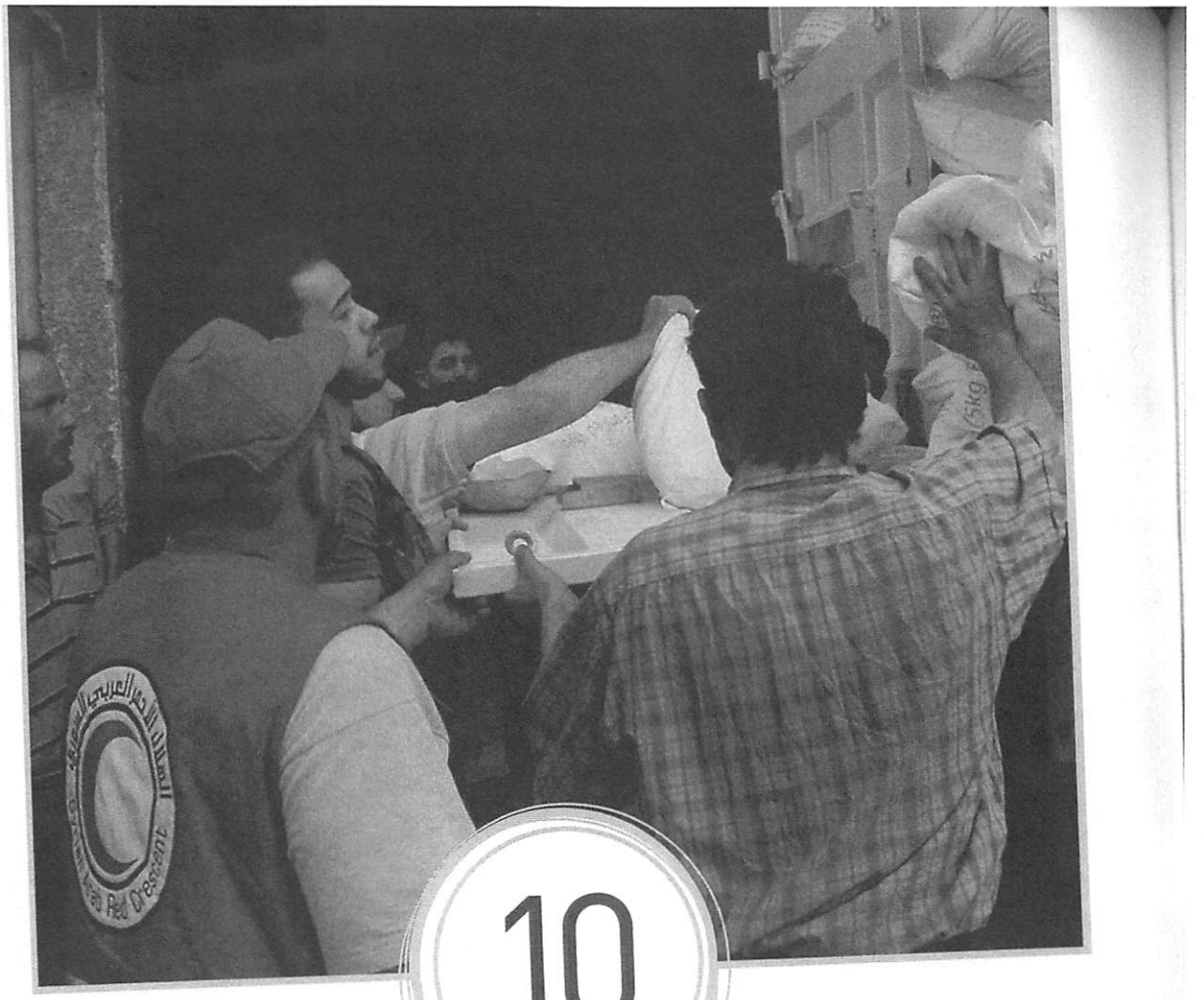


10

Managing the World

Cooperation at the Global Level

In times of insecurity, when people feel uncertain about their future, when anxieties and fears are promoted and exploited by political populists, old-fashioned nationalists or religious fundamentalists, the success of the UN and the international community lies in our common commitment to our common values.

—UN Secretary-General António Guterres, vision statement, April 4, 2016[1]

Learning Objectives

After studying this chapter, you will be able to do the following:

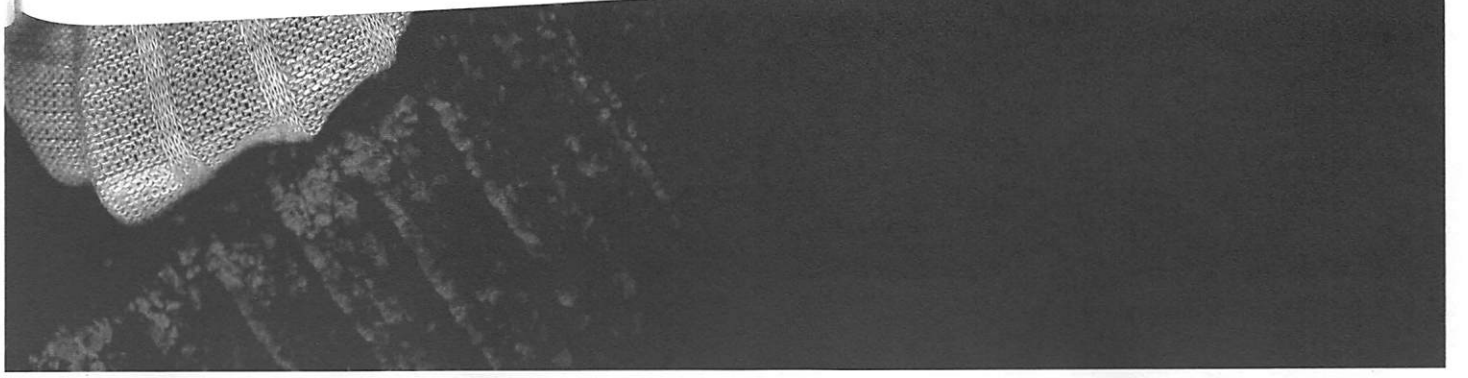
- Define the terms *intergovernmental organization (IGO)* and *nongovernmental organization (NGO)*, and explain their roles in the international system.
- Define *international law*, and outline its historical development.
- Explain the purpose and basic functions of the United Nations (UN).
- Define the concept of interdependence.
- Explain the function of regional organizations.
- Define the concept of civil society.
- Describe the major activities of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and explain the court's relevance.

As António Guterres took the helm of the United Nations as secretary-general in 2016, his vison statement recognized the critical function of the organization and the difficulties that lay ahead. In addition to what he expressed in the previous quote, he went on to suggest that "the UN is the institutional expression of the international community, the cornerstone of our international system and the key actor of effective multilateralism."[2] The most serious contemporary problems—poverty, disease, human rights, and environmental concerns—are global in nature and cannot be solved by individual countries alone. Guterres argues that the UN is "uniquely placed to connect the dots" to address peace and security, sustainable development, the protection of human rights, and the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

The barriers to cooperation, however, are the very same borders these issues cross. National borders protect states' interests first and foremost. Economic relationships may frequently dictate behavior, especially when the bottom line is emphasized over the public good. Social and cultural barriers may prevent groups and people from working together when the protection of their identity clashes with the need for cooperation. As a result, the world remains divided on many of the critical issues it must face, and its people must identify new ways to manage their relationships.

Historically, the management of states' behavior toward one another has been addressed through **international law** and the creation of international organizations. As the modern state system emerged in the seventeenth century, there was a need to regulate relationships among countries and identify ways to collaborate. International law developed to formalize operating rules that had been based on customary practices. Organizations were formed through written agreements, as treaties were negotiated to serve the greater good. Philosophically, these organizations grew out of the liberal intellectual tradition we explored in regard to political borders in chapter 4, but they were bound by the nation-states that constituted their membership. As a result, nonstate actors have emerged to provide other ways to work across borders.

international law the regulation of relations among sovereign states emerging from customary practices



People unload Syrian Red Crescent trucks carrying humanitarian aid sent by the United Nations (UN) in the opposition-controlled town of Hamuriye in the Eastern Ghouta region of Damascus, Syria, on April 19, 2016.

Yousef Al-Homs/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images.

intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) formal, international public bodies whose members are nation-states

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) formal, nonprofit, voluntary organizations whose memberships are composed of individuals organized around specific issues or common concerns

supranational entities international organizations that operate beyond the national boundaries of their members' states

Today, international organizations have become influential actors on the world stage. There are two basic types of international organizations: **intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)**, like the UN, whose members are governments or states, and **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**, whose members are individuals. IGOs revolve around three common objectives: (1) to provide a means of cooperation for states, (2) to provide a forum in which decisions on cooperation can be reached and the administrative machinery to carry them out, and (3) to provide multiple channels of communication among governments by offering areas of accommodation and easy access when problems arise.[3] In contrast, NGOs provide a means for cooperation among individuals on issues of common concern. Their strength lies in their ability to communicate their interests without being bound by governmental constraints. The creation of these new **supranational entities**—that is, organizations that exist beyond the boundaries of their member states—has grown exponentially since the end of World War II.

