Chapter 9: Intergovernmental Organizations and Nongovernmental Organizations

LECTURE SLIDES

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Learning Objectives

➢ Explain why intergovernmental organizations form.
➢ Describe what intergovernmental organizations, such as the United Nations, have contributed to international peace and security.
➢ Trace how the European Union changed over time.
➢ Describe the roles nongovernmental organizations play in international relations.
➢ Analyze the contending perspectives that international relations theorists bring to their analysis of intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations.
Intergovernmental Organizations (IGO\textsc{s})

➢ Why have states chosen to organize collectively?
  • Liberalism provides the answer: within a framework of institutions and rules, cooperation is possible.
Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) 2

Neoliberal institutionalists hold that since states interact with each other over long periods of time, they can, in many situations, mutually benefit from cooperation. This provides the motivation for states to create international organizations, which, in turn:

• Moderate state behavior
• Provide a framework for interaction
• Establish mechanisms to reduce cheating
• Facilitate transparency of state actions
What Can IGOs Do?

➢ Neoliberal institutionalism: focal points for coordination that can make state commitments more credible by specifying expectations and establishing a reputation for compliance.

➢ The functional approach to explaining the role of international organizations notes that international cooperation began in trying to solve two sets of problems: specific technical, often no-political issue areas, such as the regulation of transportation, and the other is the collective goods.
What Can IGOs Do?

Particularly useful for solving two types of problems:

• As technical cooperation increased in scope, it would spillover and create pressure for greater cooperation in political and military affairs, and new international organizations would form.

• Solving technical issues: curbing epidemics, establishing international travel and commerce, mail and telephone service, etc.
What Can IGOs Do?

Particularly useful for solving two types of problems:

- **Collective goods** are available to all members of a group regardless of individual contributions; a classic example is clean air.
  - The use of collective goods involves activities and choices that are interdependent. Decisions by one state have effects for other states. For example, if one state pollutes the air, other states will suffer.
  - The tragedy of the commons explains how as each person rationally attempts to maximize his or her own gains from the use of a collective good, the collectivity suffers and eventually all individuals suffer.
What Can IGOs Do?

• There are several possible solutions to the tragedy of the commons:
  1. Coercion: force nations and peoples to control collective goods.
  2. Restructure the preferences of states through rewards and punishments.
  3. Alter the size and composition of the group; smaller groups and those with similar preferences find cooperation easier to sustain.
Roles of IGOs: The International System

➢ Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) contribute to habits of cooperation; through IGOs, states become socialized to regular interactions. Such regular interactions occur between states in the United Nations (UN), which continuously negotiate and bargain in the forum provided by that organization.

➢ IGOs monitor and encourage cooperation; they gather information about state compliance with agreements to cooperation, set the rules governing such cooperation, and settle disputes about such rules.
Roles of IGOs: The International System

➢ IGOs often spearhead the creation and maintenance of international rules and principles. These rules and principles are known as international regimes. Regimes help to reduce the incentive to cheat and enhance the value of a good reputation.

➢ States join IGOs to use them as instruments of foreign policy; in other words, states create and join IGOs because they secure more benefits from participating in regimes than from not participating.
Roles of IGOs: The International System

➢ IGOs also constrain states. They set agendas and force governments to make decisions, encourage states to develop processes to facilitate IGO participation, and create norms of behavior with which states must align their policies if they wish to benefit from their membership. States agree to these constraints because the benefits of cooperation outweigh the costs of such constraints.
Role of IGOs: States and Individuals

➢ For states
• Used by states as instrument of foreign policy: legitimize foreign policy
• Enhance available information
• Punish or constrain state behavior

➢ For individuals
• Provide opportunities for leadership
• Socialization into international norms
• Education on similarities and differences
The United Nations

At the UN headquarters in New York City, political representatives from 193 member countries debate many critical issues.
The United Nations

- Founded after WW2 after the failures of the League of Nations and, focus on the notion of collective security.
- Guided by three principles:
  - The notion of the sovereign equality of member states where: Each state is legally the equivalent of every other state.
  - International problems fall within the jurisdiction of the United Nations, such as human rights, and the UN does not interfere with states sovereignty.
  - The United Nations is designed primarily to maintain international peace and security. Member states must refrain from using force to settle disputes.
The United Nations: Structure

➢ Security Council

• Deals with peace and security issues.
• Five permanent members (U.S., U.K., France, China, USSR); ten elected members.
• The only body that can make decisions that all other countries must abide by.
• The only body that can authorize the use of force.
• The great powers have veto rule.
The United Nations: Security Council
The United Nations: Structure 2

➢ **General Assembly**
  - Has 193 member states, permits debate on any topic under its purview.
  - Forum for states to air ideas and complaints from constituents.
  - Arena in which member states can debate.
  - Resolutions can provide basis for new international laws.
  - Evaluates and approves the UN budget.

