BLOCK IV
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Unit 1 : Introduction to International Law: Concept and Growth

Unit 2 : International Organizations and world politics

Unit 3 : Understanding international diplomacy: Theory and Practice

Unit 4 : Non-Governmental Organizations: Nature and Importance

Unit 5 : Global civil society: Concept and Importance

UNIT-1

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL LAW: CONCEPT AND GROWTH

1.1 Introduction:

Through its diplomatic activities, Europe as a continent has contributed immensely to the development of international law. Most of its state to state relationships prior to the First and Second World Wars have now become part and parcel of diplomacy and international law. This is more so when the wars and diplomatic activities between and among European states before the formal international legal structures were codified n various conventions and other statutory documents. Therefore, the study of international law in this study, attempts to do so bearing in mind European contributions through diplomatic practices to international law. International law is an institutional practice with a long history and presence in the international system. It is usually relied upon to state the roles and limits of actors in the international system. This underscores the fundamental importance of international law in the study of international relations. Although international relations and international law appear to be separate disciplines, their degree of separation very much depends on how participants in these disciplines define their research interests and concerns. How be it, at the level of system-wide analysis, international law is an important resource for students of international relations. Studying international law is an important way to grasp the facts of international life, as well as the values underpinning

it. It can be studied from any of the perspectives within international relations. International law has undergone a number of changes, which indeed have increased tremendously since 1945 with the emergence of international human rights law, international trade law, international criminal law, and international humanitarian law regimes; indicating the dynamics of the evolution of international law in consonance with the trajectories of international relations. Contemporary theories of international relations have to develop, part way on account of the configurations established by these networks and domains of institutional practices provided by international law.

International law comprises those structural legal relations which are intrinsic to the co-existence of all kinds of subordinate societies and persons. It confers on legal personalities, including the state societies, the capacity to act as parties in international legal relations. It determines the systematic relationship between other systemic entities. A crucial element of the international legal system is the international public law, which focuses on the inter-governmentalism of international society. International public law is that part of international law, which regulates the interaction of the subordinate public realms within the international public realm. The principal participants in the legal relations of international public law are the 'states', represented by their 'governments', that is to say, by the controllers of their respective public realms. 'States' are considered to be those societies whose internal public realm is recognized as capable of participating in inter-governmentalism. International constitutional law determines the conditions of that participation and also the participation of other persons, on the basis of legal relations to which they are made parties. The Laws of the nations are an integral part of the international legal system. It is international constitutional law which determines the participants in the international legal system (for example, making a particular society into a 'state'), and determines the conditions of their participation. The geographical and material distribution of constitutional authority among subordinate legal system cannot be finally determined by those legal systems themselves, but only by a super ordinate legal system namely international constitutional law.

1.2 Objectives

Upon the completion of this unit, you will be able to:–

- *define* and explain the concept "international law",

- *explain* the relevance of the study of international law,

- *identify* the different component areas of international law.

1.3 Meaning of International Law:

International Law is defined as a body of principles & rules commonly observed by States in their mutual relationship with each other. It includes the law relating to States & International organisations and also International Organisations inter se. It also includes the rules of law relating to international institutions and individuals, and non-State entities and individuals.

International law refers to the universal system of rules and principles concerning the relations between sovereign States, and relations between States and international organisations such as the United Nations. It consists of the rules and principles of general application dealing with the conduct of States and of international organisations in their international relations with one another and with private individuals, minority groups and transnational companies. It can also be described as a system of legal relations which condition social action of state and non-state entities. International law is primarily formulated by international agreement, treaties and conventions, which create rules binding upon the signatories, and customary rules which are basically state practices recognized by the community at large as laying down patterns of conducts that have to be compiled with. The willingness to agree, accept and abide with international resolutions is crucial, particularly to the extent it will go in precluding international disputes.

According to Oppenheim, Law Of Nations Or International Law is "the Name for the body of customary and treaty rules which are considered legally binding by civilized states in their inter course with each other. There Are three components in this definitions.

1. Body Of rules governing the relations between states.

2. States Regard these rules as binding on them in their relation with one another And

3. Such rules derived from customs and treaties.

International law deals with international disputes, like any other system of law, the role of international law is to regulate relations and thus help to contain and avoid disputes in the first place. The substantial part of international law, therefore, does not concern dispute resolution but dispute avoidance. It focuses on the day-to-day regulation of international relations. In the daily routine of international life, large numbers of agreements and customs are made and observed.

In its narrowest sense, "international law" refers to laws applicable between "states" –a word that in international law writings typically refers to a country, or sovereign nation -state, and not to a country's constituent elements. International law thus comprises legal obligations to which states have consented in order to regulate the interactions between them. This formulation traditionally concentrated on actions by states; at times, however, it also took into account the behavior of nonstate actors.

Contemporary international law includes those rules and norms that regulate the conduct of states and other entities which at any given time are recognized as possessing international personality. States are the main subjects of international law. At first, international law only regulated relations between independent states and mainly within diplomatic relations and war. Nowadays, there are more subjects of international law and its content has expanded as well. Problems of international concern need collective state action and modern technology has led to closer and more frequent contact between states and their peoples. As a result, the contact needed to be regulated by new rules. Another expansion is that international law also deals with matter which traditionally was regarded as being within a state's domestic jurisdiction, like use of territory or treatment of inhabitants. This means individuals have international personality to some extent, because they have certain rights. International law has limited the sovereignty of

states in favor of more recognition of human rights. The traditional definition of law (a system that regulates state relations) is not applicable anymore. International law has to change according to new developments.

International law, like any other law is a product of social processes, which determine society's common interest and which organizes the making and application of law. International law takes a customary form, in which society orders itself through its experience of self-ordering. The state of international law at any time reflects the degree of development of international society. This partly explains why international law has a threefold social function, which include the carriage of the structures and systems of society through time; the insertion of the common interest of societies into the behavior of society members and; the establishment of a possible future for societies, in accordance with society's theories, values and purposes. By extension therefore, international law is self-constituting of all-humanity and is actualized through the law of the common interest of international society. It is that element which binds the members of the community together in their adherence to recognized values and standards. It consists of a series of rules regulating behavior, and reflecting to some extent, the ideas and preoccupations of the society within which it functions.

International law is sometimes also called public international law. Public International Law (PIL) covers relations between states in all their myriad forms, from war to satellites, and regulates the operations of the many international institutions. It may be universal or general, in which case the stipulated rules bind all the states (or practically all depending upon the nature of the rule), or regional, whereby a group of states linked geographically or ideologically may recognize special rules applying only to them. The rule of international law must be distinguished from what is called international comity, which are implemented solely through courtesy and are not regarded as legally binding. Similarly, the mistake of confusing international law with international morality must be avoided. While they may meet at certain points, the former discipline is a legal one both as regards its content and its form, while the concept of international morality is a branch of ethics. This does not mean, however, that international law cannot be divorced from its values.

The above underlines the fact that the focus of international law is interstate relations and not relations between private entities and also the fact that domestic laws of any country cannot tell us what international laws are. Private entities, such as companies or individuals, however, can be subjects of international law. For example, international aviation is governed by international law because there are international treaties between states about it. Similarly, individuals can be prosecuted under international criminal law or claim rights against states under international human rights law because there are interstate treaties that make these possible. International law, therefore, regulates more than just interstate relations. It also regulates other forms of relationships that states agree to regulate internationally. International law regulates the conduct of actors that make up contemporary international society. Areas of contemporary international law are numerous and includes: Airspace, Development, Bio-diversity, Climate change, Conduct of armed conflicts, Diplomatic and consular relations, Extradition, Finance, Fisheries, Human rights, Indigenous rights, Intellectual property, International crimes, Minority rights, Natural resources, Outer space, Ozone layer, Postal matters, Peace and security, Science and security, Sea, Trade, Use of force, Weapons.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Difference between International Law and Municipal Law:
Fundamentally, international law differs from domestic law in two central respects:

The Law-Making Process:
There is no supreme law-making body in international law. Treaties are negotiated between States on an ad hoc basis and only bind States which are parties to a treaty. The General Assembly of the United Nations is not a law- making body, and so its resolutions are not legally binding. This is not the case in municipal law.

Enforcement Process:
International law has no international police force to oversee obedience to the international legal standards to which States agree or that develop as international standards of behavior. Similarly, there is no compulsory

enforcement mechanism for the settlement of disputes. However, there are an increasing number of specialized courts, tribunals and treaty monitoring bodies as well as an International Court of Justice. National laws and courts are often an important means through which international law is implemented in practice.

1.4 Sources of International Law:

Traditionally, international law is made by sovereign states, for sovereign states. It deals with such matters as diplomatic relations, military issues and state territory. This focus on relations among states has proved to be both a source of strength and of weakness. The control exercised by states over the making and development of international law contributes in some ways, to its effectiveness. States are unlikely to develop legal norms unless they are in harmony with their national interests and unless they plan to abide by them.

On the other hand, control by states over international law means that useful or necessary changes will be delayed or obstructed if they conflict with the interests of states. The current efforts to control global climate change are a case in point. The countries that matter the most, the major polluters, are those that are most reluctant to cooperate effectively. Yet, without their consent, there can be no real progress.

Any system of law must have sources. The most accepted statement of the sources of international law may be found in Article 38(1) to the Statute of the International Court of Justice ("ICJ"). The ICJ Statute is to a large degree a reproduction of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice the ICJ's predecessor. Article 38(1) to the ICJ Statute states:

1. The Court, whose function is to decide in accordance with international law such disputes as are submitted to it, shall apply:

   a. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;

   b. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

c. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

d. subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

As can be seen, there are three primary sources in international law: treaty, custom and general principles of law. Additionally, there are two subsidiary sources that may assist one in identifying norms derived from the primary sources: judicial decisions and "the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists" i.e. leading international law scholars.

(A) TREATIES:

International conventions are generally referred to as treaties. Treaties are written agreements between States that are governed by international law. Treaties are referred to by different names, including agreements, conventions, covenants, protocols and exchanges of notes. If States want to enter into a written agreement that is not intended to be a treaty, they often refer to it as a Memorandum of Understanding and provide that it is not governed by international law. Treaties can be bilateral, multilateral, regional and global.

(B) CUSTOM:

International custom – or customary law – is evidence of a general practice accepted as law through a constant and virtually uniform usage among States over a period of time. Rules of customary international law bind all States. The State alleging the existence of a rule of customary law has the burden of proving its existence by showing a consistent and virtually uniform practice among States, including those States specially affected by the rule or having the greatest interest in the matter. For example, to examine the practice of States on military uses of outer space, one would look in particular at the practice of States that have activities in space. Most of the International Court of Justice cases also require that the States who engage in the alleged customary practice do so out of a sense of legal obligation or opinio juris rather than out of comity or for political reasons.

(C) GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF LAW:

General principles of law recognized by civilized nations are often cited as a third source of law. These are general principles that apply in all major legal systems. An example is the principle that persons who intentionally harm others should have to pay compensation or make reparation. General principles of law are usually used when no treaty provision or clear rule of customary law exists.

Stop to Consider

Subsidiary means for the Determination of Rules of Law:

Subsidiary means are not sources of law, instead they are subsidiary means or evidence that can be used to prove the existence of a rule of custom or a general principle of law. Article 38 lists only two subsidiary means - the teaching (writings) of the most highly qualified publicists (international law scholars) and judicial decisions of both international and national tribunals if they are ruling on issues of international law. Resolutions of the UN General Assembly or resolutions adopted at major international conferences are only recommendations and are not legally binding. However, in some cases, although not specifically listed in article 38, they may be subsidiary means for determining custom. If the resolution purports to declare a set of legal principles governing a particular area, if it is worded in norm creating language, and if is adopted without any negative votes, it can be evidence of rules of custom, especially if States have in practice acted in compliance with its terms. Examples of UN General Assembly Resolutions which have been treated as strong evidence of rules of customary international law

---

- **Subjects of International Law:**

A subject of international law (also called an international legal person) is a body or entity recognized or accepted as being capable of exercising international rights and duties. It refers to the entities or legal persons that can have rights and obligations under international law. This expression

suggests that not all entities that operate within the international arena possess rights nor have obligations that are recognizable in international law. Some of the key features of 'subjects' of international law are:

(i) the ability to access international tribunals to claim or act on rights conferred by international law;

(ii) the ability to implement some or all of the obligations imposed by international law; and

(iii) the power to make agreements, such as treaties, binding in international law;

(iv) the right to enjoy some or all of the immunities from the jurisdiction of the domestic courts of other States.

1.5 Growth of International Law:

International law is a distinctive part of the general structure of international relations. In contemplating responses to a particular international situation, states usually consider relevant international laws. International law is distinct from international comity, which comprises legally nonbinding practices adopted by states for reasons of courtesy (e.g., the saluting of the flags of foreign warships at sea). In addition, the study of international law, or public international law, is distinguished from the field of conflict of laws, or private international law, which is concerned with the rules of municipal law as international lawyers term the domestic law of states of different countries where foreign elements are involved.

The foundation of international law (or the law of nations) as it is understood today lie firmly in the development of Western culture and political organisations. As it were, the growth of European notions of sovereignty and the independent nation-state required an acceptable method whereby inter-state relations could be conducted in accordance with commonly accepted standards of behavior, and international law filled the gap. But although the law of nations took root and flowered with the sophistication of Renaissance Europe, the seeds of this particular hybrid plant are of far older lineage. They reach far back into history. While the modern international system can be traced back some 400 years, certain of the basic concepts

of international law can be discerned in political relationships thousands of years ago. Around 2100 BC, for example, a solemn treaty was signed between the rulers of Lagash and Umma, the city-states situated in the area known to historians as Mesopotamia. It was inscribed on a stone block and concerned the established of a defined boundary to be respected by both sides under pain of alienating a number of Sumerian gods.

