



INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Politics and Processes of Global Governance



Margaret P. Karns • Karen A. Mingst

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Politics and Processes
of Global Governance

MARGARET P. KARNS
KAREN A. MINGST



Viva Books Private Limited

New Delhi • Mumbai • Chennai • Kolkata • Bangalore • Hyderabad

PUSTAKA PERDANA



1005839

Contents

List of Illustrations
Preface

xiii
xv

Part 1 **Understanding Global Governance**

- The Challenges of Global Governance** 3
- What Is Global Governance? 3
- The Pieces of Global Governance, 4
- | *International Law 5, International Norms or "Soft Law" 6,*
 - | *Intergovernmental Organizations 7, Nongovernmental Organizations*
 - | *10, International Regimes 12, Ad Hoc Arrangements 13, Global*
 - | *Conferences 13, Private Governance 14*
- Actors in Global Governance, 15
- | *States 15, IGOs 17, NGOs 17, Experts 18, Global Policy Networks 19,*
 - | *Multinational Corporations 19*
- An Increasing Need for Global Governance? 21
- | *Globalization 21, The Cold War's End 24, Emergent Transnational*
 - | *Civil Society 24, Contested Nature of Sovereignty 25*
- Processes of Global Governance: Multilateralism Matters, 26
- | *Complex Diplomacy 26, How Do Decisions Get Made? 27,*
 - | *Leadership 28, Actor Strategies 29*
- The Politics and Effectiveness of Global Governance, 30
- | *Power: Who Gets What? 30, Legitimacy 31, Accountability 32,*
 - | *Effectiveness 33*
- The Theoretical Foundations of Global Governance** 35
- Liberalism, 35
- | *Neoliberal Institutionalism or Neoliberalism 38, Functionalism 40,*
 - | *International Regimes 42, Collective or Public Goods Theory 43*
- Realism, 45
- | *Neorealism or Structural Realism 46, Strategic or Rational Choice*
 - | *Theory 47, Hegemonic Stability Theory 48*

- Constructivism: An Alternative Approach, 50
 Critical Theories, 52
 | *Marxist and Neo-Marxist Theory* 53, *Dependency Theory* 55, *World-System Theory* 55
 Theories of Organizations, 56
 | *Organizational Culture* 56, *Organizational Adaptation and Learning* 57, *Interorganizational Relations* 58, *Networks* 59
 IR Theory and Global Governance, 59

Part 2

Evolving Pieces of Global Governance

3 Foundations of the Pieces of Global Governance 63

- The State System and Its Weaknesses, 64
 Governance Innovations in the Nineteenth Century, 65
 | *Concert of Europe* 65, *Public International Unions* 66, *The Hague System* 67, *The Legacy of the Nineteenth Century* 67
 Multilateralism in the Twentieth Century, 68
 | *The League of Nations* 68, *The Strengthening of Functional and Specialized Organizations* 72, *Global Conferences* 84, *International Courts* 87

4 The United Nations: Centerpiece of Global Governance 97

- Foundations of the United Nations, 98
 | *From League to UN* 98, *The UN Charter and Key Principles* 99
 The Major Organs of the UN, 101
 | *General Assembly* 101, *Security Council* 110, *Economic and Social Council* 114, *Secretariat* 118, *International Court of Justice* 124, *Trusteeship Council* 125
 World Politics and the Evolution of the United Nations, 126
 | *Politics in the Cold War World* 126, *Post-Cold War World Politics* 129, *Globalization and World Politics in a New Millennium* 130
 Persistent Organizational Problems and the Need for Reform, 132
 | *Financing* 133, *Coordination and Management* 137, *Structural Reform of the Security Council* 139, *Integrating Nonstate Actors* 142
 The UN's Relationship to Regional Organizations, 142

5 Regional Organizations 145

- The Roots and Dynamics of Regionalism, 148
 | *Defining a Region* 148, *Political Factors* 148, *Economic Factors* 150, *Two Waves of Regionalism* 151
 Europe's Regional Organizations, 153

NATO 154, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe 158, European Union 159, Commonwealth of Independent States 175, Is Europe a Model for Other Regions? 175

Regional Organizations in the Americas, 176

Evolution of Regionalism in the Americas 176, Hemispheric Regionalism: The OAS 179, The Summit of the Americas Process 183, Subregional Integration 184

Asia's Regional Organizations, 189

ASEAN 191, APEC 194, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) 198

Africa's Regional Organizations, 200

From the Organization of African Unity to the African Union 200, Subregional Integration Initiatives 204, Regional Bottlenecks 206