This chapter explores the role of international law and organizations in promoting cooperation and providing effective management at the global level. As the world becomes more interdependent, there is a greater role that IGOs and NGOs can play in addressing the problems facing the international system. The need for regulation of many issues across borders and beyond states' interests requires institutional structures that can both address the problems and represent all interests. IGOs and NGOs may be better suited for this job than nation-states alone. They can provide important structures and forums for essential research and information about global problems.

Defining the Global Order: International Law and Organizations

The evolution of international organizations is directly related to the development of international law, as it established the framework within which international organizations operate. Prior to the seventeenth century, customary practices defined the relations between states. They ranged from rules of engagement on the battlefield that respected noncombatants to accepted practices for ships passing on the high seas. At the beginning of the 1600s, however, changes in the European political system prompted the development of international law in tandem with the sovereign state system to create a framework for cooperation. Concurrent with the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), European thinkers attempted to address the legal responsibilities among states—what principles should guide behavior and how they would be measured. Of critical importance were the writings of Hugo Grotius.

Hugo Grotius was a Dutchman born in 1583; by the age of sixteen, he had become the lawyer for the Dutch East India Trading Company, the largest trading company of its time. When Grotius was about fifteen, an Italian-born professor of civil law at Oxford named Gentilus published a groundbreaking work called *De Jure Belli* (*Laws of War*), which separated international law from ethics and theology—defining international law as a distinct new branch of law. Intrigued by Gentilus's writings, in 1625 Grotius penned his own monumental piece, *De Jure Belli Ac Pacis—On the Law of War and Peace*.

positivism the theory and development of international law based on the practice of states and the conduct of international relations as evidenced by custom or treaties

Grotius rejected the notion that the principles of the law of nature came directly from divine authority; instead, he argued that these principles should come from universal reason. He believed that the customary practices of nations (*jus gentium*, also called *jus voluntarium*) as they related to one another must guide the law. His distinctions would go on to form the basis of **positivism**—the theory and development of international law based on the practice of states and the conduct of international relations as evidenced by custom or treaties. It would take until the nineteenth century for these concepts to influence behavior.

In the "In Their Own Words" excerpt from his *On the Law of War and Peace*, Grotius details his understanding of this critical distinction between natural and human-made law.

Grotius's book was an important contribution to the evolution of the political order that was emerging. Its successful reception was driven by Grotius's prestigious legal background, combined with recognition from his position with the Dutch East India Trading Company. Over time, his work would be regarded as the first comprehensive basic treatise on international law. The important distinctions he made and the extent to which they would inform the future meant that Grotius is considered to be the father of modern international law.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS
HUGO GROTIUS

Natural right is the dictate of right reason, shewing the moral turpitude, or moral necessity, of any act from its agreement or disagreement with a rational nature, and consequently that such an act is either forbidden or commanded by God, the author of nature. The actions, upon which such a dictate is given, are either binding or unlawful in themselves, and therefore necessarily understood to be commanded or forbidden by God. This mark distinguishes natural right, not only from human law, but from the law, which God himself has been pleased to reveal, called, by some, the voluntary divine right, which does not command or forbid things in themselves either binding or unlawful, but makes them unlawful by its prohibition, and binding by its command.[4]

The Creation of International Organizations

Not long after Grotius's writings, in 1648, a system of independent states developed that depended on a balance of power to keep the peace. At the outset, these new states relied on the relationships that had provided kingdoms with protection for generations: alliances. States were able to maintain a balance of power through the use of force in conjunction with their allies against their enemies. A broader desire for peace to be maintained through a more formal cooperative structure was recognized, and the **Concert of Europe** was formed in 1815. This collaborative group was created to enforce decisions that had been reached at the Congress of Vienna, where the European powers that had defeated Napoleon—Russia, Prussia, Britain, and Austria—gathered to negotiate the peace. The concert formalized the alliances that emerged from the Congress, served as an enforcement mechanism for the agreements that had been made, and sought to promote a cooperative international environment. It hobbled along until the 1870s, undermined early on by the nationalistic tendencies of the member parties.

Concert of Europe a formal collaborative group formed in 1815 to enforce the decisions reached at the Congress of Vienna

A second effort at international cooperation came with the International Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907. Convened by Russia at the request of Tsar Nicholas II, twenty-six governments gathered to meet in the political capital of the Netherlands, The Hague, to develop a series of agreements to enforce a broader peace and reduce armaments.[5] Most notably, the First Hague Peace Conference, as it came to be known, created a Permanent Court of Arbitration for resolution of conflict among states. The United States sought to push this body to a world court system at the Second Hague Conference but failed. A third conference was scheduled for 1915 but never met due to the outbreak of World War I.

While the conferences may have failed in their broad objectives, they were successful in the creation of public international unions, the first permanent IGOs that addressed practical areas of exchange—communication, transportation, international trade regulation, and



DeAgostini/Getty Images.

The Peace Palace, shown here, is the seat of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague, the Netherlands. The ICJ is one of many international organizations designed to facilitate global cooperation.

standards of weight and measure.[6] World War I made it evident that greater international cooperation was needed for global peace as well. Politically, the origins of modern IGOs came from US president Woodrow Wilson's idealism, the negotiated peace in the Treaty of Versailles, and the creation of the League of Nations. President Wilson recognized the need for a new global order as World War I was coming to an end. He elaborated on this vision in his "Fourteen Points" speech to Congress on January 9, 1918: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."[7] Wilson believed that the creation of a platform for international cooperation was critical to peace going forward.

The Treaty of Versailles of 1919 that negotiated the peace for World War I included the creation of the League of Nations. From the outset, however, its success was limited by the lack of US participation. Though the idea had come from the US president and was included in the peace pact, the US Senate refused to ratify the treaty, favoring an isolationist stance. The League of Nations went forward, without the United States, as the first formal international organization to foster the goals of promoting peace and preventing war. It consisted of a council, assembly, and secretariat. An international court, known as the Permanent Court, was separate from the organization. Membership was by invitation, and headquarters were established in Geneva, Switzerland, in November 1920. The first general assembly of the league held that month had representatives from forty-one nations.

Continued global conflict and the United States' failure to join the organization weakened the League of Nations. The United States subsequently tried to lend its support through its backing of the **Kellogg-Briand Pact**. Introduced to the United States in 1927 by Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, as a proposed treaty between the two countries, US president Calvin Coolidge and secretary of state Frank B. Kellogg wanted to expand its scope as a general pact against war. The final document was signed by fifteen countries in 1928 and subsequently ratified by sixty-two states to outlaw war as a means of conflict resolution.[8] Such assistance was too little, too late for the League of Nations. With no way to enforce Kellogg-Briand, its signatories saw armed aggression by the Japanese in Manchuria and the Italians in Ethiopia, followed by Hitler and the Nazi party's emergence in Germany in the early 1930s. The actions of these belligerent states ultimately undermined both the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Kellogg-Briand Pact a multinational pact that outlawed war as a means of conflict resolution

The outbreak of World War II and the early cooperation between the United States and Great Britain resulted in the creation of the **Atlantic Charter**. A joint declaration detailing the position of the two countries regarding the growing conflict and a desire for peace, it laid the foundation for the conception of the UN following the end of the war. The United States realized that its strategy of disengagement had failed it between the world wars and that the evolving world order after World War II would require it to take an active role. A series of meetings among the Allies, beginning in 1942 and culminating in San Francisco in 1945, led to the creation of the United Nations.

Atlantic Charter a joint declaration by the United States and Great Britain that detailed the position of the two countries relative to World War II and their goals for postwar peace

The United Nations

While aspirations were high for the newly formed United Nations, the political nature of the international system after World War II limited the UN and frustrated the efforts of founding secretary-general Trygve Lie of Norway (1946–1952). In response to the political order that emerged, as well as compromises made in the finalization of the founding UN Charter, five states—the United States, United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia—received special status as permanent members of the Security Council, the policymaking body of the UN (see Figure 10.1). Ten additional seats were allocated for nonpermanent members that represent geographical diversity and rotate every two years. The permanent members have a veto power that ensures that any policy considered by the group that is not in a country's interest can be overridden by a negative vote. The Security Council requires nine affirmative votes to take action, and the Big Five permanent members have frequently used their veto power—the Soviet Union especially as the Cold War evolved. It used its veto power seventy-nine times in the first ten years of the UN's existence, compared to France, which used it twice, and China, which used it only once.[9]

UN secretary-general Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden (1953–1961) established the character of the organization by professionalizing the Secretariat—the body that runs the UN day-to-day business under the secretary-general's stewardship—and moving the UN forward as an institution of peace. Known for his "quiet diplomacy," Hammarskjöld fostered the idea of UN presence as a method of preventing conflict. During his second five-year term, to which the General Assembly had appointed him unanimously, he died in a plane crash while on a diplomatic mission in Africa. He was posthumously awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961 for his contributions.

