

# Notes

## Foreword

1. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, *Anarchy or Order* (New York: United Nations, 1991).
2. Kofi Annan, 'Two Concepts of Sovereignty', *The Economist* (18 September 1999).

## Preface

1. Richard Bernstein, *The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), p. xiii.

## Introduction

1. See Chadwick Alger, Gene Lyons and John Trent (eds), *The United Nations System: The Policies of Member States* (Tokyo: UNU Press, 1995); Harlan Cleveland, Hazel Henderson and Inge Kaul (eds), 'The United Nations at Fifty: Policy and Financing Alternatives', *Futures: The Journal of Forecasting, Planning and Policy*, Special Issue, vol. 27, no. 2 (March 1995); Rosemary Righter, *Utopia Lost: The United Nations and World Order* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1995); James S. Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met* (London: Praeger, 1995); Erskine Childers (with Brian Urquhart), *Renewing the United Nations System*, Development Dialogue 1994: 1 (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1994); Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994); Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); K. P. Saksena, *Reforming the United Nations: The Challenge of Relevance* (New Delhi: Sage, 1993); and Joachim Müller, *The Reform of the United Nations*, vol. 1 (New York: Oceana Publications, 1992).
2. Some examples include the Report of the Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Keith Krause and W. Andy Knight (eds), *State, Society and the UN System: Changing Perspectives on Multilateralism* (Tokyo: UNU Press, 1995); Mihaly Simai, *The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1994); Oran Young, *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); and Robert Cox, 'Multilateralism and World Order', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (April 1992).
3. Inis Claude, Jr, *Swords into Plowshares: the Problems and Progress of International Organization* 4th edn (New York: Random House, 1984), p. 22.

4. Some of these institutions included functional public international unions and agencies, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the League of Nations and the United Nations, with the UN being the most universal.
5. Stephen Krasner (ed.), *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).
6. Recent studies have highlighted this fact in the context of democratizing global governance. See Leon Gordenker and Thomas Weiss, 'Democratizing Global Governance', paper presented at a conference on Non-Governmental Organizations, the United Nations, and Global Governance, sponsored by the Academic Council on the United Nations System and the Centre for International and Strategic Studies, at York University, Toronto (10–11 April 1995).
7. For a clear understanding of the evolution of multilateralism as both a concept and a process see Robert Cox, 'Multilateralism and World Order'.
8. Examples included Plato (427–347 BC), Aristotle (384–322 BC), St Augustine (354–430), Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), Confucius (551–479 BC), Mo Ti (5th century BC), Pierre Dubois (1250–1322), Dante (1265–1321), Erasmus (1466–1536), Grotius (1583–1645) and Channing (1780–1842), to name a few.
9. Oran Young, *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society*, p. ix.
10. James Rosenau, 'Governance in the Twenty-first Century', *Global Governance*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Winter 1995), 13.
11. The Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood*, p. 2.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
13. See Robert Cox, 'Multilateralism and World Order', p. 176. Also see his *Power, Production and World Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).
14. Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979).
15. See John Gerard Ruggie (ed.), *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
16. Robert Cox, *Perspectives on Multilateralism*, Programme on Multilateralism and the United Nations System (MUNS) (Japan: United Nations University, April 1991), p. 2.
17. For the purpose of this study, the multilateral system refers to the concrete manifestations of the multilateral process, i.e. international institutions and organizations. Note also that the words 'institution' and 'organization' tend to be used interchangeably in much of the international organization literature. However, a distinction ought to be made between the two. Institutions '...are sets of rules of the game or codes of conduct that serve to define social practices, assign roles to the participants in these practices, and guide the interactions among occupants of these roles', whereas 'organizations are material entities possessing offices, personnel, budgets, equipment, and more often than not, legal personality'. As Oran Young puts it, organizations are 'actors in social practices' while institutions 'affect the behaviour of these actors by defining social practices and spelling out codes of conduct appropriate to them...', but they are not actors in their own right'. Oran Young, *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society*, pp. 3–4.

18. See Robert Cox, 'Multilateralism and World Order', pp. 161–3.
19. Tom Keating, 'The Future of Canadian Multilateralism,' in Maureen Appel Molot and Harald von Riekhoff (eds), *Canada Among Nations 1994: A Part of the Peace* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994), p. 55.
20. See Steven Spiegel, *World Politics in a New Era* (New York: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1995), pp. 410–13. I use 'world order' here similarly to Robert Cox, i.e. world order 'designates an historically specific configuration of power of whatever kind'. In this usage, 'world order' is 'neutral as regards the nature of the entities that constitute power' in global relations. Robert Cox, 'Multilateralism and World Order', p. 161.
21. See John Gerard Ruggie, 'Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution', *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 3 (Summer 1992), p. 567.
22. This point is made by Caporaso, in James Caporaso, 'International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: The Search for Foundations', *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 3 (Summer 1992), p. 630. This problem is being redressed by a number of scholars. One recent attempt is a five-year research project on multilateralism and the UN system, conceived by Robert Cox, which has now been completed.
23. The term 'institutions' is used here to signify the 'broadly understood and accepted ways of organizing particular spheres of social action'. Thus, examples of institutions could include anything from marriage and the nuclear family to the state, diplomacy, rules of international law and formal organizations. See Robert Cox, 'Towards a Post-Hegemonic Conceptualization of World Order: Reflections on the Relevancy of Ibn Khaldun', in James Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel (eds), *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 137.
24. Alternative conceptions of how the world can be organized include imperial hierarchy, unilateralism, bilateralism and regionalism.
25. Note that Inis Claude made the distinction between international organization as a process and international organizations – the representative aspects of the phase of that process which has been reached at a particular historical juncture. See Inis Claude, Jr, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, p. 4.
26. See Rosemary Righter, *Utopia Lost: The United Nations and World Order*.
27. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992 (New York: United Nations, June 1992), para. 17.
28. See Helen Leigh-Phippard, 'Remaking the Security Council', *The World Today*, vol. 50, nos. 8–9 (Fall 1994), pp. 161–71. Note that some member states have taken up the challenge of the UN Secretary-General and are offering proposals on ways to restructure the UN Security Council. United Nations, General Assembly, *Questions of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council: Report of the Secretary-General*, A/48/263 (20 July 1993), A/48/264/Add.1 (26 July 1993) to Add.10 (20 May 1994). Also see Bruce Russett (ed.), *The Once and Future Security Council* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997) and Patrick A. McCarthy, 'Personality, Tension, and Instability in the UN Security Council', *Global Governance*, vol. 3, no. 2 (May–August 1997), pp. 147–70.

29. On the issue of interorganizational configurations and linking-pin organizations see Nanette Levinson, 'Ideas, Institutions, and Interorganizational Learning: Toward a Crossnational Knowledge Transfer and Utilization Perspective', paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual meeting, Chicago, Illinois (February 1995).
30. Anthony Richmond, *Global Apartheid: Refugees, Racism, and the New World Order* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 91–5.
31. For evidence of this see Mihaly Simai, *The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System*, and Oran Young, *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society*.
32. The Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood*.
33. See Kofi Annan's speech to the Special UN General Assembly on UN Reform, July 1997.
34. This warning can be found in Erskine Childers (with Brian Urquhart), *Renewing the United Nations System*.
35. Evolving multilateralism implies an unfolding of schemes, plans and concrete institutions with the normative and ultimate purpose of instituting forms of global governance.
36. Evan Luard (ed.), *The Evolution of International Organizations* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 8.
37. The League of Nations is considered the first generation of modern multilateral organizations and the UN the second. Some have speculated about what a third-generation multilateral organization might look like. See Maurice Bertrand, *Some Reflections on Reform of the United Nations*, JIU/REP/85/9 (Geneva: UN Joint Inspection Unit, 1985), pp. 62–6 and Hanna Newcombe, 'Third Generation World Organizations', in Eric Fawcett and Hanna Newcombe (eds), *United Nations Reform: Looking Ahead After Fifty Years* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995), pp. 78–94.

## Chapter 1 Rationalist and Reflectivist Approaches to Multilateralism and Governance

1. Robert Keohane, 'International Institutions: Two Approaches', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 4 (December 1988), pp. 379–96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 389.
3. World order is defined here as the 'political, economic, social, ideological, and cultural structures that define the behaviour and power relationships among human groups'. See Robert Cox, 'Programme on Multilateralism and the United Nations System (MUNS)', unpublished paper (Japan: United Nations University, April 1991), p. 2.
4. For a fuller explanation see Keith Krause and W. Andy Knight (eds), *State, Society, and the UN System: Changing Perspectives on Multilateralism*, introduction and conclusion.
5. For a sample of this kind of research see Michael Schechter, Martin Hewson and W. Andy Knight, *Global Governance for the Twenty-first Century: The Realistic Potential* (London: Macmillan, 2001); Robert Cox, 'An Alternative Approach to Multilateralism for the Twenty-first Century', *Global Governance*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January–April 1997), pp. 103–16; Michael G. Schechter (ed.),

- Innovation in Multilateralism* (London: Macmillan, for the UNU Press, 1998); Michael G. Schechter (ed.), *Future Multilateralism: The Political and Social Framework* (London: Macmillan, for UNU Press, 1998); W. Andy Knight, 'Multilatéralisme ascendant et descendant: deux voies dans la quête d'une gouvernance globale,' in Michel Fortmann, S. Neil MacFarlane and Stéphane Roussel (eds), *Tous pour un ou chaque pour soi: promesses et limites de la coopération régionale en matière de sécurité* (Quebec: Institut québécois des hautes études internationales, 1996), pp. 49–56; Yoshikazu Sakamoto (ed.), *Global Transformation: Challenges to the State System* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1994); Stephen Gill (ed.), *Globalization, Democratization, and Multilateralism* (London: Macmillan, for UNU Press, 1997); James P. Sewell (ed.), *Multilateralism in Multinational Perspective: Viewpoints from Different Languages and Literatures* (London: Macmillan, for UNU Press, 1997); Robert Cox (ed.), *The New Realism: Perspectives on Multilateralism and World Order* (London: Macmillan, for UNU Press, 1997); Yoshikazu Sakamoto (ed.), *Global Transformation: Challenges to the State System* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1994).
6. On those views see K. P. Saksena, *Reforming the United Nations: The Challenge of Relevance* (New Delhi: Sage, 1993); Joachim Müller, *The Reform of the United Nations*, vol. 1; Joseph Baratta, *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on UN Reform and World Federalism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); Yves Beigbeder, *Management Problems in the United Nations Organizations: Reform or Decline?* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1987); David Steele, *Reform of the United Nations* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); Daniel Bardonnet (ed.), *The Adaptation of Structures and Methods at the United Nations* (The Hague: Hague Academy of International Law and Martinus Nijhoff, 1986); Miriam Camps, *Collective Management: The Reform of Global Economic Organizations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981). Note that studies are also being done on the reform of NATO and the evolution of the European Union and other regional organizations, for example. See Robert McCalla, 'NATO and the End of the Cold War: Organizational and Institutional Response to Change', paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference, Acapulco, Mexico (27 March 1993) and Kelstrup Morten, 'The Process of Europeanization: On the Theoretical Interpretation of Present Changes in the European Regional Political System', *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1990), pp. 21–40.
  7. See for instance, Nuket Kardam, 'Emerging Multilateralism in Central Asia', paper presented at the International Studies Association meeting in Washington, DC (28 March–1 April 1994); David Black and Claire Turenne Sjolander, 'Canada in the Transition: Prospects for a Re-constituted Multilateralism', paper prepared for the 65th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, Canada (6–8 June 1993); Danielle Archibugi, 'The Reform of the UN and Cosmopolitan Democracy: A Review', *Journal of Peace Research* (August 1993); James Caporaso, 'International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: The Search for Foundations'; Miles Kahler, 'Multilateralism with Small and Large Numbers', *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 3 (Summer 1992); John Ruggie, 'Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution'; Robert Cox, 'Multilateralism and World Order', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 18 (1992), pp. 160–80; Robert Cox, *Perspectives on Multilateralism*.