There was little scope for an international law in the period of ancient and medieval empires, and its modern beginnings coincide, therefore, with the rise of national states after the Middle Ages. Rules of maritime intercourse and rules respecting diplomatic agents soon came into existence. At the beginning of the 17th century, the great multitude of small independent states, which were finding international lawlessness intolerable, prepared the way for the favorable reception given to the De jure belli ac pacis [concerning the law of war and peace] (1625) of Hugo Grotius, the first comprehensive formulation of international law. Though not formally accepted by any nation, his opinions and observations were afterward regularly consulted, and they often served as a basis for reaching agreement in international disputes. The most significant principle he enunciated was the notion of sovereignty and legal equality of all states. Other important writers on international law were Cornelius van Bynkershoek, Georg F. von Martens, Christian von Wolff, and Emerich Vattel.

The major instance known of an important, binding, international treaty is that concluded over 1000 years later between Ramses II of Egypt and the king of the Hittites for the establishment of eternal peace and brotherhood. Other points covered in that agreement signed (at Kadesh, north of Damascus) included respect for each other's territorial integrity, the termination of a state of aggression and the setting up of a form of defensive alliance. Since that date many agreements between the rival Middle Eastern powers were concluded, usually aimed at embodying in a ritual form a state of subservience between the parties or attempting to create a political alliance to contain the influence of an over-powerful empire.

The era of classical Greece, from about the sixth century BC and onwards for a couple of hundred years, has been of overwhelming significance for

European thought. Its critical and rational turn of mind, its constant questioning and analysis of man and nature and its love of argument and debate were spread throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world by the Roman empire which adopted Hellenic culture wholesale, and penetrated Western consciousness with the Renaissance. However, Greek awareness was limited to their own competitive city-states and colonies. Those of different origins were Barbarians not deemed worthy of association.

The Romans had a profound respect for organisation and the law. Law knitted together their empire and constituted a vital source of reference for every inhabitant of the far-flung domain. The early Roman law (the jus civile) applied only to Roman citizens. It was formalistic and hard and reflected the status of a small, unsophisticated society rooted in the soil. It was totally unable to provide a relevant background for an expanding, developing nation. The need was served by the creation of the jus gentium. This provided simplified rules to govern the relations between foreigners, and between foreigners and citizens. The instrument through which this particular instrument evolved was the official known as the Praetor Peregrinus, whose function it was to oversee all legal relationship, including bureaucratic and commercial matters, within the empire. The progressive rules of the jus gentium gradually overrode the narrow jus civile until the latter system ceased to exist. Thus the jus gentium became the common law of the Roman Empire and was deemed to be of universal application. It is this all embracing factor which so strongly distinguishes the Roman from the Greek experience, although, of course, there was no question of the acceptance of other nations on a basis of equality and the jus gentium remained a 'national law' for the Roman Empire.

Throughout Europe, mercantile courts were set up to settle disputes between tradesmen at the various fairs, and while it is not possible to state that a Continent Law Merchant came into being, a network of common regulations and practices weaved its way across the commercial fabric of Europe and constituted an embryonic international trade law. Similarly, maritime customs began to be accepted throughout the Continent. Founded upon the Rhodesian Sea Law, a Byzantine work, many of those rules were enshrined in the Rolls of Oleron in the 12th century, and other maritime textbooks, a series

of common applied customs relating to the sea permeated the naval powers of the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts.

The rise of the nation-state of England, France and Spain in particular characterized the process of the creation of territorially consolidated independent units, in theory and doctrine, as well as in fact. This led to a higher degree of interaction between sovereign entities and thus the need to regulate such activities in a generally acceptable fashion. The pursuit of political power and supremacy became overt and recognized, as Machiavelli's The Prince (1513) demonstrated. The city-states of Italy struggled for supremacy and the Papacy too became a secular power. From these hectic struggles emerged many of the staples of modern international life: diplomacy, statesmanship, the theory of the balance of power and the idea of a community of state.

It is the evolution of the concept of an international community of separate, sovereign, if competing, states, that marks the beginning of what is understood by international law. The Renaissance bequeathed the prerequisites of independent, critical thought and a humanistic, secular approach to life as well as the political framework for the future. But is the latter factor which is vital to the subsequent growth of int law. The Reformation and the European religious wars that followed emphasized this, as did the growing power of the nations. In many ways these wars marked the decline of a continental system founded on the supremacy of the state. Throughout these countries the necessity was felt for a new conception of human as well as state relationships. This search was precipitated, as has been intimated, by the decline of the Church and the rise of what might be termed 'free-thinking'.

The growth of international law both its rules and its institutions is inevitably shaped by international political events. From the end of World War II until the 1990s, most events that threatened international peace and security were connected to the Cold War between the Soviet Union and its allies and the U.S. led Western alliance. The UN Security Council was unable to function as intended, because resolutions proposed by one side were likely to be vetoed by the other. The bipolar system of alliances prompted the development of regional organizations e.g., the

Warsaw Pact organized by the Soviet Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) established by the United States and encouraged the proliferation of conflicts on the peripheries of the two blocs, including in Korea, Vietnam, and Berlin. Furthermore, the development of norms for protecting human rights proceeded unevenly, slowed by sharp ideological divisions.

Since the 1980s, globalization has increased the number and sphere of influence of international and regional organizations and required the expansion of international law to cover the rights and obligations of these actors. Because of its complexity and the sheer number of actors it affects, new international law is now frequently created through processes that require near universal consensus. In the area of the environment, for example, bilateral negotiations have been supplemented and in some cases replaced by multilateral ones, transmuting the process of individual state consent into community acceptance. Various environmental agreements and the Law of the Sea treaty have been negotiated through this consensus building process. International law as a system is complex. Although in principle it is "horizontal," in the sense of being founded upon the concept of the equality of states one of the basic principles of international law in reality some states continue to be more important than others in creating and maintaining international law.

The growth of international law came largely through treaties concluded among states accepted as members of the "family of nations," which first included the states of Western Europe, then the states of the New World, and, finally, the states of Asia and other parts of the world. The law making conventions of the Hague Conferences represent the chief development of international law before World War I. The nuclear age and the space age have led to new developments in international law. The basis of space law was developed in the 1960s under United Nations auspices. Treaties have been signed mandating the internationalization of outer space (1967) and other celestial bodies (1979). The Law of the Sea treaty (1982) clarified the status of territorial waters and the exploitation of the seabed. Environmental issues have led to a number of international treaties, including agreements covering

(276)

fisheries (1958), endangered species (1973), global warming and biodiversity (1992). Since the signing of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947, there have been numerous international trade agreements.

STOP TO CONSIDER

HUGO GROTIUS:

The writings of the Dutch scholar Hugo Grotius, whose major work On the Law of War and Peace was published in Paris in 1625—a work so dense and rich that one could easily spend a lifetime studying it (as a number of scholars have) is of great importance. As a natural-law writer, he was a conservative, writing squarely in the rationalist tradition. In international law specifically, he had important forerunners, most notably the Italian writer, Alberico Gentili, who produced the first truly systematic study of the law of war at the end of the sixteenth century. Where Grotius did break important new ground—and where he fully earned the renown that still attaches to his name was in his transformation of the old jus gentium into something importantly different, called the law of nations.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Define International Law.
2. Discuss the various sources of International Law.
3. What is Hugo Grotius?

SAQ:

Q. Do you think International Political events shape the growth of International Law?

....
....
....
....
....

(277)

1.6 Summing Up:

After going through this unit we will be able to understand that, The international society is made up of states and non state actors. It is also made up of international organisations and other groups such as armed groups or business enterprises and individuals; whose status, powers, responsibilities and actions must however be recognized by states through international law. By implication, an essential element in the definition of international law, which provides a framework for focus, is not in its subject matter or the type of entities it regulates, but that it is law that is made by states collectively. No single state acting unilaterally can make international law; neither can a collection of corporations or individuals. International law rests with states acting together. International organisations, individuals, and corporations can all become subjects of international law and have limited powers and international personality recognized under international law. They can also help clarify what international law is by interpreting it or they can appear in international courts. But they cannot make international law. This means that there are no predetermined limits as to what areas international law does or should regulate. This can only be determined through collective agreement amongst states.

1.7 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Duplessis, I. (2008), "Soft international labour law: The Preferred Method of Regulation in A Decentralized Society"

2. R., Castro, G.D, Daugareilh, I., et. al. Governance International Law and Corporate Social Responsibility (Geneva: International Institute for Labor Studies).

3. Shaw, Malcolm N. (2008), International Law (London, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press).

*****

UNIT- 2

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND WORLD POLITICS

2.1 Introduction:

The creation of an international forum for multi-lateral negotiations came about with the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in 1889, which is still active today and has membership of 157 national parliaments. The IPU was the predecessor to the League of Nations, created in 1919 after the end of the First World War; this later became the United Nations after the failure of the League to prevent international conflicts. (Thompson and Snidal: 1999: 693) The legacy of the IPU, the League of Nations, and other early international alliances was not the institutions' effectiveness as an actor, but rather as a forum, for nations to voice their opinions and promote dialogue. This was arguably their greatest achievement, as even after the failure of the League, nation States still felt the need for an institution that would allow them to share their ideas and provide an opportunity to settle disputes peacefully. Thus, emerged the United Nations, which to this day remains

the only institution with universal membership. It is the largest of all international organisations, which is why it will be analysed for the purpose of this paper.

The aim of this unit is to investigate the role of an international institution as a stage for States to bring matters to the attention of the international community and how this is a victory in itself for international relations. This assertion will be verified by firstly examining the critiques of international institutions by using international relations theory, namely neo-realism, highlighting its limitations and breaking down its core assumptions. The paper will then follow with an analysis of neoliberal institutionalism and its discourses as an alternative to neorealism, as well as constructivism, and its theory of institutions being a socially constructed concept determined by the sharing of ideas; it will finally conclude with the idea that institutions play a crucial role in the international system.

2.2 Objectives:

After going through this unit you will be able to:–

- *discuss* international institutions,
- *differentiate* between international institutions and organisations,
- *identify* various types of international institutions,
- *explain* how international institutions are formed,
- *state* the role played by international institutions.

2.3 International Organizations and World Politics:

The first international organization in the post- Napoleonic era was formed after the Congress of Vienna in 1816— the Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine. Since 1816, the number of international organizations in world politics has greatly expanded. As of 2013, the Union of International Associations cataloged 1,172 international organizations (IOs) functioning around the globe.1 These organizations work in nearly every substantive area of international politics: trade, security, finance, environment, development, human rights, science, and culture. Clearly, international organizations pervade international life.

According to Simpson and Weiner (2011), an international institution is an organisation, establishment or foundation devoted to the promotion of a cause or programme especially one of public, educational or charitable character. International institution as defined by John Duffield is an institution that has occupied a central place in international relations, composed of countries that come together to achieve specific goals (Duffield, 2007). According to Simmons and Martin (2001: 192), the term international institution has been used in the last few decades to describe a wide range of phenomena, but particularly after the World Wars, to refer to formal international organisation, specifically, the organs or branches of the United Nations system.

Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal (2001) on their part, defined international institutions as explicit arrangements, negotiated among international actors, which prescribe, proscribe, and/or authorise behaviour and these explicit arrangements are public, at least among the parties themselves. According to this definition, these institutions are the fruits of negotiations and agreement. The definition however excludes tacit bargains and implicit guidelines; however important they are as general forms of cooperation.

Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal (2001) further argue that the Realist School of thought's definition of international institutions are little more than ciphers for state power. States rarely allow international institutions to become significant autonomous actors. Nonetheless, institutions are considerably more than empty vessels. States spend significant amounts of time and effort constructing institutions precisely because they can advance or impede state goals in the international economy, the environment, and national security. States fight over institutional design because it affects outcomes.

John Klabbers views international institutions as social constructs created by people in order, presumably, to help them achieve some purpose, whatever that purpose may be. He further states that the aim of international institutions being created is to make ends meet (Klabbers, 2002:8).

From the definitions given above by various authors, international institutions can simply be defined as the coming together of two or more nations, to achieve a particular aim or aims, and these aims are achieved by countries belonging to these international institutions by pooling resources together. Note that cooperation is a major factor in international institution.

Stop to Consider

Lists of Some Major International Institutions:

a) World Bank

b) International Monetary Fund

c) World Trade Organisation

d) World Health Organisation

e) International Court of Justice

f) World Health Organisation

g) World Food Programme

h) Food and Agriculture Organisation

i) African Union

j) European Union

k) North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

l) Economic Community of West African States

2.4 The Demand for IOs:

The study of what drives IO creation became systematic and routinized in the post- World War II era. The attempt to generalize from the creation of the United Nations (UN), its attendant organizations, and more importantly, the European Coal and Steel Community, moved forward with the adaptation of functionalist ideas.4 IOs were argued to serve a functional purpose: minimize nationalism and attachment to territory, which had for centuries served as the basis for political conflict. The func-tionalist project could be a top- down process (as it was for Mitrany) or a bottom-up process, where IOs formed to facilitate citizen interaction on a large scale (as conceived of by Karl Deutsch and his associates5). Functionalism, which had devel-oped as an anti- statist project in the interwar period, incorporated the behavior of sovereign governments. Rather than replacing territorially based states, the process of integration through organizations would take place with states designing coop-eration in technical areas.