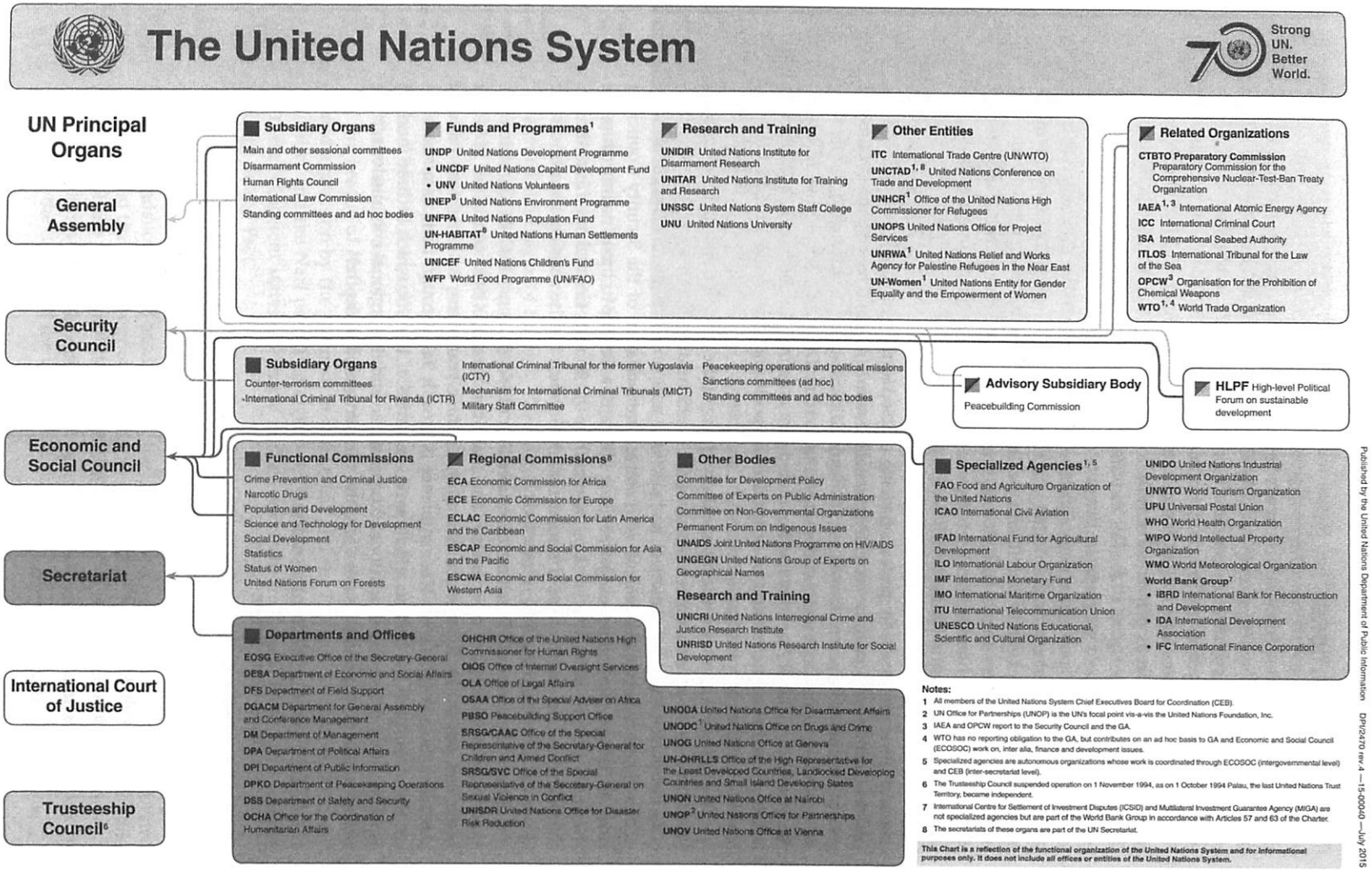
The General Assembly is the representative body of the UN. All states that have ratified the UN Convention are members of this body. The General Assembly supervises UN activities, can decide on financial matters, and elects the nonpermanent members of the Security Council and the secretary-general, with the recommendation of the Security Council. It may also play a role in amending or revising the charter. Despite its broad membership, the General Assembly lacks policymaking power. Only the Security Council has this authority. Nevertheless, the UN remains the most universal forum for the consideration of critical issues confronting the global system today.

Other organs of the UN include the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which prepares studies and reports on economic and social concerns. ECOSOC consists of fifty-four members, elected by the General Assembly for three-year terms, with eighteen national members elected each year. Their influence is broadly felt through their administration of the majority of the human and financial resources of the UN, which include fourteen specialized agencies, eight functional commissions, and five regional commissions.[10] The following list of the commissions illustrates their breadth and depth:[11]

ECOSOC Functional Commissions

- Statistical Commission
- Commission on Population and Development
- Commission for Social Development
- Commission on the Status of Women
- Commission on Narcotic Drugs
- Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice
- Commission on Science and Technology for Development
- United Nations Forum on Forests

FIGURE 10.1 ● United Nations Organizational Chart



ECOSOC Regional Commissions

- Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)
- Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)
- Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)
- Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA)

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the legal branch of the UN and is composed of fifteen judges elected by the General Assembly and Security Council for nine-year terms. There cannot be more than one judge from any country. Member states involved in a case must agree to the court's authority before it hears the case. It is also limited in its judgments, as it has no coercive power, such as fines or jail sentences, to enforce its decisions. As a result, it depends on nation-states to voluntarily comply with its rulings. The ICJ pronouncement in the case of *Nicaragua v. the United States* is considered a critical landmark in this regard.[12]

In 1984, Nicaragua came before the ICJ charging the United States with interfering in its internal affairs. Nicaragua's ruling party—the Marxist Sandinistas—estimated that the United States had provided supplies to an opposition force of more than 10,000 troops—the Contras—along Nicaragua's border with Honduras. The Contras were deemed responsible for laying mines in Nicaragua's harbors using materials supplied by the United States. The United States would not agree to the case being heard by the court, but the court went ahead anyway—extending its compulsory jurisdiction, a right the United States had supported since the creation of the ICJ in 1946. The case was considered, and in 1986, the United States was found guilty of violating the sovereignty of Nicaragua. The court ordered that the United States pay reparations of $300 million to Nicaragua. The United States refused to abide by the decision, however, arguing that it did not accept the court's jurisdiction in this case because of its historical relationship with Latin America and Nicaragua specifically. As a result, full compliance with ICJ decisions went from 80 percent in the period of 1946 to 1987 to 60 percent from 1987 to 2004.[13]

In recent years, the ICJ has become much more active as the number of cases it considers has increased significantly. In 2017, the court had seventeen cases pending that ranged from armed activities in the Territory of the Congo (*Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Uganda*) to certain Iranian assets (*Islamic Republic of Iran v. United States of America*).[14] Two of the contentious cases before the court (i.e., cases that must be submitted by states) involved questions of borders: land boundary in the northern part of Isla Portillos (*Costa Rica v. Nicaragua*) and sovereignty over Pedra Branca/Pulau Batu Puteh, Middle Rocks, and South Ledge (Malaysia/Singapore).[15]

Finally, in terms of the organs of the UN, the Trusteeship Council was established to administer trust territories that existed when the UN was created to facilitate their transition to independence. The council's members were the five permanent members of the Security Council. The work of this body from its original charge was completed in 1994. It remains available to meet should a need arise.

Since its origins in the post–World War II period, the UN has grown considerably—from 51 founding members to 193 today. However, the permanent members of the Security Council have resisted expanding their membership. Given their growing influence in the international system politically and economically, Germany and Japan have actively sought this distinction. Brazil and India have also argued for inclusion, based on their increasing global status and geographic location as part of the Global South. Another approach for changing the membership has been to simply expand the number

of nonpermanent members of this group. Any of these actions would require amending the UN Charter, which is a very onerous process. Two-thirds of all members of the General Assembly must adopt and ratify the amendment, and all permanent members of the Security Council must be on board. Attaining such a level of comprehensive agreement is highly unlikely.

Interdependence and Regional Intergovernmental Organizations

As the UN emerged from the trials and tribulations of World War II, its most critical objective was peace. Other international organizations that developed were influenced by functional considerations—the need to cooperate on many different levels. These organizations have become more critical as countries find themselves increasingly interdependent. Their reliance on one another, particularly in economic terms, has created new structures to facilitate cooperation. International relations scholars Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye describe this relationship as one of **complex interdependence**, where states have come to realize how sensitive and vulnerable they are in relation to others.[16] In this context, *sensitivity* refers to how quickly changes in one country may affect another, while *vulnerability* explores the range of options available for response and their cost. To strengthen state relationships in this regard, one response has been the creation of regional organizations.

complex interdependence the interdependent relationship that exists between states, such that variation in one state's behavior significantly affects the other state

Regional organizations are composed of nation-states based on their geographical proximity and common interests. Some of the more broad-based associations that have followed from the UN example include the Organization of American States (OAS), the Arab League, the African Union (AU), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The charter of the OAS, the world's oldest regional organization (dating from the First International Conference of American States in 1889 and formalized in 1948), is reflective of the broad objectives of these types of organizations. Article 2 of the OAS Charter identifies the following "essential purposes":

a. To strengthen the peace and security of the continent;

b. To promote and consolidate representative democracy, with due respect for the principle of nonintervention;

c. To prevent possible causes of difficulties and to ensure the pacific settlement of disputes that may arise among the Member States;

d. To provide for common action on the part of those States in the event of aggression;

e. To seek the solution of political, juridical, and economic problems that may arise among them;

f. To promote, by cooperative action, their economic, social, and cultural development;

g. To eradicate extreme poverty, which constitutes an obstacle to the full democratic development of the peoples of the hemisphere; and

h. To achieve an effective limitation of conventional weapons that will make it possible to devote the largest amount of resources to the economic and social development of the Member States.[17]

Similar language can be found in the operating principles of other regional bodies.