8. Thomas Hughes, 'The Twilight of Internationalism', *Foreign Policy*, 61 (Winter 1985/86), pp. 25–48.
9. See Robert McLaren, 'The UN System and its Quixotic Quest for Coordination', *International Organization*, vol. 34, no. 1 (Winter 1980), pp. 139–48.
10. Some of the most prominent analyses of this type can be found in: Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Role in International Relations*, 2nd edn; Joseph Baratta, *Strengthening the United Nations: A Bibliography on UN Reform and World Federalism*; Humayun Choudhury, 'United Nations Reform: Some Reflections', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 2 (1988); K. Cosgrove, 'Management Problems in United Nations Organization: Reform or Decline?', *International Affairs*, vol. 63, no. 4 (1987); Peter Fromuth, *The UN at 40: The Problems and the Opportunities* (New York: UNA-USA, 1986); David Pitt and Thomas Weiss (eds), *The Nature of United Nations Bureaucracies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986); Yves Beigbeder, *Management Problems in the United Nations Organizations: Reform or Decline?*; Peter Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations: Reality and Ideal* (New York: Praeger, 1984); Arie Eilan, *The General Assembly, Can It Be Salvaged?* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 1984); Miriam Camps, *Collective Management: The Reform of Global Economic Organizations*; Shirley Hazzard, *Defeat of an Ideal: A Study of the Self-Destruction of the United Nations* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973).
11. John Renninger, 'What Structural Changes are Needed in the System of International Institutions?', background paper for the Roundtable on the Future Role of the United Nations in an Interdependent World (Moscow, 5–9 September 1988), p. 1. Also see William Branigin, 'As UN Expands so Do Its Problems: Critics Cite Mismanagement, Waste', *Washington Post* (22 September 1992).
12. See Ronald Meltzer, 'Restructuring the United Nations System: Institutional Reform Efforts in the Context of North–South Relations', *International Organization*, vol. 32, no. 4 (1978), pp. 993–1018.
13. For details of the UN's successes see World Link data, San Francisco, California (1994).
14. On this subject see W. Andy Knight, 'Legal Issues', in John Tessitore and Susan Woolfson (eds), *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 52nd General Assembly of the United Nations* (New York: United Press of America, 1997).
15. See Grigori Morozov, *A World Community: Utopia or Reality* (Moscow: Novosti Press, 1987), p. 20–9.
16. Nicholas Sims, 'The Roles of the United Nations', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 16 (1990), p. 86.
17. On this point see Sir Brian Urquhart, 'The United Nations System and the Future', *International Affairs*, vol. 65, no. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 229–31.
18. William Rogers, 'The Principle of Force, the Force of Principles', in David Scheffer (ed.), *Right v. Might: International Law and the Use of Force*, 2nd edn (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1991), p. 107.
19. John Mathiason and Dennis Smith, 'The Diagnostics of Reform: The Evolving Tasks and Functions of the United Nations', *Public Administration and Development*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1987), p. 143.
20. Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982).

21. Conducted by a 23-member international panel with excellent political and managerial credentials.
22. United Nations Association of the United States of America, *A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow* (New York: UNA-USA, 1987).
23. See Maurice Bertrand, *Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Evaluation in the United Nations* (New York: UNA-USA, 1987).
24. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, *Improving the Disaster Management Capability of the United Nations* (New York: UNA-USA, 1987), pp. 42–5.
25. Frederick Lister, *Fairness and Accountability in UN Financial Decision-Making* (New York: UNA-USA, 1987), pp. 38–48.
26. UNA-USA, United Nations Management and Decision-Making Project, *Leadership at the United Nations: The Roles of the Secretary-General and the Member States*, first Panel Report (New York: UNA-USA, 1986), pp. 18–19.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–7.
28. Frederick Lister, *Fairness and Accountability in UN Financial Decision-Making*.
29. See Paul Taylor, 'The United Nations System under Stress: Financial Pressures and their Consequences', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4 (October 1991), pp. 365–82.
30. Kendall Stiles and Mary Ellen MacDonald, 'After Consensus, What? Performance Criteria for the UN in the Post-Cold War Era', p. 301.
31. Erskine Childers and Brian Urquhart, *Renewing the United Nations System*, p. 8.
32. Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 3.
33. As further examples see Edward McWhinney, 'Contemporary International Law and Law-Making', *International Journal*, vol. XL, no. 3 (Summer 1985), pp. 397–422, and Douglas Williams, *The Specialized Agencies and the United Nations: The System in Crisis* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1987).
34. Nordic UN Project, *The United Nations in Development: Reform Issues in the Economic and Social Fields: A Nordic Perspective* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1991), pp. 32–3.
35. Sir Brian Urquhart, 'The United Nations System and the Future', pp. 229–31.
36. Another good example of extra-organizational work done in this mode is the Watson Institute Study on the Coordination of International Humanitarian Response to the Gulf Crisis. See Larry Minear, U. Chelliah, Jeff Crisp, John Mackinlay and Thomas Weiss, *United Nations Coordination of the International Humanitarian Response to the Gulf Crisis, 1990–1992*, Occasional Paper No. 13 (Providence, RI: Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute, Brown University, 1992).
37. James Rosenau, *The United Nations in a Turbulent World* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992), p. 79.
38. see Marci McDonald, 'An Attack from the Right', *Macleans*, vol. 98 (20 May 1985), p. 16, and Ernest W. Lefever, 'Reining in the UN: Mistaking the Instrument for the Actor', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3 (1993), pp. 17–20.
39. Kendall Stiles and Mary Ellen MacDonald, 'After Consensus, What? Performance Criteria for the UN in the Post-Cold War Era', p. 304.
40. For an example, see Burton Pines (ed.), *A World Without the United Nations: What Would Happen If the United Nations Shut Down*.

41. But note, this line of thinking is not limited to the US. Pockets of it can be found in the UK (the Adam Smith Institute) and other industrialized states.
42. Burton Pines (ed.), *A World Without the United Nations: What Would Happen If the United Nations Shut Down*; Abraham Yeselson and Anthony Gaglione, *A Dangerous Place: The United Nations as a Weapon in World Politics* (New York: Grossman, 1974).
43. Kim Holmes, 'New World Disorder: A Critique of the United Nations', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 46, no. 2 (Winter 1993), p. 340.
44. See Henry Jackson, 'The US in the UN: An Independent Audit', Raymond A. Moore, Jr (ed.), *The United Nations Reconsidered* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1963), pp. 47–8.
45. Ernest W. Lefever, 'Reining in the UN: Mistaking the Instrument for the Actor', p. 17.
46. Charles Krauthammer, 'Let It Sink: Why the US Should Bail out of the UN'.
47. Kendall Stiles and Mary Ellen MacDonald, 'After Consensus, What? Performance Criteria for the UN in the Post-Cold War Era', p. 304.
48. For an excellent analysis of the details of the US's policy with respect to downsizing the organization see Tapio Kanninen, 'Organizational Retrenchment and Reorganization: The Case of the United Nations' Response to the Financial Crisis of the Mid-1980s', PhD dissertation, City University of New York (1990).
49. Kendall Stiles and Mary Ellen MacDonald, 'After Consensus, What? Performance Criteria for the UN in the Post-Cold War Era', p. 304.
50. Maurice Bertrand, 'The Role of the UN System in the Context of Changing Global Structure', paper presented at an International Conference on 'Changing World Order and the United Nations System', Yokohama, Japan (24–27 March 1992), p. 9.
51. See Maurice Bertrand, *Some Reflection on Reform of the United Nations*, para. 1.
52. An early advocate of this position was David Mitrany.
53. Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, *A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1990), p. 8.
54. On 'structural' change see Thomas Volgy and Henry Kenski, 'Systems Theory and Foreign Policy Restructuring', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 3 (September 1982), p. 448.
55. One of the most recent attempts to devise a 'new Charter' for the UN can be found in Modesto Seara Vazquez, *A New United Nations Charter*, presented at the 34th ISA Annual Conference (Mexico, 1993).
56. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
57. Francis Wilcox and Carl Marcy, *Proposals for Change in the United Nations* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute, 1955), p. 458.
58. Haas reserves the term *organizational learning* 'for situations in which an organization is induced to question the basic beliefs underlying the selection of ends'. He adds that 'true learning is rare'. Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power*, pp. 36–7.
59. Chadwick Alger, 'Citizens and the UN System in a Changing World', paper presented at an International Conference on 'Changing World Order and the United Nations System', Yokohama, Japan (24–27 March 1992), p. 54.
60. Johan Galtung, *The True Worlds* (New York: Free Press, 1980), pp. 344–50.



61. Examples include CONGO, UNCLOS I, II and III and UNCED.
62. Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary change*, 2nd edn (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982), p. 15.
63. The MUNS scholars are individuals who took up Robert Cox's challenge to develop a critical approach to the study of multilateralism, i.e. one that would not take the existing structures and process of multilateralism as a given but that would remain somewhat more distant from immediate issues to identify and investigate the impersonal historical forces that frame action leading to long-term structural change in the global system. The focus of this research has been on how developments in multilateralism influence global structural change in a normatively desirable direction.
64. L. Sohn and G. Clark, *Introduction to World Peace through World Law* (Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1973) and Richard Falk, *A Study of Future World* (New York: Free Press, 1975). Note that recently, Silviu Brucan of Romania advocated the creation of a 'World Authority' which he claimed would be different from world government. But, in fact, his description of that entity is quite similar to the characteristics of most federal governments. See Silviu Brucan, 'The United Nations as a World Authority', in Jeffrey Harrod and Nico Schrijver (eds), *The UN Under Attack* (Aldershot: Gower, 1988).
65. Wayne Macleod, *Foundations of the World State* (Vancouver: W. Macleod, 1986), p. 149.
66. Inis Claude, Jr, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, pp. 416-17.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 417.
68. Nicholas Sims, 'The Roles of the United Nations', p. 93.
69. John Holmes, 'The United Nations in Perspective', *Behind the Headlines*, vol. 44, no. 1 (October 1986), p. 3.
70. See, for example, Majid Rahnema, 'Under the Banner of Development', *Development*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1986), p. 43.
71. On this point see Rob Walker, 'Sovereignty, Identity, Community: Reflections on the Horizons of Contemporary Political Practice', in R. B. J. Walker and Saul Mendlovitz (eds), *Contending Sovereignties: Redefining Political Community* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1990), p. 181.
72. For a further elaboration of this issue see Joseph Camilleri, 'Rethinking Sovereignty in a Shrinking, Fragmented World', in R. B. J. Walker and Saul Mendlovitz (eds), *Contending Sovereignties: Redefining Political Community*, pp. 25-33.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
74. Some of the most prominent analyses of this type can be found in: Humayun Choudhury, 'United Nations Reform: Some Reflections'; K. Cosgrove, 'Management Problems in United Nations Organization: Reform or Decline?'; Peter Fromuth, *The UN at 40: The Problems and the Opportunities*; Yves Beigbeder, *Management Problems in the United Nations Organizations: Reform or Decline?*; Peter Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations: Reality and Ideal*; Arie Eilan, *The General Assembly, Can It Be Salvaged?*; Miriam Camps, *Collective Management: The Reform of Global Economic Organizations*; Shirley Hazzard, *Defeat of an Ideal: A Study of the Self-Destruction of the United Nations*.