➢ **Limited influence**
  - Can only make recommendations
  - Members have widely diverse interests
The United Nations: General Assembly
The United Nations: Structure 3

- Secretariat: chief spokesperson and public face of UN.
  - Primary administrative unit
  - Daily running of UN
  - Headed by secretary-general
  - Appointed by the General Assembly (GA) following a Security Council recommendation

- Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
  - Coordinates actions of various specialized agencies
  - UNHCR, FAO, WHO, UNDP
The United Nations: Structure 4

➢ International Court of Justice
  • 15 judges
  • Noncompulsory jurisdiction on cases brought by states and international organizations
UN Organs Now Diminished in Power

➢ Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)
  • Faces the impossible task of coordinating and expanding a number of socioeconomic activities and issue areas
    • Examples: women’s status, human rights
  • Coordinates the work of specialized UN institutions

➢ Trusteeship Council: the end of colonization means the supervisory role is no longer needed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGAN</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP AND VOTING</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security Council</td>
<td>15 members; five permanent with veto, ten rotating members elected by region</td>
<td>Peace and security; identifies aggressor; decides on enforcement measures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Assembly</td>
<td>193 members; each state has one vote; members work in six functional committees</td>
<td>Debates any topic within Charter’s purview; admits states; elects members to special bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretariat, headed by Secretary-General</td>
<td>Secretariat of 44,000; secretary-general elected for five-year renewable term by General Assembly and Security Council</td>
<td>Secretariat: gathers information, coordinates and conducts activities; secretary-general; chief administrative officer, spokesperson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)</td>
<td>54 members elected for three-year terms</td>
<td>Coordinates economic and social welfare programs; coordinates action of specialized agencies (FAO, WHO, UNESCO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusteeship Council</td>
<td>Originally composed of administering and nonadministering countries; now made up of five great powers</td>
<td>Supervision has ended; proposals have been floated to change function to that of forum for indigenous peoples, NGOs, or nation building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
<td>15 judges</td>
<td>Noncompulsory jurisdiction on cases brought by states and international organizations</td>
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Key Political Issues for the United Nations

➢ Success in decolonization (1950s and 1960s)
  • The UN played a key role in the decolonization of Africa and Asia. The UN Charter endorsed the principle of self-determination for colonial peoples.

➢ Development of peacekeeping
  • Evolved as a way to limit conflict and prevent escalation into Cold War confrontation

➢ Post–Cold War Chapter VII enforcement

➢ Continuous efforts to reform
The United Nations and Peacekeeping

➢ Traditional peacekeeping
  • Uses third-party military forces drawn from nonpermanent members of the Security Council
  • Prevents conflicts from escalating
  • Invited in by disputants
  • Focuses on separating warring parties (buffer zone), securing borders, patrolling demarcation, maintaining cease-fires
<table>
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<tr>
<th>OPERATION</th>
<th>LOCATION(S)</th>
<th>DURATION</th>
<th>STRENGTH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNEF I (First UN Emergency Force)</td>
<td>Suez Canal,</td>
<td>Nov. 1956–June 1967</td>
<td>3,378 troops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai Peninsula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFICYP (UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus)</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>March 1964–present</td>
<td>833 troops; 69 police; 152 civilians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIFIL (UN Interim Force in Lebanon)</td>
<td>Southern Lebanon</td>
<td>March 1978–present</td>
<td>10,340 troops; 814 civilians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: United Nations.*
Complex Peacekeeping Operations

- Complex (or multidimensional) peacekeeping Also known as multidimensional peacekeeping.
  - Respond to civil wars, ethno-national conflicts, and domestic unrest.
  - Disputants may not have requested UN assistance.
  - Use of military and civilian personnel (including those drawn from the Security Council).
Complex Peacekeeping Operations 2

➢ Activities include
  • Verifying troop withdrawals
  • Separating warring factions
  • Conducting and supervising elections
  • Implementing human rights guarantees
  • Supplying humanitarian aid
  • Helping civil administration maintain law and order (also known as peacebuilding)
# Table 9.3

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operation</th>
<th>Location(s)</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNAMIR (UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda)</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>Oct. 1993–March 1996</td>
<td>5,500 troops; 320 military observers; 90 police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monusco (UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo; Renamed from MONUC in 2010)</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
<td>Nov. 1999–present</td>
<td>16,215 troops; 660 military observers; 1,441 police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMISS (UN Mission in Republic of South Sudan)</td>
<td>South Sudan</td>
<td>July 2011–present</td>
<td>12,241 troops; 186 military observers; 1,587 police; 2,196 civilians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UN Peacekeeping: Success in Namibia

Namibia—known as South-West Africa and administered by South Africa from 1919 till 1988.