Regional organizations have also been created for very specific purposes. These include modern-day alliances, like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was formed for security purposes after World War II and today includes a broad range of states from both Eastern and Western Europe and the United States. Similarly, economic needs have brought states together; perhaps the best-known organization in this regard is the European Union (EU), introduced in chapter 6.

Through a series of multilateral treaties, the EU has expanded to become a major regional power. It is integrated on multiple levels, including a common passport and currency—the euro. Today, twenty-eight of Europe's forty-nine countries are members of the EU (see Table 10.1), an association of states that has developed its own parliament, laws, and coordinated trade policies. Five countries are candidate members: Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey. Their candidacy has forced the EU to look more closely at itself and the practices of its member states. A critical issue has been the extent to which the membership can be more broadly defined. The EU requires member states to adhere to a set of economic policies. There is some concern that these measures are so strict that they deny membership to states that may be fundamentally different culturally from longstanding members of the EU.

Even current member states have questioned the capacity of the organization to sustain necessary levels of cooperation, in light of the difficulties of reconciling divergent national interests. The June 2016 British referendum favoring withdrawal from the EU, Brexit, was sobering. The negotiations will be complicated, but it is anticipated that the

TABLE 10.1 • European Union Members, 2017

Country	Entry	Country	Entry
Austria	1995	Italy	1957
Belgium	1957	Latvia	2004
Bulgaria	2007	Lithuania	2004
Croatia	2013	Luxembourg	1957
Cyprus	2004	Malta	2004
Czech Republic	2004	Netherlands	1957
Denmark	1973	Poland	2004
Estonia	2004	Portugal	1986
Finland	1995	Romania	2007
France	1957	Slovakia	2004
Germany	1957	Slovenia	2004
Greece	1981	Spain	1986
Hungary	2004	Sweden	1995
Ireland	1973	United Kingdom	1973

Source: European Union, "EU Member Countries," https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en.

actual separation should occur by the summer of 2019.[18] The 2017 French elections raised similar issues as Marine Le Pen, the National Front party leader, ran on a platform of reasserting French nationalism and leaving the EU. Her resounding loss to centrist candidate Emmanuel Macron, who won with 66.1 percent of the vote, has provided some stability.[19] Similar populist movements in other EU member states, including Austria, Germany, Italy, and The Netherlands may have an impact in the future.[20] Despite these challenges, the EU remains the model for economic integration, one not easily duplicated by other regional bodies.

TURNING POINT

JUNE 23, 2016

Brexit



Wiktor Szymanowicz/Barcroft Im/Barcroft Media via Getty Images.

Hundreds of pro-EU supporters gather on Whitehall to protest the process of Britain's leaving the European Union and demonstrate against Prime Minister Theresa May's vision of Brexit, on the first anniversary of the EU referendum, June 23, 2017, in London, England.

What?

On June 23, 2016, voters across the United Kingdom (England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland) went to the polls to cast their ballots on a referendum calling for their country to leave the EU—Brexit, short for "British exit." While a hotly contested and divisive campaign, the result was not widely anticipated and sent shockwaves across the continent and global financial markets. Adding to the complexity was the breakdown of the vote; while the decision is binding on all parts of the UK, the majority of voters in Scotland and Wales favored remaining in the EU. This fueled speculation that Brexit could impact the future of the UK itself, especially with respect to Scotland, where it reinvigorated support for moving toward independence.

Why?

Some believed that this step was inevitable, as the British have never been entirely comfortable with their membership and status with the EU since joining the body then known as the European Community in 1973. This was reflected in the decision to opt out of the eurozone, the nineteen-member group that adopted the euro as a common currency in 1999. The more recent concerns that prompted the referendum stemmed from longstanding concerns relating to membership fees and the encompassing nature of EU economic and financial regulations. The passion evident throughout the campaign, however, was driven largely by the EU's expansive immigration policy and pressures to accommodate significant numbers of Syrian refugees. Net migration in the UK stood at 330,000 per year, with 188,000 coming from outside the EU. This raised fundamental questions regarding the future of British sovereignty and identity, which ultimately swayed the outcome of the vote.

How?

Following the referendum, British prime minister David Cameron, who strongly favored remaining in the EU, resigned and was replaced by Theresa May. Ironically, May also supported the pro-EU position but immediately moved forward to lay the foundation for the exit. It will take an estimated two years to complete the rather complex process. In addition to managing the withdrawal, new agreements and arrangements will be necessary across a range of foreign policy, national security, finance, and trade issues as Britain begins to chart its new course. Everyday matters affecting the lives of individual citizens, such as visas to live or work in EU countries, health cards to permit medical care for ill travelers, and the design of automobile license plates, will also require fine tuning.

Will It Make a Difference over Time?

The immediate fallout was substantial. Global financial markets wobbled, many British companies fretted openly about the loss of existing and future markets, the

British currency lost value, and there were dire warnings about the pending implosion of the British economy and the collapse of the European Union. As the shock subsided, reactions moderated, and the focus shifted to the "nuts and bolts" of proceeding with the exit strategy. There is little question that the vote has transformed the futures of Britain and the EU in terms of their orientations, perspectives, outlooks, and policies. The magnitude of these changes is difficult to determine just yet and will be influenced by how well the exit negotiations proceed and by the abilities of both Britain and the EU to adjust internally and externally to the new reality. The process was complicated even further by the political uncertainties in Britain following the snap election in June 2017, which significantly weakened the mandate of the May government.

What Do You Think?

Is this truly a turning point for Britain and the European Union? Will the anticipated effects materialize? Are the parties likely to be strengthened or weakened by the turn of events? To help you get started in framing your views, you might want to take a look at the following resource:

Alex Hunt and Brian Wheeler, "Brexit: All You Need to Know about the UK Leaving the EU," *BBC News*, June 13, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887.

Nongovernmental Organizations

When lost boy Valentino Achak Deng, whom we met at the outset of chapter 8, fled civil war–torn Sudan in the late 1980s, he was helped along the way in his journey to the United States by NGOs. Organizations like the International Committee of the Red Cross provided basic necessities for the boys and girls who found their way to refugee camps in Kenya. The International Rescue Committee (IRC) facilitated the relocation of many of these young people to safe havens, with many of them ending up in the United States. Both organizations continue to work closely with refugees of war, famine, and environmental disasters all over the world. Their operations are funded by voluntary contributions from both individuals and countries.

Such NGOs, the other broad type of international organization, are the fastest-growing entities in the world today. Their ability to bring together people driven by common interests on specific issues gives them great flexibility. Frequently, they are best situated to perform some of the functions of IGOs when the IGOs' member states are stymied by their own interests, lack the necessary expertise, or are unable or unwilling to cooperate. Increasingly, the spread of information about events around the world, such as the Syrian crisis, has brought the plight of distant nations into the collective psyche, and it is NGOs that have responded.

The history of NGOs is tied to the development of individual activism on critical issues. Today, we sometimes use the term **civil society** to describe these actors. The World Bank offers a good definition of civil society that is commonly accepted: "the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations."[21] One of the first international NGOs was the Anti-Slavery Society, which had its origins in England but came to America in 1833 with the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia.[22] Its ranks expanded rapidly in the United States, supported by the abolitionist movement, as the group's membership grew to more than 250,000 in just five years.[23] By 1874, there were thirty-two similar organizations with international linkages. Over the next forty years, NGOs grew steadily, with 1,083 reported in 1914 at the outset of World War I.

