

**МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ
ВОРОНЕЖСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ**

**Практическое пособие
по английскому языку по специальности "Международные отношения"
350200 и "Регионоведение" 521300**

**GOALS AND ACTIVITY OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.
THE UNITED NATIONS**

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The Nature and Types of International Organizations

The nation-state has, for the past several centuries, been the primary actor in world politics. Moreover, states tend to act unilaterally within the international system in pursuit of their self-interest. Diplomacy can be considered as a tool in the pursuit of national interest. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of any other form of organizing and conducting international relations. Yet there are alternatives.

International organization is one of these alternatives. Global, regional, and specialized international organizations provide an organizational structure within which countries can debate and make policy regarding international issues, and an organizational structure to implement policy and carry on other activities.

The concept of international organization is not a new one, although the practice of having a continuous international organization is a relatively recent advance in the conduct of international relations. Now there are a growing number of permanent international organizations. The size and scope of these international organizations vary greatly, ranging from multipurpose, nearly universal organizations like the United Nations to single-purpose organizations with very few member countries.

The term *international organization* tends to bring United Nations to mind. There are many more, however. They can also be divided geographically into global or regional organizations, and grouped by functions into general or specialized international organizations. These categories, and some examples of each, are shown in Table 1. One commonality among some of them is that their memberships consist of national governments. Therefore, they are termed international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). Some of these IGOs have at least theoretical, fruited supranational status. There are also a significant and growing number of international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs or sometimes INGOs), which are transnational actors made up of private organizations and individuals instead of member states.

TABLE 1
Types and Examples of International Organizations

Geography	General		Purpose <i>Specialized</i>	
	IGO	NGO	IGO	NGO
Global	United Nations	Catholic Chinch	International Monetary Fund	Red Cross. Amnesty International
Regional	Organization of American States	European People's Party	Association of Southeast Asian Nation;	African Football Confederation

International organization can be classified according to whether they deal with many issues (general) or are specialized. They can also be classified according to whether their membership is universal or regional. There are many scholarly schemes for classifying such organizations, as well as differences in definition and terminology. There is also disagreement over whether some organizations, such as alliances, are properly international organizations at all.

The Roots of International Organization

International organization is primarily a modern phenomenon. One thing that you can note about the international organizations is that nearly all of them were created in the 20th century. Nevertheless, the origins of international organizations extend far back in history. Three main root systems have nourished the current growth of international organization.

Universal Concern for the Condition of Humanity.

The first branch of the root system is the universal concern for the condition of humanity. This has been expressed in the writings of philosophers and in the attempts to create organizations to improve human conditions. Confucius (551-479 B.C.) deplored violence, and Erasmus (1466-1536) rejected war as brutal, wicked, wasteful, and stupid.

The first example of an organization based on these principles was the Hague system, named for the 1899 and 1907 peace conferences held at that city in the

Netherlands. The 1907 conference was more comprehensive, with 44 European, North American, and Latin American states participating. Organizationally, the Hague system included a rudimentary general assembly and a judicial system. The conferences also adopted a series of standards to limit the conduct of war. World War I destroyed the plans for a third Hague conference in 1915, but the move toward universal organization was under way.

The next step along the path was creation of the *League of Nations* after World War I. The League was intended mainly as a peacekeeping organization, although it did have some elements aimed at social and economic cooperation. Despite the hopes with which it was founded, the League could not survive some of its own organizational inadequacies, the unstable post-World War peace, the Great Depression, and the rise of militant fascism. After only two decades of frustrated existence, the League died in the rubble of World War II.

The *United Nations* is the latest, and most advanced, developmental stage of universal concern with the human condition. Like the League of Nations, it was established mainly to maintain peace, but it has increasingly become involved in socioeconomic issues. In addition, as we shall see, the UN and its predecessor, the League, represent the coming together of all the root systems of international organizations. They are more properly seen as the emergent saplings of extensive cooperation and integration.

Big-Power Peacekeeping

The second branch of the root system is the idea that the big powers have a special responsibility to cooperate and preserve peace.

This idea took on substance with the Congress of Vienna. This conference and three others between 1815 and 1822 led to the Concert of Europe. This informal coalition of the major European powers and the following balance-of-(big-)power diplomacy managed generally to keep the peace for the century between the fall of Napoleon and the outbreak of World War I.

The persistence of the philosophy of big-power responsibility (and authority) was evident in the Council of the League of Nations. The council was granted authority to deal with any matter within the sphere of activity of the League or affecting the peace of the world. Significantly, five of the nine seats on the council

were permanently assigned to the principal victorious allies of World War I. The council was thus the Concert of Europe continued.

