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Relevance of Multi-Lateral Organisations: Focusing on League of Nations

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ABSTRACT

“The High Contracting Parties, determined to prevent a recurrence of the fratricidal strife which twice in our generation has brought untold sorrow and loss upon mankind .”

After the barbaric bloodshed of the Second World War again a need emerged to put an end to such incidents causing a dystopian future for the world community. On 1st January 1942, the term United Nations was coined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt with the aim to continue fighting against the Axis power 26 nations pledged for the same. In the year 1945, on October 24th, the United Nations wasn't just a mere term coined but was officially recognised at the United Nations Conference on International Organization and led to the drawing of the United Nations Charter. It has been 75 years since the International Organization emerged but has it proved to be worthy of the effort that was made for its existence?

The question with regards to the relevance of multilateral organisations has been emerging more and more as compared to the initial advent of the 21st century. Are International Organizations upholding the value made in the preamble? Are Multilateral Organisations in reality building peace or just mere Statue taking funding from its member states? Can Multilateral Organisations sustain them with the inevitable dynamics in the world surrounding them?

Keywords: *Multi-Lateral Organisations, League of Nations, International, United Nations.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The opening statement of 73rd United General Assembly was with regards to the theme of “Making the United Nations Relevant to All the People: Global Leadership and Shared Responsibility for Peaceful and Equitable and Sustainable Societies” on 18th September 2018 but on 13th November 2018 United Nations failed to maintain Peace-building in Gaza-Israel Clashes.

During the 74th United General Assembly the theme was “Effective responses to global crises: strengthening multilateralism and dialogue among civilizations for international peace, security

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and development.” on 17th September 2019 but in October 2019 United Nations and Israel withdrew officially from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization which was Co-founded by the United Nations.

The key objective of United Nations is to maintain international security and peace, which according to current political scenario, is a long lost and unrealistic dream.

II. DAWN OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

“I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it.”³

- Woodrow Willson

The League of Nations was the first instrument towards global peace, not just a mere political and legal institution but was a living embodied with its own growth, success, power and failure brought into life with the constant efforts of human will recognising the need of the hour to save the generations of future. It was a revolutionary instrument safeguarding the interest of the world as a whole with no grounds of discriminations of any kind.

An instrument giving rise to a new field of diplomacy, a new phase for world leaders and formulating the utopia of world glory after the atrocities of World War-I .

On January 8, 1918 President Wilson laid fourteen points at the nearing end of World-War-I formulating an attempt of global peace on the basis of a report made by The Inquiry which was a commission led forward by Colonel E.M. House for studying the allied and American policy.⁴ The fourteen points were with regards to a programme of National Security and World peace, it also showcased various issues upon the European Territory as well as Russian Territory with a probable solution of the same with a view of ensuring an international understanding on peace and war on the grounds of diplomacy.

Before the League of Nations, the rule of state was recognized supreme, there can be no intervention by International Communities in the matters of state as the state has the sole responsibility of its own nation, it neither interfere in matters with regards to other state nor let any state interfere in its own but there was presence of peace activists who recognised that in order to build peace there would be a need of cooperation from governments worldwide and thus in 1889 the Inter-Parliamentary Union(IPU),the first International Political Organization promoting world peace and arbitration, founded by Frederic Passy and William Randall Cremer

³Woodrow Wilson, 28th U.S President.

⁴USEMBASSY, <https://kr.usembassy.gov/education-culture/infopedia-usa/living-documents-american-history-democracy/woodrow-wilson-fourteen-points-speech-1918/> (last visited on Oct. 29, 2022).

was established which is considered as a forerunner of the League of Nations. One-third of the 24 State Parliaments joined the same by 1914. Another organisation which was not officially recognised but led a drive for change was The International Peace Bureau, with Fredrik Bajer as its First President. The aim of the international body was to maintain peace by organising an Annual Universal Peace Congresses, only in 1891 when the Third Universal Peace Congress in Rome voted to formally recognize its existence at Kanonenweg 12 in Berlin. Even after its efforts the World War- I broke out which led to a hold of the functioning of the International Peace Bureau in 1918 though after the war “NO MORE WAR!” campaign of International War Resisters movement took place but showed the inefficiency on the account of International Peace Bureau.⁵

The advent of the League of Nations changed the dynamics of International Law and Order to its core conceptualisation as it was not anticipated by even the notable international law maker of then. By general citizens it was considered as a new experiment but the aftermath of World-War-I laid its roots so deeply that it was seen as the only ray of hope to a possible safe- haven departure for the whole global community. The public opinion was very crucial as the future of the League of Nations was dependent upon it not on the account of intellect but on the account of persuasion.

During November 1918 a majority of the opinion was with regards to Identification of League of Nations at its earliest as a safeguard mechanism to make war impossible in future but on the other hand it was also very difficult for states to accept it as it also curtails the inherent power of state to fight and protect its own territory against foreigners, accepting to be a member of League of Nations would open a pathway for the other states to intervene in the internal matters of state. It was also seen that World-War I had directly impacted the International Relations and thus persuasion to undertake all the members of the International Community under one Umbrella seemed to be an impossible task at the upper hand and would further led to more cross-fire amongst the states.