The purpose of an international institution could be to achieve international cooperation in dealing with issues of an economic, technical, social, cultural or humanitarian character or a combination of more than one of these. There could also be cooperation in the field of governance and security, as exemplified by the United Nations whose main aim is to promote peace, security, promoting social progress, better standards and human rights and developing friendly relations among nations.

SAQ:

Q. How would you define international institutions?

....

....

....

....

2.5 Classification of International Organiations:

Like most social phenomena, international institutions can be classified based on their commonalities ranging from their composition, objectives to their functions among others. Without prejudice to the foregoing, it is important to note that classifications of international institutions are not absolute categories, as some institutions by their nature and composition can be classified into more than one category. We shall consider a few classifications of international institutions based on the following: number, common history, interests and region or geography.

A. Classification Based on Number of Members:

This method of classification is based on the fact that the membership of some international institutions is exclusive, while others are open to all countries. The United Nations is an example of an international institution because its membership is open to all sovereign countries, unlike other institutions. Other institutions are limited to only few members or limited members, and this limitation may be derived from the purpose they intend to achieve. An example of such institutions is the G20 which comprises twenty members made up of the most industrialised nations in the world.

They were formerly G7 which comprised of Western European countries and the United States. Later Russia was admitted into this exclusive group and its name changed to G7 + 1and then G8, but now its membership has increased to twenty.

B. Classification by Common History:

Some institutions can be classified by virtue of the shared common history of their member states, which has resulted in them grouping together to protect their common interests. The Commonwealth group is an example of an institution whose membership is limited to countries which were hitherto part of the British Empire, and these include the United Kingdom, former British colonies, protectorates and dominions. Another example is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) which arose from issues of geo-politics and security during the Cold War era. Its membership is drawn from countries of Western Europe as well as the United States and Canada, who were locked in security posturing against the member states of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its allies, then known as the Warsaw Pact countries. NATO as an institution has outlived the Cold War and has found relevance in the wake of new global security challenges. It has incorporated new member states and has been involved in security operations in Bosnia, Afghanistan and more recently Libya in 2011.

Stop to Consider

The Group of Eight (G8):

The Group of Eight (G8) was an inter-governmental political forum from 1997 until 2014. It had formed from incorporating the country of Russia into the Group of Seven, or G7, and returned to its previous name after Russia was disinvited in 2014. The forum originated with a 1975 summit hosted by France that brought together representatives of six governments: France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States, thus leading to the name Group of Six or G6. The summit came to be known as the Group of Seven, in 1976 with the addition of Canada. Russia was added to the political forum from 1997, which the following year became known as the G8.

In March 2014 Russia was suspended indefinitely following the annexation of Crimea, whereupon the political forum name reverted to G7. In 2017, Russia announced its permanent withdrawal from the G8. However, several representatives of G7 countries stated that they would be interested in Russia's return to the group. The European Union was represented at the G8 since the 1980s as a "nonenumerated" participant, but originally could not host or chair summits. The 40th summit was the first time the European Union was able to host and chair a summit. Collectively, in 2012 the G8 nations comprised 50.1 percent of 2012 global nominal GDP and 40.9 percent of global GDP (PPP). "G7" can refer to the member states in aggregate or to the annual summit meeting of the G7 heads of government. G7 ministers also meet throughout the year, such as the G7 finance ministers (who meet four times a year), G7 foreign ministers, or G7 environment ministers.

C. Classification Based on Geographical Location:

This is another classification of international institutions which concerns itself with groupings of international institutions based on the regional or geographical location of their members. Just as some institutions are universal, transcending geographical locations and cutting across the globe, others are regional and territorial in nature. The most significant example of an institution whose membership is drawn without prejudice to geographical location bias, include members of the United Nations group, such as the World Health Organisation, the International Criminal Court and the Food and Agriculture Organisation. However, on the other hand, regionally grouped international institutions include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which comprises of only states in the West African sub-region, the African Union (AU), the successor of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the European Union (EU). However, in view of the recent admission of some Eastern European countries into the EU and the current consideration of Turkey's application for membership, the question has been raised whether the EU remains a regional institution.

D. Classification Based on Interests:

This classification is based on the common interests of members of international institutions, which is deducible from the objective necessitating the formation of such institutions. As earlier discussed in this unit, the common interests of member states which necessitate the formation of international institutions vary significantly and include one or a combination of security, food security, health, settlement of disputes, economy, trade, disaster management, human rights, and global finance among so many others. For a better understanding of the classification of international institutions based on interest, it is important to consider a few major areas of common interests and examples of some international institutions which have been formed on the basis of these.

(i) **Security and Peacekeeping:** An example of an institution based on security is the European Police Office (EUROPOL) whose mission is to assist law enforcement authorities of member states in fighting organised crimes. Another is the International Police Office (INTERPOL) which has a membership of 190 countries. The Interpol focuses primarily on public safety, anti-terrorism, organised crimes, environmental crime, piracy, illicit drug production, corruption etc. Other examples include the UN Security Council and NATO.

(ii) **Food Security:** The World Food Programme (WPF) is an institution established to address hunger worldwide and it distributes food to about 90 million people per year and has 80 countries as its members. Also, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) is part of the UN group and has a mandate of global food security, through research and the provision of expert advice on policy to its members.

(iii) **Health:** The World Health Organisation (WHO) aims at helping member states in attaining the highest level of health for their population. Also, another example is the United Nations and Aids (UNAIDS) whose singular objective is to provide an HIV/AIDS free world.

(iv) **Education:** The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), also a member of the UN group, has its main mandate to build peace through education in all its ramifications.

(v) Socio-Cultural Values: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) fall under this category as well, because one of its mandates is the promotion of respect for and protection of world's cultural heritage, etc.

SAQ:

Q. Mention five different criteria for classifying international institutions.

....

....

....

....

2.6 The Roots of International Organizations:

International organization is mainly a modern phenomenon. One mostly common characteristic of IGOS is that they were created in the last 50 years or so. Three main roots namely a belief in a community of human kind, big-power peacekeeping and functional cooperation have accounted for the current growth of international organizations. As regards the first of these factors the universal course for improving the condition of humanity had made scholars of old such as William Penn and Immanuel Kant conceptualize the ideas of international organization. The United Nations (successor of the League of Nations) is the latest and most advanced development stage of universal concern with the human condition. It was established to maintain peace. It has also been involved in a wide range of issue of worldly concern. The idea that big powers have a special responsibility to cooperate and preserve peace is the second factor that in formed the emergence of international organization today, the five major powers (China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States) constitute the permanent members of the UN Security Council. The UNSC is the main peace keeping organ. The third branch of the root system consist of the specialized agencies that deals with specific economic and social problems e.g. Telecommunication Union (Formally International Telegraphic)

created in 1865 is the oldest serving IGO with global membership. There are at about twenty specialized agencies associated with the UN.

2.7 Roles for International Organizations:

In view of the expanding number and importance of international organizations, the pertinent nouns question is what we want these organization to achieve ultimately.

- **Interactive Arena:**

Traditionally, IGOs are to provide an interactive arena in which members pursue their individual national interests. This is scarcely stated openly but it is clearly in the struggles within the UN and other IGOs,

However the use of IGOs to gain national advantage is somewhat contradictory to the purpose of these cooperative organizations and has both disadvantages and advantages.

- **Independent International Actor:**

Technically, what any IGO does is controlled by the wishes and votes of its members. In reality, many IGOs develop strong relatively permanent administrative staffs.

- **Supranational Organization:**

This means that international organization has authority over its members, which, therefore, are subordinate units. Theoretically some IGOs possess a degree of supranationalism and can obligate members to take certain actions but in reality, supranationalism is limited. Only very few states concede any significant part of their sovereignty to any IGO. But this limitation does not mean however that the authority of the IGOs cannot expand.

2.8 Functions of International Organisations:

In this section, we shall look at the functions performed by various international institutions.

2.8.1 United Nations:

The first international institution we shall be considering is the United Nations. The United Nations was actually formed at the end of the World War II as a successor of the League of Nations.

There are four major functions of the United Nations that we shall consider:

- to preserve international peace

- to solve economic, social, political problem through international Peace

- to promote respect for human rights

- render humanitarian assistant.

(A) To preserve international peace:

The main function of the United Nations is to maintain and preserve peace and security in all its member states. Chapter 6 of the Charter provides for pacific settlement of disputes through the intervention of the Security Council by means such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and judicial decision. The duty of the Security Council is to investigate any dispute or situation that will endanger international peace and security. In the post-cold war periods, a lot of appeals to the United Nations for peace keeping have increased. Notwithstanding the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security., any member states or a country which is not a member of the United Nations can report any issue to the United Nations which has to do with any situation that will endanger international peace. Though the United Nations does not maintain its own military, it does have peace keeping forces which are supplied by its member states. On approval of the United Nations Security Council, these peace keepers are often sent to regions where armed conflict has recently ended to discourage combatants from resuming fighting. In 1988, the peace keeping force won a Nobel peace prize for its actions.

(B) Render humanitarian assistant:

In conjunction with some organisations such as the Red Cross, the United Nations provides humanitarian assistance to disasters afflicted areas, especially where wars or riots have taken place. These agencies include the World Food Organisation and the High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Health Organisation, UNAIDS, the United Nations helps to fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. The member states of the United Nations have all agreed to achieve these goals, reducing mortality rate and fighting diseases.

(C) To solve economic, social, political problem through international:

Peace The United Nations plays an important role in social and economic development through its united development program. This is the latest source of technical grant assistance in the world. The United Nations has however established what is called millennium development goals, the member states have all agreed to achieve this goals and reduce poverty.

(D) To promote respect for human rights:

One of the main reasons for setting up the United Nations was for the promotion of the human rights. After the genocide of the Second World War, the United Nations charter enjoined member states to promote universal respect for, and observance of human rights. The Universal declaration of human rights though not legally binding was adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, as a common standard of achievement for all.

2.8.2 World Bank:

Soumya Singh highlighted seven functions of the World Bank which are:

  a. Granting reconstruction loans to war devastated countries

  b. Granting developmental loans to underdeveloped countries

  c. Providing loans to governments for agriculture, irrigation, power, transport, water supply, education, health, etc.

  d. Providing loans to private concerns for specified projects.

  e. Promoting foreign investment by guaranteeing loans provided by other organisations

  f. Providing technical, economic and monetary advice to member countries for specific projects

  g. Encouraging industrial development of underdeveloped countries by promoting economic reforms.

The World Bank is a financial institution that provides financial and technical assistance programs such as bridges, roads, and school etc. The major function of the World Bank is to eliminate poverty and to provide assistance to the poor by offering loans, policy advice and technical assistance.

2.8.3 International Monetary Fund:

The International Monetary Fund is a financial international institution that was created on July 22, 1946. The major function of the International Monetary Fund is to stabilise exchange rates and assist the reconstruction of the world's international payment system. The functions of the International Monetary Fund however include:

a. Fostering global monetary cooperation

b. Secure financial stability

c. Facilitate international trade

d. Promote high employment

e. Sustain economic growth by promoting international economic cooperation.

f. Reduce poverty

2.8.4 European Union:

The European Union was created in the aftermath of the World War II in response to economic, social and political devastations that resulted from nationalist division in Europe. The European Commission identifies three functions of the European

Union which are:

- Initiating proposal for legislation

- Guardian of the treaties

- Manager and executor of the Union policies and of international trade relationships.

The overall function of the European Union is to create and implements laws and regulations that integrate the member states of the European Union.

Every international institution has its aims and objectives and specific functions it performs. In this unit, we have discussed the functions performed by selected international institutions. However, some of these international institutions have their functions embedded in the treaty, constitution or charter establishing the institution while others do not. It is however suggested that international institutions should have their functions embedded in the charter, institutions or treaties establishing them.

The role international organizations should play in world politics is dependent on the theoretical framework and interpretation of what the institutional system entails. For neo-realists, international institutions are and will always be ineffective, as they cannot alter the anarchic structure of the international system, neo-liberal institutionalists argue the opposite as they believe institutions greatly influence State conduct by both creating strong incentives for cooperation whilst at the same time implementing disincentives, as observed in the case of nuclear proliferation; constructivists take a very different approach by questioning the core assumptions of the other theories and drawing attention to the relationship between the structure and the agency, as well as the construction of state and institutional interests. This essay has sought to argue that we should look at the United Nations system objectively as a forum for nations to come together and tackle issues that are of concern to the international community. This was the primary objective of the institution in 1945, which is why forcing it to develop into an impartial effective governing force seems quite naïve and unrealistic. As stated by former Assistant Secretary-General Robert Orr, "as an actor, there is so little we can do, and often the people accusing us are the same ones who prevent us from being able to act." (Weiss: 2008: 8) For this reason, perhaps instead of focusing on the failures and reform within the UN, we should concentrate on the attributes and virtues that it has as an effective centre for harmonizing discussions and developing common goals for States. Rather than reducing the solution to problems of structural reform and widening participation efforts, we could look at promoting the UN as the prime setting for diplomacy and negotiation, as this has undeniably been its role since the beginning.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What do you mean by International Organisation?

2. What is World Food programme?

3. What is the full form of NATO?

4. To preserve international peace is a major function of UN. (True/False)

5. The IMF was established in the year————. (Fill in the blank)

2.9 Summing Up:

The twentieth century witnessed the most rapid evolution of the international system. The bipolar system declined as other countries and transnational actors became more important as the expense of continuing confrontation strained America and soviet budget resources, and the relative power of the two super powers declined. The bipolar system ended in 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed. During this century, nationalism also undermined the foundations of multiethnic empires. For example, the colonial empires dominated by Great Britain, France, and other European powers also came to an end. There are numerous new trends, uncertainties, and choices to make as we enter the twenty-first century. There is the possibility that some form of modified multi-polar system. The international organizations have become much more numerous and more central to the operation of the international system. In thus unit, factors and trends that will affect the world system in the twenty-first century are examined. These include political structure and orientation security, international economic and the quality of life.

