

HSST POLITICAL SCIENCE

Part V: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

MODULE III: LIMITATIONS OF NATIONAL POWER

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION



- The United Nations (UN) is an international organization founded in **1945 after the World War II**.
- The Organization formally came into existence on **24 October 1945**. Since then, we celebrate **24th October as UN Day**
- Its Head **Quarters of UNO - New York**
- It is currently made up of **193 Member States**.
- Its mission and work guided by the purposes and principles contained in its founding Charter and implemented by its various organs and specialized agencies.
- Its activities include **maintaining international peace and security, protecting human rights, delivering humanitarian aid, promoting sustainable development and upholding international law**.

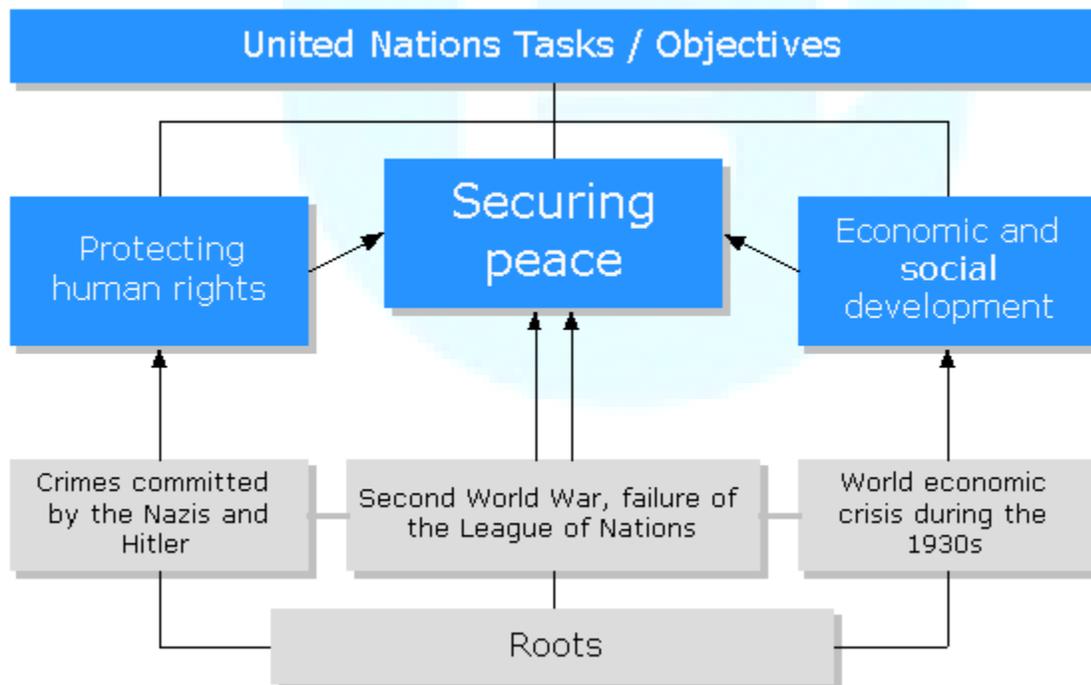
History of UN Foundation

- In 1899, the **International Peace Conference** was held in The Hague to elaborate instruments for settling crises peacefully, preventing wars and codifying rules of warfare.
- It adopted the Convention for the **Pacific Settlement of International Disputes** and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which began **work in 1902**. This court was the forerunner of UN International Court of Justice.

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- The forerunner of the United Nations was the **League of Nations**, an organization conceived in circumstances of the **First World War**, and established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles "to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security."
- The **International Labor Organization (ILO)** was also created in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles as an affiliated agency of the League.
- The name "United Nations", coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt. A document called The Declaration by **United Nations was signed in 1942 by 26 nations**, pledging their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers (Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis) and bound them against making a separate peace.
- United Nations Conference on International Organization (1945)
- **Conference held in San Francisco (USA)**, was attended by representatives of 50 countries and signed the United Nations Charter.
- The **UN Charter of 1945** is the foundational treaty of the United Nations, as an inter-governmental organization.

PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES



- **To maintain international peace and security** through collective measures for suppression of aggression and through peaceful settlement of disputes;
- **To develop friendly relations among countries** based on full respect for the principle of equality and self-determination



- To achieve **international cooperation** in the economic, social, cultural or humanitarian fields.
- To **encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms**.