When the United Nations succeeded the League of Nations, the special status and responsibilities of the big powers that had been reflected in the League's council transferred to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Like its predecessor, the UNSC is the main peacekeeping organ and includes permanent membership for the big five powers (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States). Each of the major powers can cast a veto that, as a lone vote, can block Security Council action.

Functional Cooperation

The third branch of the root system lies in the specialized agencies that deal with specific, generally nonpolitical economic and social problems. The growth of specialized IGOs and NGOs has been phenomenal. This aspect of international activity is also reflected in the UN through the specialized agencies associated with the world body.

Assignments

I. Find the equivalents in the text to the following words and expressions:

1. to inquire, to search
2. international negotiations
3. to imagine, to suppose, to understand
4. to carry on, to organize
5. to put into action, to realize
6. a hypothesis, an idea, a theory
7. abiding, constant, unchanging
8. to disapprove of, to object to
9. to accept, to approve
10. in progress, under way
11. incompetence, ineffectiveness
12. disappointed, discouraged
13. to provide, to support
14. a previous job holder

15. a burst, an explosion
 16. to appoint, to choose
 17. a friend, a partner, a co-worker
 18. a ban, a prohibition

II. Study the use of *italicized* words in different phrases, suggest their Russian equivalents.

~JUDICIAL~

~decision; ~organ; ~to take (bring) ~ proceedings against smb.

~PARTY~

an adverse ~; a belligerent ~; the (High) Contracting ~ies; a hostile ~; the ~ies to the dispute; the ~ies concerned (interested ~ies); to become a ~ to a treaty.

~STATE~

an aggressor ~; the contesting ~ s; the contracting ~ s; a dependent ~; a depositary ~; a founder (founding) ~; a friendly ~; a guarantor ~; a host ~; a hostile ~; an independent ~; a member ~; a neighboring ~; a neutral ~; the newly-independent ~ s; a (non-)belligerent ~; a (non-)nuclear ~; an offending ~; a participating ~; a receiving ~; a recipient ~; a sending ~; a signatory ~; a third ~; a transgressing ~; a trustee (tutelary) ~; a ~ party to the present convention; the ~ s concerned; ~ s with different social systems; head of ~.

GOALS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

There is no doubt that the number of international organizations and their importance have grown in the 20th century. The various ideas about the proper and possible goals of IGOs can be grouped in two broad categories. One category includes relatively limited and traditional goals. The second category is much more far-reaching and foresees international organizations moving toward assuming the roles of regional governments or even a global government.

Limited Goals and Activity of International organizations

The aims and the roles of international organizations have, thus far in their evolution, been defined in limited, traditional ways. International organizations serve as an interactive arena, facilitate functional cooperation, promote comprehensive cooperation, and perform as independent international actors.

Interactive Arena

The most common use of international organizations is to provide an interactive arena in which member states pursue their individual national interests. The arena itself is technically neutral, but members or coalitions of members often try to use it to further their goals. This approach is rarely stated openly, but it is obvious in the struggles within the UN and other IGOs, where countries and blocs of countries wage political struggles with vengeance.

The use of supposedly integrative international organizations to gain national advantage is somewhat contradictory of the purpose of these organizations and has disadvantages. One negative factor is that it sometimes transforms these organizations into another scene of struggle rather than utilizing them to further cooperation. Furthermore, countries are apt to reduce or withdraw their support from an international organization that does not serve their narrow national interests.

Functional Cooperation

Another limited approach to international organization is **functionalism**, a "bottom up," evolutionary approach to international cooperation. Functionalists argue that by cooperating in specific, usually nonpolitical areas, countries and people can learn to trust one another. This, in turn, will lead to broader and higher levels of cooperation. Functionalists also contend that cooperation on social and economic

issues can improve conditions to the point where the causes of political conflict are eliminated.

Comprehensive Cooperation

There are many supporters of international organization who believe that IGOs should go beyond the interactive area and functionalist approaches to international interaction. Some analysts believe that IGOs can best serve as vehicles to promote cooperation among states rather than through the subordination of states to a global authority. There is, for example, a concept related to functionalism that is labeled neofunctionalism. Neofunctionalists are somewhat critical of functionalism in that they are skeptical that nonpolitical cooperation can, by itself, lead to full political cooperation or that it can eliminate all the causes of war and other forms of international conflict and self-interested action.