75. Some examples are Charles Krauthammer, 'Let it Sink: Why the US Should Bail out of the UN', and Burton Pines (ed.), *A World Without the United Nations: What Would Happen If the United Nations Shut Down*.

## Chapter 2 Multilateral Evolution and UN Change Processes

1. Patrick Connor and Linda Lake, *Managing Organizational Change* (New York: Praeger, 1988), p. 1.
2. See Barry Buzan and Barry Jones, *Change and the Study of International Relations: The Evaded Dimension* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 5.
3. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some Thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', *International Relations*, vol. IX, no. 4 (November 1988), p. 311.
4. Robert Cox notes that historically, international organization has not been a unidirectional, cumulative process. At times, it has moved toward greater regulation and institutionalization. But at other times this trend has been less so and perhaps in the opposite direction. Robert Cox, 'The Crisis of World Order and the Problem of International Organization in the 1980s', *International Journal*, vol. XXXV, no. 2 (Spring 1980), p. 375.
5. See John Ruggie in 'Multilateralism: the Anatomy of an Institution', pp. 567–8, and James Caporaso, 'International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: the Search for Foundations', p. 601.
6. Robert Cox, *Perspectives on Multilateralism*, Programme on Multilateralism and the United Nations System (MUNS), p. 4.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
8. See John Gerard Ruggie, 'Multilateralism: the Anatomy of an Institution', p. 567.
9. On this issue see James Caporaso, 'International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: the Search for Foundations', pp. 599–632.
10. John Ruggie, 'Multilateralism: the Anatomy of an Institution', p. 568.
11. James Caporaso, 'International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: the Search for Foundations', p. 602.
12. In a personal note to the author on 20 June 1994.
13. K. P. Saksena, *Reforming the United Nations: The Challenge of Relevance*, p. 14.
14. Maurice Bertrand, 'The Historical Development of Efforts to Reform the UN', in Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Role in International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 420–2.
15. See J. Martin Rochester, *Waiting for the Millennium: The United Nations and the Future of World Order*, pp. 152–3.
16. John Renninger, 'What Structural Changes are needed in the System of International Institutions?', p. 1.
17. Gordon Lippitt, *Organization Renewal: Achieving Viability in a Changing World* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), pp. 2, 144.
18. Patrick Connor and Linda Lake, *Managing Organizational Change*, pp. 5–10.
19. See Robert Chin, 'The Utility of System Models and Developmental Models for Practitioners', in Warren Bennis, Kenneth Benne and Robert Chin (eds), *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961), pp. 201–14.

20. R. Bendix, 'The Comparative Analysis of Historical Change', in Michael Argyle et al., *Social Theory and Economic Change* (London: Tavistock, 1967), p. 69.
21. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', *International Relations*, p. 289.
22. For examples, see N. Brunsson, 'The Irrationality of Action and Action Rationality: Decisions, Ideologies and Organizational Actions', *Journal of Management Studies*, vol. 19 no. 1 (1982); Janice Stein and Raymond Tanter, *Rational Decision-Making: Israel's Security Choices, 1967* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1980); R. Rogowski, 'Rationalist Theories of Politics: A Mid-term Report', *World Politics*, vol. 30 (1978), pp. 296-323; R. Golembiewski, *Approaches to Planned Change* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1979); Warren Bennis, K. Benne, R. Chin and K. Corey (eds), *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976); and Margaret Levi, 'Theories of Historical and Institutional Change', *PS*, vol. XX, no. 3 (Summer 1987), pp. 684-5.
23. See Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. x-xi.
24. On the formulation of strategies in the organizational context see James Quinn, Henry Mintzberg and Robert James, *The Strategy Process: Concepts, Contexts, and Cases* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988); Patrick Connor and Linda Lake, *Managing Organizational Change*, pp. 7-8; and Stephen Michael et al., *Techniques of Organizational Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981).
25. Unplanned change is the unanticipated reflexive response to systemic and endogenous forces that results in adjustments to the entity under examination and that exhibits little or no purposive conceptualization or strategy.
26. Michael Harrison, *Diagnosing Organizations* (London: Sage, 1987).
27. Ernst Haas's definition of epistemic communities is slightly different from that of Holzner and Marx who defined them as 'those knowledge-oriented work communities in which cultural standards and social arrangements interpenetrate around a primary commitment to epistemic criteria in knowledge production and application.' Burkhart Holzner and John H. Marx, *Knowledge Application* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1979), p. 108. Haas augments this definition to suit his learning model. He defines an epistemic community as one 'composed of professionals (usually recruited from several disciplines) who share a commitment to a common causal model and a common set of political values.' See Ernst B. Haas, *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations*, p. 41.
28. Based on observations during an internship at the UN in New York (summer 1989 in the Department of Public Information) with respect to the Group of 18 reform efforts.
29. Donald Kirkpatrick, *How to Manage Change Effectively* (London: Jossey-Bass, 1985).
30. James Rosenau, 'Before Cooperation: Hegemons, Regimes, and Habit-Driven Actors in World Politics', *International Organization*, vol. 40 (Autumn 1986), p. 861.
31. For a further elaboration on this see Edgar Schein, *Organizational Psychology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 44.
32. See Gerald Zaltman and Robert Duncan, *Strategies for Planned Change* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), especially chapter 3, and Robert Luke,

- 'A Structural Approach to Organizational Change', *Journal of Applied Behavioural Science*, vol. 8 (1972), p. 421.
33. See Michael Quinn Patton, *Utilization-Focused Evaluation*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 1986), pp. 345–7 for an illustrative list of different types of evaluations.
  34. Gordon Lippitt, *Organization Renewal: Achieving Viability in a Changing World*, p. 7.
  35. Patrick Connor and Linda Lake, *Managing Organizational Change*, p. 10.
  36. See Fredric W. Taylor, *Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper, 1911), especially chapter 2.
  37. Based on interviews with Canadian officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada (June 1989).
  38. See Joachim W. Müller, *The Reform of the United Nations*, vol. 1, p. 1.
  39. See John Mathiason and Dennis Smith, 'The diagnostics of reform: the evolving tasks and functions of the United Nations'.
  40. Based on a number of interviews with Secretariat officials and member-state representatives during my internship at the UN in New York (summer 1989) and Geneva (autumn 1990).
  41. See Francis Wilcox and Carl Marcy, *Proposals for Change in the United Nations*, pp. 457–8.
  42. Examples of the varying proposals for reforming the UN include: Johan Galtung, *The United Nations Today: Problems and Some Proposals* (Princeton University, Centre for International Studies, November 1986); Marc Nerfin, 'The Future of the United Nations System: Some Questions on the Occasion of an Anniversary', *Development Dialogue*, vol. 1 (1985); Francis Wilcox and Carl Marcy, *Proposals for Changes in the United Nations*; Douglas Williams, *The Specialized Agencies and the United Nations: The System in Crisis*.
  43. Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations*, p. 27.
  44. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–108.
  45. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
  46. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
  47. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
  48. See Tapio Kanninen, 'Organizational Retrenchment and Reorganization: The Case of the United Nations' Response to the Financial Crisis of the Mid-1980s', and Charles Levine, Irene Rubin and George Wolohojian, *The Politics of Retrenchment: How Local Governments Manage Fiscal Stress* (California: Sage, 1981).
  49. See James March and Johan Olson, 'Organizing Political Life, What Administrative Reorganization Tells us about Government', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 77 (June 1983).
  50. Tapio Kanninen, 'Organizational Retrenchment and Reorganization: The Case of the United Nations' Response to the Financial Crisis of the Mid-1980s', p. 3.
  51. Maurice Bevenot, 'Primacy and Development', *Heythrop Journal*, vol. IX (1968), p. 407.
  52. See, for example, Marvin Soroos, 'Ecology and the Time Dimensions in Human Relationships', in David W. Orr and Marvin S. Soroos (eds), *The Global Predicament* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979) and John Gerard Ruggie, 'Social Time and International Policy', in Margaret

- P. Karns (ed.), *Persistent Patterns and Emergent Structures in a Waning Century* (New York: Praeger, 1986).
53. On the difference between succession and dissolution in international organizations see Giuseppe Schiavone, *International Organizations: A Dictionary & Directory*, 2nd edn (Chicago: St James Press, 1986), p. 6.
  54. Jack Levy, 'Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield', paper presented at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago (3–6 September 1992), p. 1.
  55. Philip Tetlock, 'Learning in US and Soviet Foreign Policy: In Search of an Elusive Concept', in George Breslauer and Philip Tetlock (eds), *Learning in US and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 22–44.
  56. Adapted from Lloyd Etheredge, *Can Governments Learn? American Foreign Policy and Central American Revolutions* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985), p. 66.
  57. Philip Tetlock, 'Learning in US and Soviet Foreign Policy: In Search of an Elusive Concept', p. 35.
  58. See Ernst Haas, 'Collective Learning: Some Theoretical Speculations', in George Breslauer and Philip Tetlock (eds), *Learning in US and Soviet Foreign Policy*.
  59. Peter Haas, 'Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination', *International Organization*, vol. 46 (Winter 1992), especially p. 3.
  60. Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power*, pp. 3–4.
  61. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
  62. See S. Hemleben, *Plans for World Peace Through Six Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).
  63. Inis Claude, Jr, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* 4th edn, chapter 2.
  64. Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power* – see chapter 7.
  65. On this point see Jack Levy, 'Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield', pp. 3–4.
  66. See Dina Zinnes, 'Prerequisites for the Study of System Transformation', in Ole Holsti, et al. (eds), *Change in the International System* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), pp. 16–18.
  67. See Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change*, 2nd edn.
  68. On systemic crises see Michael Brecher and Patrick James, *Crisis and Change in World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986).
  69. Donald Kirkpatrick, *How to Manage Change Effectively*, p. 45.
  70. Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization* (London: Sage, 1986), p. 13.
  71. See Robert Cox, 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory', in Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 206.

### Chapter 3 Developing Institutional Foundations: Learning in the UN

1. See Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), p. 24.
2. See Brian Urquhart, *Decolonization and World Peace* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), pp. 9–25.