COMPONENTS

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

1. General Assembly



- The General Assembly is the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the UN.
- All **193 Member States** of the UN are represented in the General Assembly, making it the only UN body with universal representation.
- Each year, in September, the full UN membership meets in the General Assembly **Hall in New York for the** annual General Assembly session, and general debate, which many heads of state attend and address.
- Decisions on important questions, such as those on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, require **a two-thirds majority** of the General Assembly.
- Decisions on other questions are **by simple majority**.
- **The President** of the General Assembly is elected each year by assembly to serve a one-year term of office.

- **6 Main Committees:** Draft resolutions can be prepared for the General Assembly by its six main committees:
 - ✓ First Committee (Disarmament and International Security)
 - ✓ Second Committee (Economic and Financial)
 - ✓ Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)
 - ✓ Fourth Committee (Special Political and Decolonization)
 - ✓ Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary)
 - ✓ Sixth Committee (Legal).

- Each Member State may be represented by one person on each Main Committee and on any other committee that may be established upon which all Member States have the right to be represented.
- Member States may also assign advisers, technical advisers, experts **or** persons of similar status to these committees.
- Other Committees:
 - ✓ **General Committee:** It meets periodically throughout each session to review the progress of the General Assembly and its committees and to make recommendations for furthering such progress. It is composed of the President of the General Assembly and 21 Vice-Presidents of the Assembly and the Chairmen of the six Main Committees. The five permanent members of the Security Council serve as Vice-Presidents, as well.
 - ✓ **Credentials Committee:** It is mandated to examine the credentials of representatives of Member States and to report to the General Assembly.

2. Security Council



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- It has primary responsibility, under the UN Charter, for the **maintenance of international peace and security**.
- The Security Council is made up of **fifteen member states**, consisting of five permanent members-China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States-and ten non-permanent members elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly on a regional basis.
- **"Veto power"** refers to the power of the permanent member to veto (Reject) any resolution of Security Council.
- The unconditional veto possessed by the five governments has been seen as the **most undemocratic** character of the UN.
- Critics also claim that veto power is the main cause for international inaction on war crimes and crimes against humanity. However, the United States refused to join the United Nations in 1945 unless it was given a veto. The absence of the United States from the League of Nations contributed to its ineffectiveness. Supporters of the veto power regard it as a promoter of international stability, a check against military interventions, and a critical safeguard against U.S. domination.
- Under **Article 25 of the Charter**, all UN members agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While other organs of the UN make recommendations to Member States, the Council alone has the power to take decisions which Member States are obligated to implement.

3. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)



- It is the principal body for coordination, policy review, policy dialogue and recommendations on economic, social and environmental issues, as well as implementation of internationally agreed development goals.

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- It has 54 Members, elected by the General Assembly for overlapping three-year terms.
- It is the United Nations' central platform for reflection, debate, and innovative thinking on sustainable development.
- Each year, ECOSOC structures its work around an annual theme of **global importance to sustainable development**. This ensures **focused attention**, among ECOSOC's array of partners, and throughout the UN development system.
- It coordinates the work of the **14 UN specialized agencies**, ten functional commissions and five regional commissions, receives reports from nine UN funds and programmers and issues policy recommendations to the UN system and to Member States.

Functions and powers of ECOSOC

- To serve as the central forum for discussions on international economic and social issues
- To promote higher standards of living, full employment and economic and social progress
- To find solutions of international economic , social, health and related problems, and international cultural and educational cooperation
- To encourage universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms
- To assist the organization of major international conferences in the field of economic and social and related fields
- To make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic and social matters
- To prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly
- To coordinate the work of the specialized agencies and programmes and their functional commissions and five regional commissions.
- to make arrangements for consultations with non-governmental organizations
- Managing the transition from MDGs to SDGs.

4. Trusteeship Council



- It was established in **1945** by the **UN Charter**, under **Chapter XIII**.

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- **Trust territory** is a **non-self-governing territory** placed under an administrative authority by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.
- A League of Nations mandate was a legal status for certain territories transferred from the control of one country to another following World War I, or the legal instruments that contained the internationally agreed-upon terms for administering the territory on behalf of the League of Nations.
- United Nations trust territories were the successors of the remaining League of Nations mandates, and came into being when the League of Nations ceased to exist in 1946.
- It had to provide international supervision for 11 Trust Territories that had been placed under the administration of seven Member States, and ensure that adequate steps were taken to prepare the Territories for self-government and independence.
- By 1994, all Trust Territories had attained self-government or independence. The Trusteeship Council suspended operation on 1 November 1994.