2.10 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Rourke, J.T. and Boyer, M.A (2002). World Politics. United States: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin.

2. Hirst, P. and Thompson G. (1996). Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

*****

UNIT-3

UNDERSTANDING INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Unit Structure:

3.1 Introduction:

Diplomacy is an essentially political activity and, well-resourced and skilful, a major ingredient of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law. It follows that diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment. Although it also includes such discrete activities as gathering information, clarifying intentions, and engendering goodwill, it is thus not surprising that, until the label 'diplomacy' was affixed to all of these activities by the British parliamentarian Edmund Burke in 1796, it was known most commonly as 'negotiation' — by Cardinal Richelieu, the first minister of Louis XIII, as négociation continuelle. Diplomacy is not merely what professional diplomatic agents do. It is carried out by other officials and by private persons under the direction of officials. As we shall see, it is also carried out through many different channels besides the traditional resident mission. Together with the balance of power, which it both reflects and reinforces, diplomacy is the most important institution of our society of states.

3.2 Objectives:

After going through this unit you will be able to:–

- *discuss* the concept of diplomacy,

- *analyse* the nature of diplomacy,

- *know* the concept of modern diplomacy,

- *understand* various issues related to diplomacy.

3.3 Diplomacy: Understanding the concept

Diplomacy has existed since the beginning of the human race. The act of conducting negotiations between two persons, or two nations at a large scope is essential to the upkeep of international affairs. Among the many functions of diplomacy, some include preventing war and violence, and fortifying relations between two nations. Diplomacy is most importantly used to complete a specific agenda. Therefore without diplomacy, much of the world's affairs would be abolished, international organizations would not exist, and above all the world would be at a constant state of war. It is for diplomacy that certain countries can exist in harmony.

Diplomacy, the established method of influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence. Modern diplomatic practices are a product of the post-Renaissance European state system. Historically, diplomacy meant the conduct of official (usually bilateral) relations between sovereign states. By the 20th century, however, the diplomatic practices pioneered in Europe had been adopted throughout the world, and diplomacy had expanded to cover summit meetings and other international conferences, parliamentary diplomacy, the international activities of supranational and subnational entities, unofficial diplomacy by nongovernmental elements, and the work of international civil servants.

The term diplomacy is derived via French from the ancient Greek diplōma, composed of diplo, meaning "folded in two," and the suffix -ma, meaning "an object." The folded document conferred a privilege—often a permit to travel—on the bearer, and the term came to denote documents through which princes granted such favours. Later it applied to all solemn documents

issued by chancelleries, especially those containing agreements between sovereigns. Diplomacy later became identified with international relations, and the direct tie to documents lapsed (except in diplomatics, which is the science of authenticating old official documents). In the 18th century the French term diplomate ("diplomat" or "diplomatist") came to refer to a person authorized to negotiate on behalf of a state.

Diplomacy is the means by which states through their formal and other representatives, as well as other actors articulate, coordinate and secures particular or wider interests using correspondence, private talks, exchange of view, lobbying, visits, persuasions, and other related activities. The art of diplomacy involves tact, and the use of intelligence, and in this role the work of the missions become paramount.

This unit discusses the nature of diplomacy, its history, and the ways in which modern diplomacy is conducted, including the selection and training of diplomats and the organization of diplomatic bodies.

3.3.1 The Nature of Diplomacy:

Diplomacy is often confused with foreign policy, but the terms are not synonymous. Diplomacy is the chief, but not the only, instrument of foreign policy, which is set by political leaders, though diplomats (in addition to military and intelligence officers) may advise them. Foreign policy establishes goals, prescribes strategies, and sets the broad tactics to be used in their accomplishment. It may employ secret agents, subversion, war, or other forms of violence as well as diplomacy to achieve its objectives. Diplomacy is the principal substitute for the use of force or underhanded means in statecraft; it is how comprehensive national power is applied to the peaceful adjustment of differences between states. It may be coercive (i.e., backed by the threat to apply punitive measures or to use force) but is overtly nonviolent. Its primary tools are international dialogue and negotiation, primarily conducted by accredited envoys (a term derived from the French envoyé, meaning "one who is sent") and other political leaders. Unlike foreign policy, which generally is enunciated publicly, most diplomacy is conducted in confidence, though both the fact that it is in progress and its results are almost always made public in contemporary international relations.

Joseph Stalin quoted in (Dallin, 1944: 71) had paid his respect to the art of diplomacy in these words:

A diplomat's words must have no relation to actions, otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for the concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.

Stalin in this quotation expressed the traditional attitude of modern dictators towards diplomacy, namely, that it is a means of concealing a nation's real aims and of providing a smoke-screen for actions of vastly different character. Joseph Stalin, in short, took a cynical view of art of diplomacy.

While the sentiments of Stalin have some justifications, they do not suggest the real nature of diplomacy, which consists of the techniques and procedures for conducting relations among states; it is in fact, the normal means of conducting international relations. In itself diplomacy, like any machinery is both neither moral nor immoral, its use and value depends upon the intentions and abilities of those who practise it.

Diplomacy functions through a labyrinth of foreign offices, embassies, legations, consulates, and special missions all over the world. It is commonly bilateral in character, but as a result of the growing importance of international conferences, international organizations, regional arrangements and collective security measures, it's multilateral aspect have become increasingly significant. It may embrace a multitude of interests, from the simplest matter of detail in the relations between two states to vital issues of war and peace. When it breaks down, the danger of war, or at least a major crisis is real.

Nation-states deal bilaterally with one another and meet together in multilateral organizations not only because they have interests in common, but also because they have interests which conflict. Moreover the fact of independence breeds suspicion and doubts. History is full of examples of conflict, duplicity and reversals of policy and everyday fresh examples are emerging. Diplomacy is intimately concerned with these problems and is therefore viewed as an organized pattern of communication and negotiation which enables each independent state to learn from what it also objects to.

In modern international societies, diplomacy has become more than an instrument of communication and bargaining. It is an activity which, even if often abused, has a bias towards the resolution of conflicts.

Stop to Consider

Foreign Policy and Diplomacy:

It is necessary to bear in mind that there is a defined distinction between foreign policy and diplomacy. The foreign policy of a state according to Childs (1948:64) is the substance of foreign relations, whereas, diplomacy is the process by which foreign policy is carried out.

Policy is made by different persons and agencies but presumably on major matters in any state, whatever its form of government; it is made at the highest levels, though subject to many different kinds of control. Then it is the purpose of diplomacy to provide the machinery and the personnel by which foreign policy is executed. One is substance; the other is method.

3.3.2 Contents of Modern Diplomacy:

One of the most striking aspects of post-war diplomacy is the rapid growth in the volume of diplomatic activity since the end of 20th century and beginning of the present 21st century. To a large extent this has come about because of the expansion of multilateral and regional diplomacy, much of which is economic or resource related. The changes in volume can be seen in the number of treaties that are concluded among nations annually which doubled since the end of Second World War.

The broadening of the international agenda especially since the 1970s into issues concerning trade, technology transfer, aviation, human rights, transnational environmental and sustainable development questions has continued with the increasing addition of novel or revived threats. Examples of the later include global sea-level rise, stratospheric ozone depletion, environmental sabotage, terrorism attacks, money laundering, refugee dumping, transnational stock exchange fraud and black market nuclear materials trade. Underlying the expanded diplomatic agenda are a range of issues concerning the relationship between domestic and foreign policy, sovereignty and adequacy of agreements and arrangements at a bilateral, regional, international or global level.

The point can be made more generally in terms of the widening content of diplomacy. At one level the changes in the substantive form of diplomacy are reflected in terms such as dollar diplomacy, oil diplomacy, resource diplomacy, atomic diplomacy and global governance diplomacy. Thus what constitute the contents of diplomacy today goes beyond the sometimes rather narrow politico-strategic conception given to the term. Nor is it appropriate to view diplomacy in a restrictive or formal sense as being the preserve of foreign ministries and diplomatic service personnel.

3.4 Understanding international diplomacy: Theory and practice

The beginning of organized diplomacy is the relations among city-states of ancient Greece. By the 5th Century B.C. Nicholson (1939:21) stated:

"Special missions between Greek city-states had become so frequent that something approaching our own system of regular diplomatic intercourse had been achieved."

Thucydides wrote much about diplomatic procedure among the Greeks. For instance, in his account of a conference at Sparta in 432 B.C. the Spartans and their allies considered what action should be taken against Athens.

Modern diplomacy as an organized profession arose in Italy in the late middle ages, the rivalries of the Italian city-states and the methods which their rulers used to promote their interests are described in masterful fashion in Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

However, for over three centuries, the mission was neither adequate nor standardized. Diplomacy was still the diplomacy of the courts, its object was to promote the interests of the sovereign abroad, by various means, direct or devious, fair or foul and its standards were low and ill-defined. The ambassador then as now, was deemed to be the personal representative of his head of state in a foreign country. An affront to him was an affront to the head of state himself and hence to the nation that they symbolized.

In the absence of well-defined rules of procedure, frequent dispute sometimes so bitter as to lead to duels or even to wars arose from questions of precedence and immunity. Ambassadors who attempted to entertain in a

(299)

style befitting the dignity of their sovereigns often found themselves in dire financial straits, especially if the sovereigns whose dignity they were trying to enhance by sumptuous display neglected to pay them salaries.

The present diplomacy can be said to have started in the nineteenth century, which then demanded new methods as well as new personnel. These methods were defined in many international agreements and became an intricate and generally observed code. Under the aegis of the Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe, buttressed by the operations of the balance of power system, the game was played according to the new rules with fair degree of success. By the early 20th century, the term democratic diplomacy had come into common use. It seemed to symbolize a new order in world affairs, one in which governments were fast loosing their aristocratic learning and their aloofness and peoples were speaking to peoples through democratic representatives and informal channels. Actually, the new order was not as different from the old as it seemed in the atmosphere of hope that ushered in the present century.

While diplomacy has remained a rather esoteric profession, carried on by men of wealth, power and influence, it is being conducted with the assistance of a growing number of career officers, the elite guard of diplomacy, whose standard of competence and training are being steadily raised. Diplomacy is thus, being put more generally on a professional and non political basis.

There are in fact many functions of diplomacy that make diplomacy an essential ingredient for any peaceful and efficient change. The reason to negotiate with other persons has always been the same, to have better relations. Over the course of diplomacy being in existence, the structure of diplomatic posts has changed from a loose one to an organized institution made for a specific purpose. While the structure of diplomatic posts has changed, the functions always remained the same. There are four functions of diplomacy. The first function involves "representing a state's interests and conducting negotiations or discussions designed to identify common interests as well as areas of disagreement between the parties, for the purpose of achieving the state's goals and avoiding conflict" (Ameri 1). Representations of a state as well as negotiation are the most important functions of diplomacy. Negotiations between two representatives are a

key component in diplomacy, because in doing so the representatives find a common interest. Finding a common interest is vital in conducting negotiations because with a common interest representatives are able to devise a solution that is in the interest of both sides. G.R. Berridge that negotiation.

3.5 The United Nations and the changing world order:

The UN, which replaced the League of Nations in 1946, was founded with 51 members. By the beginning of the 21st century, its membership had nearly quadrupled, though not all the world's countries had joined. The new states were often undeveloped and technologically weak, with a limited pool of educated elites for the establishment of a modern diplomatic corps. After the larger colonies gained independence, smaller ones, where this problem was more acute, followed suit. The trend continued until even "microstates" of small area and population became sovereign. (For example, at its independence in 1968, Nauru had a population of fewer than 7,000.)

These small new states, which achieved independence suddenly, were unable to conduct much diplomacy at first. Many of them accredited ambassadors only to the former colonial power, a key neighbouring state, and the UN. For financial reasons envoys often were sent only to the European Community (EC), the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), or major powers that might extend military and financial assistance. Over time, the larger of the newly independent states built sizable foreign services modeled on that of the former colonial power or those of the similarly organized services of Brazil and India, which were not complicit in colonialism. (The Brazilian foreign ministry and diplomatic service are organized and staffed along European lines; they have long had reputations as the most professional such organizations in Latin America. The Indian Foreign Service, modeled on the highly respected Indian Administrative Service and initially staffed from its ranks, quickly emerged as a practitioner of competent diplomacy by a nonaligned, non-Western potential great power.) The microstates mounted a few tiny missions and experimented with joint representation and shared facilities, multiple accreditation of one envoy to several capitals, and meeting with foreign envoys in their own capitals. A very few nominally independent states had no foreign ministry and relied on regional powers to represent them.

The new states shared the diplomatic forms of the industrialized democracies of the West but not their political culture. Many new states were ill at ease with the values of their former colonial masters and cast about for alternatives drawn from their own histories and national experiences. Others accepted Western norms but castigated the West for hypocrisy and challenged it to live up to its own ideals. Envoys began to appear in Western capitals dressed in indigenous regalia to symbolize their assertion of ancient non-Western cultural identities. As they gained a majority at the UN, the newly independent states fundamentally altered the organization's stance toward colonies, racial issues, and indigenous peoples. Beyond the East-West division of the Cold War, there developed a "North-South" divide between the wealthier former imperial powers of the north and their less-developed former colonies, many of which called for a worldwide redistribution of wealth.