3. See Article 1 of the UN Charter.
4. See Paul Collins (ed.), 'The Administrative Reform Process in International Development Organizations: Special Issues', *Public Administration and Development* vol. 7 (April/June 1987).
5. Point made by Margaret Joan Anstee, Director-General of the UN Office at Vienna, when she was the SG's Special Coordinator responsible for implementing reforms proposed by the Group of 18. At the time the UN's membership was 166.
6. Sir Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, *Towards a More Effective United Nations* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1992), p. 5.
7. Yves Beigbeder, *Management Problems in United Nations Organizations: Reform or Decline?*, p. 2.
8. For example, UNRWA, UNCTAD, UNICEF, UNHCR, WFP, UNITAR, UNDP, UNEP, UNU, UNSF, WFC, HABITAT and UNFPA.
9. Like the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ICAO, UPU, ITU, WMO, IMCO, WIPO and IFAD.
10. Such as the IMF, GATT, IBRD, IFC, IDA and the IAEA.
11. Labels such as 'Superbureaucracy' and a 'new Byzantium' have been used to describe it. See David Pitt, 'Power in the UN Superbureaucracy: A Modern Byzantium?', David Pitt and Thomas Weiss (eds), *The Nature of United Nations Bureaucracies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 23–38.
12. These can be broken down as follows: (a) maintenance of international peace and security; (b) fundamental human rights for every individual; (c) equality of men and women; (d) equality of nation states both small and large; (e) respect for international law; (f) justice; (g) socioeconomic progress and advancement with better living standards and expanded freedoms for all.
13. Used in the broad sense of the term.
14. The Concert of Europe met at least 30 times during the nineteenth century.
15. See C. Pentland, 'Integration, Interdependence, and Institutions: Approaches to International Order', p. 175.
16. See UN Charter, Articles 24–26 and Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII.
17. See UN Charter, Article 25.
18. While each member of the Council has one vote, decisions on crucial matters are made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the Permanent Five.
19. As recorded in Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, p. 143.
20. On this point see John Austin, *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined and the Uses of the Study of Jurisprudence* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1954), pp. 121–6, 137–44.
21. Christopher Joyner, 'The Reality and Relevance of International Law', in Charles W. Kegley, Jr and Eugene R. Wittkopf (eds), *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives*, 3rd edn (New York: Random House, 1988), p. 201.
22. See Thomas Franck, *The Power of Legitimacy among Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
23. Myres McDougal and F. Feliciano, *Law and Minimum World Order* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961).
24. The ICJ consists of 15 judges, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state, who must be either qualified to hold the highest judicial positions in

- their own countries or must have received recognition as outstanding legal scholars.
25. UN Charter, Statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 36.
  26. See J. Murphy, *The United Nations and the Control of International Violence: A Legal and Political Analysis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 15.
  27. Leland Goodrich, E. Hambro and A. Simons, *Charter of the United Nations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 545.
  28. J. Murphy, *The United Nations and the Control of International Violence*, p. 16. Note that as of 6 November 1991 only 54 UN member states have made declarations with regard to the compulsory jurisdiction clause of the ICJ Statute. United Nations, *Multilateral Treaties Deposited with the Secretary-General: Status as at 31 December 1990* (New York: United Nations, 1991). Between 1 January to 6 November, 1991 only one more state was added to the list. Estonia made its declaration on 21 October 1991. See Supplement to ST/LEG/SER.E/9.
  29. Although the concept of judicial settlement of disputes dates back to ancient Greece, city states at that time adopted both principles of arbitration and mediation in the handling of disputes between them. See J. Scott, *Law, the State, and the International Community* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), II, pp. 264–5.
  30. See Amos Yoder, *The Evolution of the United Nations System* (New York: Crane Russak, 1989), p. 94.
  31. UN Charter, Article 2(3) and (4).
  32. UN Charter, Article 33(1).
  33. F. S. Northedge and M. D. Donelan, *International Disputes: The Political Aspects* (London: Europa Publications, 1990), p. 218.
  34. See UN Charter, Articles 35(1), 35(2).
  35. This is because of the 'Optional Clause' in Article 36 of the ICJ's Statute.
  36. UN Charter, Article 36(1).
  37. Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, trans. M. Campbell Smith, ed. A. Robert Caponigri, 'The Little Library of Liberal Arts', Oskar Piest, General Editor (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1948), p. 4.
  38. See UN Charter, Articles 11, 26, 47.
  39. See Articles 1(2), 8, 9, and 22(5) of the Covenant.
  40. Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, p. 294.
  41. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
  42. See also Robert Butterworth, 'Organizing Collective Security: The UN Charter's Chapter VIII in Practice', *World Politics*, vol. 28, no. 2 (January 1976), pp. 197–222.
  43. Seymon Brown, *The Causes and Prevention of War* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1987), pp. 154–161.
  44. UN Charter, Article 2(4).
  45. Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, pp. 247–77.
  46. See Louis Henkin et al., *International Law: Cases and Materials* (St Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1980), pp. 929–38.
  47. 'The Caroline', in Moore, *Digest of International Law*, 412 (1906).

48. Oscar Schachter, 'The Right of States to Use Armed Force', *Michigan Law Review*, 1620 (1982), pp. 1633–5.
49. Restoring peace to Europe by bringing an end to the Thirty Years' War was actually accomplished at two congresses: one at Osnabruck and the other at Munster. One of the reasons for the bifurcation had to do with the need to reconcile the outmoded view of the 'old religious order' with the new vision of a 'secular' international order. For an expansion of this explanation see Edward Morse, *Modernization and the Transformation of International Relations*, p. 25.
50. See Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965) and Carl Friedrich, *The Age of the Baroque, 1610–1660* (New York: Harper, 1952), pp. 36–8.
51. Joseph Camilleri, 'Rethinking Sovereignty in a Shrinking, Fragmented World', in R. B. J. Walker and Saul Mendlovitz (eds), *Contending Sovereignities: Redefining Political Community*, p. 13.
52. Leopold von Ranke, 'A Dialogue on Politics', in T. von Laue, *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years*, pp. 167–8.
53. See R. John Vincent, 'The Hobbesian Tradition in Twentieth Century International Thought', pp. 91–6.
54. Thomas Weiss and Kurt Campbell, 'Military Humanitarianism', p. 455.
55. Note that Yugoslavia is the only state to have been expelled from the organization, although both Israel and South Africa have had their activities within the main UN organs somewhat curtailed from time to time through Assembly resolutions.
56. Geoffrey Goodwin, 'The General Assembly of the United Nations', in Evan Luard, *The Evolution of International Organizations*, pp. 42–67.
57. At times this forum becomes a stage for acting. For instance, one member state delegate was known to have punctuated many of his speeches, in the margins of his text, by such notes to himself as 'weak point', 'shout here', 'pause and look around the room', and 'walk out', etc.
58. Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, p. 336.
59. UN Charter, Article 1(2).
60. Clive Archer, *International Organizations*, p. 92.
61. David Mitrany, 'The Prospects of Integration: Federal and Functional', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1965), p. 139.
62. Clive Archer, *International Organizations*, p. 94.
63. See Keith Krause and W. Andy Knight, *State, Society, and the UN System: Changing Perspectives on Multilateralism*, p. 9.

## Chapter 4 The UN's Global Agenda and the Reflexive Adaptation Process

1. In 205 substantive issues raised in the Security Council between 1946 and 1987, the USSR cast 121 vetoes, the US 58, the UK 27, China 22 and France 16. See W. Andy Knight and Mari Yamashita, 'The United Nations' Contribution to the Maintenance of International Peace and Security', in David



- Dewitt, David Haglund and John Kirton (eds), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993).
2. Oran Young, 'The United Nations and the International System', in L. Gordenker (ed.), *The United Nations in International Politics*, p. 17.
  3. Due to the fact that such threats are generally not made public, it is difficult to document them except through personal interviews.
  4. If a member of the Council is party to a dispute which is before the Council, that party must abstain when the issue is put to a vote. This is an obligatory abstention and is therefore differentiated from the voluntary abstention. (See Articles 27(3) and 52(3).)
  5. For an insightful analysis of the theory and practice of collective security, see Lynn H. Miller, 'The Idea and the Reality of Collective Security', *Global Governance*, vol. 5, no. 3 (July–September, 1999), pp. 303–32.
  6. Very few states have earmarked a portion of their national forces for UN use over the years. Exceptions are Canada and the Nordic countries.
  7. See Alf Ross, *The United Nations: Peace and Progress* (Totowa, NJ: Bedminster Press, 1966), p. 88.
  8. Philip Green, *Deadly Logic* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966); P. Williams, 'Deterrence', in John Baylis et al (eds), *Contemporary Strategy: Theories and Policies* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975), pp. 67–88.
  9. See Robert Jervis, *The Illogic of American Nuclear Strategy* (London: Cornell University Press, 1984); Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy* (London: Macmillan, 1982).
  10. See Rod Byers, 'Deterrence under Attack: Crisis and Dilemma', in R. Byers (ed.), *Deterrence in the 1980s: Crisis and Dilemma* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).
  11. The USSR withdrew its representative from the Security Council in protest over the exclusion of Communist China from UN membership.
  12. Ever since July 1950, the Soviets (and later Russia) have had a representative at Council meetings 'without interruption'. See Otto Pick and Julian Critchley, *Collective Security* (London: Macmillan, 1974), p. 37.
  13. 'Kuwait: The Crisis – Iraqi Invasion and Annexation Evoke Historic Response from Security Council', *UN Chronicle* (December 1990), pp. 5–7.
  14. A clear reflection of the fact that the Third World is no longer a monolithic bloc in the UN, if ever it was.
  15. 'The Dangers of the UN Gulf Myth', *Sunday Telegraph*, (10 March 1991).
  16. The credibility of the UN plan for the control of atomic energy was pitted alongside that of the US's Baruch Plan. Like the former, the Baruch Plan called for the establishment of an international authority to control the use of atomic energy.
  17. Note the two major IAEA international conventions: The Convention of Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident (27 October 1986) and the Convention on Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency (26 February 1987). After Chernobyl and recent discussions about the possibility of similar nuclear accidents in the territories of the former Soviet Union, one can understand the increased importance of these two Conventions.
  18. GA Resolution 377 (V), 3 November 1950. See chapter 5 of N. D. White, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security*