5. International Court of Justice (ICJ)



- The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It was established in **June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations** and began work in April 1946.
- The ICJ is the **successor** of the **Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ)**, which was established by the League of Nations in **1920**.
- The International Court of Justice, also known as the ICJ and the World Court, is the world's highest court. Its role is to give advisory opinions on matters of international legal issues and settle disputes between states.

Functions of the International Court Of Justice

- Three functions of the International Court of Justice
- To settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted by States.
- To give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized UN organs and specialized agencies

Role International Court Of Justice

To settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies.

6. Secretariat



- The Secretariat comprises the **Secretary-General** and tens of thousands of **international UN staff members** who carry out the day-to-day work of the UN as mandated by the General Assembly and the Organization's other principal organs.
- **The Secretary-General** is **chief administrative officer of the Organization**, appointed by the General Assembly on the **recommendation of the Security Council** for a five-year, renewable term.
- UN staff members are recruited internationally and locally, and work in duty stations and on peacekeeping missions all around the world.

Secretary-general



[António Guterres](#) is the current UN secretary-general

The UN secretary-general's duties include helping resolve international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering information on the implementation of Security Council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various initiatives. Key secretariat offices in this area include the Office of the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The secretary-general may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that, in his or her opinion, may threaten international peace and security. The current secretary-general of the UN is António Guterres

Collective Security under UNO

Collective Security system guarantees the security of each state of the world against any war or aggression which may be committed by any state against any other state. It is like an insurance system in which all the nations are bound to protect the victim of an aggression or war by neutralizing the aggression or war against the victim.

Collective Security is currently regarded as the most promising approach to international peace. It is regarded as a valuable device of crisis management in international relations. It is designed to protect international peace and security against war and aggression in any part of the world.

UN Charter includes a system of collective security which is designed to meet an international crisis resulting from war or aggression or a threat of war or aggression in any part of the international system. Balance of Power has lost its relevance as a device of power management and Collective Security has gained recognition as a modern device of power management which can enable the international community to meet a crisis situations.

what is collective security ?

Collective Security is a device of crisis management which postulates a commitment on the part of all the nations to collectively meet an aggression that may be committed by any state against another. War or aggression is viewed as a breach of international peace and security and

collective security stands for collective action by all the nations in defence of peace. Collective security stands for meeting any war or aggression by the creation of a global preponderance of power of all nations against the aggression.

Collective Security is also regarded as a deterrent against aggression in so far as it lays down that the collective power of all nations will be used to repel aggression or war against any state. It is based on the principle, 'Aggression against any one member of the international community is an aggression against international peace and security. As such it has to be met by the collective efforts of all the nations'

Definition of Collective Security

- **George Schwarzenberger** "Collective Security is machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order."
- **Palmer and Perkins** "Collective Security clearly implies collective measures for dealing with threats to peace."
- **Schleicher** "In essence, Collective Security is an arrangement among states in which all promise, in the event any member of the system engages in certain prohibited acts (war and aggression) against another member, to come to latter's assistance." Collective Security system guarantees the security of each state of the world against any war or aggression which may be committed by any state against any other state. It is like an insurance system in which all the nations are bound to protect the victim of an aggression or war by neutralizing the aggression or war against the victim.

Nature of Collective Security

Security is the chief goal of all the nations. Presently the security of each nation stands inseparably linked up with the security of all other nations. National security is a part of the international security. Any attack on the security of a nation is in fact an attack on the security of all the nations. Hence, it is the responsibility of all the nations to defend the security of the victim nation.

The term 'collective', as a part of the concept of collective security, refers to the method by which security is to be defended in the event of any war or aggression against the security of any nation. The power of the aggressor has to be met with by the collective power of all the nations. All the nations are required to create an international preponderance of power for negating the aggression or for ending a war.

Characteristics of Collective Security

❖ A Device of Power Management:

Collective Security is a device of power management or crisis management. It seeks to preserve international peace through crisis management in the event of any war or aggression in the world.

❖ **It accepts Universality of Aggression:**

Collective Security accepts that violations of the security of a nation are bound to occur and that wars and aggressions cannot be totally eliminated from international relations.

❖ **All Nations are committed to pool their power for ending Aggression:**

Collective Security believes that in the event of a violation of international peace by any aggression in any part of the world, all the nations are committed to pool their power and resources for taking effective steps against every aggression for restoring international peace.