The primitive stage of League of Nations can be divided into three spheres of time-period. The First stage consisted of abandonment of Roman Empires symbols of unity by Europe, the transformation of Catholic Church by classifying independent states to the end of Napoleonic wars. The Second stage started from the Congress of Vienna to the breakout of World War-I and finally the last stage from August 1914 to the Conference of Paris.

⁵UNGENEVA, [https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006AC19C/\(httpPages\)/29B739DAB0D6B754C1256F31002B0672?OpenDocument](https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006AC19C/(httpPages)/29B739DAB0D6B754C1256F31002B0672?OpenDocument), (last visited on Oct. 29, 2022).

During the first stage began in 1618 when Ferdinand II, future Holy Roman Emperor during his role as a king in Bohemia made an attempt imposing Roman Catholic absolutism on his domains which led the Protestant nobles of the regions of Bohemia and Austria cause a rebellion but unfortunately, Ferdinand won after a struggle for a period of five-years.

An opportunity was seen by King Christian IV of Denmark so as to undertake the German territory in 1625 so as to balance his earlier loss of Baltic Provinces of Sweden. But in 1629 the Denmark European Power finished by the defeat of Christians and Peace of Lubeck, it was also seen that Gustav II Adolf of Sweden ended the four-period war with Poland and invaded Germany thus winning many German princes to his anti-Empirical cause. Poland attacked Russia and established a dictatorship in Moscow under Wladyslaw, the future king of Poland leading to end of the Treaty of Polyanov in 1634. Whereas in the Heart of Europe there was a fight amongst three denominations the Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism. The feud was of such a grave that aid of foreign powers was needed. Though the overall struggle was between the Holy Roman Empire consisting of Roman Catholic and Habsburg versus a network of Protestant towns and principalities of the chief anti-Catholic powers of Sweden and United Netherlands, a dispute which lasted for over a span of eighty-years. At the same time there was a struggle seen for France amongst the Habsburgs of the empire and of Spain who had been planning to construct an anti-French Alliances. The extreme effects of the war was seen in Germany. The balance of Power in Europe was seen only by the conceding powers met in the German Province of Westphalia. In the thirty- year long war, Spain lost to Netherlands along with its dominant position in Western Europe leading a pathway for France to be the Chief Western Power. Netherlands was an independent republic while the member states of the Holy Roman Empire were granted full sovereignty.⁶

It was only on 6th August 1806 when the end of Holy Roman Empire took place with Emperor Francis II of house of Habsburg-Lorraine as its last by abdicating himself from its title and releasing all imperial states and official oaths and obligations to the empire. The first instance of footfall can be seen when the first modern sovereign territorial states emerged which threatened the nature of the Holy Roman Empire. The terminal decline was recorded with the catastrophic involvement in the war of France and Napoleon.

During the 17th Century, International Law was compared with pacifism. The professors argued that International Law has no sentiments and the very existence of the same is the question of

⁶BRITANNICA.COM, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Karl-Gustav-Greve-Wrangel>, (last visited Nov. 22, 2022).

dispute. The ideology during this time frame was that the sovereign states are absolutely free and it has the inherent right to be so, there cannot be any objection ability upon it's free nature it cannot be bound to any treaty to perform its function or give justification for its action to any other state. Thus, the question with regards to the nature of war and peace were not in the circumference of a question.

However, the covenant owes its existence to International Law. In 1625 Hugo Grotius' book *Law of War and Peace* was published. Thus, laying the foundation of just war and unjust wars, though the principle was not recognised at that period only after three hundred years at the time of signature of Covenant it was recognised. The attempt of Hugo Grotius led to the direction of formulation of International Law. The role of Woodrow and Grotius can be considered as the key-element in formulation of the League of Nations.

In the Second period after the end of Napoleonic War and close proximity of the First World War (1914-1918). There was a movement of Peace that was against wars not particular but also with regards to political cooperation that may affect the common interest of all communities around the globe. The Concert of Europe, a consensus among the Great Powers of the 19th century to maintain a balance of power in Europe played the role of patronage to the League of Nations. During the 19th Century various International Organs emerged starting from the Danube Commission set up by the Paris Conference in 1856 to 1914 wherein thirty such organizations existed. Even though the number of such organs was not large but they were free from any political apprehension and could function freely.

III. ROLE OF UN IN ISRAEL – PALESTINE CONFLICT

The one of the many issues which has been questioning the objectivity of the United Nations is the Israel-Palestine issue going on since ages. Still, what accountability the United Nations upheld, is in question. There is no one firm answer given thus leading to a challenge upon its existence.

The issue of Israel and Palestine has been interpreted according to convenience by various parties. But in reality apart from the question of bringing religion into the picture the disturbance that led to such conflict is because of the two groups of distinct people claiming the same land. In the early 1900s the province around the Mediterranean which is now referred as "Israel-Palestine" was then under the rule of Ottoman Empire which being itself a religiously diversified province consisting of a majority of Muslims and Christians along with a number of

Jews⁷. Within such diverse ethnicities the people in such regions started developing a sense of distinct national identity than how it was prior being lived with peace now the sense was not only being ethnic Arabs but also Palestinians.