The UN was no more successful at healing the North-South rift than it was at healing the East-West one. It was, according to former Indian permanent representative Arthur Lall, "a forum and not a force." Useful mainly for its specialized agencies and as a forum for propaganda and a venue for quiet contacts, it played only a marginal role in major questions and conflicts, though secretaries-general and their deputies made intense efforts to solve serious but secondary problems such as the resettlement of refugees and persons displaced by war. In the end, the UN has remained only, as Dag Hammarskjöld, UN secretary-general from 1953 to 1961, remarked, "a complement to the normal diplomatic machinery of the governments" that are its members, not a substitute.

Regional organizations sometimes were more successful. The European Union (EU) was effective in promoting trade and cooperation with member states, and the Organization of African Unity and the Arab League enhanced the international bargaining power of regional groupings of new states by providing a coherent foreign policy and diplomatic strategy. By contrast, the extreme political, economic, and cultural diversity of Asia made it harder to organize effectively; the Organization of American States suffered from the enormous imbalance between the United States and its smaller, poorer, and less-powerful members; and the nonaligned movement was too disparate for long-term cohesion. None of these entities solved the problem of

harmonizing the views of the industrialized democracies, the Soviet bloc, and those newly independent countries struggling for wealth, power, and cultural identity.

The exponential growth in the number of states complicated diplomacy by requiring countries—especially the major powers—to staff many different diplomatic missions at once. As state, transnational, and quasi-diplomatic entities proliferated, so did the functions of diplomacy. Although leaders met often, there was more, not less, for diplomats to do. Thus, the size of the missions of major powers increased enormously, to the point where some U.S. diplomatic missions were three times larger than the foreign ministry of the state to which they were accredited.

Subnational entities, representing peoples aspiring to statehood or to the creation of radically different regimes in their homelands, also complicated the crowded international scene. Foremost among these entities was the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which had observer status at the UN, membership in the Arab League, and envoys in most of the world's capitals, many with diplomatic status. The African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) also conducted a long and varied diplomacy before achieving power in South Africa and Namibia, respectively.

New topics of diplomacy also abounded, including economic and military aid, commodity-price stabilization, food sales, aviation, and allocations of radio frequencies. Career diplomats tended to be generalists drawn from foreign ministries, and specialists increasingly came from other agencies as attachés or counselors. Disarmament negotiations, for example, required specialized knowledge beyond the scope of military attachés. Environmental abuse gave rise to a host of topics, such as the law of the sea, global warming, and means of preventing or abating pollution. The complexity of diplomatic missions increased accordingly. By the 1960s, for example, U.S. missions had instituted "country teams," including the ambassador and the heads of all attached missions, which met at least once each week to unify policy and reporting efforts and to prevent different elements under the ambassador from working at cross-purposes.

Not only were there new tasks for diplomacy to perform, but there was also a new emphasis on old tasks. The widening Cold War entailed more espionage, of which ambassadors were officially ignorant but which was conducted by attachés and chauffeurs alike; thus, large embassies appeared in small but strategic countries. Propaganda, the export of officially sanctioned information, and so-called "cultural diplomacy"—as typified by the international tours of Russian dance companies and the cultural programs of the Alliance Française, the British Council, and various American libraries—expanded as well. Cold War competition also extended to international arms transfers. Gifts or sales of weapons and military training were a means of influencing foreign armed forces and consolidating long-term relationships with key elements of foreign governments. The increasing complexity and expense of modern weapons systems also made military exports essential for preserving industrial capacity and employment in the arms industries of the major powers. Diplomats thus became arms merchants, competing with allies and enemies alike for sales to their host governments.

The multiplicity of diplomatic tasks reflected a world that was not only more interdependent but also more fragmented and divided. This dangerous combination led to a search for a new international system to manage the Cold War in order to prevent a nuclear holocaust. Neither the UN nor the Western policy of containment provided an answer. As the two blocs congealed, a balance of terror in the 1960s was followed by an era of détente in the 1970s and then by a return to deterrence in the 1980s. But the 45 years of the Cold War did not produce an organizing principle of any duration. Great power conflict was conducted by proxy through client states in developing areas. Wars, which were numerous but small, were not declared, and diplomatic relations often continued during the fighting.

SAQ:

Q. Analyse the role of negotiation played by the diplomacy in the global politics.

....

....

....

3.6 New styles of Diplomacy:

One result of the breakdown of old premises, specifically in new states, was that diplomatic immunity changed into breached, and diplomacy became a dangerous profession. disorder changed into now not the chief killer of diplomats, nor become overindulgence at court docket; the new hazards had been murder, maiming, and kidnapping. Diplomats were a target because they represented states and symbolized privileged elites. protection precautions at embassies had been doubled and redoubled however had been never sufficient if host governments became a blind eye to breaches of extraterritoriality. As the 20 th century drew to a near, assaults on diplomatic missions and diplomats grew in scale and frequency. Terrorists succeeded in taking the staffs of some diplomatic missions hostage and in blowing up others, with superb loss of existence. a few embassies came to resemble fortresses.

A few new states additionally adopted the Soviet tactic of offensive behaviour as a tool of coverage. The latest "new diplomacy" appealed, as the Soviets had done in the course of the interwar period, over the heads of government to humans within the opponent's camp; it attempted to discredit governments with the aid of attributing unsightly motives; and it now and again trumpeted most needs in calculatedly offensive language as conditions for negotiation. Public international relations of this ilk turned into frequently noisy, bellicose, and self-righteous. The problematic courtesy of sharply understated, unpublished notes in which a government "viewed with problem" to carry strong objection changed into employed by means of best part of the diplomatic community. using derogatory phrases along with war criminal, imperialist, neocolonialist, hegemon, racist, and mass assassin no longer exceedingly proved more likely to enrage than to conciliate those to whom those phrases were implemented.

As international relations raised its voice in public, propaganda, abetted by technology, have become a key device. Radio free Europe and the Voice of the united states broadcast one message to the communist bloc; proselytizing Christian church buildings and so-known as "national liberation actions" capitalized upon transistor radios to unfold their messages to other regions. In towns, television became essential, as images provided an

immediacy that words by myself could not bring. Statesmen misplaced no opportunity to be filmed, and ambassadors emerged from the shadows to seem on news programs or earlier than legislative committees to expound their us of a's policy. Mass demonstrations have been staged for the benefit of tv and featured banners in English, which had end up the most important global language. whilst the us invaded Panama in 1989, the Soviet Union protested on the yankee-owned tv company Cable news community, which was watched via most foreign ministries and international leaders.

Thus it is seen that Diplomacy is an essentially political activity and, well-resourced and skilful, a major ingredient of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to forces, propaganda, or law. It follows that diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment. Although it also includes such discrete activities as gathering information, clarifying intentions, and engendering goodwill, it is thus not surprising that, until the label 'diplomacy' was affixed to all of these activities by the British parliamentarian Edmund Burke in 1796, it was known most commonly as 'negotiation' -by Cardinal Richelieu, the first minister of Louis XIII, as negociation continuelle. Diplomacy is not merely what professional diplomatic agents do. It is carried out by other officials and by private persons under the direction of officials. As we shall see, it is also carried out through many different channels besides the traditional resident mission. Together with the balance of power, which it both reflects and reinforces, diplomacy is the most important institution of our society of states.

In international politics, negotiation consists of discussion between officially designated representatives that is designed to achieve the formal agreement of their governments to a way forward on an issue that has come up in their relations. Negotiation, as noted in the Introduction to this book, is only one of the functions of diplomacy and, in some situations, not the most urgent; in traditional diplomacy via resident missions, neither is it the activity to which most time is now generally devoted. (Although when diplomats 'lobby' some agency of the state to which they are accredited,

as they have always spent much of their time doing, the only differences from negotiation are that the dialogue is configured differently and any successes are not formally registered.) Nevertheless, negotiation remains the most important function of diplomacy. This is, in part, because the diplomatic system now encompasses considerably more than the work of resident missions, and negotiation becomes more and more its operational focus as we move into the realms of multilateral diplomacy, summitry, and that other growth sector of the world diplomatic system- mediation. Furthermore, it hardly needs labouring that it is the process of negotiation that grapples directly with the most threatening problems, whether they be economic dislocation, environmental catastrophe, war, or - as at the time of writing - global financial meltdown.

3.7 Issues and challenges of International Diplomacy:

The issues and preoccupations of the new millennium present new and different types of challenges from those that faced the world in 1918 and again in 1945. With the new realities and challenges have come corresponding new expectations for action and new standards of conduct in national and international affairs.

Until the Second World War, war was an institution of the states system, with distinctive rules, etiquette, norms, and stable patterns of practices. The number of armed conflicts rose steadily until the end of the cold war, peaked in the early 1990s, and has declined since then. The nature of armed conflict itself has changed, with most being internal struggles for power, dominance, and resources rather than militarized interstate confrontations. Battle lines, if they exist at all, are fluid and shifting rather than territorially demarcated and static. The line between war as a political act and organized criminality has become increasingly blurred. Even most 'internal' conflicts have regional and transnational elements. Because they merge seamlessly with sectarian divides, contemporary conflicts are often rooted in, reproduce, and replicate past intergroup atrocities, thereby perpetuating hard-edged cleavages that are perceived as zero-sum games by all parties. Thus all sides are trapped in a never-ending cycle of suspicions, atrocities, and recriminations. The net result is that non-combatants are now on the frontline of modern battles.

The need to help and protect civilians at risk of death and displacement caused by armed conflict is paramount. Diplomats will be judged on how well they discharge or dishonour their international responsibility to protect.

The multiplication of internal conflicts was accompanied by a worsening of the abuses of the human rights of millions of people. Conscious of the atrocities committed by the Nazis while the world looked silently away, the UN adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The two covenants in 1966 added force and specificity, affirming both civil-political and social-economic-cultural rights without privileging either set. The United Nations has also adopted scores of other legal instruments on human rights and in his major reform report in 2005 Annan elevated human rights alongside security and development as the three great normative mandates of the organization. The parallel expansion of the reach and scope of international humanitarian law, and the rise of domestic, regional, international, and non-governmental institutions championing, monitoring, and enforcing human rights and international humanitarian law, has generated additional tasks and challenges for diplomacy.

In 2007, the foreign ministers of seven countries—Norway, Brazil, France, Indonesia, Senegal, South Africa, and Thailand—issued the Oslo Ministerial Declaration calling for more attention to health as a foreign policy issue. They noted that 'Health is deeply interconnected with the environment, trade, economic growth, social development, national security, and human rights and dignity.' They linked health to human security: 'While national security focuses on the defence of the state from external attack, national health security relates to defence against internal and external public-health risks and threats', adding that 'These are risks and threats that by their very nature do not respect borders, as people, animals, and goods travel around the world faster than ever before.' Among their concerns were a recognition that investment in health was fundamental to economic growth, development, and poverty eradication; imbalances in the global health workforce market (the persistent lack of skilled health workers and their uneven distribution within and among countries); and the protection of peoples' health in situations of crises. More frequent travel and contact among people from different countries and continents have been accompanied by the risk of

major global pandemics like HIV/AIDS, avian flu, SARS, and so on, creating pressures for governments to harmonize national and cross-border surveillance mechanisms and emergency responses. This also requires international data collection and standardization of measures.

Brink Lindsey described the 1990s as the age of abundance with rising incomes, growing capital markets, and accelerating flows of money and investment. Untroubled by want and scarcity, Americans fought over values both domestically, leading to culture wars, and internationally, leading to expanding interest in human rights and the international protection agenda. By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the age of scarcity seemed to have made a stunning comeback with alarmist scenarios of food, fuel, and water scarcity, fragile financial and banking systems and vulnerable ecosystems.

Financial crises of the 1990s in Asia, Latin America, and Russia and of 2008–2012 in the US and Europe showed how much, and how quickly, regional crises take on systemic character through rapid contagion. They also highlighted the unequal distribution of costs among the victims of financial crises. Hence the claim by Michel Camdessus, the former managing director of the IMF (1987–2000), that to the duty of domestic excellence and rectitude we must add the ethic of global responsibility in the management of national economies. He goes on to describe the widening inequality within and among nations as 'morally outrageous, economically wasteful, and socially explosive'. A considerable portion of national and international diplomacy in 2007–2012 was devoted to grappling with the financial crisis.

The movement of people in large numbers, whether seeking fresh opportunities in new lands through migration or escaping cycles of violence, famine, persecution, natural disasters, or poverty, has been a major political problem domestically in many countries and a major diplomatic challenge internationally. Diasporas represent both a domestic element in the changing demographic composition of the citizens of a country, and a foreign policy complication if troubles from home country are imported. Examples of this abound: Tamils in Canada and Sri Lanka, Sikhs in Canada, Jews in most Western countries and the Middle East conflict, Iraqi exiles in the lead-up to the 2003 invasions of Iraq, and Cubans in Florida.

Stop to Consider

Permanent Traditional Diplomacy:

Permanent traditional diplomacy is when permanent traditional structures are used in diplomatic discussions. That is, all diplomatic discussions must involve the state's Ministry of Foreign Affairs through its minister, Ambassadors, Charge de affairs, Protocol, Information Attaches, etc. The head of government would normally allow the Foreign Affairs Minister make all the pronouncements, on behalf of the state whenever the Head of Government wants to make such pronouncements. The Minister or the Legislature must also have an input. In case of change of government, this structure is not altered, although personnel may change such as the Ministers and Ambassadors sometimes. No matter how radical or revolutionary a regime may be it cannot afford to change the structure all a time.