Middle East Regional Organizations, 206

The League of Arab States 206, The Gulf Cooperation Council 207

Assessing the Consequences of Regionalism, 209

Nonstate Actors: NGOs, Networks, and Social Movements

211

Nonstate Actors in Action, 211

Take One: Expanding and Limiting the Scope of Global Governance 211, Take Two: The Dark Side of Nonstate Actors 212

The Range of Nonstate Actors, 213

NGOs 213, Networks and Coalitions 217, Social Movements 219, Global Public Policy Networks 220, Experts and Epistemic Communities 221, For-Profit NGOs: MNCs 222, Toward a Global Civil Society? 223

The Growth of Nonstate Actors, 224

A Historical Perspective on the Growth of NGO Influence 224, Explaining the Accelerated Growth of Nonstate Actors' Participation 226, NGO Roles 229

NGOs Relationships to IGOs, 230

The United Nations 231, UN Agencies 233, The Major Economic Institutions 235, Participation in Global Conferences 237, For the Future: A Forum of Their Own? 238, Relationships with the European Union 239

NGO Influence and Its Limits, 240

Sources of Influence 241, Limits on NGO Influence 243, Is State Sovereignty Diminished by Nonstate Actors' Influence? 246

The Roles of States in Global Governance

249

States in Action, 249

States and Other Actors: A Complex Interaction, 250

The Key Role of the United States, 252

The Historical Record 252, Explaining U.S.-IGO Relationships 255

- Other Powerful States, 257
- Middle-Power States, 262
- Small States, Developing States, 264
- State Strategies, 265
 - | *Forum Shopping* 265, *Coalition Building* 266
- The Challenges of Multilateral Diplomacy:
 - Negotiating Across Cultures, 270
 - | *Does Culture Matter?* 270, *Negotiating Styles* 272
- Getting Agreement, 273

Part 3

The Need for Global Governance

- 8** The Search for Peace and Security 277
 - Case Study: Somalia as a Watershed, 277
 - Wars as the Genesis for Pieces of Security Governance, 279
 - | *IGO Venues for Security* 282, *Norms Related to the Use of Force* 283,
 - | *Linking International Relations Theories and Security Governance* 288
 - Mechanisms for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, 289
 - | *Preventive Diplomacy* 290, *Mediation* 292, *Adjudication and Arbitration* 294
 - Collective Security, Enforcement, and Sanctions, 297
 - | *Collective Security Efforts Involving Armed Force* 298, *Enforcement and Sanctions* 299
 - Peacekeeping, 306
 - | *Distinguishing Between Enforcement and Peacekeeping* 308,
 - | *Traditional or First-Generation Peacekeeping* 311, *Second-Generation Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding* 312, *Third-Generation Peacekeeping* 316, *Evaluating Success and Failure in Peacekeeping* 321, *Humanitarian Intervention* 324
 - Arms Control and Disarmament, 327
 - | *Putting Arms Control on the Agenda* 327, *Limiting Proliferation of Nuclear Weapon Capability* 329, *Chemical and Biological Weapon Prohibition* 332, *Banning Landmines* 334
 - Putting Together the Pieces of Security Governance, 336
 - | *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* 336, *Other Middle East Threats to International Peace* 344
 - New Threats to Security: Coping with Terrorism, 344
 - | *International Responses to Terrorism* 347, *International Responses to September 11, 2001*, 350
 - The Challenges of Human Security, 353

Promoting Human Development and Economic Well-Being 355

Case Study: Debt Relief, 355

An Evolving Global Economy, 358

The Globalization of Liberal Economic Norms, 359

| *Bretton Woods Institutions and the Washington Consensus* 360, *The Role of MNCs* 360, *Critics of Liberal Economic Norms* 361

Pieces of Global Economic Governance, 363

| *Development and Finance: The World Bank, IMF, UN System, and NGOs* 363, *Trade: From GATT to the WTO* 380, *The Role of the G-7* 386, *Functional Regimes* 387, *Intellectual Property Rights* 390, *Private Governance* 391

The Regionalization of Economic Governance, 392

| *European Union's Single Market* 393, *NAFTA* 396, *ASEAN Free Trade Area* 398, *Regional Multilateral Development Banks* 398

Economic Globalization and Africa: A Problematic Case, 402

From Critiques of the Liberal Economic System to the

Antiglobalization Movement, 406

| *Critiques of the Central Pieces of Economic Governance* 406, *From Controlling MNCs to Partnering* 407, *Intergovernmental Resource Cartels* 409, *NGOs as Critics and Challengers* 410, *The Antiglobalization Movement* 410