- (New York: Manchester University Press, 1990); United Nations, General Assembly Resolution 377 (V), 3 November 1950; Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 34. For a good discussion of the Uniting for Peace proposals see G. Goodwin, *Britain and the United Nations* (New York: Manhattan Publishing, 1957), pp. 245–55.
19. Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, p. 34; for a good discussion of the Uniting for Peace proposals see G. Goodwin, *Britain and the United Nations*, pp. 245–55.
  20. Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, p. 268.
  21. Lester Pearson, 'Force for the UN', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 35 (April 1957), p. 401.
  22. Max Harrelson, *Fires All Around the Horizon: The UN's Uphill Battle to Preserve the Peace* (New York: Praeger, 1989), p. 89.
  23. Ramesh Thakur, 'International Peacekeeping, UN Authority, and US Power', *Alternatives*, vol. XII (1987), p. 461.
  24. This operation was headed by a Canadian, Major-General Burns.
  25. See 'United Nations Emergency Forces, Summary Study of the Experience Derived from the Establishment and Operation of the Force', *Report of the Secretary-General*, UN Doc. A/3943 (9 October 1958). Also see the United Nations, *The Blue Helmets*, 2nd edn (New York: United Nations, 1990), p. 8.
  26. The exceptions being the participation of the USSR in the UN Truce Supervision Organization (since 1975) and the participation of a French contingent in UNIFIL.
  27. See UN Security Council Resolution 340 (1973) UN Doc. S/11052/Rev.1 (27 October 1973).
  28. John Mackinlay, *The Peacekeepers: An Assessment of Peacekeeping Operations at the Arab–Israeli Interface* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 14.
  29. For an elaboration of the role which UN observer missions and peacekeeping operations have played in the maintenance of international peace and security see the second edition of *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*.
  30. James Stegenga, *The United Nations Force in Cyprus* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), p. 186.
  31. See Abraham Yeselson and Anthony Gaglione, *A Dangerous Place*.
  32. See F. R. Henn, 'Guidelines for Peacekeeping', *British Army Review*, no. 67 (April 1981), p. 36; John Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra, 'Second Generation Multinational Operations', *Washington Quarterly* (Summer 1992), pp. 113–31; and John Mackinlay, *The Peacekeepers: An Assessment of Peacekeeping Operations at the Arab–Israeli Interface*, p. 14.
  33. United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization* (September 1991) UN Doc. A/46/1.
  34. The tasks of peacekeeping essentially consist of: (a) stopping or containing hostilities and thus helping to create conditions in which peacemaking can be tried; and (b) supervising the implementation of an interim or final settlement which has been negotiated by the peacemakers. So at times, peacemaking can be used concurrently with peacekeeping.

35. Note, for instance, the Manila Declaration of 1982 on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and the 1988 Declaration on the Prevention and Removal of Disputes and Situations Which may Threaten International Peace and Security and on the Role of the United Nations in this Field. Also see UNGA Resolution 44/21 (15 November 1989) on enhancing international peace and security and international cooperation in all its aspects in accordance with the UN Charter.
36. A personal account of his peacemaking activity can be found in Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, 'Reflecting on the Past and Contemplating the Future', *Global Governance*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May–August 1995), pp. 149–70.
37. Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, p. 312.
38. See Dag Hammarskjöld, *Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization*, 16 June 1960. GA 15th Session, supplement no. 1A (A/4390/Add.1).
39. Oran Young, *The Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crises* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 265.
40. Interview with Juergen Dedring, Office of Research and Collection of Information, United Nations, New York (summer 1990).
41. Thomas Boudreau, *Sheathing the Sword: The UN Secretary-General and the Prevention of International Conflict* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. 116. See also UN Doc. ST/SGB/Organization (3 October 1988), p. 1.
42. The other offices/department discontinued as separate entities were: the Office of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation; the Office for Political and General Assembly Affairs and Secretariat Services; the Office for Ocean Affairs and the Law of the Sea; the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs; the Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship; Department for Disarmament Affairs; Department of International Economic and Social Affairs; Department of Technical Cooperation for Development; Centre for Science and Technology for Development; United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations; and the Department of Conference Services.
43. United Nations, General Assembly, *Review of the Efficiency of the Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations: Restructuring of the Secretariat of the Organization*, Note by the Secretary-General, UNGA 46th Session, Agenda item 105, A/46/882 (21 February 1992), p. 2.
44. See Brian Urquhart, 'The Management of Change: The Role of the UN', *Canada and the United Nations in a Changing World*, p. 44.
45. See General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) (1960). Also, Robert Riggs and Jack Plano, *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics*, 2nd edn (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1994), pp. 194–5.
46. For instance, UNGA Resolution 1514 (XV) (1960).
47. See Brian Urquhart, 'The Management of Change: The Role of the UN', p. 44.
48. See Article 109 of the UN Charter.
49. See UN Secretary-General Report S/4382.
50. See UN Security Council Resolution 13 (1960).
51. See James Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met* (London: Praeger, 1995), pp. 26–8.

52. Edmund P. Wellenstein, 'The North-South Dialogue: Another Confrontation or a Basis for a New International Economic Order?', in Jan A. Van Lith (ed.), *Change and the New International Economic Order* (London: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), pp. 150-64.
53. See UN Charter, Article 1(3) and (4).
54. W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: a non-communist manifesto*, 3rd edn (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
55. See Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, and André Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York: Monthly Review, 1969); Enrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*; J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, 'Modernization and Dependency', *Comparative Politics*, vol. 10, no. 4 (July 1978), 535-57.
56. Craig Murphy, 'What the Third World Wants: An Interpretation of the Development and Meaning of the New International Economic Order Ideology', in Paul Diehl (ed.), *The Politics of International Organizations: Patterns and Insights* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989), pp. 226-41.
57. On the links between the NIEO and third-generation rights see Jan A. Van Lith (ed.), *Change and the New International Economic Order* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979).
58. For example, the UN Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA), the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), the UN special fund, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the International Development Association (IDA), the Commission on Transnational Corporations (CTC), the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), the Advisory Committee for the Application of Science and Technology for Development (ACASTD), the Committee on Natural Resources (CNR) and development planning, the Office of Secretariat Services for Economic and Social Matters (OSSESM), the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs (DIESA) Department of Technical Cooperation for Development (DTCD) and a number of Regional Economic Commissions and Banks.
59. Examples include: laws to regulate the activities of transnational corporations; the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS); a number of other conventions, including the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (4 January 1969), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (adopted 16 December 1966), the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (23 March 1976).
60. Kenneth Dadzie, 'The UN and the Problem of Economic Development', in Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 297.
61. United Nations, *National and International Measures for Full Employment* (New York: United Nations, 1949).
62. United Nations, *Measures for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries* (New York: United Nations, 1951).
63. W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Homewood, IL: Irwin, 1955).
64. Kenneth Dadzie, *The UN and the Problem of Economic Development*, p. 300.

65. See United Nations, *Toward a New Trade Policy for Development: Report by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD* (New York: United Nations, 1964).
66. Examples of the latter include: codes regulating the activities of transnational corporations (TNCs); the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), as well as other conventions dealing with the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (4 January 1969), Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (a covenant adopted 16 December 1966), and Civil and Political Rights (a covenant adopted 23 March 1976).
67. Kenneth Dadzie, *The UN and the Problem of Economic Development*, p. 302.
68. On this point see Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, p. 181.
69. Rosemary Righter, *Utopia Lost: The United Nations and World Order*, p. 187.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
71. UNGA Resolution 3201, S-VI (1 May 1974).
72. Mihaly Simai, *The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System*, p. 22.
73. See Chung-In Moon, 'The Future of the Newly Industrializing Countries: An Uncertain Promise', in Dennis Pirages and Christine Sylvester (eds), *Transformations in the Global Political Economy* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990), pp. 153–94.
74. See Donald Puchala and Roger Coate, *The Challenge of Relevance: The United Nations in a Changing World Environment* (Hanover, NH: Academic Council on the United Nations System, 1989), p. 54.
75. T. Buergenthal and J. Torney, 'Expanding the International Human Rights Research Agenda', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 2 (June 1979), p. 322.
76. M. Tardu, 'United Nations Response to Gross Violations of Human Rights: the 1503 Procedure', *Santa Clara Law Review*, vol. 20 (Summer 1980), p. 559.
77. Although there were a few studies done, for example on the responsibilities of states for injuries to aliens, the need to protect religious and linguistic minorities under the League of Nations minorities system, the status of stateless persons and the need for the total abolition of slavery.
78. See L. Sohn and T. Buergenthal, *International Protection of Human Rights* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973) for a more detailed history of the development of interest in this issue.
79. The charges laid against individuals at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial were unprecedented in that it was the first time individuals were being prosecuted for crimes against humanity.
80. Evan Luard, *The Globalization of Politics: The Changed Focus of Political Action in the Modern World* (London: Macmillan, 1990), p. 99.
81. At the San Francisco Conference a bid to settle agreement on a plan which could be used for the international protection of human rights was tabled. As a result a human rights enforcement mechanism was therefore not constructed at the genesis of the United Nations. See Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, pp. 79–80.
82. I make this argument elsewhere in W. Andy Knight, 'The Changing Human Rights Regime, State Sovereignty, and Article 2(7) in the Post-Cold War era', in Abiodun Williams et al., *Article 2(7) Revisited*, ACUNS Reports and Papers No. 5 (1994), pp. 37–71.

83. Examples include civil wars in places like Poland, Greece and Biafra, the independence struggles of the Algerians and the East Timorese, rebellions like those in Burma and Bolivia, the frequent African *coups d'état* and the anti-Apartheid clashes in South Africa.
84. UN Charter, Article 2(7) was also invoked by non-UN states.
85. Harold K. Jacobson, 'The Global System and the Realization of Human Dignity and Justice', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 3 (September 1982), p. 322.
86. See United Nations, *Human Rights Machinery: Fact Sheet No. 1* (Geneva: Centre for Human Rights, 1988), pp. 4–5.
87. See ECOSOC Resolution E/RES/1235 (1967), E/RES/1503.
88. In addition to the Commissions, the Council has, from time to time, struck *ad hoc* instructed and uninstructed bodies as well as appointed rapporteurs and committees of independent experts to prepare reports on human rights subjects of a technical nature.
89. Rosalyn Higgins, 'The United Nations Human Rights Committee', in Robert Blackburn and John Taylor (eds), *Human Rights for the 1990s: Legal, Political and Ethical Issues* (London: Mansell Publishing, 1991), p. 67.
90. See David Forsythe, *The Internationalization of Human Rights* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1991), p. 328.
91. Margaret Galey, 'Promoting Nondiscrimination Against Women: The UN Commission on the Status of Women', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 2 (1979), p. 276.
92. By international human rights law, I refer to: that compilation of norms which can be found in the Declaration of Human Rights, the twin Covenants and other declarations and covenants drafted under the aegis of the UN; that body of rights listed under international legal authorities such as the ILO, international refugee law and international humanitarian norms; and the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocols of 1977. References to human rights can be found in the Preamble and Articles 1(3), 8, 13(b), 55(c), 62, 68 and 76(c) of the Charter.
93. For a good discussion of the development of the ecological issue in the UN see Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, chapter 9.
94. See Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos, *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).
95. Karen T. Litfin, 'Constructing Environmental Security and Ecological Interdependence', *Global Governance*, vol. 5, no. 3 (July–September 1999), pp. 359–77.
96. UN, ECOSOC Resolution 1346 (XLV) (1968).
97. 5 June is now known as World Environment Day.
98. Another significant aspect of this conference was the presence and involvement of several environmental NGOs and ecological groups, e.g. Friends of the Earth, the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and the World Wildlife Fund, to name a few.
99. See UNGA resolutions 2997 (XXVII) of 1972 and 2991 (XXVII). Among UNEP's goals were: the promotion of international cooperation in the environmental field; the promotion of general policy guidance for the direction and coordination of environmental programmes within the UN; the