3.8 Summing Up:

Throughout the course of history diplomacy has been a paramount element in the upkeep of peace and in the creation of positive change. Without diplomacy much of the world's affairs would not exist. There are many examples of how diplomacy has affected countries, and even individual citizens. An example of how negotiation positively can affect someone is Clinton's negotiation with Kim Jung Il in North Korea. Their peaceful negotiation resulted in the release of two American citizens. An example of how power can corrupt diplomacy is Libya and Switzerland. With the introduction of power, in other words oil, countries such as Libya with the

leader Ghaddafi are able to have a stronger presence in the world and say things that can normally not be said. Power corrupts, however diplomacy seeks to rid corruption and reinforce the international system as well as international law. It is for diplomacy that international organizations can exist. In a diplomatic way, an international organization is merely a many members finding a common ground on a particular subject. In the United Nations for example, all the members try to find a common interest for positive change. Although it is sometimes perceived to be slow change, the method of diplomacy causes fewer casualties than any other one. If diplomacy were not in existence, international organizations would not exist. The world would be at a constant state of war, and war would in fact never end because they normally end with diplomatic negotiations.

3.9 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Adam, Watson,. Diplomacy the dialogue between states. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1983.

2. Berridge, G. R. Diplomatic Theory From Machievelli to Kissinger. New York: Palgrave, 2001."Diplomacy – The U.S. Department of State at Work." U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs, June 2008. Web. 2 Sept. 2009. <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/46839.pdf>.

3. Eban, Abba Solomon. New diplomacy international affairs in the modern age. New York: Random House, 1983.

4. Kissinger, Henry. Diplomacy (A Touchstone Book). New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

5. Kwong, Maj Tang Mun. "The Roles of Diplomacy and Deterrence in the 21 st Century." Journal V27 N1 Jan-Mar (2001).

*****

UNIT- 4

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS: NATURE AND IMPORTANCE

Unit Structure:

4.1 Introduction:

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is any non-profit, voluntary, citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, make the Governments aware of the concerns of the citizens, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. Some NGOs are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, environment or health. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements. The term "nongovernmental organization" has no generally agreed legal definition. In many jurisdictions, these types of organization are called "civil society organizations" or referred to by other names. This unit will help you understand the role played by the NGO's, the consequent challenges and the contribution NGO's have made in various fields for the upliftment of humanity and working towards strengthening of civil society and global governance.

4.2 Objectives:

NGOs in any country all over the world including international development agencies seek collaboration with government and development organizations for acquiring appropriate solutions to development problems and to enhance people's participation in government programmes. After going through this unit you will able to

- *examine* the non governmental organisations like Amnesty International, ICRC, Green Peace etc.

- *analyse* the nature of non governmental organisations

- *discuss* The importance of non governmental organisations in contemporary world

4.3 Non Governmental Organisations:

We have already discussed that Non-Governmental Organizations are non profit, voluntary, citizens' groups organised on local, national or international level. Here in this section, let us discuss some of the major Non-Governmental Organizations like Amnesty International, International Committee of the Red Cross and Green Peace. This section will also enlighten you about the contributions made by these Non-Governmental Organizations and challenges facing by these NGOs.

4.3.1 Amnesty International:

Amnesty International (commonly known as Amnesty and AI) is an international non-governmental organization. Its stated mission is "to conduct research and generate action to prevent and end grave abuses of human rights and to demand justice for those whose rights have been violated." Amnesty international was founded in 1961 with the mission to draw attention to human rights abuses and campaigns for compliance with international laws and standards. It works to mobilise public opinion to exert pressure on governments to take action against those that perpetrate abuses.

By the mid-1960s Amnesty International's global presence was growing and an International Secretariat and International Executive Committee was established to manage Amnesty International's national organisations, called 'Sections', which had appeared in several countries. Apart from the work of the library and groups, Amnesty International's activities were expanding to help prisoner's families, send observers to trials, make representations to governments, and finding asylum or overseas employment for prisoners. Its activity and influence was also increasing within intergovernmental organisations; it was awarded consultative status by the United Nations, the Council of Europe and UNESCO before the decade ended. In 1977, Amnesty International was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its contribution in securing the ground for freedom, justice, and thereby also for peace in the world. In 1978, Amnesty International received the United Nations Human Rights prize for its outstanding contributions in the field of human rights.

- **Aims and Objectives of Amnesty International**

The object of Amnesty International is to contribute to the observance of protecting and protesting the abuse of Human Rights throughout the world as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In pursuance of this objective, and recognizing the obligation on each person to extend to others rights and freedoms equal to his or her own, Amnesty International adopts as its mandate:

   a. To promote awareness of and adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other internationally recognized human rights instruments, the values enshrined in them, and the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights and freedoms

   b. To oppose the grave violations of the rights of every person to freely hold and to express his or her convictions and to be free from discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin, sex, colour or language, and of the right of every person to physical and mental integrity, and, in particular, to oppose all kinds of human rights abuse by appropriate means irrespective of political considerations:

- **Contribution:**

Amnesty International has contributed immensely in the field of human rights. For example with regard to the Assyrians persecutions in the context of their human rights, urgent Action was taken in April 1985 when 153 members and supporters of the Assyrian Democratic Movement (Zowaa) were arrested and three of the leaders were executed by the Iraqi government without trial. There are some other actions taken by Amnesty International in order to promote human rights and to express concern such as home government approach, symbolic events and theme and country campaigns, etc. Amnesty supporters around the world took action to demand an end to the violence against ordinary Burmese people who simply wanted to have a say in the administration of their country.

Amnesty International's campaigns to stop violence against Women over the world laid down the following objectives in its effort to stop violence against women. These are as follows:

- Implementation of existing laws that guarantee access to justice and services for women subjected to violence including rape and other forms of sexual violence

- New laws to be enacted that will protect women's human rights.

- Demands to end laws that discriminate against women

- Demands the ending of violence against women perpetrated by a state and its agents.

Amnesty International campaign is to end human killings. Its work with Moazzam Begg has focused exclusively on the human rights violations committed in Guantánamo Bay and the need for the US government to shut it down and either release or put on trial those who have been held there. Moazzam Begg is one of the first detainees released by the US without charge. Amnesty International has a long history of demanding justice .In the case of the Counter Terror with Justice Campaign it called for both an end to human rights abuses at Guantánamo and other locations. It also called for the detained to be brought to justice, in fair trials and respect the due process. Amnesty International has done considerable research on the Taleban case and campaiging to stop violence against women and to promote women's equality.

The organisation still continues to take a strong line against abuses by religiously based insurgent groups and governments imposing religious strictures, Islamic or otherwise, in violation of human rights law. Amnesty International stands for the protection of human rights abuse all over the world without any discrimination.

- **Challenges:**

Amnesty International has worked with human rights defenders for decades. During the functioning of the organization, the organization has witnessed and worked against a range of repressive tactics that governments of every political group deployed by the AI to silence human rights defenders. Patterns of repression varied over time and across context: in Latin America, for example, "disappearances" and "death squad killings" replaced politically motivated imprisonment in the 70s and 80s as the favoured tactics for suppressing dissenting voices, tactics which allowed the military governments of the time to cover their tracks and deny all responsibility. Disappearances, death squad killings and politically motivated imprisonment are used against defenders in many countries around the world, particularly those experiencing armed conflict or severe civil unrest. In such situations, death threats are the common means of intimidation, in which the police or judiciary neither investigate nor punishes. Defenders working on human rights issues traditionally neglected or marginalized often face obstacles. The rights they uphold are contested or controversial, either because they challenge dominant social norms or because they are seen as threatening to the established political, religious or economic order. The challenges faced by the group of human rights defenders includes those working on economic, social and cultural rights, sexual and reproductive rights and those defending the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender people. Human rights defenders in many countries stand at a risk of being detained or abducted. Detention safeguards are often flouted and many may be held without charge. Others may have spurious charges brought against them, a pattern Amnesty International has increasingly observed in countries where the authorities seek to tarnish the image of the defenders and reputation by portraying them as criminals, terrorists or delinquents. In some cases charges are clearly

fabricated. In others, legitimate activities such as convening a demonstration or lodging an official complaint have been characterized as public order offences or acts of libel. Defamatory tactics are also used to delegitimize the work of defenders. The media often collude in spreading slanderous accusations and attacks on their personal integrity and political independence. Bureaucratic barriers are applied in politically motivated ways to hamper the work of organizations working for the defense of human rights by

- denying the organizations legal registration
- restricting their meetings
- obstructing fact-finding visits
- forcing them to cease operating, either directly or by preventing access to sources of funding.

4.3.2 International Committee of the Red Cross:

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence and to provide them with assistance. It directs and coordinates international relief activities in situations of conflict. It also endeavours to prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles. The ICRC was established in the year 1863 on the recommendations made in the meeting of the Geneva Conventions with the initiative of Henry Dunant's.

- **Objective:**

First and foremost role of The ICRC to ensure that they care for members of the enemy armed forces as well as their own and guarantee medical establishments and the protection they are entitled to enjoy. Some countries do not have the necessary infrastructure like lack of surgical infrastructure necessary to care for war wounded, in others, access to existing hospitals is denied to certain victims for political reasons, or is simply not available because of geographical factors and inadequate means of transportation. In accordance with the principles of the Geneva Conventions, the ICRC first attempts to solve such problems by either providing medicines, dressing materials and surgical equipment to local structures or by negotiating with

the authorities to obtain access to surgical care for all the wounded. The ICRC also helps to set up first aid posts and transportation facilities where possible, send surgical teams to work within existing structures, or open new ICRC administered facilities for surgical care and rehabilitation.

- **Contribution:**

The ICRC is carrying out humanitarian activities in zones of armed conflict or internal violence which has always been a dangerous undertaking. The ICRC currently has more than 11,000 staff members working in 79 contexts worldwide. They travel to areas marked by fighting or cross front lines between opposing parties to reach the persons they are mandated to protect and assist. For the ICRC, the security of its personnel is a crucial responsibility. While working in contexts of armed conflict or situations of violence evidently implies being confronted with significant levels of risk, it has always sought to develop approaches and instruments of security management to minimise the security threats faced by its personnel to the limited extent possible. The contribution of the ICRC in the case of the land mine victims is significant. In June 1999 the ICRC launched an appeal for 105 million Swiss francs (U.S. $69 million) to fund its activities for mine victims over the next five years. The financial appeal covers all the following activities of ICRC's relating to mine victims.

- To promote universal adherence to and full implementation of the Ottawa Treaty and amended Protocol II to the 1980 U.N. Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons.

- To reduce the risk of mine-related incidents through mine awareness programs currently being conducted by the ICRC in six countries.

- To provide mine victims with treatment and physical rehabilitation in 23-limb-fitting centres that the ICRC is running in 11 countries, and to continue its support for similar centres run by ministries of health, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and NGOs in many other countries

- To collect and analyze, wherever possible, data for use in the development of appropriate mine action programs.

- The ICRC also provides direct medical assistance to health facilities and appropriate training for doctors and nurses treating mine victims. Between 1979 and the end of 1998, the ICRC manufactured over 130,000 artificial limbs, over 175,000 pairs of crutches and about 9,000 wheelchairs. In 1998 alone, the ICRC manufactured over 11,500 prostheses, of these, more than 6,500 were for mine victims. During the same year it produced over 17,200 pairs of crutches and more than 700 wheelchairs. Since February 1994, the ICRC and Red Crescent Movement have been actively involved in a drive to impose a total ban on anti-personnel mines, running public awareness campaigns and encouraging diplomatic and military circles to support their efforts. These efforts are undertaken to coordinate and improve the care given to victims, and to extend preventive mine awareness programs.

The ICRC is currently running 25-limb-fitting and rehabilitation programs in 13 countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Georgia, Iraq, Kenya, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan and Uganda. In a number of countries, the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, supported by their International Federation, have undertaken the responsibility to cure the mine-injured people through rehabilitation, health and social welfare programs. In addition to these activities, the ICRC and national societies are conducting mine awareness programs in several countries in order to reduce the number of landmine incidents in mine-affected area.

STOP TO CONSIDER

NGOs in the Contemporary Period:

NGOs have proliferated in number, and have become increasingly more vocal on many domestic and international issues in the last few decades. Nongovernmental organizations have become active in international politics in great variety, but they are all issue oriented and advocacy organizations to some degree. NGOs are independent to choose their own programs and targets, but they need help from

---

numerous institutions as well as the state to pursue its line of action. Now, NGOs are addressing different issues such as the rights of indigenous peoples, prisoners, refugees, children, women, consumers, endangered animals etc. At the same time, many international NGOs active in areas which seek to protect 'global commons', global poverty and human rights. Therefore, the growth in the number of NGOs may reflect the increase in decline of state authority; on the contrary they might also signal the increasing scope of democratic space as well as resilience of the state and its institutions. Infact NGOs represent a 'signal the shift away from a politics based on national and class interests to a politics based on moral values and emotions'

- **Challenges:**

The most important operational function of ICRC's is to ensure access to victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence. However, in a changing conflict environment, granting access is becoming difficult because of security constraints. To overcome the constraints faced by the ICRC in its mission and to remain close to the victims and to communicate with all the existing or potential parties to a conflict, the ICRC has developed a network of more than 230 delegations, sub-delegations and offices throughout the world. It has been working constantly to expand its network of contacts with all weapons bearers, and the ones who can influence them. However, such contacts seemed useless without the capacity to fulfil the expectations created by the ICRC's presence and mandate. It is only by being effective in the field and taking action to relieve the suffering of those affected by armed conflict that the ICRC can gain its acceptance. Today, a humanitarian response is provided by a wide range of actors viz. international and local humanitarian agencies, governmental or nongovernmental, and, in some regions, military units. The ICRC as per the norms of its mandate stands for humanitarian action that is neutral and independent. Without being biased to any party involved in an armed conflict, ICRC seeks to bring protection and assistance to those in needs. It is a real challenge for ICRC to ensure that this identity is clearly perceived and respected by all concerned, especially the belligerents. The most important work of the ICRC is to encourage parties involved in armed conflicts to implement international humanitarian law in order to prevent and alleviate suffering. The task of

alleviating the sufferings of the poor victims of conflicts in a fair and just manner is a big challenge for the organization.