During the same period of time in Europe a large number of Jews joined a movement called “Zionism” which can be said a Nationalist Movement by the Jewish as one of the ways of continuation of Jew Religion in the historical province of Palestine wherein one ancient Jerusalem known as Zion is located.⁸ Even during the 18th century, Haskalah Movement also known as Jewish Enlightenment Movement was for the purpose of integrating Jewish ideas and Jews to the Western World but the efforts failed since Jews didn’t assimilate and formed ‘Lovers of Zion’ a tsarist programme with the aim to promote the settlement in Palestine.⁹ The first Zionist Congress at Basel was formed in the year 1897 which led to a movement stating “Zionism Strives to create for the Jewish People a home in Palestine secured by Public Law”.¹⁰

The only hope for the sufferings of Jewish people caused due to persecution was believed to be put to an end by an Independent Jewish State within the historic land in the Middle East. There was a drastic change with regards to the shiftment of the Jews population from west to east especially during the first decades of the 20th century.

At the advent of World War-I the Ottoman Empire fell which led to dissection of Middle East under the hands of French and British, wherein the British undertook civil administration on 1st July, 1920 of a region on naming it British Mandate of Palestine approved by League of Nations at the San Remo Conference on 24th July, 1922.¹¹ The incorporation of the Balfour Declaration can be seen as under the preamble of Mandate as well as in the second article of the Mandate. The mandate created a dual obligation towards the Arabs and Jews. Jewish immigration was allowed under Article 6 of the mandate which caused heat amongst the ethnics and led to violence from either side by the Arabs as well as Jews due to such acts of violence in 1930s the British had to put a restriction upon the immigration of Jews. With regards to which Jewish militias come into picture fighting not only the Arabs but also the British rule.¹²

After this Holocaust, took place killing six million Jewish men, women and children by the Nazi

⁷Zenonas Tziarras (ed.), *The New Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean: Trilateral Partnerships and Regional Security*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) Report, Nicosia, 2019.

⁸2 SOKOLOW, NAHUM, *HISTORY OF ZIONISM, 1600-1918*, 294 (Green and Company, 1919).

⁹SHMUEL FEINER AND CHAYA NAOR, *THE JEWISH ENLIGHTENMENT*, 152 (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

¹⁰MICHAEL HEYMANN (ED.), *THE UGANDA CONTROVERSY: MINUTES OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL* (Israel Universities Press, Jerusalem, 1970).

¹¹International Encyclopedia of First World War, <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/home.html>, (last visited on November 24th, 2022).

¹²Balfour Declaration, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Balfour-Declaration> (last visited on January 2nd, 2022).

Germany in Europe leading to again a shift of Jews from Europe to Palestine. But on the other hand the counties across the world supported Jews.¹³

In 1947 Aden riots took place from 2th December to 4th December amongst the Jewish community of Aden and Arabs.¹⁴

On 29th November,1947 the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 181 or Partition Resolution dividing the land of former Palestinian of Great Britain mandate into Jewish State, Israel and Arabs State, Palestine¹⁵, on May 1948 but the city of Jerusalem consisting the religious ethnicity of Jews, Muslims and Christians holy cites as a special international zone.

On one hand the same was accepted by Jews declaring Israel as an independent state but on the other hand Arabs saw it as a tactic by European Colonialism to steal their respective land.

From 1948-1949 another war between the Arabs and Jews broke out as a result of which Israel won the war but as a result they pushed well past their borders under the UN Plan taking the western half of Jerusalem and much of the region which was under Palestine and causing a tremendous shift of migration around 7 million people in those areas migrated in other states such as Lebanon,Syria, Jordan,Gaza and West Bank etc. leading to such a huge amount of refugee. At the end of the war major areas were under the control of Israel apart from the territory of Gaza, which was controlled by Egypt and the West Bank.¹⁶

This led to the beginning of decades of conflict between the groups. During such a period a lot of Jews in Arab-Majority countries either fled or expelled arriving in Israel.

During this period the realisation of the plight of refugees was seen by the General Assembly by meeting in 1949 with regards to considering a successor to United Nations Relief for Palestine refugees which was established with Stanton Criffs as the director. Thus, making of a draft resolution took place which was sponsored by France, United States and Turkey initially and later the United Kingdom as well for the United Nations Conciliation Commission of Palestine and the same came into existence with its official headquarters in Jerusalem.¹⁷ Another measure taken by the United Nations during this period was the making of the Palestine Refugee

¹³e Baron, Lawrenc. "The Holocaust and Human Decency: A Review of Research on the Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Europe." *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*: 1985-1986.

¹⁴Schechtman, Joseph B. "The Jews of Aden." *Jewish Social Studies* (1951): 133-148.

¹⁵Akram, Susan. *UNRWA and Palestinian refugees*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

¹⁶ISSAID, EDWARD W. *THE WAR FOR PALESTINE: REWRITING THE HISTORY OF 1948*, 255 (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁷General Assembly Adopts 34 Draft Resolutions, Decisions from Fourth Committee, Including Texts on Middle East, Decolonization, Information Questions, available at: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2020/ga12299.doc.htm> (last visited on Oct. 30, 2022).