- implementation of environmental programmes drawn up by the UN; monitoring the global environmental situation; reviewing the impact of national and international environmental policies; and facilitating the exchange of knowledge concerning the environment.
100. Note that the US was the only state opposed to the latter measure. See Amos Yoder, *The Evolution of the United Nations System* (New York: Crane Russak, 1989), p. 145.
  101. Adopted by the UN Conference on Desertification (Nairobi, 1977).
  102. It should be noted that UNEP also works closely with the International Maritime Organization (IMO) to prevent ocean pollution.
  103. Adopted at the Vienna Conference in 1985 and the Montreal Conference in 1987.
  104. The Environment Fund which supports UNEP programmes was established by UNGA Resolution 2997 (XXVII). The amount of contributed money is approximately \$30 million a year (considerably less than the \$100 million which was expected to be pledged to the organization by member states). See *World Commission on Environment and Development* (New York: United Nations, 1987), pp. 319–20.
  105. Evan Luard, *The Globalization of Politics: The Changed Focus of Political Action in the Modern World*, p. 88.
  106. Note that out of that conference came five major instruments signed by participating world leaders: the Rio Declaration (a statement of principles); Agenda 21 (a large document which identifies global environmental priority actions and guidelines towards their achievement, including the creation of a new Commission for Sustainable Development); a Framework Convention on Climate Change; a Framework Convention on Biological Diversity; and a Statement of Principles on Forests. See Shanna Halpern, *The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development: Process and Documentation*, Reports and Papers, No. 2 (Providence, RI: Academic Council on the United Nations System, 1993).
  107. In private correspondence with the author Sutterlin argues that the 'cutting-edge' leadership shown by the UN in this area (along with that of population) was little more than reflexive.
  108. The Report of the Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood*, pp. 57–63. Also see Christopher C. Joyner, 'The United Nations and Democracy', *Global Governance*, vol. 5, no. 3 (July–September 1999), pp. 333–57.
  109. Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, p. 166.
  110. See Scott Mainwaring and Eduardo Viola, 'New Social Movements, Political Culture, and Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s', *Telos*, vol. 61 (Fall 1985), pp. 30–2.
  111. Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History?', *The National Interest*, 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 3–16.
  112. In 1993, after five years of progress, the worldwide march towards democracy appeared to have suffered a setback. It was during that year that 16 countries were added to the Freedom House list of the 'not free'. They included countries in Africa, the Middle East, the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia. Based on this information, Bette Boa Lord of Freedom

House announced that 'the period of rapid democratic expansion appears to have ended'. Even in some of the world's so-called freest nations, such as the US, Italy and Japan, there is corruption that erodes the democratic political structures. What is responsible for this retreat from democracy? Some have blamed it on ethnic violence, religious tension, poor economic conditions, inexperience with democracy and political repression. Freedom House claims that this retreat from democracy was the biggest since 1972.

113. See Mihaly Simai, *The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risks and Change in the International System*, pp. 346–8.
114. For a fuller discussion of this see Frederic L. Kirgis, Jr, *International Organizations in Their Legal Setting*, p. 822.
115. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Report on the Work of the Organization from the Forty-seventh to the Forty-eight Session of the General Assembly* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, September 1993), p. 159.
116. United Nations, Electoral Assistance Unit, Department of Political Affairs, 'Electoral Assistance Activities of the United Nations System', New York (January 1994).
117. United Nations, Electoral Assistance Unit, Department of Political Affairs, 'Status of Member States' Requests, as of 30 June 1993', New York (June 1993).
118. Interview with Mari Yamashita, Political Affairs Officer, Electoral Assistance Unit, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations, New York (March 1994).

## Chapter 5 The Managed Change Process at the UN

1. For a good description of these strategies see James Quinn, Henry Mintzberg and Robert James, *The Strategy Process: Concepts, Contexts, and Cases*, and Stephen Michael et al., *Techniques of Organizational Change*.
2. UNGA Resolution 413 (V) 1950.
3. For a substantial discussion on this issue see Yves Beigbeder, *Management Problems in the United Nations Organizations: Reform or Decline?*, pp. 45–7.
4. A system that was initially modelled on the US federal administration system. Joachim Müller, *Reform of the United Nations*, vol. 1, p. 16.
5. Secretariat members are compensated for agreeing to take certain 'hardship' posts or for living in areas with a high cost of living.
6. The Noblemaire principle is named after G. Noblemaire, the rapporteur for the Fourth Committee of the League of Nations in 1921. This committee recommended that the level of salaries for international civil servants should be determined by following three basic principles: (a) that remuneration of international civil servants be such as to attract and retain the most competent and efficient citizens of member states of the League; (b) that the expatriation factor be taken into account; and (c) that the level of international civil servants' salaries should not be subject to the ebb and flow of public criticism. For more detail on this see Alexander S. Efimov and Nasser Kaddour, *Staff Costs and Some Aspects of Utilization of Human and Financial Resources in the United Nations Secretariat* (Geneva: Joint Inspection Unit, 1984), JIU/REP/84/12, pp. 4–18.



7. See UNGA Resolutions 3042 (XXVII) in 1972 and 3357 (XXIX) in 1974. Note that the ICSC is responsible for making recommendations to the Assembly for the regulation and coordination of conditions of service within the UN, the specialized agencies and other IOs that participate in the UN common system.
8. See Thomas Franck, *Nation Against Nations*, pp. 82–3.
9. See UN Document A/4776 and UNGA Resolution 1797 (XVII) of 11 December 1962, and the Second Report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to examine the finances of the UN and the Specialized Agencies. UN Document A/6343.
10. See UNGA Resolution 3538 (XXX) (1975).
11. Some of them, including the USSR and France, refused to make the necessary contributions to the UN regular budget required to cover the annual peacekeeping payments.
12. Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, p. 46.
13. See ICJ Advisory Opinion (20 July 1962). Note that this opinion was endorsed by UNGA Resolution 1854 (XVII) of 19 December 1962.
14. For example, note that the Soviet bloc and several Arab states refused to contribute to UNEF. At other times, Belgium, China, Egypt, France, Israel and the UK, among others, failed to pay for UN peacekeeping operations citing several different reasons. See A. Leroy Bennett, *International Organizations: Principles and Issues*, p. 92.
15. For a detailed explanation of this formula see Shijuro Ogata and Paul Volcker (Co-chairmen), *Financing an Effective United Nations: A Report of the Independent Advisory Group on UN Financing* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1993), pp. 13–14, and Yves Beigbeder, 'The Unending Financial Crisis of the United Nations: Assessing Reform Proposals,' paper presented at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Academic Council of the United Nations System, the Hague, the Netherlands (23–25 June 1994), p. 6.
16. Joachim Müller, *Reform of the United Nations*, p. 19.
17. Special attention in this case was paid to the categories of job posts subject to geographical distribution as well as the criteria for determining the range of posts for each member state.
18. Interview with UN official from the Joint Inspection Unit, Geneva (1990).
19. See Joachim Müller, *Reform of the United Nations*, pp. 21–2.
20. See UNGA Resolution 31/192 (22 December 1976).
21. Note UNGA Resolution 2360 (XXII) of 19 December 1967. For votes of confidence in this body see UNGA resolution 2735A (XXV) of 17 December 1970 and 2924B (XXVII) of 24 November 1972.
22. JIU *Statute*, Article 5 and 7.
23. The three-part selection process involves: (a) consultation first with UN member states' representatives who present to the President of the UNGA a list of countries requested to propose candidates who meet the Statute requirements; (b) consultations with the President of ECOSOC and with the Chairman of the ACC prior to a review of the qualifications of the proposed candidates; and (c) submission of a list of candidates to the Assembly for appointment.
24. For more details see JIU/Rep/69/7; JIU/Rep/74/1; JIU/Rep/79/5; JIU/Rep/81/7; JIU/Rep/72/10; JIU/Rep/78/1; JIU/Rep/77/1; JIU/Rep/85/10; JIU/Rep/85/11; JIU/Rep/82/10; JIU/Rep/83/6.

25. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some Thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', *International Relations*, vol. ix, no. 4 (November 1988).
26. See JIU/Rep/71/7.
27. Maurice Bertrand, 'The Historical Development of Efforts to Reform the UN', in Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, p. 425.
28. On 19 December 1972 by UNGA Resolution 3042 (XXVII). See also John Renninger, *Can the Common System be Maintained? The Role of the International Civil Service Commission* (New York: UNITAR, 1986), pp. 33-4.
29. A continuation of efforts begun by U Thant in 1968.
30. John Renninger, *Survey and Analysis of Evaluations of the United Nations Inter-governmental Structure and Functions in the Economic and Social Fields* (New York: UNITAR, July 1987), p. 44.
31. See United Nations, *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System*, New York, E.70.I.10 (1970), UNGA Resolution 3343 (XXIX) (1975), and the *Report of the High-level Intergovernmental Experts to Review the Efficiency of Administrative and Financial Functioning of the United Nations*, A/41/40 (New York: United Nations, 1986), hereinafter referred to as the Group of 18 Report.
32. See *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System*, UNDP Document DP/5 (1969).
33. Gangadhar Gadgil, 'The Proliferation of International Bureaucracy', in Arvind A. Deshpande (ed.), *Accountability in Development, National and International*, (New Delhi: Vikas, 1982). For greater elaboration see Hari Mohan Mathur, 'Experts of the United Nations in Third World Development: A View from Asia', in David Pitt and Thomas Weiss (eds), *The Nature of United Nations Bureaucracies* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 165-86.
34. *A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System*, UNDP document DP/5 (1969).
35. There were other proposals for inter-agency coordination which were not even tried. Examples include the proposal to develop a system-wide computerized information system for development activities, the initiation of a combined UN Development Service and the harmonization of development policy through the ACC Development Resources Panel under the UNDP. Douglas Williams, *The Specialized Agencies and the United Nations: The System in Crisis* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1987), pp. 47-9.
36. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some Thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', p. 296.
37. See Robert Ramsay, 'UNCTAD Failures: The Rich get Richer', *International Organization*, vol. 38, no. 2 (1984) and K. P. Saksena, *Reforming the United Nations: The Challenge of Relevance*, p. 35.
38. UN Document E/AC.62/9.
39. See David Nicol and John Renninger, 'The Restructuring of the United Nations Economic and Social System: Background and Analysis', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. IV, no. 1 (1982), pp. 74-92.
40. United Nations. Report of the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System, *A United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation*, E/AC.62/9 (New York: United Nations, 1975).