Check Your Progress

1. Amnesty International was founded in the year _____ . (Fill in the blanks)

2. *What was the main mission of Amnesty International?*

3. In which year did Amnesty International get the Nobel Peace Prize?

4. In the year _____ Amnesty International received the United Nations Human Rights prize. (Fill in the blank)

5. Mention one objective of Amnesty International.

6. Analyse the challenges faced by Amnesty International.

7. When did ICRC is established?

8. Write a note on the contributions made by ICRC.

9. The ICRC stands for humanitarian action that is neutral and independent. (write true or false)

10. Amnesty International demands the ending of violence against women perpetrated by a state and its agents. (write true or false)

SAQ:

Q. Do you think that the role played by the International NGOs help inthe process of Human Development. Give arguments in favour of youranswer. (100 words)

....

....

....

4.3.3 Green Peace:

Greenpeace is a non-governmental environmental organization. It has its offices in over 40 countries with an international coordinating body in Amsterdam, Netherlands. Greenpeace states its goal as to "ensure the ability

of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity". It focuses on worldwide issues such as global warming, deforestation, overfishing, commercial whaling and anti-nuclear issues. The methodology used by Green peace to achieve its goal includes direct action, lobbying and research. Greenpeace has evolved from the peace movement and anti-nuclear protests in Vancouver, British Columbia in the early 1970s. In the late 1970s the different regional Greenpeace groups formed Greenpeace International to oversee the goals and operations of the regional organizations globally. During the 1980s Greenpeace received international attention when the French intelligence agency bombed the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbour, one of the most well-known vessels operated by Greenpeace, killing one. Over the years Greenpeace has evolved into one of the largest environmental organizations in the world.

- **Objectives:**

Greenpeace is an independent global organization that acts to protect and conserve the environment and promote peace by:

- Addressing the important threat affecting our planet: climate change by bringing an environment revolution.

- Create a global network of marine reserves to protect our oceans by challenging wasteful and destructive fishing.

- To protect the world's remaining ancient forests on which by many animals, plants and people depend.

- To work for disarmament and peace by eliminating all nuclear weapons.

- To create safer alternatives to hazardous chemicals in products and manufacturing for a toxic free future.

- **Contribution:**

The aim and objective of Green Peace lies in its effort to protect environment from the threats emanating from diverse perspective. The core values are reflected in its environmental campaign work. Taken worldwide by this organizations witnesses the environmental destruction in a peaceful manner and seeks solution by upholding non-violent confrontation to raise the level

and quality of public debate. In developing the campaign strategies and policies, they undertake great care to reflect their fundamental respect for democratic principles and seek solutions that will promote global social equity. Based on the core values upheld by the organisation, it has made important contribution in the field of environment protection. On July 2010, followed by a ten-year Greenpeace campaign, Europe banned the trade in illegal timber .This was considered a great leap forward in the struggle to protect the world's forests and climate. Over the last 25 years the efforts of Greenpeace to expose and oppose nuclear waste shipments from France to Russia end in victory when Russia puts an end to the practice. The illegality of the shipments was confirmed when French officials admitted that the stated intention to reprocess and return the fuel is false. As a result of massive pressure from consumers via social media and nonviolent direct action by Greenpeace activists Nestle Company agreed to stop purchasing palm-oil from sources which destroy Indonesian rainforests. Greenpeace opposed the plan for a third runway at Heathrow airport because it ran contrary to the efforts to reduce carbon emissions in the UK, and co-purchased, with 91,000 supporters, a plot of land that would have made the runway impossible to build. Indian computer manufacturer Wipro announced the launch of a new PVC and BFR-free computer, after several years of pressure by Greenpeace on tech companies to provide toxic-free electronics. Apple cleared the last hurdle by removing toxic PVC plastic in its new Mac book and iMac, capping the "Green my Apple" campaign making Apple products safer, easier to recycle and causing less pollution at the end of their life due to pressure exerted on it by Greenpeace activists. Currently Greenpeace considers global warming to be the greatest environmental threat and working for the environmental protection. Greenpeace has called for global green house gas emissions to peak in 2015 and to decrease as close to zero as possible by 2050. For this Greenpeace has called for the industrialized countries to cut their emissions at least 40% by 2020 (from 1990 levels) and to provide substantial funding for developing countries to build a sustainable energy capacity, to adapt to the inevitable consequences of global warming and to stop deforestation by 2020.

- **Challenges:**

Over the years Greenpeace has faced numerous challenges in its functioning. In 1994, Greenpeace published an anti-nuclear newspaper advert which included a claim that nuclear facilities Sellafield would kill 2000 people in the next 10 years, and an image of a hydrocephalus affected child said to be a victim of nuclear weapons testing in Kazakhstan was posted. The Advertising Standards Authority viewed the claim concerning Sellafield as unsubstantiated and did not accept that the child's condition was caused by radiation. As a result the advertisement was banned. Several Lawsuits have been filed against Greenpeace for loss of profits as well as reputation damage caused by Greenpeace campaigns. Some corporations, such as Royal Dutch Shell, BP and Electricite de France have reacted to Greenpeace campaigns by spying on Greenpeace activities and infiltrating Greenpeace offices. Greenpeace activists have also been targets of phone tapping, death threats, violence and even state terrorism.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Democracy, Education and NGOs:

There is an intimate relationship between democracy and functioning of NGOs. Before the existence of democracy, NGOs are not allowed to be registered and operate. Only in a democratic country the NGOs, could play an effective role. The roles are specially directed towards the people oriented programs such as health, family planning, environment and non -formal education. It is clear that since democracy provided an opportunity to NGOs, it could be said that the existences of NGOs is intimately linked with democracy. At present NGOs are playing a very important role to provide health services to the population in rural areas. Similarly it has done remarkable work in the field of literacy, family planning, population, environmental conservation and development of nonformal education. Since 1950s, many schools and colleges have been opened. But still more than 50 percent of the adult population is illiterate in the developing countries .It is a fact that Education For All (EFA) could not be provided through schools alone.

Non formal education should be developed to provide literacy education combined skill training to all. As a matter of fact the NGOs have shown that they are more effective and efficient to provide education for all especially through non-formal education.

SAQ:

Q. Make a critical estimate of the activities undertaken by Green peace.(80 words)

....

....

....

....

4.4 Nature of NGOs:

You have already learnt that an ngo is a non profit making body. They are voluntary in nature and either service oriented or development oriented organisations. Ngos assist in the empowerment of the people. They pursue a specific cause be it social or environmental. You shouls also learn here that an ngo needs funds to carry out its objectives. The voluntreers working in an ngo does not get any economic benefit but they need funds to develop their activities. It has already been mentioned that ngos are voluntary organisations. These are created by people having common interest. Again, ngos are autonomous bodies regulated by their own policies and procedures. These voluntary autonomous bodies are free from government interference. You must remember here that ngos are not profit making organisations. They work for social welfare aspects like education of children, protection of animals, wildlife, environment, improving the status of women, health environment etc. ngos do not depend on government funds. They create and maintain their own funds. Their funds come from public as well as private business organisations.

Some of the characteristics of an international NGO are as follows:

1. Global presence - Most of the large international NGOs characterized by global presence covering both developing countries and industrialized countries.

2. Independence - International NGOs are non-partisan and take independent positions, based on principle and mission.

3. Partnerships with local organizations - The preferred mode of operation of International NGOs' is to work with and through local governments and community based groups.

4. Collective action - International NGOs take collective action on issues of importance, ranging from advocacy to advance policy change (e.g. reform of U.S. foreign assistance) to the establishment of normative standards that promote more effective field programs

4.5 Importance and role of NGOs:

International NGOs play an important role in strengthening civil society in developing countries and promoting the role of civil society actors in the global arena. International NGOs have helped to establish, develop and scale up local NGOs; provided them training in organizational governance, strategic planning, financial management, fundraising, advocacy, etc. and helped them by, helping them gain access to global expertise, and linking them to funding and networks. Although the relationship between international NGOs and local organizations are often fraught with power imbalances, international NGOs have played a significant role in building an infrastructure of local capacity including the professionally-managed local NGOs to implement development programs. Many international NGOs are born of humanitarian responses and maintain strong capacities to respond rapidly to natural disasters and conflict situations. Their long-term presence in countries gives them useful contextual knowledge to improve the quality of emergency responses and mark the transition from relief to rehabilitation to development. In addition, international NGOs played a leading role in the development of global normative standards for humanitarian action.

Many international NGOs have developed a capacity to influence policy (via policy analysis, evidence building and advocacy). The engagement of the NGO has increased in the field of public education and policy advocacy. This is driven by the NGO's understanding of the nature of poverty and their commitment to address root causes of poverty. Coupled with an ambition to contribute to change at a much larger scale, international NGOs

are leveraging for more consistent and effective development policies and practices on the part of industrialized countries. Because of their long presence in many developing countries International NGOs have identified innovations and promising practices in one context, shared the ideas across borders, and help adapt approaches to other contexts involving areas like basic education or maternal health, or principles like gender equity or partnership. By adopting and refining approaches they absorbed from working in thousands of poor communities, international NGOs have helped to establish values like community participation, gender equity and local ownership as cornerstones of good development practice. International NGOs have introduced people-centered and rights-based approaches into the mainstream of development thinking. The ngos have contributed in various ways by playing different roles.

- The role that international NGO's play in strengthening the civil society is an important contribution.

- International NGOs respond rapidly to humanitarian crises throughout the world.

- International NGOs have helped in the formulation of policies in the developing countries.

- International NGOs raise substantial resources for development and relief efforts and enable their supporters to express solidarity with people in some of the poorest communities in the world.

STOP TO CONSIDER

Role of UN and NGOs in the issue of Environmental Conservation and Development:

At the beginning of the 21st century environmental issues have emerged as a major concern in front of world community. The environmental degradation is emerged as a major threat to the development of human race. At the mean time the process of in Environmental Conservation and Development is going on. In India, the concept of environment protection can be seen starting from the period of Vedas. In the contemporary period Sundarlal Bhauguna through Chipko movement campaigned for protection of environment. Annahazare campaigned

for rain water harvesting. Arundhati Roy and Medha Patkar campaigned against major dams. The past few years have witnessed a sweeping change in the attitudes, approaches and policies of the United Nations system with regard to relations with NGOs and their participation in the work of the UN. While this has been most visible in the recent series of UN world summits and conferences, measures to strengthen cooperation with NGOs are being taken across the entire UN system and in virtually all areas of its activity: policy research and analysis; policy dialogue and normative work; monitoring and advocacy; operational development activities; humanitarian work, particularly responding to emergencies and to the needs of refugees; promoting human rights, democratization, disarmament and peace; and information dissemination and raising public awareness of the issues and challenges on the UN's agenda.

Check Your Progress

1. The international coordinating body of Green Peace is situated in which place?

2. To ensure the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity is the goal of Greenpeace. (write true or false)

3. Greenpeace works for the protection of human rights. (write true or false)

4. Greenpeace evolved from the peace movement and anti nuclear protests in _____, British Columbia. (Fill in the blanks)

5. Greenpeace protect and conserve the environment and promote peace through working for disarmament and peace by eliminating all nuclear weapons. (write true or false)

6. What is 'Green My Apple' campaign?

7. Mention the challenges faced by Greenpeace.

8. State the relationship between democracy, education and ngo.

9. Ngos play an important role in strengthening the civil society. (write true or false)

10. Write a note on the role played by the ngos.

SAQ:

Q. Can you name some NGO's in your locality? Give brief account of their activities. (100 words)

....

....

....

....

....

....

4.6 Summing Up:

After reading this unit, you are now able to understand the meaning of ngos. You have already learnt the objectives and contributions of major ngos like Amnesty International, ICRC, Green Peace etc. you have also learnt about the various challeneges facing by these ngos. This unit has also enlightened you about the role played by the ngos. International NGOs have played an important role in extending humanitarian services. Many international NGOs have achieved significant growth in the past decade. However, most of them are not very effective in terms of their contribution to social change in ways that make greater and more lasting contributions to fight and eradicate poverty. In the ongoing competitive sphere international NGOs are concerned about building their brand, maintaining a distinct identity and preserving their institutional strengths. These aims often conflict with their intention to be a partner, facilitator, connector and catalyst for local action. International NGOs like Amnesty, Greenpeace, and ICRC have helped to raise awareness of the consequences of poverty and conflict, environment and have generated enthusiasm for personal engagement in developing countries. At the same time, international NGOs have become increasingly professionalized and less able to accommodate volunteers and visitors in their programs. This hamstrings international NGOs' ability to tap into the growing desire, especially of young people, to personally connect with poor communities and fight for the cause of fighting poverty and other social issues faced by the countries.

4.7 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Shamima Ahmed and David M. Potter, *NGOs in International Politics*, Kumarian Press, 2006.