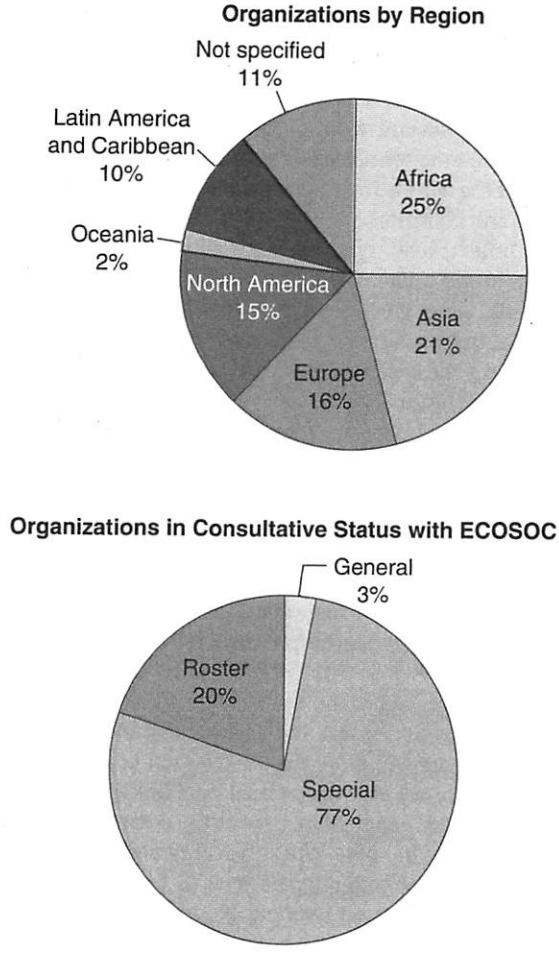
civil society
nongovernmental groups and organizations that represent the interests and values of their members in public life

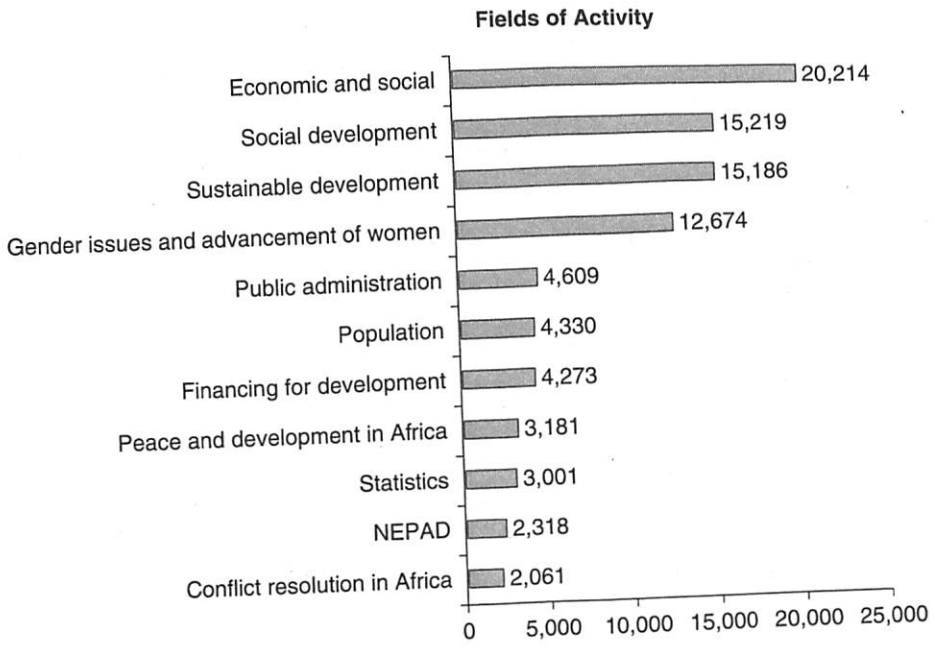
NGOs developed rapidly in the post–World War II period, as the UN Charter explicitly recognized them as contributing bodies to the work of ECOSOC. As a result, by the mid-1970s, NGOs were significant actors in the field of international development. This trend has continued as the participation by NGOs and, specifically, civil society organizations

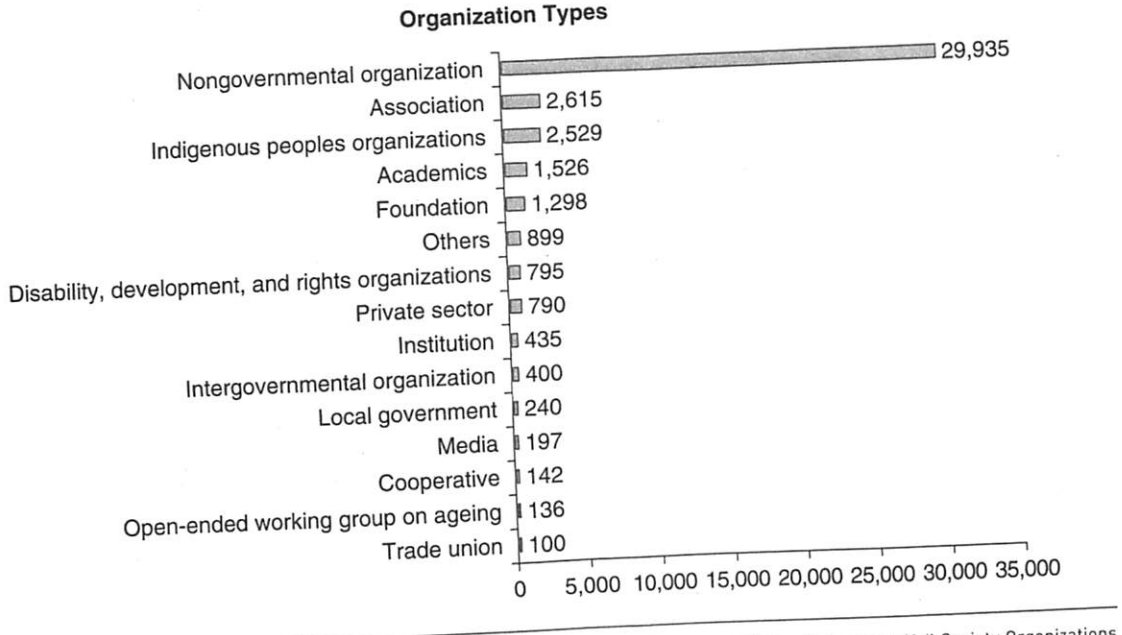
(CSOs) in World Bank–funded projects increased from 21 percent in fiscal year 1990 to an estimated 88 percent in fiscal year 2015.[24] In 2013, the adoption of the World Bank Group Strategy included the Strategic Framework for Mainstreaming Citizen Engagement in World Bank Group–Supported Operations, with the goal of having beneficiary feedback in 100 percent of its financed projects by 2018.

Today, the UN recognizes more than 4,900 NGOs as having consultative status to ECOSOC.[25] This status gives NGOs the ability to participate in UN international conferences on a broad range of issues, such as gender, sustainable development, small arms, and human rights.[26] The UN Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) uses three criteria to distinguish the different types of NGOs in its civil society network: country or region of origin, field of activity, and organizational type. This last category can include anything from academic groups, such as the American Anthropological Association, to representatives of indigenous people, such as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission from Australia (see Figure 10.2).[27]

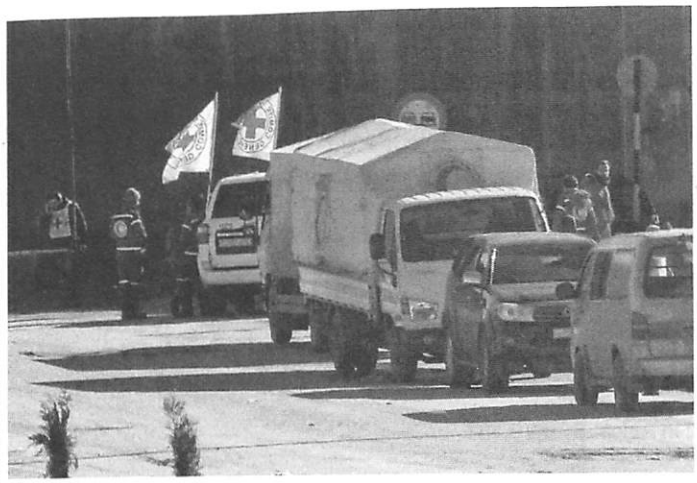
FIGURE 10.2 ● Types of Nongovernmental Organizations







Source: Information is from United Nations NGO Branch, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "Integrated Civil Society Organizations System," http://esango.un.org/civilsociety/login.do.



STRINGER/AFP/Getty Images.

Staff from the International Red Cross and from the Syrian Red Crescent are seen in the embattled city of Aleppo as efforts were underway to evacuate rebel fighters and their families from rebel-held areas on December 15, 2016.