41. In the end UNGA Resolution 32/197 was passed unanimously, but reflected much compromise.
42. Especially in the Second Committee which has a mandate for economic and social issues.
43. K. P. Saksena, *Reforming the United Nations: The Challenge of Relevance*, pp. 39, 43.
44. Douglas Williams, *The Specialized Agencies and the United Nations: The System in Crisis*, pp. 51–3.
45. See Maurice Bertrand, *Some Reflections on Reform of the United Nations*, especially paragraphs 29–32.
46. Evan Luard, *The United Nations: How it Works and What it Does* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1979), p. 124.
47. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some Thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', p. 302.
48. A similar crisis occurred in 1972 when the US's share of the UN regular budget was reduced from 31.52 to 25 per cent. The difference between this situation and the one in the mid-1980s was the forced nature of the latter. Note that by the end of 1985, the UN was faced with a \$390 million deficit in its regular budget.
49. See, for instance, Burton Pines (ed.), *A World Without the United Nations: What Would Happen if the United Nations Shut Down*. Also see Charles Krauthammer, 'Let it Sink: Why the US should Bail out of the UN'.
50. Mr Abe, Japanese foreign minister and the catalyst for this effort, urged the 40th session of the Assembly to establish 'a group of eminent persons' to examine ways in which the UN could function more efficiently.
51. UNGA Resolution 40/237.
52. John Mathiason, 'Who Controls the Machine? The Programme Planning Process in the Reform Effort', *Public Administration and Development*, vol. 7 (1987), p. 165.
53. See the Group of 18 Report. See also UN Document A/40/PV.7 (1985).
54. See Tapio Kanninen, 'Organizational Retrenchment and Reorganization: The Case of the United Nations' Response to the Financial Crisis of the Mid-1980s'.
55. UN Document A/41/49 (August 1986).
56. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some Thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', p. 303.
57. See UN Document A/41/49.
58. Although in the end the US would be the only member state to oppose. See UNGA Resolution 42/450 of 17 December 1987.
59. UNGA Resolution 41/213 of 19 December 1986.
60. K. P. Saksena, *Reforming the United Nations*, p. 125.
61. This suspension was not intended to apply to temporary recruitment of personnel or replacement of staff members who were assigned mission duties or to temporary assistance appointments for conferences and meetings. UN Secretariat, 'Temporary Suspension of Recruitment', *Secretary-General's Bulletin*, ST/SGB/247 (6 February 1992); see also *Personnel Manual*, Index No. 4087.
62. These were: Office of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation (DIEC); Office for Political and General

Assembly Affairs and Secretariat Services; Office of Research and Collection of Information (ORCI); Office for Ocean Affairs and the Law of the Sea (OOALS); Department of Political and Security Council Affairs (DPSCA); Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship; Department for Disarmament Affairs (DDA); Department of International Economic and Social Affairs (DIESA); Department of Technical Cooperation for Development (DTCD); Centre for Science and Technology for Development (CSTD); Commission on Transnational Corporations (CTC); Department of Conference Services (DCS).

63. UN Department of Public Information, 'Secretary-General Announces Changes in Secretariat', *Press Release*, SG/A/479 DPI, New York (7 February 1992); UN, *Secretariat News* (March 1992), p. 7; UN, DPI, 'Secretary-General appoints Dick Thornburgh to Head Administration and Management, Jan Eliasson as Emergency Relief Coordinator', SG/A/484 (13 February 1992).
64. Also note UN Secretariat, 'Restructuring of the United Nations Secretariat', *Secretary-General's Bulletin*, ST/SGB/248 (16 March 1992), or *Personnel Manual*, Index No. 91.
65. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some Thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', p. 304.
66. This attempt can be linked to ideas discussed around the same time in the organizational theory literature concerning the 'correct' way to address the issue of organizational development.
67. See Kendall Stiles and Mary Ellen MacDonald, 'After Consensus, What? Performance Criteria for the UN in the Post-Cold War Era', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 29, no. 3 (August 1992), pp. 304–5.
68. Stephen R. Michael, 'Organizational Change Techniques: Their Present, Their Future', *Organizational Dynamics* (Summer 1982), p. 67.

## Chapter 6 Post-Cold War Multilateralism and the New UN Reform Agenda

1. Antonio Donini, 'Resilience and Reform: Some Thoughts on the Processes of Change in the United Nations', pp. 309–10, and John Renninger, *Survey and Analysis of Evaluations of the United Nations Intergovernmental Structure and Functions in the Economic and Social Fields*, p. 38.
2. Evan Luard, *The Globalization of Politics: The Changed Focus of Political Action in the Modern World*.
3. A term coined by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* – see especially chapter 2.
4. Lucian Pye, 'Political Science and the Crisis of Authoritarianism', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 84, no. 1 (March 1990), p. 6.
5. David V. J. Bell, 'Global Communications, Culture, and Values: Implications for Global Security', in David Dewitt, David Haglund and John Kirton (eds), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 162.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
7. Robert Cox, 'Production and Security', in David Dewitt et al. (eds), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford

- University Press, 1993), pp. 143–55. (An earlier version of that chapter was presented at a conference in Montebello, Quebec.)
8. See James Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics, a Theory of Change and Continuity*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 301–2.
  9. J. Martin Rochester, *Waiting for the Millennium: The United Nations and the Future of World Order*.
  10. On this issue see Mihaly Simai, *The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System*, chapter one.
  11. For detailed examination of most of these factors see Bernard Gwertzman and Michael Kaufman, *The Collapse of Communism* (New York: Times Books, 1990); Michael Mandelbaum, *Reconstructing the European Security Order* (New York: Critical Issues Series, Council on Foreign Relations, 1990); Jessica Tuchman Matthews, 'Redefining Security', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 68, no. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 162–77; and Donald Puchala and Roger Coate, *The Challenge of Relevance: The United Nations in a Changing World Environment*.
  12. Mihaly Simai, *The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System*, p. xvi.
  13. See Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Roles in International Relations*, p. 3, and W. Andy Knight, 'The Changing Human Rights Regime, State Sovereignty, and Article 2(7) in the Post Cold War Era'.
  14. Don Munton, 'A New World Order? Western Public Perceptions in the Post-Cold War Era', in David Dewitt, David Haglund and John Kirton (eds), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 378.
  15. See Michael Roskin, Robert Cord, James Medeiros and Walter Jones, *Political Science: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1994), p. 392.
  16. Note the contrasting positions concerning this period of transition by John Mearsheimer, 'Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War', *International Security* (Summer 1990), and Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History?'.
  17. Based on interview with senior officials in the UN SG's office (May 1994).
  18. Some of the areas in which UN peacekeepers and/or observers are involved include: Afghanistan, Angola, Armenia and Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, Croatia, Cyprus, East Timor, El Salvador, Georgia, Guatemala, Haiti, India and Pakistan, Iraq and Kuwait, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Middle East, Mozambique, the Republic of Moldova, Rwanda, Somalia, Tajikistan, Western Sahara and Zaire.
  19. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Report on the Work of the Organization from the Forty-seventh to the Forty-eighth Session of the General Assembly*, p. 2.
  20. See John Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra, 'Second Generation Multinational Operations', pp. 113–31. Note that the turning point for UN peacekeeping was in 1989 when the organization deployed what amounted to a decolonization/peacekeeping mission to Namibia.
  21. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping*, p. 26.
  22. See Jarat Chopra, 'From Peacekeeping to Peace-Maintenance', *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (March 1995).
  23. The form of electoral assistance has ranged from verification, technical aid, coordination and support, follow-up and reports to complete responsibility

- for planning and administering elections. See United Nations, Electoral Assistance Unit, Department of Political Affairs, 'Electoral Assistance Activities of the United Nations System', New York (January 1994); United Nations, Electoral Assistance Unit, Department of Political Affairs, 'Status of Member States' Requests, as of 30 June 1993'.
24. On the latter point see Keith Krause and W. Andy Knight, *Changing State and Society Perspectives on Multilateralism*.
  25. In Afghanistan alone about 10 million mines were left after the war involving Soviet troops and Afghan rebels. Over 5 million mines are believed to be planted on Cambodian soil and 2 million in Mozambique.
  26. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Report on the Work of the Organization*, pp. 157–8. A recent documentary by World Link in San Francisco for the UN's fiftieth anniversary indicates that the organization is involved in clearing the over 100 million land mines left scattered in over 60 countries.
  27. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 'Empowering the United Nations', *Foreign Policy* (Winter 1992–93), p. 89.
  28. W. Andy Knight, 'United Nations' Structural and Financial Reform', in Maureen Appel Molot and Harald von Riekhoff (eds), *A Part of the Peace: Canada Among Nations* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994).
  29. Thomas Risse-Kappen, 'Faint-Hearted Multilateralism: The Re-Emergence of the United Nations in World Politics', paper presented at a Conference on 'Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies', Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Toronto (12–14 May 1994), p. 2.
  30. William Barton, 'A Time for Renewal: The United Nations After Fifty Years', *New World*, no. 1 (January 1994), p. 6.
  31. It is estimated that current world military spending could finance the UN (presumably at the current rate at which it is funded) for close to the next 185 years. See John Rourke, *International Politics on the World Stage*, p. 325.
  32. Figures provided to the author by the US Bureau of International Organizations, Department of State, Washington, DC (April 1994).
  33. See Internet site: <http://www.un.org/News/briefings/docs/1999/199990318.connor.brf.html>, p. 1.
  34. See William H. Luers and Jeffrey Laurenti, 'Our Dues Have Come Due', *Washington Times* (5 August 1999) – also found at <http://www.unausa.org/programs/oped12.htm>, pp. 1–3.
  35. Maurice Bertrand, *The UN in Profile: How Its Resources are Distributed*, p. 41.
  36. John Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra, *A Draft Concept of Second Generation Multinational Operations* (Providence, RI: Thomas J. Watson Jr Institute for International Studies, Brown University, 1993).
  37. See US Congress, *UN Security Council Resolutions on Iraq: Compliance and Implementation Report*, prepared for the Sub-Committee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives (Washington: CRS, Library of Congress, March 1992), 102nd Congress, 2nd session.
  38. Preliminary answers to some of these questions can be found in Dorinda Dallmeyer, 'The Future Role of the United Nations in Disarmament: The Iraq Experience', in W. Andy Knight (ed.), *Adapting the United Nations to a Post-Modern Era* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

39. See Keith Krause and W. Andy Knight (eds), *State, Society, and the UN System: Changing Perspectives on Multilateralism*.
40. On this point see Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations*, pp. 30–3.
41. Robert Cox, 'The Crisis of World Order and the Problem of International Organization in the 1980s', p. 395.
42. See Zaki Laidi (ed.), *Power and Purpose After the Cold War* (Providence, RI: Berg, 1994).
43. Some studies have addressed this problem. See David Dewitt, David Haglund and John Kirton (eds), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993).
44. Some preliminary assessments are being attempted in the academic community. See James N. Rosenau, *The United Nations in a Turbulent World*, and Gene M. Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, *Beyond Westphalia? International Intervention, State Sovereignty, and the Future of International Society*, summary of a conference held at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire (18–20 May 1992).
45. Report of the Government of Canada, *Towards a Rapid Reaction Capability for the United Nations* (Ottawa: DFAIT, September 1995). This report was completed in June 1995 and submitted to the UN SG at the Fall General Assembly which endorsed it.
46. James Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met*, pp. 138–9.

