in World Politics, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
- Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Khanna, V., International relations, 5th edition, (India: Krishna Prakashan Media, 2013).
- Kant, I., ' To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch (1795). In: V.khanna, International relations, 5th edition, (India: Krishna Prakashan Media, 2013).
- Gerald M., "The Idea and Practice of World Government" (New York: Columbia university press, 1953).
- Charles Alexandrowicz, Grotian Society Papers 1968: Studies in the History of the Law of Nations, (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1970).
- Griffiths, M. and T. Callaghan, International Relations: The Key Concepts, (New York: Routledge Group, 2002).
- Alexandrowicz, Grotian Society Papers 1968: Studies in the History of the Law of Nations.
- Rene Albrecht-Carrie, "A Diplomatic History of Europe since the Congress of Vienna", (London: Palgrave, 2002).