The United Nations and some regional organizations such as the EC are designed to advance international cooperative efforts to maintain peace, better economic conditions, protect the environment, and, in general, improve the human condition. The United Nations' effort is the most comprehensive.

Independent International Actor

The most far-reaching, but least developed, traditional activity of IGOs is that of an independent international actor. Technically, the activities of all IGOs are controlled by the wishes and votes of their members. In reality, many IGOs develop strong, relatively permanent administrative staffs. These individuals often identify with the organization and try to increase its authority and role. The views of staff members may differ from the views of the IGO's member countries. Global expectations—such as "the UN should do something"—add to the sense that an IGO may be a force unto itself. Soon, to use an old phrase, the whole (of the IGO) becomes more than the sum of its (member-country) parts. But insofar as IGOs do play an independent role, proponents of this approach argue that it should be one mainly of mediation and conciliation rather than coercion. The object is to teach and allow, not to force, nation-states to work together.

World and Regional Government

There is a vision that some proponents of international organization hold that goes far beyond the traditional roles. That vision is that someday IGOs will lead to regional governments or even a world government. There is a good deal of orderly rule-following in the international system. Yet there is no legitimate and authoritative international organization to make and enforce rules.

There are many people who believe that it is time to move toward a more established form of International government. Proponents of this goal argue for a "top down" approach to solving world problems. According to this approach, the current national states should give up at least some of their sovereignty to one or more supranational organization, which would have lawmaking, enforcing, and adjudicating authority. Within the general goal, there are several approaches that vary according to the structure and power of the supranational organization(s). The most far-reaching possibility is a powerful *unitary* world government that dominates a world political system in which countries are nonsovereign subunits that serve only administrative purposes. A less dramatic alternative is *federalism*, in which a central authority and member units share power. Models of federalism include the relations between the United States and its 50 states and Canada and its 10 provinces. *Confederalism* would provide an even less centralized structure, one in which the members are highly interdependent and join together in a weak directorate organization while retaining all or most of their sovereign authority.

Each of these three approaches, however, includes at least some degree of **supranational organization**. This means that the 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. In reality, supranationalism is extremely limited. Few states concede any significant part of their sovereignty to any international body. But there are limited signs that the dogged independence of nation-states is giving way to limited acceptance of international authority. For instance, countries normally abide by some aspects of international law, even at times when it conflicts with their domestic law or their immediate interests.

There are two geographic options for supranational government(s). Some argue for a **world government**. Georgi Shakhnazarov, president of the then-Soviet Political Science Association, has noted that “it is common knowledge that the rate of progress—economic, scientific and social—in the 20th century has been much higher” than at any time in history. These rapid changes, he contends, have created problems with population, the environment, economies, and nuclear weapons, “dictating the need for creative renewal.” According to Shakhnazarov, an “indispensable” key to resolving these problems “must be the enhancement of the degree to which the world is amenable to government”. After reviewing the progress on the path he favors, the scholar optimistically concludes that “the sphere of world governability, despite all its contradictoriness, is slowly but steadily expanding. This progress is for the good of mankind.”

There is a strong critique of the one-world idea. Critics argue that, first, there are *practical barriers* to world government. The assumption here is that nationalism has too strong a hold and that neither political leaders nor masses would be willing to surrender independence to a universal body. Are we ready to “pledge allegiance to the United States of the World”? Critics of the world government movement also pose political objections. They worry about the concentration of power that would be necessary even to begin enforcing international law and addressing the world's monumental economic and social problems. Critics further doubt that any such government, even given unprecedented power, could succeed in solving world problems any better than less (potentially) authoritarian alternatives. Some skeptics further argue that centralization would inevitably diminish desirable cultural diversity and political experimentation in the world. Another criticism of the world government movement is that it diverts attention from more reasonable avenues of international cooperation such as the United Nations and other existing international organizations.

The idea of **regional government** meets some of the objections to global government. Regions would still have to bring heterogeneous peoples together and overcome nationalism, but the regional diversity is less severe than global differences. Moreover, advocates of regional governments argue they would allow for a greater degree of cultural diversity and political experimentation than would a

global government. Some proponents of establishing regional governments also suggest that they might serve as a stepping stone toward world government.