We can think about NGOs today in terms of their political advocacy, economic and development activities, environmental actions, and humanitarian interests. An example of a political-advocacy NGO would be Amnesty International. Formed in 1961, it promotes the political freedoms of citizens, regardless of their country's orientation. Its annual report has become an important part of the human rights dialogue. Economic development work is carried out by a broad range of NGOs, from religious-based groups, such as Catholic Relief or Lutheran World Services, to large operations that subcontract with national governments, such as CARE International, which works in more than ninety countries to address global poverty.[28]

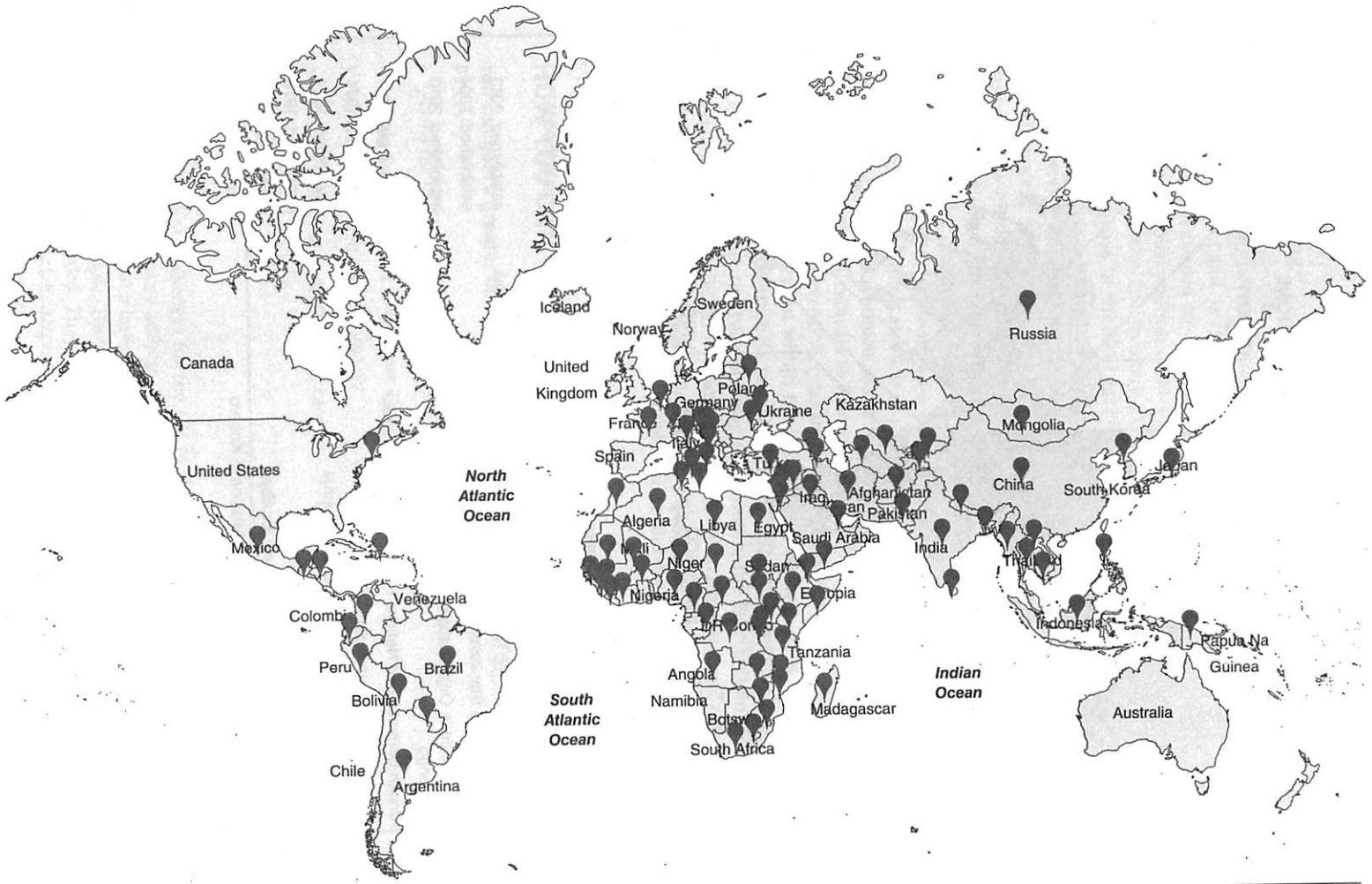
Many environmental NGOs are well known, ranging from the World Wildlife Fund, which promotes conservation of nature, to some of the more politically active organizations, such as Greenpeace and the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. The Sea Shepherd organization's mission to preserve marine wildlife, particularly to prevent the harvesting of whales by Japanese whalers, has been captured in the Animal Planet television series *Whale Wars*. Humanitarian NGOs seek to provide direct services to those in need. For example, Médecins Sans Frontières—Doctors Without Borders—works in more than sixty countries all over the world in response to health threats from violence, poor medical care, and natural disasters (see Map 10.1).

The Evolution of the United Nations and Civil Society

The UN was formed in response to the horrific tragedies of World War II, which saw tremendous loss of life and territorial devastation; its founding premise was to promote peace. In keeping with its organizing principles, its objective in intervening in conflict was simply to maintain and enforce agreements among previously warring parties. Forces would be formed with soldiers from member states to act as peacekeepers. The famous blue helmets they would wear and the clear labeling of their support vehicles was to keep them out of harm's way as they provided an important service. In the post–Cold War world, however, the UN has been called upon for a broader mission—to be a peacemaker. In the early 1990s, UN peacekeeping forces frequently found themselves in positions that required armed intervention, a response well outside the mandate of their mission; yet the circumstances demanded more aggressive action, if only for the survival of the troops deployed. For example, with the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, new states sought assistance from the UN to protect their independence. In 2017, the UN had sixteen peacekeeping missions throughout the world, as shown in Map 10.2. As of March 31, 2017, 124 countries contributed military and police personnel to support a peacekeeping workforce consisting of 84,533 troops and military observers, 11,944 police, 4,784 international civilian personnel, 9,474 local civilian staff, and 1,577 UN volunteers.[29]

In 1992, the UN responded to the need to enhance its organizational capabilities in this area by creating the Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA) to coordinate peacemaking and preventive diplomacy. Headed by the undersecretary-general for political affairs, today this organization has more than 250 staff at UN headquarters in New York and supervises more than 1,700 personnel in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The activities

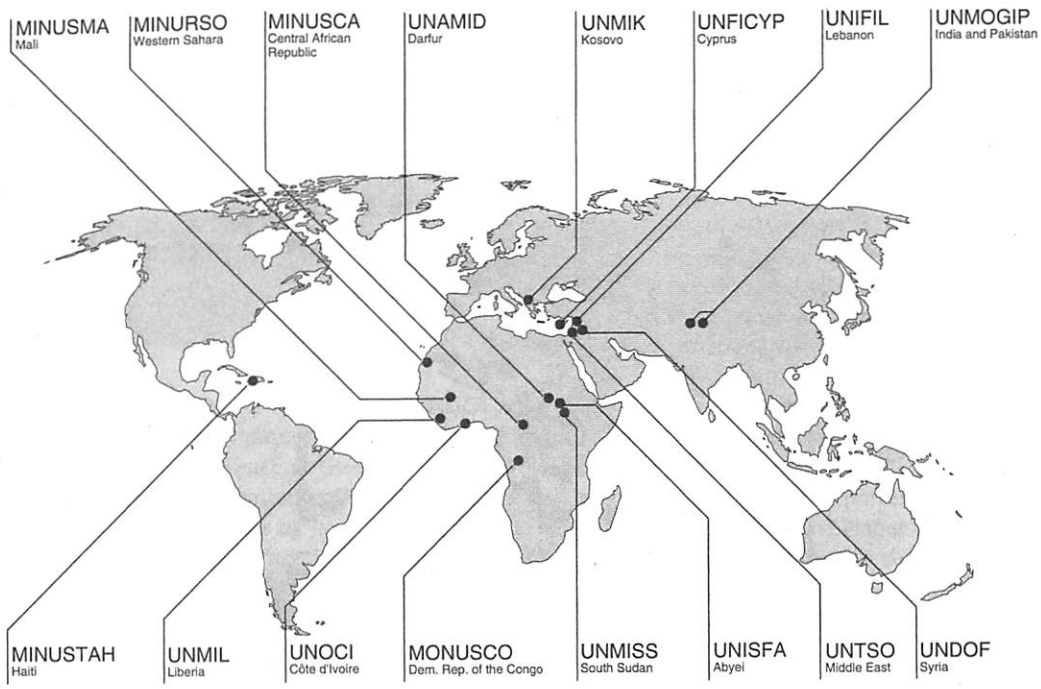
MAP 10.1 ● Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières Operations



Source: "Countries," http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/our-work/countries. Reprinted with permission of Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières.

In some sixty countries around the world, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) saves lives by providing medical aid where it is needed most—in armed conflicts, epidemics, natural disasters, and other crisis situations. Many contexts call for a rapid response employing specialized medical and logistical help, but MSF also runs longer-term projects designed to tackle health crises and support people who cannot otherwise access health care.