Fund along with relief operations with the Red Cross Society and American Friends Service Committee. In the year 1950, UNRWA was assisted with 200 million dollars Reintegration Fund during the spring of 1951 it was realised that such expensive relief programmes hardly provide solution to the actual problem and the same was quoted by Schiff as by 1956 only 27 million and a half million of 200 millions of dollars was used to relief. Thus the approach of the United Nations with regards to the same wasn't efficient.¹⁸

In 1967, a new transformed conflict was seen from June 5 to June 10 a six-day war broke out amongst Arab-Israeli a war between the neighbouring countries of Jordan, Syria and Egypt. The war has been given many such names as June War or Third Arab-Israeli War or Naksah. Israel won this war capturing the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza Strip, West Bank, Old city of Jerusalem. These were the main regions of contention of the war.¹⁹

On 6th June 1967 a meeting was held by United Nations Security Council in New York under President Mr. Hans R. Tobar which regards a letter dated 27th May 1967 by a Representative of the United Arab Republic entitled: "*Israel Aggressive Policy, it's repeated aggression threatening the peace and security in the Middle East and endangering international peace and security.*"²⁰ As a result of it on 7th June the Security Council called for a cease-fire which was accepted by Israel, Jordan and Egypt though Syria held out.²¹

Thus, on the account of Syria still shelling villages in Northern Israel in return for the same on 9th June Israel Launched an assault upon Golan Heights and captured Syrian Forces.²² It was only on 10th June that Syria accepted the cease-fire.

Thus, Israel captured major regions of Palestine including Jerusalem and other holy places that left Israel under action for governing the Palestinians which was being fought against for a decade.

On 17th September, 1978 the President of the United States of America bought the two sides of Egypt and Israel together for a peaceful agreement the after two weeks of secret negotiations amongst the Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat leading to finally signing the Camp David Accords a series of agreements of peace.²³ As, result

¹⁸21CF. B. N. SCHIFF, REFUGEES UNTO THE THIRD GENERATION: UN AID TO PALESTINIANS, SYRACUSE (Syracuse University Press, 1995).

¹⁹OREN, MICHAEL B. SIX DAYS OF WAR: JUNE 1967 AND THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST (Presidio Press, 2017).

²⁰Security Council Official Records, available at: <https://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/F0E5CF015592D4D10525672700590136> (last visited on Oct. 31, 2022).

²¹Security Council Official Records, available at: <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/53936ddf3dd093a1852575530073f2e6/f0e5cf015592d4d10525672700590136?OpenDocument> (last visited on Oct. 30, 2022).

²²Zisser, Eyal, *June 1967: Israel's capture of the Golan Heights*, Israel Studies 7.1, 168-194, (2002).

²³KHALIDI, RASHID. BROKERS OF DECEIT: HOW THE US HAS UNDERMINED PEACE IN THE

of which Israel gave back the Sinai Peninsula having important economic value won by Israel during the war to Egypt. This led to disturbance amongst Arabs and led to assassination of Egypt President Anwar Sadat as a result of outrage of Arabs.

But this event led to change as a nearing end to the ongoing conflict since ages as major Arab states started making peace with Israel though not any official peace agreements were signed but a mutual understanding for peace was seen. But there was still ongoing occupancy of Palestine territories by Israel's Military for the West Bank and Gaza, this was the point when the conflict became an Israeli- Palestinians Struggle.²⁴

The Palestinian Liberation Organization, formed during 1960s which aimed to seek a Palestinian state through acts of terrorism fought against Israel. The fight amongst the two continued for years.²⁵ Then in 1982, the Lebanon war took place though in July, 1981 fearing an Israeli-Syrian clash in Lebanon, the United States had negotiated an ambiguous cease-fire but Palestinian Liberation Organisation continued to amass heavy arms. In June 1982 the Palestinian Liberation Organisation's splinter group attempted to assassinate Israel's Ambassador of Britain.²⁶

Though on account the Palestinian Liberation Organisation said to accept dividing land between Israel and Palestine the conflict still continued.

At the same time there were changes occurring in Israel- occupied Palestinian Territories wherein the settlers of Israel were moving in West Bank of Gaza and the choice of Palestinians for same was out of question. Some moved for religious purposes or political purposes. The settlers were followed with soldiers for their safety and the settlements were growing to an extent of forcing Palestinians off their own land and communities from 1970s to present 600,000 can be seen as settlers which is though considered illegal by the international community.

Following this, the first Intifada (Arabic word for uprising) took place, which was organised with an aim to ending Israel occupancy in the areas of West Bank and Gaza Strip leading to formation to independence Palestinian State it started in December 1987 to September 1993 which ended with the first Oslo Accords which is a landmark for peace as it was designed to establish to negotiating borders, governance and peace.

MIDDLE EAST (Beacon Press, 2013).

²⁴HAJJAR, LISA. *COURTING CONFLICT: THE ISRAELI MILITARY COURT SYSTEM IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA*. (Univ of California Press, 2005).

²⁵COBBAN, HELENA. *THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANISATION: PEOPLE, POWER AND POLITICS* (Cambridge University Press, 1984).

²⁶EISENBERG, LAURA ZITTRAIN, AND NEIL CAPLAN, *NEGOTIATING ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE: PATTERNS, PROBLEMS, POSSIBILITIES* (Indiana University Press, 2010).