❖ **Global Preponderance of Power:**

Collective Security stands for the creation of a universal or global preponderance of power involving all the nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under it all the nations are ready to defend international peace and security through collective military action against aggression.

❖ **Admits the presence of an International Organisation:**

Collective Security presupposes the existence of an international organisation under whose flag a global preponderance of power is created for ending the aggression.

❖ **Collective Security System is a Deterrent against War**

Collective Security can be an effective deterrent against a state with aggressive designs. Under this system each nation knows that any aggression against another nation shall be met by the collective power of all other nations. As such no nation tries to commit aggression and war because it knows that such an action will invite collective security action against it. This realization acts as a deterrent against any war or aggression.

❖ **Aggression/war is the enemy and not the State which commits it**

Finally, Collective Security regards 'aggression' or 'war' as the enemy and not the state which may resort to war or aggression. A collective security action is limited to the elimination of war, aggression or threat of war or aggression. It does not stand for the elimination of the state which commits aggression. Its sole concern is to get the aggression vacated, to prevent the aggressor to gain out of its aggression, to restore the health of the victim of aggression, and to restore international peace and security.

Collective Security Under the League of Nations

- The covenant contained three key articles on collective security under League of Nations Article are 10, 11, and 16.

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- **Article 10:** the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League.
- **Article 11:** any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not is hereby declared a matter of concern to the while League and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.
- **Article 16-** if a member resorts to war, all trade and financial relations with that members state will be cut and there will be prohibition of financial commercial or personal intercourse between the aggressor the aggressor and the members of the League.

UN Collective Security System

- The **Charter of the United Nations** regards the preservation of international peace and security as its most major objective. In this Charter “**International Peace and Security**” **have been used 32 times**. In its very first article, while stating the purposes of the United Nations, it makes the preservation of international peace and security as the first priority. It lays down a collective security system for this purpose.
- Collective Security system has been laid down in **Chapter VII 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.” It contains **13 Articles, from Art. 39 to 51**, which together provide for a collective system for preserving international peace and security. The **UN Security Council** has been assigned the responsibility and power to initiate collective security action for meeting any threat to international peace by a war or aggression.

<u>Article</u>	
Article 39	Makes it the responsibility of the Security Council to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of peace, or act of aggression and to decide about measures that are to be taken for managing crisis for restoring international peace and security.
Article 40	Lays down that as the first step towards preventing the aggravation of the situation involving a threat to or breach of international peace and security, the Security Council can take provisional measures like cease fire, and call upon the concerned parties to comply with these.
Article 41	Refer to the enforcement actions, other than the collective military action. The Security Council can recommend to the members of the United Nations for compelling the concerned parties to end the violation of peace and security. It can recommend sanctions against the state involved in aggression.
Article 42	Empower the Security Council to take military action for securing or maintaining international peace and security.
Article 43	Makes it the responsibility of all the members of the United Nations to contribute their support, efforts, resources and forces for raising the Collective Security force that may have to be raised when Security Council decides to undertake action under Article 42.

- The next four Articles of the U.N. Charter (44-47) lay down the procedure for raising, maintaining and using the U.N. Peace Keeping Force for Collective Security force.
- ❖ Article 48 states, “The action required carrying out the decision of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the members of the United Nations, or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.”
- ❖ Article 49 asserts that: “The members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in-carrying out measures decided upon by the Security Council.”
- ❖ Article 50 lays down the ways in which non-member states can adjust their policies and actions towards the decision that may be taken up by the Security Council under Articles 41 and 42.
- ❖ Article 51 accepts the right of the states “to individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.”
- ❖ With all these provisions, Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter lays down the Collective Security system for preservation of international peace and security.

Collective Security in Korean War

North Korea invaded South Korea on the night of 24-25th June 1950. The Security Council, in the absence of the USSR, decided on June 25 and 27, 1950 to take enforcement action against the aggressor, North Korea. It held that North Korean attack on South Korea constituted a breach of peace and called for an immediate withdrawal of North Korean forces from South Korea.

However, when North Korea failed to comply with these directives and the Security Council found it essential to order collective security military action under the UN Charter Chapter VII. The response of the members to the Security Council resolutions was quite favorable as 53 countries expressed their willingness to support the Collective Security action.

On July 7, 1950, the Security Council set up a unified command under the UN flag and requested the member states to provide military assistance. In the first instance the U.S.A., the U.K., Australia, New Zealand came forward to induct small naval and air units into the “peace operation” in Korea. Later on, by early 1951, sixteen more countries came forward to offer their armed forces which were placed under the UN unified UN command. Thus the U.N.O. was successful in raising a U.N. collective force for repelling aggression.