➢ Supervised cease-fire among factions
➢ Supervised South African withdrawal
➢ Oversaw new civilian police force
➢ Secured the repeal of discriminatory legislation
➢ Arranged the release of political prisoners
➢ Organized and conducted free and fair democratic elections
UN Peacekeeping: Failure in Rwanda

➢ Rwanda 1994- ethnic violence between Hutus and Tutsis. Hutus extremist that controlled the police and military slaughtered 750,000 Tutsis minorities.

• Too small a contingent to prevent genocide
• The Security Council failed to respond to a timely request for additional troops.
• Tried to establish humanitarian protection zones
• Eventually organized relief and refugee services
What and who define success?

- Various stakeholders have different standards for evaluating success.

Studies show traditional peacekeeping has been successful in stopping hostilities but not necessarily in solving the underlying conflict.

Multidimensional complex operations have been more successful.
Enforcement and UN Chapter VII

➢ Post–Cold War: Security Council interventions under Chapter VII of UN Charter were increased.
  • Chapter 7 – Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.

➢ Enables Security Council to take measures to prevent or deter threats to international peace or counter acts of aggression
Enforcement and UN Chapter VII 2

➢ Sanctions
  • 1990s known as the sanctions decade—”targeted sanctions imposed—Iran and Iraq.
  • Successes and failures.
    • Averted conflict by Greeks and Turks over Cyprus
    • Wars in the Congo, Sudan and Mali

➢ Taking military action
  • Example: the 1991 Gulf War

➢ Should the UN engage in peacekeeping and enforcement?
UN Reform: Success and Stalemate

➢ Some reforms were undertaken

• In the wake of the oil-for-food scandal, new financial accountability mechanisms have been put in place in the UN and internal oversight has been established.
• Establishment of financial accountability mechanisms and internal oversight.
• Counter-Terrorism Committee, 2001.
• Peace Building Commission, 2006 monitor post conflict recovery.
Security Council Reform

➢ Problem: permanent members do not represent geographic or regional diversity and do not reflect the power of major economic contributors.

• *Five permanent members is composed of the victors of World War 2 and possess veto power over substantive issues.*

➢ Solution: increase the number of the permanent members on Security Council to include Germany and Japan (major donors) and major regional powers (India, Brazil, Nigeria).
The Politics of Security Council Reform

➢ How many should be added to the Security Council?
  • Need to balance representation with efficiency

➢ Who should be represented?
  • For every seat, there are multiple contenders
    • India versus Pakistan; Brazil versus Argentina

➢ Should the new members have veto power?
The European Union: Organizing Regionally

➢ After World War II, an economically strong Europe (made possible by a reduction of trade barriers and foreign aid from the United States) knew it would be better equipped to counter the threat of the Soviet Union if it integrated its economies.

➢ The founders of the European Union (EU), believed weakened forces of nationalism in the post–World War II years could continue to be undermined by economic integration.

➢ Under the European Economic Community, six states agreed to create a common market: removing restrictions on internal trade; reducing barriers to movement of people, services, and capital; and establishing a common agricultural policy.
The European Union: Historical Evolution

World War II experiences, security threats, and economic incentives drive Europe’s elites toward integration:

• The European Coal and Steel Community (1951)-Set French and W. German coal and steal production under a common authority.
• The Treaties of Rome (1957)- six states established a common market.
• The Single European Act (1986)-established an integration process that would lead to a single market by 1992.
• The European single market (1992)-Established a single market system.
• The Maastricht Treaty (1992) establishes the EU- commitment to not only a single economic union but a political union.
• The Treaty of Lisbon (2009)-Increased the authority of the European Parliament.
The European Union: Structure

➢ European Commission: initiates proposals, guards treaties, executes policies, responsible for common policies.
  • Power initially resided in the European Commission, which was designed to represent the interests of the community as a whole.