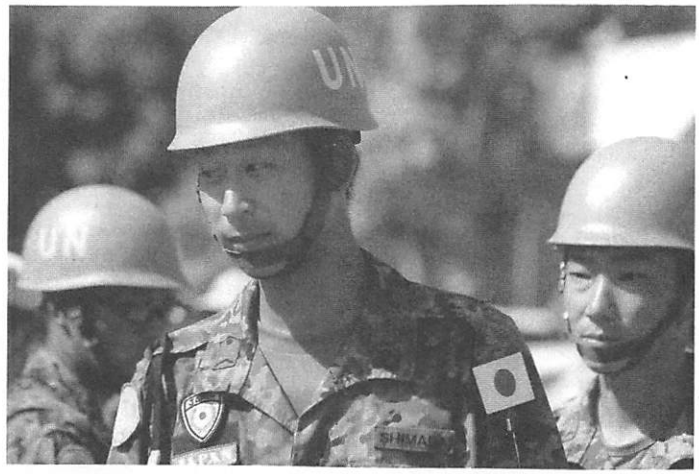
MAP 10.2 ● United Nations Peacekeeping Missions, 2017



MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	established: 1991
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic	established: 2014
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali	established: 2013
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti	established: 2004
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Dem. Republic of the Congo	established: 2010
UNAMID	African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur	established: 2007
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force	established: 1974
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus	established: 1964
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon	established: 1978
UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei	established: 2011
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	established: 1999
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia	established: 2003
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan	established: 2011
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan	established: 1949
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire	established: 2004
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization	established: 1948

Source: The United Nations, http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/dpko/P_K_0.pdf.

of this organization have shifted the UN even further from peacekeeping and peacemaking to **peacebuilding**.[30] In conjunction with humanitarian NGOs, the UN sets up elections, reorganizes police forces, provides relief services, and participates in any other activities needed to create a viable state. It tracks global political developments, advises both the UN secretary-general and peace envoys in the field on the best courses of action to attain peace, and provides service to states directly in the electoral process.



Bullen Chol/Anadolu Agency/Getty Images.

Japanese 63rd troop personnel arrive at Juba airport to take part in UN peacekeeping activities, including rescue operations, in Juba, South Sudan, on November 21, 2016.

peacebuilding the UN, in conjunction with humanitarian NGOs, organizes elections, reorganizes police forces, provides relief services, and participates in any other activities that are needed to create a viable state

Reasserting its mission for 2016–2019, the UNDPA has pledged "to promote the search for—and assist countries to reach inclusive political solutions as the key to—preventing or reducing conflicts and acts of political violence, while ensuring long lasting Mission solutions that reduce human suffering around the world." The strategic goals for the UNDPA to realize this mission are as follows: (1) strengthening international peace and security through inclusive prevention, mediation, and peacebuilding processes; (2) deepening and broadening partnerships within the UN and beyond; and (3) fit for the future—ensuring organizational effectiveness (see Figure 10.3).[31] The Peacebuilding Commission of the UN, which includes the Peacebuilding Commission, the Peacebuilding Fund, and the Peacebuilding Support Office, was established in 2010 to support these efforts. These organizations work together to assist countries emerging from conflict, to reduce the risk of relapse, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.[32]

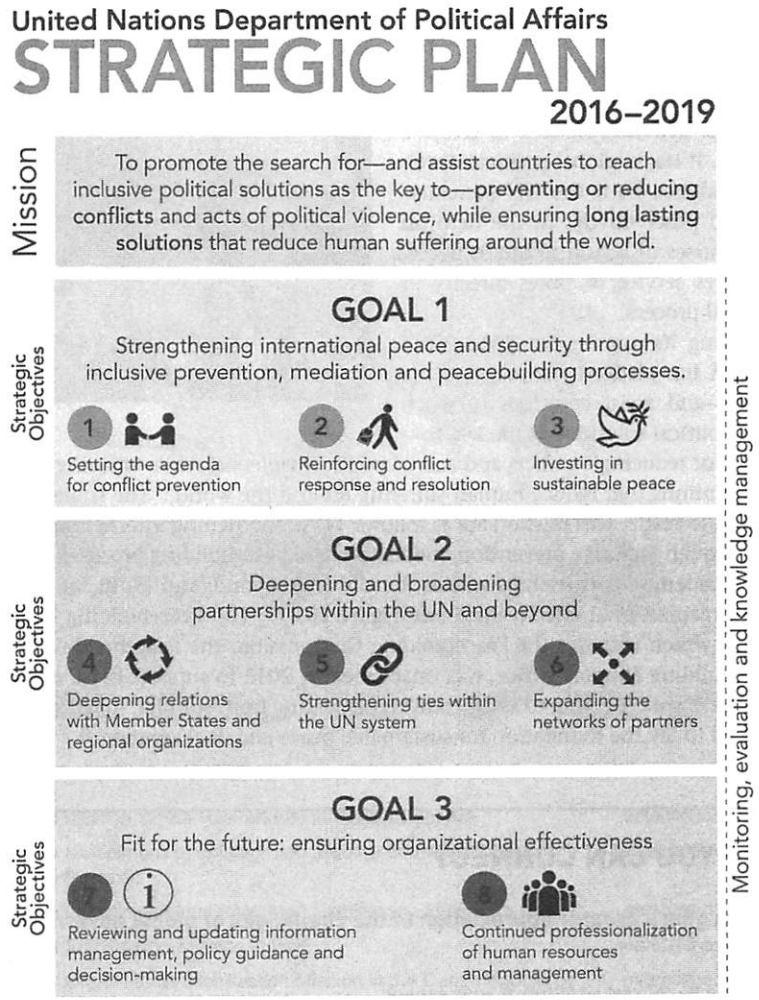
HOW YOU CAN CONNECT

You can gain a greater appreciation of the challenges of global governance by . . .

- joining the Model UN Club at your school
- visiting the UN building in New York City
- watching a live feed from UN Web TV
- joining a chapter of an NGO on your campus
- volunteering for an NGO

One of the greatest challenges for the UN in these efforts is the fact that UN staff are outsiders to the conflicts they address. Many question their right to intervene, as well as their capacity to bring about a lasting peace. NGOs can sometimes bridge the gap between the UN and the local people. They are frequently better situated than the UN to provide many of the services needed. They operate closer to the people, at a grassroots level, and can be more nimble in their response to humanitarian crises. Political unrest in North Africa and the Middle East—the Arab Spring, which included Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt,

FIGURE 10.3 ● UN Department of Political Affairs Strategic Plan



Source: United Nations Department of Political Affairs, "Strategic Plan, 2016–2019," November 20, 2015, http://www.un.org/undpa/sites/www.un.org.undpa/files/2016%20Annual%20Appeal%20Strategic%20Plan%20leaflet.pdf.

Libya, and Syria—led UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon to emphasize the important role NGOs can play for countries in transition.[33] In a meeting with representatives of the NGO community in October 2011, the secretary-general cited their efforts in disarmament and sustainable development as examples of successes where partnerships with the UN had been significant. He noted that civil society's engagement with the creation of new governments would be critical:

> There can be no success without a healthy civil society. Please, do your part. Help these women's groups, social media activists, human rights defenders and others to take their rightful place in society—in government, in parliament, in every public institution.[34]

PRO/CON

IS THE UN STILL AN EFFECTIVE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL CHANGE?

Pro

Peter Yeo, President, Better World Campaign. Written for *CQ Researcher*, June 2016.

Seventy years after its creation, the United Nations is more relevant and needed than at any time in its history to advance U.S. national security priorities while fostering burden-sharing among nations.

Peace and stability remain at the core of the institution's efforts as they did when President Harry S. Truman signed its charter, with peacekeepers constituting the world's largest deployed military force. However, the kinds of conflict they take on are much different than the brutality the world feared after World War II.

Today's peacekeepers operate in terrorist hotbeds like Mali and in nations wracked by civil war like South Sudan. Their presence often means the difference between life and death. A 2013 study found that deploying large numbers of U.N. peacekeepers "dramatically reduces civilian killings." A Columbia University study found that, in the post-Cold War era, deploying U.N. peacekeepers reduces by half the hazard that a country will slide back into all-out war. As former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Mike Mullen noted, peacekeepers "help promote stability. . . . Therefore, the success of these operations is very much in our national interest."

Yet, some of the U.N.'s value is hidden in the stories that don't make the front pages — or perhaps the stories it prevents from happening. Take its delivery of vaccines: They are one of the most cost-effective ways to save the lives of children, improve health and ensure long-term prosperity in developing countries.

Immunizations have saved more children than any other medical intervention in the last 50 years. The U.N. is a leader in this field, vaccinating 58 percent of the world's children. As a result, polio is close to being eradicated, and vaccines for measles, diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis save some 2.5 million lives each year.

Similarly, as the Zika virus affects thousands of pregnant women throughout the Americas, the U.N. is on the front lines: The World Health Organization is coordinating the international response; the U.N. Population Fund is providing voluntary contraception and family planning; UNICEF is helping affected families.

Con

U.S. Rep. Mike Rogers, R-Ala.; Sponsor, Restore American Sovereignty Act. Written for *CQ Researcher*, June 2016.

According to its charter, the United Nations can take action on a wide range of issues confronting humanity in the 21st century, from peace and security, climate change, sustainable development, human rights, disarmament and terrorism to gender equality and food production. As noble as its mission sounds, the U.N. has lost its way and become an ineffective and bloated international organization.

The United States funds 22 percent of the U.N.'s operations, significantly more than any other member state. Despite relying on American taxpayer dollars, recent U.N. actions go directly against the interests and values of our nation. The proposed U.N. Arms Treaty is a threat to our Second Amendment rights, and the Law of the Sea Treaty directly infringes upon American sovereignty. Recently, the U.N. Human Rights Council condemned Israel with five resolutions, but human rights abusers like China were never mentioned. The United Nations cannot balance its broad mission with so many member nations.