However, the U.N. Collective Security operations in Korea became highly complicated when Communist China intervened in the Korean War for protecting the interests of North Korea. This development made the Collective Security operations in Korea very problematic because many states expressed their hesitation towards continued collective security operations in Korea as they felt that these could lead to an escalation of war.

The decision of the commander of the UN forces in Korea, to cross the 38th Parallel (Boundary between South Korea and North Korea) for repelling the aggression was sharply criticized by several states as a decision designed to punish communist China. This led to complications which made the Korean crisis almost a dispute between the communist and capitalist countries. The Chinese decision to pursue its intervention and the US decision to halt the march of

communism into South Korea made things worst. Consequently, attempts were made to secure a peaceful resolution of conflict.

On 3rd November 1950, the UN General Assembly adopted the Uniting for Peace Resolution which was designed to give over-riding powers to the UN General Assembly. The resolution empowered the General Assembly to over-ride by 2/3rd majority any failure on the part of veto bound Security Council in respect of determining the aggressor, the nature of aggression against peace and the enforcement action that might be taken for preserving or retiring international peace and security.

The Uniting for Peace resolution was intended to give additional teeth to the Collective Security system. However, in actual practice it failed to produce the desired effect. The (erstwhile) Soviet Union became more apprehensive about a possible anti-communist stance of the General Assembly. It also made the USA apprehensive about the outcome of the Korean crisis. However, several members felt that this resolution constituted a bold attempt to strengthen the UN attempts at crisis management in the event of a war or aggression for restoring international peace and security.

Its immediate result on the Korean War was almost negligible. By January 1951, the Korean War got stabilized. Under considerable pressure from the United States, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on 1st February 1951, charging China of engaging in aggression in Korea. A committee was set up as a matter of urgency “to consider additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression and to report thereupon to the General Assembly.”

The same resolution authorized the President of the Assembly to establish Good Offices Committee to explore further the possibilities of a peaceful settlement. Consequently, Collective Security action and other activities aimed at securing peace in Korea were initiated after the passing of these resolutions. The face of Korean War now changed rapidly and by June 1951, the frontier was stabilized at the 38th Parallel.

Ultimately, an armistice was arranged on a Soviet proposal of June 23, 1951. Thus the Korean War ended and with this, the first attempt of the United Nations to end aggression against peace through collective security action got completed. However, the success in Korean crisis came not only due to the efforts of the UN but also due to the efforts of various nations who came forward to keep the Korean War limited.

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 United Nations and more due to the Soviet threat to Britain, France and Israel.

However, in Congo, the U.N. Peace Force did a good job in restoring peace in this strife torn country. Even at the time of Hungarian crisis of 1956, (erstwhile) USSR was compelled to respond favorably to the pressure from the U.N. against its interferences in the internal affairs of Hungary.

The Gulf War against Iraq I 1991

During the period 1956-90 Collective Security system under the United Nations failed to work successfully in securing international peace and security because of several factors. The cold war between the two super powers, the bipolarity in international relations, and the inability of the General Assembly to act under the Uniting for Peace Resolution, and the changed nature of aggression and war, all combined to prevent the operationalization of Collective Security system during this period. The Lebanon crisis, the Iran-Iraq War and several other local wars kept on going and the UN failed to act.

20th century, the Collective Security System began acting as a popular and useful device for the preservation of international peace and security. It was successfully operationalized to meet the Iraqi aggression and occupation of Kuwait.

To meet the violations of international peace and security resulting from the Iraqi act of aggression, the UN Security Council first called upon Iraq to vacate aggression, and when it failed to comply with, enforced economic sanctions against Iraq. UN Security Council later on decided to take military action, i.e. Collective Security action against Iraq. A UN peace keeping force was raised under the US leadership and to which 42 countries contributed their armed contingents.

On 17th January 1991, Collective Security war against Iraq was initiated and within few days Iraq's resistance was neutralized and liberation of Kuwait was secured. Collective Security war was successfully made to secure international peace and security and to negate Iraq's aggression.

However, this exercise was successful primarily due to the keen interest taken by the USA and the inability or unwillingness on the part of the other four permanent members of Security Council to oppose the former. The internal troubles of the (erstwhile) the USSR compelled it to support the US sponsored decisions and policies. Further the decision to continue sanctions against, Iraq even after the end of its aggression against Kuwait reflected the problems involved in keeping a collective security war limited and confined.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia became its successor state. Its economic dependence upon the USA and some other Western countries began compelling it to accommodate the US view point in the UNO and other international fore. China also began feeling isolated after the collapse of socialist regimes in the USSR and other socialist-states of Europe.