But the same was opposed by head-liners of both the sides. Suicide Bombings was launched by members of Hamas as an attempt to sabotage it.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was called out as a traitor by the Israeli protests. The second Oslo Accord was made wherein the areas were divided as A, B and C respectively in West Bank herein, in area A and B the Palestine Authority was given some limited powers²⁷ and the same was signed on 28th September, 1995 which led to assassination of Rabin on November 4, 1995 while attending a peace rally in Tel Aviv's Kings Square in Israel.²⁸

Such events showcase how extremists at both sides play with violence and disrupt the course of peace leading to permanent conflict going on for ages to seek the total end of destruction for each other without considering the impact of such on its own population.

Another effort was made by the United States of America in 2000 by David Camp II under the presidential ship of Bill Clinton for the purpose of maintaining peace amongst the Israeli and Palestinians.²⁹ The summit was held in month of July from 11th to 25th and was then undertaken by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Authority chairman Yassir Arafat leading to the Second Intifada which started in September 2000 and ended in 2005 more violent than the first leading to cause of death of 1000s of Israeli and 3200 Palestinians.³⁰

This showcased that Palestinians would not accept peace according to Israelis thus there aren't any questions of negotiation for peace in the picture.

In 2005, Israel disengaged from the Gaza Strip by unilaterally removing its military forces and all of its civilian settlements from Gaza which was under the prime ministership of Ariel Sharon which led to unemployment in the region to forty percent in this region. The situation with regards to armed conflict still persists.

Though, there have been efforts by the United Nations Security Council from the dawn of 1949 with regards to human rights or peace-making but the impact of the same cannot be said to have made change at large as the situation hasn't been completely at peace yet.

The UN Charter provides the Security Council powers two of which is with regards to military action and another is to call members to apply for economic sanctions but in the present

²⁷Shlaim, Avi, *The Oslo Accord*, 23.3 Journal of Palestine Studies, 24, 24-40(1994).

²⁸EPHRON, DAN. *KILLING A KING: THE ASSASSINATION OF YITZHAK RABIN AND THE REMAKING OF ISRAEL* (WW Norton & Company, 2015).

²⁹QUANDT, WILLIAM B. *CAMP DAVID: PEACEMAKING AND POLITICS* (Brookings Institution Press, 2015).

³⁰HALPERIN, ERAN, AND DANIEL BAR-TAL, *THE FALL OF THE PEACE CAMP IN ISRAEL: THE INFLUENCE OF PRIME MINISTER EHUD BARAK ON ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION: JULY 2000–FEBRUARY 2001*, (Conflict & Communication Online 6.2, 2007).

situations the mere actions by the Security council but the question is why are the two not used in the case of Israel and Palestine Conflict. There were instances wherein there was immediate need for military action if the Security Council would have taken action with the battle of Jenin in 2002 then it wouldn't have turned into a massacre which took place in the Jenin Refugee Camp upon the West Bank when Israel Defence Forces took over control the Report initially stated a small number of death on the account of just the opposite since the United Nations didn't take the full inquiry of the questions. Being aware of such issue immediate action wasn't taken this is one of the few instances wherein it showcases how the International Law was taken under by the hands of Israel Defence Forces but all the United Nations could do criticise either side and prepare the report by taking into consideration half-facts.

In 2009, the UN Experts again repeated a threat for economic sanctions upon Israel against its Gaza Blockade which caused 1.5 million suffering on the account of the never-ending conflict amongst Israel and Palestine. In the UN Resolution 2234, there have not been any financial sanctions or any kind of punitive measures against Israel during this resolution a change was seen on the stance of the United States as there was a unanimous decision 14-0 which hasn't been seen in decades. As there has always been support to Israel by the United States of America.

The United States of America was the first country to recognise Israel as an independent state back in 1948 and recognising its Capital is Jerusalem in 2017. The question regarding their bond has never been a question. In 2016, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between both the countries of \$38 billion as a commitment to Israel's Security and United States provides for its Foreign Military for \$3.3 billion annually as well as \$500 million for missile defence.

Apart from military support the ties between the two with regards to Bilateral Economic Relations is close to \$50 billion annually. Whereas with regards to Palestine the United States does not officially hold any ties with Palestine neither diplomatic nor territories.

Thus, this itself implies why the United Nations is so in-effective to provide a redeemable solution for a conflict going on since passage of time. As, the motive is Political and not peace for the nations and safety for the people thereof.

IV. ROLE OF UN IN CAMBODIA

"But I had my mother's wisdom. I had hope and was lucky to have survived one of the twentieth century's worst nightmares."

-SichanSiv, Cambodian Genocide Survivor³¹

The role played by the United Nations with regards to peace making in Cambodia is another example so as to showcase how the United Nations is trying to evolve world politics by its intra- state governance.

But the question arises: Is it beneficial for the state which is being intervened by the United Nations aiming to provide “Peace-Keeping” and has it really achieved the same in reality? A comprehensive examination of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia provided evidence to how UN was given an anomalous authority along with its functions of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia being contrary in reality to what was expected. Apart from UN transitional Authority in Cambodia other measures such as the Khmer Rouge Tribunal too appeared to be a failure even after being established in 1997 it couldn't give punishment for genocide for next 30 years as all the cases were transferred in 2007 to the Khmer Rouge Tribunal it was a grave atrocity to the citizens of Cambodia waiting to get justice for their lost ones on the hands of government whose aim for greed for power. As, justice delayed is Justice Denied.