Another aspect the U.N. fails in is as an international peacekeeper. The world is more dangerous than ever. With North Korea, China and Iran provoking America and its allies, national security is at the forefront of my mind. We need a deliberative body that acts quickly and forcefully to neutralize threats across the world.

However, the United Nations Security Council, tasked with this exact job, remains gridlocked. Its sanctions against North Korea after that country's most recent provocations amount to nothing more than a slap on the wrist.

When Syrian President Bashar al-Assad began using chemical weapons against his owns citizens, the Security Council was inactive in a response. Russia, led by President Vladimir Putin, continues to ignore internationally recognized nuclear treaties. Yet, as one of the five permanent council members, Russia remains unpunished.

(Continued)

(Continued)

The U.N. is not a perfect institution, and U.S. involvement will remain essential to continue reforms and ensure improvement. Yet, as global crises become more complex, so too do the work and reach of the U.N. Today more than ever, no single country can resolve the world's most pressing challenges. By working with the U.N., we don't have to go it alone.

Many people have tried to prescribe a fix for the U.N. I won't do that. Former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick was once asked why the United States didn't leave the U.N. She responded that it's not worth the trouble.

I disagree. I have introduced H.R. 1205, the Restore American Sovereignty Act, that would remove the United States from the United Nations. When American taxpayers pay for an organization that actively works against them, I think it's time we step up and move on.

Source: Reed Karaim, R. "Reforming the U.N.," *CQ Researcher* 26 (June 24, 2016): 553–576. http://library.cqpress.com.

Where Do You Stand?

1. What role should the UN play in resolving conflicts within and between countries?
2. Should the UN expand its membership to be a more effective organization?

The concept of civil society has evolved in this regard over time. The end of the Cold War and the forces of globalization that emerged afterward prompted social movements around the world that were particularly influenced by the engagement of civil society.[35] No longer restricted by borders, these groups were able to appeal across territorial boundaries to garner support for their cause. They were particularly influential in the changes that took place in Central Europe as countries such as Czechoslovakia and Poland crafted new identities for themselves. As a result, the inclusion of civil society is more important than ever in creating peaceful coexistence in today's world.

What, then, is the role for the UN going forward? Is the UN still a relevant body in today's globalized world? The "Pro/Con" feature addresses this issue and the effectiveness of the organization.

The Expansion of International Law and the International Criminal Court

Concurrent with the growth of UN activities, the post–Cold War period has also been marked by the progressive expansion of international law. The broadening of the concepts of the rule of law and the means for enforcement through the creation of more binding statutes has resulted in more cases going to the ICJ than ever before. While case decisions made by the court do not constitute precedents in the same way that they do in the US court system, they do inform how the law is applied in the future. Most notably, the development of international criminal law has followed this pattern.

Within just decades of the Nazi atrocities of World War II, the world would learn of Rwandans and Serbians actively committing acts of genocide. At first, the UN responded with the creation of ad hoc courts to address the crimes on an international basis. By 1994, there was a growing international consensus that the time had come for a permanent

international criminal court. Based on the Nuremberg war crime trials of Nazis and the ad hoc courts, the International Law Commission of the UN drafted a statute calling for the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC).

In 1998, the UN General Assembly adopted the ICC Rome Statute, which details the governing principles of the court. Citing sovereign national interests, the United States has never ratified the statute and has chosen not to participate in ICC cases. However, international support is widespread. By 2002, enough states (sixty) had ratified the statute to make the ICC a fully functioning institution. Today, more than 120 countries are signatories. The ICC has been critical to a new level of attention given to violations of the Geneva Conventions, which outline the rules of war and engagement, as well as to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since ratification, the court has considered twenty-three cases and has issued six verdicts, with nine people found guilty and one acquitted. These actions have ignited some criticism. In 2017, the African Union called for the mass withdrawal of its member states from the ICC, arguing that Africans have been the only ones prosecuted so far. South Africa and Burundi have indicated they will withdraw, while Nigeria and Senegal have rejected the nonbinding resolution. This lack of support, as well as the court's limited enforcement capabilities, raises the question as to whether the ICC can be truly effective in deterring crimes against humanity.

Conclusion: Compliance and Enforcement

Despite the reluctance of states to formally commit to some far-reaching agreements, such as the jurisdiction of the ICC, there are broad areas of agreement on the laws governing the seas, outer space, and the Antarctic. Treaties are the instruments of global cooperation and may be bilateral or multilateral. Since World War II, agreement and compliance have been found in major multilateral international treaties that involve the global commons and seek to protect the "common heritage of man." There are more than 560 multilateral treaties deposited with the UN secretary-general, and the number continues to grow. The following list includes some of the most important, along with the dates they were first passed and their functions:

1959: Antarctic Treaty—governs the protection of the Antarctic

1968: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)—prevents the spread of nuclear weapons and promotes the goal of nuclear disarmament

1979: Moon and Other Celestial Bodies Agreement—governs the activities of states on the moon and other bodies in outer space

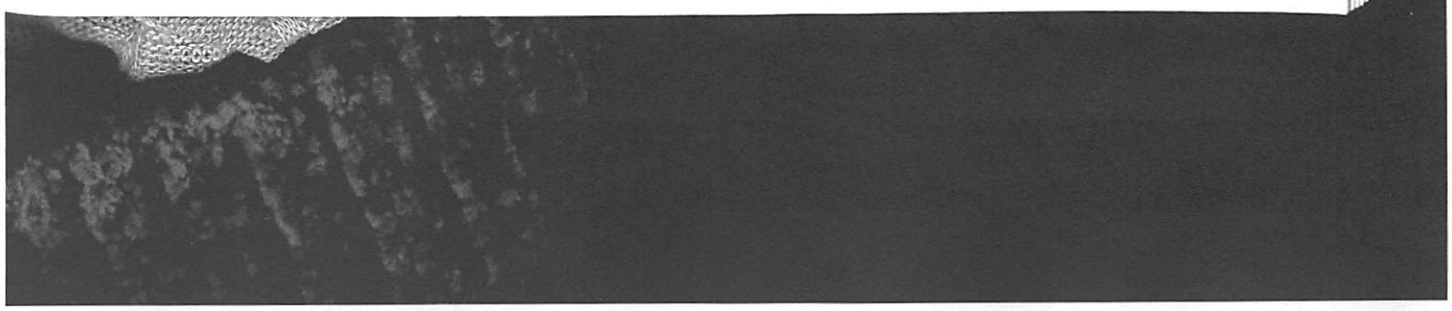
1982: UN Convention on the Law of the Sea—governs territorial claims to the oceans and rules on the high seas

1992: UN Framework on Convention on Climate Change—seeks cooperation on the prevention of climate change

1994: UN Convention to Combat Desertification—seeks agreement to assist those in dry areas and prevent further destruction

1996: Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty—bans nuclear testing on earth for both military and civilian purposes

It may take member states of IGOs years to negotiate treaties and accords like these that govern specific areas. These treaties then still require ratification from the signatories to go into force. For any IGO, the greatest limiting factor can, in fact, be its member states.



The United States is noteworthy in this regard. For example, in the treaties that have been negotiated to cover the Law of the Sea and to enact a Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty, the United States has signed the relevant treaties, but the US Senate has not ratified them, citing "national interests." In these cases, domestic issues drive international decisions, and states put their own perceived national self-interest ahead of the greater global good. These barriers are porous, however, as countries like the United States may still generally abide by the principles of the agreements, even if they do not ratify them.

Clearly, the increasing severity of global issues that defy national boundaries, such as poverty, infectious disease, and human rights, requires cooperation on the global level. The evolution of international law and its role in regulating the international arena, coupled with the activism of IGOs and NGOs, is critical. The extent to which they can help states overcome their differences will have a significant impact on the well-being of not only the planet but also the people who live here. The effectiveness of these organizations in addressing some of the challenges that face the international system is explored next in Chapter 11.

Key Concepts

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To Learn More

Books and Other Print Media

Rye Barcott, *It Happened on the Way to War* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2011).

This book tells the story of a college student's journeys, which resulted in his creation of the NGO Carolina for Kibera (which helps a slum in Nairobi, Kenya), as well as his experiences as a US Marine.

Victoria Bernal and Inderpal Grewal, eds., *Theorizing NGOs: State, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

This edited volume explores the role of NGOs in promoting women's issues.

Carla Del Ponte, *Madame Prosecutor: Confrontations with Humanity's Worst Criminals and the Culture of Impunity* (New York: Other Press, 2009).

In these memoirs, Del Ponte recounts her role as the International Criminal Tribunal's chief prosecutor for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, bringing justice to those who had committed acts of genocide in those countries.

Paul Diehl and Brian Frederking, eds., *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World,* 5th ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2015).

This edited volume takes a broad look through many different lenses at the activities of international organizations

Linda Fasulo, *An Insider's Guide to the UN,* 3rd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

This popular book from news correspondent Linda Fasulo includes candid remarks from UN diplomats and in-depth examinations of issues confronting the UN today.

Leymah Gbowee, *Mighty Be Our Powers: How Sisterhood, Prayer, and Sex Changed a Nation at War* (New York: Beast Books, 2011).