Protecting Human Rights 413

Case Study: Child Soldiers, 413

The Roots of Human Rights Norms, 415

| *Religious Traditions* 416, *The Philosophers and Political Theorists* 416, *The Debate: Universal Human Rights Institutions or Cultural Relativism* 417

Human Rights Institutions and Mechanisms, 419

| *NGOs and the Human Rights Movement* 419, *League of Nations* 421, *United Nations* 424

The Processes of Human Rights Governance, 428

| *Setting Human Rights Standards and Norms* 428, *Monitoring Human Rights* 433, *Promoting Human Rights* 440, *Enforcing Human Rights* 441

Global Human Rights Governance in Action, 447

| *Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing* 447, *Violence Against Women* 451, *The U.S. Role* 454

Expanding Human Rights in the Age of Globalization, 456

Protecting the Environment 459

Case Study: Tropical Forests in the Brazilian Amazon, 459

- Relating Environmental Problems to Security, Economics,
and Human Rights, 462
- The Emergence of the Environment as an Issue Area, 463
- The Pieces of Global Environmental Governance, 464
 - | *International Conferences and the Articulation of Norms: From
Stockholm to Johannesburg* 464, *NGO Roles* 469, *The Role of
Epistemic Communities* 471
- Global Environmental Regimes and Institutions, 472
 - | *Principles of an Environmental Regime* 472, *Global Environmental
Agreements* 472, *International Environmental Institutions* 473
- Global Governance in Action, 481
 - | *Ozone Depletion* 481, *Global Warming* 483
- Regional Environmental Governance, 486
 - | *European Union* 486, *NAFTA* 489, *ASEAN* 490, *Regional
Environmental Agreements* 492
- The Challenges of Implementation, Compliance,
and Effectiveness, 493

Part 4

The Dilemmas of Global Governance

Dilemmas of Global Governance in the Twenty-First Century

499

New Issues, Diverse Approaches, 499

- | *HIV/AIDS* 499, *The Internet* 506

What Makes Global Governance Different? 510

- | *No Neat Categories, No Easy Fit* 511, *Proliferating Actors* 511,
Organized Chaos Among the Pieces 513

Challenges for the Future, 514

- | *Legitimacy* 514, *Accountability* 516, *Effectiveness* 517

List of Acronyms

521

References

529

Index

563

About the Book

603

Preface

When Lynne Rienner calls and invites you to write a book, the invitation is hard to resist, particularly when it comes with passion, enthusiasm, and encouragement. Lynne has been patient through several delays and forbearing as this project grew beyond our collective anticipation. We wish to thank her for the opportunity she provided.

The politics and processes of global governance have become increasingly complex in recent years as the pieces and actors multiplied and challenges mounted. Many of the ideas we have tried to express here have had a long period of gestation. Thus, while work on the book has consumed four years of our lives, it is actually the product of many more years of work. Throughout, we have been inspired by two scholars who have contributed significantly to the study of international organizations, Inis L. Claude Jr. and the late Harold K. Jacobson. It is to them that we dedicate this book, with gratitude for their continuing inspiration.

In the earliest stages of work on this project, we were greatly aided by the lively discussion and feedback from a group of people whom Lynne Rienner helped us convene: Vicki Golich, Valerie Assetto, Paul Wapner, Mary Durfee, Alynna Lyon, and Richard Robyn. Thanks as well to Paul Diehl and Thomas Weiss for insightful suggestions and to two anonymous reviewers who read the manuscript in record time and provided excellent comments and concrete proposals for revisions. To all those who participated in discussions of our ideas but are not named here, we also say thanks.

We have incurred a debt to our students who tested pieces of the book and ideas, gave us feedback on what worked and what did not. To several students we owe special acknowledgement for contributing case material and other pieces, including Laura Rivera, Jason Enia, Jill Marie Gerschutz, Renee Michel, Peter Pergola, Natalie Florea, and Edward Petronzio. Also, special thanks to Jean Poindexter in the Department of Political Science at the University of Dayton and Tony Miller at the Patterson School of Diplomacy, University of Kentucky, for their technical assistance.

Finally, no project like this is possible without the support of families

who bear the burden of long hours, weeks, and months of concentrated labor. We are grateful to our husbands, Ralph Johnston and Robert Stauffer, for all the love and encouragement they provided, as well as to Ginger and Brett Stauffer who kept inquiring is it done yet? They, along with Paul and Anna Karns, represent the next generations that must sustain efforts to enhance the pieces of global governance.