The Cambodian Genocide traces its roots back to the Cambodian Civil War. Cambodia was colonized by French in 1887.³²It was only after 58 years that Prince Sihanouk proclaimed its Independence but it failed as at the closure of World War- II the allied troops at Cambodia brought into light the past French rule³³. It was only the Partition of French Indochina that led to formation of Geneva Conference,1954 in regards to Cambodia; it was in May-June when Sihanouk's Royal Government was acknowledged to have a sole authority in Cambodia.³⁴

But that was just the start of something more coming towards Cambodia which wasn't imagined by its populace.

On 10th January, 1968, Sihanouk stated to U.S. Diplomat Chester Bowles that it wouldn't interfere in the hot-pursuits of the US with regards to invasions of troops in remote areas of Cambodia of North Vietnamese provided the Cambodians remain unharmed.³⁵ But on the Contrary.

On March 18, 1969 the United States under the president ship of Richard Nixon with the aim to

³¹Former US Ambassador to the UN.

³²THOMPSON, VIRGINIA. FRENCH INDO-CHINA, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London-1937).

³³CHANDLER, DAVID PORTER. THE TRAGEDY OF CAMBODIAN HISTORY: POLITICS, WAR, AND REVOLUTION SINCE 1945, (Yale University Press, 1991).

³⁴Goscha, Christopher E. *Historical dictionary of the Indochina War (1945-1954): an international and interdisciplinary approach*. NIAS Press, 2011.

³⁵Clymer, Kenton (2013). *The United States and Cambodia, 1969–2000: A Troubled Relationship*. Routledge, pp. 14–16, ISBN9781134341566.

escalate opposition to the Vietnam War authorized a secret bombing raid which lasted till 1973.³⁶ The same was believed to be done under the impression to safeguard the United States from its enemies as it was believed that North Vietnam was paving way for supplies and troops to South Vietnam by covering itself by its neighbouring Cambodia.³⁷

The bombing by the Boeing B-52 air strike done by the United States upon Cambodia was more than were dropped in the entire World War- II by all allies combined which makes Cambodia the most heavily bombed country in the world.³⁸ Now, the question arises was the apprehension of threat by the US of such gravity that an airstrike of such nature required.

The Nixon Doctrine was formalised on 3rd November 1969 the same showcases the relationship between US and its Allies especially with regards to Asia it stated three guidelines:

Firstly, the commitments of all its treaties will be kept.

Secondly, a shield shall be provided with regards to a threat by a nuclear power allied with the United States or a nation of a nation which is regarded as vital for its security.

Thirdly, is with regards to military and economic assistance when requested for shall be provided but the nation who has requested for the same which is being directly threatened to assume responsibility for manpower of its defence.³⁹

In ,1965 the United States President Lyndon B. Johnson stated “ The first reality is that North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam”⁴⁰.

Thus it made its stance very clear since the time, whereas Cambodia was officially neutral during the Vietnam war. During the air strike the number of deaths caused still remains to be uncertain. Cambodia didn't have any nuclear power at that time as well as till date and the same is enshrined under Article 54 of the Kingdom of Cambodia which states with regards to manufacturing, storing and using nuclear, chemical or biological weapons being absolutely prohibited.⁴¹

Another question that arises is whether a country who was neutral and possessed no threat of nuclear weapon but only on the account of an assumption that North Vietnam is transporting

³⁶Berman, Larry. *No peace, no honor: Nixon, Kissinger, and betrayal in Vietnam*. Simon and Schuster, 2001.

³⁷Thompson, Wayne. *To Hanoi and Back: The United States Air Force and North Vietnam, 1966-1973*. Government Printing Office, 2000.

³⁸Tucker, Spencer C., ed. *The Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: A Political, Social, and Military History, [4 volumes]: A Political, Social, and Military History*. Abc-clio, 2011.

³⁹Kimball, Jeffrey. "The Nixon Doctrine: A Saga of Misunderstanding." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36.1 (2006): 59-74.

⁴⁰House, Guild. "Sound Recording-Realities of North Vietnam-1965 May 15."2016.

⁴¹Kingdom of Cambodia, Const. Art,54.

troops as well as supplies valid to cause an air strike and leading to such mass bombing.

The Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation was signed on 7th December 1944 and the same was effective from 4th April, 1947 the Depository of which is the United States of America the same was ratified on 16th January, 1956 and effective from 15th February, 1956.⁴²

Article 1 of the Convention deals with Sovereignty wherein it states that the airspace is a complete exclusivity of sovereign the same was violated by the United States and during the bombing at 100s of occasions Sihanouk's government formally protested against the same to the United Nations but not even a single shred of evidence is presented to support or even mention the stance of United Nations upon the air-strike.

V. DOOM OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

League of Nations, a very noble initiative of the United States, one of its kind and it was doomed from the very beginning. As stated by *Starke*, International Law is a weak law and to build an organisation “League of Nations” on such a weak foundation that is of International law, was a not very well recognised problem at that time in history. League of Nations was built with the objective of solving real life disputes between two independent states, on a table instead of battlefield. The intention behind the same was very well acknowledged and noble in nature, but it lacked the power to enforce its decisions.