➢ Council of Ministers: legislates, sets political objectives, coordinates, resolves differences.
  • Increasingly, the Council of Ministers, with a weighted voting system that represents member states, has assumed more power.

➢ European Parliament: legislates, approves budget and the laws with the Council of Ministers.
  • The increasing power of the European Parliament and European Court of Justice.
The European Union: Structure 2

- European Council: defines policy agenda and priorities

- Court of the European Union (Court of Justice, General Court, and Civil Service Tribunal): adjudicates disputes over EU treaties, ensures uniform interpretation of EU laws, renders preliminary opinions to states
As the European integration project accelerated, some difficult issues surfaced:

- EU policy areas today include trade and agriculture, social policy, monetary policy and a single currency, free movement of people, the environment, and common foreign and security policies.
- Members’ differing preferences surrounding common foreign and defense policy
- Immigration crisis and forced refugee quotas
- Possible future members (Ukraine, Turkey)
- Leaving the EU (Brexit)
The European Union
Subregional Organizations

➢ Organization of American States (OAS)
  • Concern with the incorporation of northern and southern countries-political, economic, social and military issues.
  • Founded in 1948 and has focused on democratic and security-related issues in recent years.

➢ African Union (AU)
  • Founded in 1964 as the Organization of African Unity to promote decolonization; now focused primarily on security concerns.

➢ League of Arab States
  • Founded in 1945 to oppose Israel; it has focused recently on regional security concerns.
Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) Defined

- Private, voluntary organizations whose members are individuals or associations that come together to address a common purpose, often oriented to a public good
- Not sovereign; lack resources available to states
- Some entirely private, and some partially relying on government aid
- The number of NGOs has grown dramatically
  - The Yearbook of International Organizations lists 37,500 active IGOs and NGOs; most are NGOs
Roles of NGOs

➢ Advocates for specific policies and norms.
➢ Alternative channel for political participation.
➢ Mobilize mass publics to act on transnational issues.
➢ They raise funds and distribute aid to victims of disasters.
➢ Principal monitors of human rights norms, environmental regulations and state practices.
NGOs at the State Level

➢ Perform services that state cannot or will not perform in education, health, agriculture, and microcredit. (example: Bangladesh).

➢ NGOs have occasionally taken the place of states, either performing services in place of an inept or corrupt government or stepping in for a failed state. (example: Somalia)

➢ Try to change states and government policies.
NGO Power: Strengths

➢ NGOs rely on soft power rather than military force or large financial resources, meaning that they achieve their goals by providing credible information, expertise, and moral authority that attracts the attention and admiration of governments and the public.

➢ NGOs have distinct advantages over individuals, states, and IGOs. They are usually politically independent from any state, so they can make and execute policy more rapidly and with less risk to national sensitivities.
NGO Power: Limits

• Most NGOs have very limited economic resources since, unlike states, they do not collect taxes and rely on donations to fund their activities. The competition for funding is fierce.
• There is a continuous need to raise money, and some NGOs increasingly rely on governments. If NGOs choose to accept state assistance, then their neutrality and legitimacy are potentially compromised.
• Success is hard to measure; there is no single agenda, and NGOs are often working at cross-purposes or tackling multiple, related issues simultaneously.
• Some people question whether certain activities undertaken by NGOs, which have traditionally been viewed as supportive of the common good, may prolong conflicts.
Analyzing IGOs and NGOs: Do They Make a Difference

➢ Liberals: IGOs and NGOs do make a difference, providing venues for states and individuals to engage in collective action; they’re effective at addressing transnational issues.

➢ Realists: IGOs are not independent actors, although they do play a role; NGOs are not independent actors.

➢ Constructivists: IGOs and NGOs can be norm entrepreneurs that socialize and teach states new norms.
  • Can, sometimes, behave in dysfunctional manner
Key Terms

1. Collective Good- available to all members of the group regardless of individual contributions.

2. Complex Peacekeeping- peacekeeping activities respond to civil war and ethno-nationalist conflict within states that may not asked for UN help.

3. European Union (EU)- Union of 28 European nations that share sovereignty on a federal concept.


5. Human Security- UN operations that provide relief in the form of food, clothing, shelter for those affected by natural disasters.

6. Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs)- contribute to the habits of cooperation and interaction among states, individuals and international organizations.
7. Peacebuilding- Helping civil administration maintain law and order.

8. Security Council- Part of the UN that deals with threats to international peace and security.

9. Traditional Peacekeeping- Ad-hoc military unit used to prevent the escalation of conflicts and to keep warring parties apart until a dispute can be settled.