## Chapter 7 Subsidiarity and Global Governance

1. Rosemary Righter, *Utopia Lost: The United Nations and World Order*.
2. James Rosenau, 'Governance in the Twenty-First Century', *Global Governance*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Winter 1995), p. 13.
3. See W. Andy Knight, 'Multilateralisme ascendant ou descendant: deux voies dans la quête d'une gouverne globale', *Etudes Internationale*, special number, vol. xxvi, no. 4 (December 1995), pp. 685–710.
4. James Rosenau, 'Governance in the Twenty-First Century', pp. 13–14.
5. Quoted in James Rosenau, 'Governance in the Twenty-first Century', p. 14.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
7. Cynthia Hewitt de Alcantara, 'Uses and Abuses of the Concept of Governance', *International Social Science Journal*, March 1998, p. 111.
8. Richard Falk, 'From Geopolitics to Geogovernance: WOMP and Contemporary Political Discourse', *Alternatives*, vol. 19 (1994), p. 150.
9. James Rosenau, 'Governance in the Twenty-First Century', p. 34.
10. Examples of such critics include Charles Krauthammer, 'Let it Sink: Why the US Should Bail out of the UN', and Burton Pines (ed.), *A World Without the United Nations: What Would Happen If the United Nations Shut Down*.
11. See Lucia Mouat, 'Prestige High, UN Looks Stronger'.
12. See W. Andy Knight (ed.), *Adapting the United Nations to a Post Modern Era* (London: Macmillan, 2000).
13. Nicholas Onuf, 'Sovereignty: Outline of a Conceptual History', *Alternatives* (Fall, 1991), p. 425–6.

14. Michael Williams, 'Peacekeeping and the Politics of Post-Modernity', paper presented at Workshop on United Nations Reform Issues in the 1990s and Beyond, York University, Ontario, Canada (18–20 September 1992).
15. Anthony Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).
16. See R. B. J. Walker, 'Realism, Change and International Relations Theory', *International Studies Quarterly* (March, 1987).
17. Catherine Tinker, "'Environmental Security" in the United Nations: Not a Matter for the Security Council', *Tennessee Law Review*, vol. 59, no. 4 (Summer 1992).
18. See David Held, 'Democracy and Globalization', *Alternatives* (Spring, 1991).
19. On the reconceptualization of security see R. B. J. Walker, 'Security, Sovereignty and the Challenge of World Politics', in Michael Klare and Daniel Thomas (eds), *World Security at Century's End* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), and Carolyn Stephenson (ed.), *Alternative Methods for International Security* (New York: University Press of America, 1988), especially pp. 30–4.
20. Robert Johansen, 'Global Security without Nuclear Deterrence: The Necessity for Alternatives', in Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf (eds), *The Nuclear Reader: Strategy, Weapons, War* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1989), p. 78.
21. Brian Urquhart and E. Childers, *A World in Need of Leadership*, p. 7.
22. C. C. Pentland, 'European Security After the Cold War', in David Dewitt, David Haglund and John Kirton (eds), *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 64–7.
23. Michael Howard, 'The United Nations and International Security', in A. Roberts and B. Kingsbury, *United Nations, Divided World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 31.
24. For an explanation of these approaches see Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problem and Progress of International Organization*, pp. 215–410.
25. W. Andy Knight and Annika Björkdahl, 'Towards a Culture of Prevention: the Evolution and Influence of Norms', paper presented at the International Studies Association Conference, Washington, DC (February 1999).
26. See Karl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. by O. J. Matthijs Jolles (New York: Random House, Modern Library, 1943), and Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, rev. Kenneth W. Thompson, 6th edn (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).
27. See Jessica Tuchman Matthews, 'Redefining Security', pp. 162–77.
28. S. Neil MacFarlane and Thomas G. Weiss, 'The United Nations, Regional Organizations, and Human Security: Building Theory in Central America', paper presented at the ACUNS/Arias Foundation Joint conference on Regionalism, Costa Rica (January 1994).
29. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, p. 6.
30. Richard Mansbach, *The Global Puzzle: Issues and Actors in World Politics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), pp. 127–9.
31. For an interesting review of the literature on changing conceptions of security see Keith Krause and Michael Williams, 'Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods', *Mershon International Studies Review*, vol. 40, supplement 2 (October 1996), pp. 229–54.



32. From the Monthly Newsletter of the Commission of the European Communities, *Target 92* (June 1992), p. 6.
33. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, p. 37.
34. For a brief account of the European experience with the principle of subsidiarity see W. Andy Knight, 'Towards a Model of Subsidiarity in Peacemaking and Peacekeeping: Making Chapter VIII of the UN Charter Operational', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 1 (March 1996).
35. Don Munton, 'A New World Order? Western Public Perceptions in the Post-Cold War Era', p. 378.
36. On the changing nature of post-Cold War conflicts see Jarat Chopra, 'From Peacekeeping to Peace-Maintenance', *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (March 1995).
37. Examples include early warning devices, confidence-building measures, arms embargoes, preventive deployment, multitasked or multifunctional peacekeeping, counter-insurgency measures, post-conflict peacebuilding, the monitoring and supervision of elections, the use of civilian police and forces to protect humanitarian convoys.
38. The only exception is in the case of measures taken against an 'enemy state' (i.e. states that were enemies of any of the signatories of the Charter at the founding of the organization).
39. See James S. Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met*, pp. 93–112.
40. UN Document S/RES/836 (1993).
41. For a good review of this case see Clement E. Adibe, 'ECOWAS and the Democratic Imperative: The Lesson of the Liberian Conflict', paper presented at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Academic Council on the United Nations System, the Hague, the Netherlands (23–25 June 1994), and James O. Jonah, 'ECOMOG: A Successful Example of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping by a Regional Organization in the Third World', in W. Kühne (ed.), *Internationales Umfeld, Sicherheitsinteressen und Nationale Planung der Bundesrepublik* (Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 1993), pp. 197–217.
42. Stephen Baranyi and Liisa North, *Stretching the Limits of the Possible: United Nations Peacekeeping in Central America*, Aurora Papers No. 15 (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Global Security, 1992).
43. For example, Costa Rica/Nicaragua (1948–49, 1955–56, 1959); Honduras/Nicaragua (1957); Venezuela/Dominican Republic (1960–61); Venezuela/Cuba (1963–64, 1967); Dominican Republic/Haiti (1950, 1963–65); Panama/US (1964); El Salvador/Honduras (1960–70). James S. Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security: A Challenge to be Met*, pp. 95–7.
44. See 'National Notations', *Peacekeeping and International Relations*, vol. 24, no. 1 (January/February 1995), p. 13.
45. In 1993, on the thirtieth anniversary of the OAU's founding, the 52 Heads of State and Government of the organization renewed their determination 'to work in concert in search for speedy and peaceful resolution to all the conflicts in Africa'. But they recognized that the primary emphasis would have to be given to anticipatory and preventive action to obviate the need to

become involved in complex and drawn out peacekeeping operations which tend to be difficult for these countries to finance. See the Organization of African Unity, 'Declaration of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government on the Establishment within the OAU of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution', AHG/Decl.3 (xxix), rev. 1 (29th Ordinary Session in Cairo, Egypt, 28–30 June 1993), especially pp. 4–6.

46. Ibid., p. 3.
47. The one exception may be NATO.
48. J. Martin Rochester, *Waiting for the Millennium*, p. 125.
49. S. Neil MacFarlane and Thomas G. Weiss, 'The United Nations, Regional Organizations and Human Security: Building Theory in Central America', p. 25.
50. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, pp. 37–8.
51. Applying a subsidiarity model to governance at the global level may be a necessary condition for improving the peace and security functions of the international community, but it is not a sufficient condition. Another important key would be to increase the material and financial resources of regional, subregional, state, substate and non-state actors so that they can become more competent in fulfilling certain peacemaking and preventive diplomacy tasks.
52. See Nicholas Emiliou, 'Subsidiarity: An Effective Barrier against "the Enterprises of Ambition"', *European Law Review*, vol. 17 (1992), p. 407.
53. Decentralization occurs when a central government conditionally diffuses specific powers to lower-rung levels of authority (e.g. local, provincial, state or municipal governments). Decentralized powers are generally subject to recall.
54. See Nicholas Emiliou, 'Subsidiarity: An Effective Barrier against "the Enterprises of Ambition"', p. 384.

## Chapter 8 Conclusions

1. Stephen R. Michael, 'Organizational Change Techniques: Their Present, Their Future', *Organizational Dynamics* (Summer 1982), p. 67.
2. Inis Claude, *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, p. 21.
3. Giuseppe Schiavone, *International Organizations: A Dictionary and Directory*, p. 1.
4. A. Leroy Bennett, *International Organizations*, 3rd edn (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984), p. 9.
5. Shridath S. Ramphal and Ingvar Carlsson (Co-Chair), *Our Global Neighbourhood: The Report of the Commission on Global Governance*, p. 2.
6. See Ernst Haas, *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations*, p. 15, and chapter 2, pp. 190–1.
7. Ibid., pp. 24–7 and pp. 33–5.
8. See Gayl Ness and Steven Brechin, 'Bridging the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations', *International Organization*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 245–73.

9. On this point see William Niskanen, 'Bureaucrats and Politicians', *Journal of Law and Economics*, vol. 18 (1975), pp. 617–43, and Matthew Holden, Jr, "'Imperialism" in Bureaucracy', *American Political Science Review*, vol. 60, no. 4 (1966), p. 951.
10. John Renninger, 'What Structural Changes are Needed in the System of International Institutions?', p. 17.
11. Stephen R. Michael, 'Organizational Change Techniques: Their Present, Their Future', p. 67.
12. Stephen Michael et al., *Techniques of Organizational Change*.
13. See Gareth Morgan, *Riding the Waves of Change: Developing Managerial Competencies for a Turbulent World* (London: Jossey-Bass, 1988), pp. 1–15.
14. Gordon Lippitt, *Organization Renewal: Achieving Viability in a Changing World*.
15. Lippitt defines organization renewal in the following manner: 'the process of initiating, creating, and confronting needed changes so as to make it possible for organizations to become or remain viable, to adapt to new conditions, to solve problems, to learn from experiences, and to move toward greater organizational maturity.' Gordon Lippitt, *Organization Renewal: Achieving Viability in a Changing World*, p. 1.
16. A. LeRoy Bennett, *International Organizations: Principles and Issues*, p. 415.
17. On the need for organization generally Harvey Cox wrote in the 1960s: 'We must . . . realize that the organization is here to stay. There is simply no other way to run a world brimming with three billion people in the midst of an industrial epoch. Unless a nuclear war returns us to a culture of hunting and gathering tribes, our world will be increasingly organized as the decades go by. If we choose to live responsibly in the world, then we must face the issue of how we can harness organizational power for authentic human purposes, Harvey Cox, *The Secular City* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 173.
18. Robert Keohane, 'International Institutions: Two Approaches', p. 55. See Richard Ashley, 'The Poverty of Neorealism', p. 290.
19. Robert Keohane, 'International Institutions: Two Approaches', p. 54.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
21. A. Hirschman, 'The Search for Paradigms as a Hindrance to Understanding', *World Politics*, vol. 22, no. 3 (1970), pp. 329–43.
22. Robert Cox, 'Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory', in Friedrich Kratochwil and Edward Mansfield (eds), *International Organization: A Reader* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 350–1.
23. Robert Keohane, 'International Institutions: Two Approaches', pp. 56–7.
24. A comment made to me by J. Martin Rochester.

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