The idea behind the League of Nations was to make two parties come into “mutual agreement” and avoid the bloodshed of the battlefield, but what they failed to take into the consideration was “enforceability of such mutual agreements”. Let us look into an example that in a hypothetical world, tensions arose between Venezuela and Uruguay and the League of Nations became successful in providing a peaceful solution to both the member states, but who will enforce the said “peaceful solution”? Who will make sure that both countries won't go back on their agreements as soon as they get what they want? How can the League enforce its decisions on the states when the league itself is dependent on these countries for the funding? As it turns out, after a whole century we are still finding ourselves asking these same questions again.

League of Nations was more than successful in mediating minor incidents or mishappening between average countries such as:

- 1) Upper Silesia: After World War 1, there was much ambiguity on the territorial ownership of Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany. Ambiguity on such matter

⁴²Convention On International Civil Aviation, Chicago, Multilateral, adopted on 7th Dec. 1944, available at: https://www.icao.int/publications/documents/7300_orig.pdf (last Visited on Dec. 6, 2022).

lead to two Silesian Uprisings⁴³ In 1919 and 1920 resulting in a plebiscite which took place in 1921 in which 59% of the population voted to join Germany instead of Poland, however Poland stated that such a memorandum is unfair which then led to the third Silesian uprising. League was asked to intervene and after weeks of enquiry, the league proposed to split the area⁴⁴ between Germany and Poland based on the majority of areas from which people voted for them. This intervention of the League provided a peaceful solution, but it didn't last for long.

- 2) Albania: The Principality of Albania was left ambiguous in the Paris Peace Conference and the matter was left with the League to decide upon and the same caused instability in the region as the Greek troops were conducting military operations in South Albania. Whereas Yugoslavian forces were engaging with Albanian Tribesmen. The league then decided the frontiers which favoured Yugoslavians and all foreign forces withdrew⁴⁵.
- 3) Mosul: Mosul was the province of the Former Ottoman Empire whose fate was left undecided after the events of World War I and became disputed territory among the Kingdom of Iraq and Republic of Turkey. The League of Nations in its enquiry found out that the people of Mosul don't want to be part of either state, but if forced to chose upon, they will prefer Iraq. So the League decided to hand over the territory to Iraq on the condition that Iraq remain under United Kingdom's Mandate in order to ensure that there is no exploitation of Kurdish people⁴⁶.
- 4) Columbia and Peru: Both of these countries were facing territorial disputes from the start of the 20th century, which led to many armed conflicts and failed negotiations. The league mediated the case between the countries and a peaceful resolution was adopted. The area was demilitarized and a pledge of non-aggression was signed.

Along with these cases, the league also helped in resolving various conflicts such as Saar Plebiscite, Vilnius, Conflict between Greece and Bulgaria, Liberia.

(A) The Beginning of the end for League of Nations-

The League of Nations, no matter how holistic its opinion was, but failed to achieve its true

⁴³The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Silesia", *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 21/10/2019, available at <https://www.britannica.com/place/Silesia> (Last visited on 15/12/2020)

⁴⁴F.Gregory Campbell, "The Struggle for Upper Silesia, 1919 - 1920", 42 *The Journal of Modern History*, 385 (1970)

⁴⁵Northedge, F.S (1986). *The League of Nations: Its Life and Times, 1920–1946*. Holmes & Meier. ISBN 978-0-7185-1316-0.

⁴⁶ Scott, George (1973). *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations*. Hutchinson & Co LTD. ISBN 978-0-09-117040-0.

purpose as it does not have any authority of its own and strong leadership with inclined goals of ultimate peaceful society which President Woodrow Wilson have dreamed of. The absence of a power such as the United States in the league combined with weak international law along with serving their own national interest by the ambassadors of the council, the league was doomed from the beginning.

(B) Failure in achieving Key Objective

Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was one of the key objectives of the league to fulfil in order to achieve World Peace and prosperity among nations but it remained a far-fetched dream. The argument behind this noble idea was to eliminate to an extent, the possibility of a war between countries, as stronger the military might a country has, the more dominant position they endure and the only viable solution seems to be a war. The reason behind this was that the intention following the creation of the League was to ensure peaceful resolution of disputes on a table through mutual agreement, rather than a battlefield and in order to reach a successful mutual agreement both countries have to compromise a little, but why would a powerful country compromise, when it can easily get what it want by waging war.

In order to deter countries from armed conflicts and waging war against each other, the league had to take out the main factor responsible for wars, that is a strong military. So Article 8 of the covenant, directed all the member states to disarm their militaries to the lowest point possible considering national security, as to reduce the risk of any future conflicts.

Furthermore, arming of a country or a gradual increase of the military of a country can be seen as an act of hostility by their neighbours and the neighbouring countries can then start increasing their military might to defend them in case of any possible future dispute. Increase in advancement of the said neighbouring military might led to the belief that such a country is planning to attack and that the first country was right to increase their military in the first place. The whole situation in cases like this becomes a very delicate time bomb, which can go off at any time if any ill steps were taken.

The intention behind disarmaments of the military were very idealistic and in a perfect world, would be achieved, but the council failed to take into measure one important factor that is, National Interest. Reduction of National armament in order to secure global peace is in no way inclined to the National Interest of any major and strong countries. That is why, under Democratic rule, Germany was inclined toward disarmament but after Germany came under rule of Nazi Party, they withdrew from the conference stating in a telegram sent to the Bureau and the General Commission of the Conference by Germany's Foreign Minister, who stated

that “*the German Government is accordingly compelled to leave the Disarmament Conference*”⁴⁷.