The changed international scenario of the post-cold war, the post-USSR and the Post-Warsaw bloc international system, made the decision-making by the US Security Council easier.

New development gave a new strength of the operationalization of Collective Security. In one form or another, the UN Collective Security operations for preserving peace and security began operating in as many as 20 different places. In 2001 war against Afghanistan's Al Qaeda's terrorist regime was made under the UN Charter.

However in 2003 the USA decided to go to a war against Iraq in the name of eliminating weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Such a US action came as a source of erosion of the UN

Security Council's role in international relations as the UN has not given its sanctions to such a war. This should have been prevented.

Presently, Collective Security system is being operationalized in more than 20 different places. The Collective Security System has been gaining a new credibility in contemporary international relations. Preservation of international peace and security as well as securing of development through cooperation at all levels of international relations can be described as the two major objectives of our generation. Collective Security of peace and collective efforts for development stand accepted as the two means for attaining these objectives.

Criticism against Collective Security

- It is Idealistic in Nature and Scope

The concept of Collective Security is based upon certain idealistic assumptions which make its operationalization difficult.

It assumes that there can be a complete international understanding regarding the nature of all threats or aggressions against international peace and security.

It is assumed that all nations could and would come forward to name the aggressor and to take up collective security actions against the aggressor.

The concept of "collectivity" meaning, "All acting for one and all" is basically an idealistic concept since it ignores the fact; all nations are not active in international relations. Nor can all the nations be expected to join a collective security action.

- At times it is not possible to identify the Aggressor

Another major defect of the Collective Security system is that it wrongly assumes that in the event of an aggression against any nation, the aggressor and the nature of its aggression can be really and easily identified. In practice, it is very difficult to determine and name the aggressor as well as to identify the nature of aggression. Often the aggressor acts in the name of self-defense and justifies its aggression as a defensive action.

- Admits War as a means

Collective Security is self-negating in so far as it first denounces war or aggression as an illegal activity and then indirectly accepts that wars and aggressions are bound to remain present in international relations. It wrongly believes the most effective way to deal with such situations is to undertake a collective security war.

- Rules out 'Neutrality' in times of War

The concept of Collective Security makes it an international obligation of all the nations to pool their resources and undertake collective action in the event of an aggression. It, as such, rules out neutrality. Many nations often prefer to remain away from war. It makes Collective Security war an international obligation and wrongly assumes that all nations are willing to participate in such a war.

- **A Limited Concept**

The concept of Collective Security, as laid down in the U.N. Charter, has two inherent limitations. It accepts the right of the states to undertake war as a measure of self-defense against any aggression. In practice this provision gives a legal basis to an aggression or war in the name of action in self-defense.

Secondly, it admits the right of the nations to establish regional defense pacts and organizations for protecting their security. It admits regional security systems as devices for preserving peace and security. The working of regional security systems has in-fact been a source of strain upon international peace and security.

- **Absence of a Permanent International Peace Keeping Force**

Another major limitation of the Collective Security system is the absence of a permanent peace keeping force. It is only after a decision of the Security Council to take military action against an aggressor is taken that the constitution of a collective security military force is initiated. This process is so slow and difficult that it takes a long time to raise the force and press it into service. The time-gap between the date of aggression and the date on which the United Nations is actually able to send its peace keeping force for restoring peace is very big, and the aggressor gets all the time needed for reaping the fruits of aggression.

- **Lack of provisions for the termination of Collective Security Action**

Another drawback of the U.N. Collective Security System is that whereas elaborate provisions have been laid down for implementing the system, no provision has been made regarding the method of terminating the Collective Security action.

- **Dependence on Powerful States**

One of the basic principles of Collective Security is that all the states should have an equal say in arriving at collective security decisions. In actual operation, it fails to work on the principle of equality. Powerful states always dominate collective security decisions and actions. In fact, only the powerful states can play an effective role in executing a collective security action. At times the powerful states are reluctant to put their power behind a collective security action which does not strictly conform to their national interests.

- **Dangerous**



Some critics hold the view the Collective Security system is a dangerous system as it can transform a local war into a global war involving all the nations. On the basis of these points critics describe the collective security system as an idealistic and limited system.