2. Kal Raustiala, *States, NGOs, and International Environmental Institutions*, International Studies Quarterly, Volume 41, Issue 4, December 1997

Links:

www.amnesty.org

www.greenpeace.org

www.ifrc.org

https://www.corpseed.com/knowledge-centre/roles-and-functions-of-ngo-in-india

https://learning.candid.org/resources/knowledge-base/ngo-definition-and-role/

https://www.drishtiias.com/daily-news-editorials/role-of-ngos

http://ecoursesonline.iasri.res.in/mod/page/view.php?id=32502

https://www.infocomm.ky/what-is-an-ngo-characteristics-of-an-ngo-types-of-ngo-ngo/

https://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/organization/nongovernmental-organization-in-india-1284-words/4665

*****

UNIT- 5

GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY : CONCEPT AND IMPORTANCE

5.1 Introduction:

The term civil society must be familiar to many. However the term global civil society has only recently gained currency. Like most terms in the social sciences the term global civil society also is quite contested in terms of its meaning and its origins. However we do need to acknowledge the fact that the concept has gained considerable leverage and significance in international relations. Inspite of the ambiguity in meaning, global civil society has been seen to play a proactive role in international relations and in world politics.

From the nomenclature of the term itself it becomes quite evident that the idea has been influenced and shaped by the phenomenon of globalization. We shall learn more about this concept in this chapter.

5.2 Objectives:

This unit is an attempt to understand the concept of global civil society and its importance. After going through this unit you will be able to –

- *understand* the origin of the idea of global civil society,

- *know* how it is related with the phenomenon of globalization,

- *discuss* what role it plays in International Relations,

- *analyse* why the idea has gained importance in the contemporary period,

- *understand* its relevance in the current time.

5.3 From Civil Society to Global Civil Society:

5.3.1 Theoretical underpinnings and evolution of Sivil Society:

If we break up the term 'global civil society 'we broadly get two terms – 'global' and 'civil society'; it becomes easier to grasp the meaning of the term when we dismantle the term semantically. The idea of civil society is not a new one. However there have been multiple meanings assigned to the term and successive chronological evolutions have shaped its connotations it in the recent past.

On tracing the origins of the term we find that the idea of civil society can be said to have roots in the *societas civilis* in the Aristotelian tradition[1]. For decades this term has been used to imply the occurrences of the society and the polity. Though there have been differences in meaning the term has almost always hinted and denoted at the instances of social and political life beyond the family. And it largely referred to issues of mutual existence, to communal living beyond the solely particular, and to the common and the political, often normative than anything else.[2]

The advent of the Enlightenment helped in shaping the meaning of the term, with the help of the works by John Locke, Monstequieu, Immanuel Kant and a few others. The term during this period developed a broad positive connotation which largely related with the ideas of peace, individual freedom, dignity, rule of law, tolerance, universalism and diversity. And with such ideas at the foundation of the idea the concept involuntarily developed as contradictory to the state.

Furthermore the coming in of Marxism in the 19th century helped concretise the distinction between the two, mainly through the writings of Marx and Hegel. The term was kind of relegated to the background for a while and saw a resurgence around the 1980s, when it was used to denote people's movement against dictatorial regimes mainly in East Central Europe. In other parts of the world the meanings of the term though similar were quite varied which denoted the socio-political and intellectual tendencies of peoples and societies among other things.

Then jumping on to the process of globalization, the idea of civil society has undergone considerable paradigm shifts in terms of its meaning and implications. As we have just read about the origins of civil society we need to understand that quite obviously the idea of the 'global civil society' is a derivative of the native concept of 'civil society'. The dawn of globalization and the ushering in of a supranational sphere has helped in the manifestation of the concept with its roots in cosmopolitanism and internationalism.

5.3.2 Definition of Global Civil Society:

John Keane who has been working on the idea of a global civil society provides us with intriguing insights of the concept. Keane authored a book with the title – *Global Civil Society*? in 2003. The following are some of the ideas expressed in his work. Reading this paragraph will help us understand how the idea in question emerged and became important in International relations.

Global civil society is a vast, interconnected, and multi-layered social space that comprises many hundreds of thousands of self-directing or nongovernmental institutions and ways of life. It can be likened—to draw for a moment upon ecological similes—to a dynamic biosphere. This complex biosphere looks and feels expansive and polyarchic, full of horizontal push and pull, vertical conflict, and compromise, precisely because it comprises a bewildering variety of interacting habitats and species: organisations, civic and business initiatives, coalitions, social movements, linguistic communities, and cultural identities. All of them have at least one thing in common: across vast geographic distances and despite barriers of time, they deliberately organise themselves and conduct their cross-border social activities, business, and politics outside the boundaries of governmental structures, with a minimum of violence and a maximum of respect for the principle of civilised power-sharing among different ways of life.[3]

The above paragraph help us understand two aspects quite clearly:

a) The structural ambiguity and vastness of the idea

b) It's relation to the state and the international system

As already stated it is difficult to assign a concrete meaning to the term. Generally the term civil society denotes the spaces besides the state, the market and the family. It implies a space where individuals and groups advance collective or social interests. Now, with the coming in of globalization, the range of civil society organisations has been considerably expanded. This process has also been augmented by the rise of non-state actors which have also challenged the Westphalian world order. These non-state actors basically include the NGOs, INGOs, MNCs, TNCs among a few others. Other civil society organisations may include different kinds of social movements, labour unions, religious organisations, environmental organisations, associations of indigenous people, diaspora organisations etc. These groups/associations have been playing an increasingly vital role in international relations. Globalization has again led to the shrinking of time and space and has converted the world into a global village. The world has been transformed into an interconnected space where even a small event in one corner can impact all nations; thus the people and organisations world over have come to be more aware and alert and have been playing crucial roles in deciding and impacting international affairs, diplomacy and international/national policy making. These people and organisations have taken up all significant matters which impact world politics from market policies and tariffs to the environment, from trade barriers to development to the reduction of poverty and climate change etc. This revolutionizing of the role and area of action of the civil society and civil society organisations has largely been the aftermath or impact of the process of globalization. Consequently, the nature and idea of civil society has also undergone a paradigm shift thus expanding and transforming it into a 'global civil society'.

We also need to understand that the idea of a global civil society is complementary to democracy. That is because the concept of civil society is democratic in it's roots. Global civil society initiatives are primarily aimed at organizing political networks with the underpinnings of democratic accountability for socio-political and people-centric actions.

Global civil society therefore acts as an agency which may direct, suggest or even hold authorities including states and governments for specific actions and decisions if they tend to go against the larger good of peoples and

(334)

communities. With the accentuated communication networks and financial resources made available, global civil society has now emerged as a formidable force in international politics.

5.4 Role of Global Civil Society in International Relations:

The sphere of international relations was revolutionized by the phenomenon of globalization. Economic, political and social relations between and among states became a commonplace thing. However globalization did not bring about uniform impact all over the world. Though the phenomenon was welcomed by many primarily as a new method of development and financial exchange, not all states felt that way. Especially the under-developed and developing parts of the world which acted as hinterlands and resource-providers for their developed counterparts were not all in favour of globalization. Economic exploitation, neocolonialism, capitalism became the way of the globalised world. As a result the fault lines between the developed and developing/under developed became more severe. The deepening of economic inequalities between the Global North and Global South gave rise to other grave problems like resource drain, undue political interventions into smaller and less developed states, climate-change concerns, financial instability of states and social conflicts rooted in cultural clashes.

It was deduced that the state, capitalism and neo-liberalism have been at the root of such worsening conditions as development is always favoured above human beings and profit over environment. It was primarily at such junctions that global civil society organisations have made their presence felt.

Global civil society organisations and initiatives have thus time and again taken up issues and matters of transnational and global importance and acted upon them. In doing so they have emerged as a method of transnational activism focused on generating national and international responses to such issues.

Though the global civil society organisations have been questioned about their apparent legitimacy in doing so and they have also been seen as challenges to the nation state, but even then their importance in international

relations cannot be compromised. In recent decades most international regulatory bodies have forged closer relations with such organisations specifically to substantiate this question of legitimacy.

For instance, the Committee on World Food Security within the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation has reserved seats for different types of organisations, including non-governmental organisations and social movements, research centres, financial institutions, private sector associations and private philanthropic foundations. While the role of civil society organisations in these contexts is predominantly based on a consultative status, they allow the civil society organisations to have a seat at the table [4]

These organisations have now embedded themselves at the root of transnational activism and mobilization and have been creating the much needed counter responses to global inequalities, undue exploitations and global issues of environment. This activism has mainly come as a response to the development agenda which has been largely accentuated by the process of globalization. Thus, an analysis will reveal that the concept of global civil society is founded on the phenomenon of globalization. Globalization has provided the framework for the emergence and operation of the organisations of the global civil society organisations.

Besides political activism, global civil society organisations have also actively come out in support of vulnerable groups of people like the refugees, racial and ethnic minorities, the LGBTQ community, religious groups etc. In short they have acted like a type of extra-judicial authority which comes to the rescue of people and groups worldwide. These organisations are now perceived as significant and states have also recognized them; besides the states also act in a comparatively cautious manner due to the presence of these organisations.

5.5 Relevance of the idea in the contemporary times:

Though the role of global civil society is quite often understated and unrecognized it however plays a crucial role in international relations and hence its relevance cannot be denied. In fact the concept plays a deciding

part in transnational and international relations and also has a commanding influence on domestic and international policy making.

Firstly global civil society provides a democratic framework for the operation of international relations. Given that international politics is an uneven power arena, the states with greater political leverage often call the stakes when it comes to matters of international or transnational concern frequently and habitually compromising the interests of the smaller states and people at large. In such circumstances these civil society organisations provide the much needed voice against such political domination and exploitation thus making the relations more democratic by placing the states on a more or less on an equal footing. It helps in building a democratic and participatory sphere of action.

Secondly, these organisations also greatly help in the dissemination of information across territories and boundaries and also help in generating a global public opinion especially on matters such related to human rights, and the environment. The mobilization of people for or against causes has been facilitated by such organisations as result of which global public opinion can now exercise a considerable influence on issues.

Thirdly, global civil society helps or facilitates global governance. Given the pluralistic nature of the states and people of the world, these organisations are increasingly emerging as facilitators of global governance. For instance they help in bridging the gaps between grass-roots organisations and the national governments or inter-governmental organisations. Their supranational character allows them the liberty to intervene in these ways and thus provide for better channels of functioning between other agencies and the state.

Fourthly, these organisations play an especially imperative role by voicing the concerns of those sections of the society who are often overlooked for political and economic gains. For instance these organisations have often provided a channel for the indigenous people, the refugees, the internally displaced people and people of the LGBT community among others. For instance, the Médecins Sans Frontières, CARE, Oxfam, Caritas, Refugees international, Save the Children and the International Rescue Committee have been working hard for the cause of such groups of people.

Fifthly, the global civil society is highly relevant because they provide an alternative framework of action. They stand out as an alternative mechanism trying to generate political and institutional responses in a highly dynamic socio-political and economic environment. They give ways of action outside of mainstream politics and most importantly they provide for people's participation. In doing so, they often take a stand for the greater interests of communities world over.

Stop to Consider:

The types of organisations which comprise the global civil society organisations – viz. INGOS, social movements, labour unions, religious organisations, environmental organisations, associations of indigenous people, diaspora organisations

---

Check Your Progress:

1. Who authored the book *Global Civil Society*?

2. Write two characteristics of the concept of global civil society.

3. Name two international NGOs which are working for vulnerable groups.

4. Write true or false:

   Global Civil Society helps in global governance.

5. Is the concept of global civil society related to globalization? Yes/No

---

SAQ:

Q. Is India a Civil Society? Explain.

....
....
....
....
....
....

5.6 Summing Up:

We have thus understood that global civil society as a concept is largely believed to have arrived after the phenomenon of globalization. It may also be said to be a result of globalization. This idea basically refers to those organisations outside the family, states and market which have been successful in giving rise to an alternative framework of action in international relations. These global civil society organisations have now begun to exercise a formidable influence on policy-making thereby democratizing the entire sphere of international politics.

We however have to acknowledge that the idea is still quite an ambiguous and contested one, mainly because we have not been able to mark the peripheries of the concept. The idea is a comparatively new one and hence not very clear as to what exactly it denotes. The idea has versatile connotations and can be expanded to include a multitude of associations and organisations. Also, the idea owing to it's newness is still evolving and hence is difficult to rigidly substantiate. Nevertheless the role and importance of the concept cannot be compromised due to these factors. Global civil society organisations have now emerged as an important and indispensable component of international relations.

5.7 References and Suggested Readings:

1. Kocka, Jurgen, 2004, *Civil Society from a Historical Perspective,* European Review, Vol. 12, No. 1, 65–79 (2004) ? Academia Europaea, Printed in the United Kingdom

2. Keane, John 2003, *Global Civil Society?* Cambridge Universty Press

3. http://www.untag-smd.ac.id/files/Perpustakaan_Digital_1/CIVIL%20SOCIETY%20Global%20Civil%20Society.pdf,

4. Marchetti, Raffaele, 2016, *Global Civil Society,* https://www.e-ir.info/2016/12/28/global-civil-society

5. Glasius, Marlies, *Introducing Global Civil Society*, 2003 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/297399712_%27Introducing_Global_Civil_Society%27

(Footnotes)

[1] Kocka, Jurgen, 2004, Civil Society from a Historical Perspective European Review, Vol. 12, No. 1, 65–79 (2004) ? Academia Europaea, Printed in the United Kingdom

[2] ibid

[3] Keane, John 2003, Global Civil Society? Cambridge Universty Press http://www.untag-smd.ac.id/files/Perpustakaan_Digital_1/CIVIL%20SOCIETY%20Global%20Civil%20Society.pdf,

[4] Marchetti, Raffaele, 2016, Global Civil Society, https://www.e-ir.info/2016/12/28/global-civil-society/

*****