VI. CONCLUSION

But what initially challenged the authority of the League of Nation was Japanese Attack on Chinese soil and the league’s ability to standstill and do nothing to prevent the attack. It could be stated that the League’s inability to deter such actions might have led to flourish Nazi Germany into believing they can occupy other states without any possible negative consequence.

In 1931, in the territory of *Mukden*, Japanese troop invaded and installed a dummy government with Former Japanese Emperor as its Executive head. The Chinese government went to the League to intervene and force Japan to withdraw their troops, where Japan stated that Chinese attacked first. The League sent observers in Mukden to get fact checks and the observers held Japan as the aggressor, the League unanimously decided in a resolution that Japan should give back the territory to Chinese and withdraw its forces from the region. Japan withdrew, not forces from territory but from the League of Nations. The League also failed to enforce proper economic sanctions on Japan and couldn’t do anything for the Chinese people. The Mukden incident⁴⁸ was really the beginning of the end for the league of the nations as this incident created a precedent that the league can be disobeyed and has no force of its own.

Following the Mukden incident, in 1932 tensions arose between Bolivia and Paraguay⁴⁹ over a territorial dispute of a region named, “Gran Chaco”. The League failed to prevent an armed conflict between both nations and war broke out over control of Paraguay river which would have provided access to the Atlantic Ocean to these landlocked countries. Paraguay insisted the League of Nation intervene but the league had to step down for the United States’ headed “Pan American Conference” to mediate the dispute.

After Japanese Aggression, the major incident which proved the League's inefficiency was Italian Invasion of Abyssinia. In October 1935, Italian Dictator invaded Abyssinia and the League of Nations could do only two things such as Condemned the attack and put economic sanctions. The said sanctions were nothing more than a joke as there was no ban on usage of

⁴⁷Office of the Historian, United States, available at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1919Parisv13/ch10subch1> (Last visited on 04/01/2020)

⁴⁸ John Swift, “Mukden Incident”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11/09/2020, available at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Mukden-Incident> (Last visited on 03/01/2021)

⁴⁹The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, “Chaco War”, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 05/07/2020, available at <https://www.britannica.com/event/Chaco-War> (Last visited on 03/01/2020)

Suez canal which was controlled by Britishers⁵⁰ or no prohibition on sale of oil to Italy because no allied powers had enough resources to withstand an Italian attack and could not dare stand in their way.

The League of Nations successfully mediated disputes between smaller states but as mentioned above, proved to be largely insufficient in dealing with bigger and influential states. After the major events mentioned above, The League of Nations failed to prevent full scale invasion of China by Japanese, League failed to prevent invasion of Austria by Nazi Germany and failed to prevent invasion of Poland by Soviet Union.

At the end, All the Axis powers of World War II that is Italy, Japan, Germany withdrew from the league⁵¹, in order to escape from their duties under the covenant of the league and nations and attain their freedom of no checks. These Axis powers will use their newly achieved freedoms to unleash hell and bring a chapter of horror into humanity. The league stood and watched as Japan invaded China, as Germany remilitarized Rhineland⁵² and occupied Sudetenland and Anschluss of Austria⁵³. These events led to remilitarization of the allied powers as well, which made Article 8 of the covenant a joke.

The League of Nations was supposed to stop another World War from happening, but at the end the league remained a bystander as the evil stirred. There are many other reasons such as Flaws in structure⁵⁴, failure of concept of collective security⁵⁵, Pacifism⁵⁶ etc. which led to the inevitable doom of the League. Leading to World War II, the allied powers fell to Hitler and in order to not be perceived as a host of Allied Nations, Switzerland dismantled the League's offices⁵⁷.

In 1946, the League met for the last time⁵⁸ for official dismantlement and liquidation of its assets. It's headquarters and archives were to be transferred to the newly created United Nations.

⁵⁰Laurie Milner, "The Suez Crisis", *BBC History*, 03/03/2011, available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/suez_01.shtml (Last visited on 04/01/2021)

⁵¹Supra note 16

⁵² History.com Editors, "Hitler reoccupies the Rhineland, violating the Treaty of Versailles", *History*, 04/03/2020, available at <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/hitler-reoccupies-the-rhineland> (Last visited on 04/01/2021)

⁵³ History.com Editors, "Germany annexes Austria", *History*, 10/03/2020, available at <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/germany-annexes-austria> (Last visited on 04/01/2021)

⁵⁴Gorodetsky, Gabriel (1994). *Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917–1991: A Retrospective*. Routledge. ISBN 978-0-7146-4506-3.

⁵⁵ Supra Note 15

⁵⁶McDonough, Frank (1997). *The Origins of the First and Second World Wars*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-56861-6.

⁵⁷ History.com Editors, "League of Nations", *History*, 05/03/2020, available at <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/league-of-nations> (Last visited on 04/01/2021)

⁵⁸ World at War, *The League of Nations Chronology*, available at <http://worldatwar.net/timeline/other/league18-46.html> (Last visited on 04/01/2021)

Robert Cecil⁵⁹ addressed the League one last time and said,

“The League is dead. Long live the United Nations.”

⁵⁹Robert Cecil (September 14, 1864–November 24, 1958) British lawyer, parliamentarian and cabinet minister, one of the architects of the League of Nations and its faithful defender,