Assignments

I. Find the equivalents in the text to the following words and expressions:

1. to predict
2. to accept, to take responsibility for, to take up
3. to aim for, to work towards
4. to carry on, to conduct
5. forcefully, furiously, violently
6. to achieve, to acquire
7. appropriate, proper, relevant, suitable
8. to cut down, to decrease
9. to take back, no longer take part in
10. to argue, to debate
11. to dispose of, to get rid of
12. means, a method, a procedure
13. to advance, to forward
14. influence, power, supremacy

II. Study the use of *italicized* words in different phrases, suggest their Russian equivalents.

~POWER~

absolute ~ ; the great ~s; the leading ~s; a colonial ~; a maritime ~; a nuclear ~; a party in ~; to be beyond one's ~; to come to ~; to do all in one's ~; to seize ~.

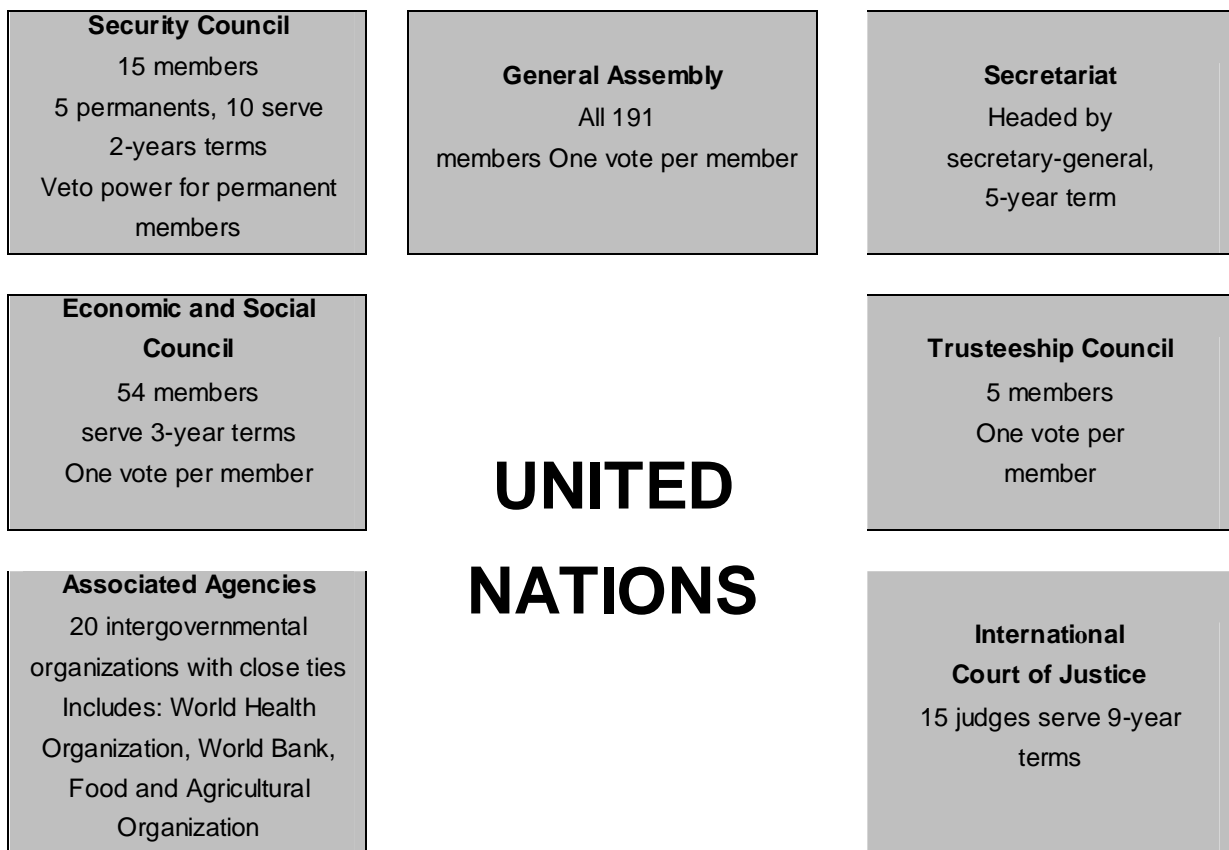
~POWERS~

emergency ~; large ~; official ~; wide ~; delegation of ~; verification of ~; vested with ~ and authority; within one's ~; to confer the necessary ~ to smb; to delegate one's ~ to smb; to exceed one's ~; to exercise one's ~; to exhibit one's full ~; to invest smb with full ~; to preserve one's ~; to prolong the ~ of parliament.

IGO Organization and Issues: The United Nations

"The only difference between a mob and a trained army is organization," President Calvin Coolidge once observed; "and the only difference between a disorganized country and one that has the advantage of a wise and sound government is fundamentally a question of organization". Coolidge statement was hyperbole, but it does draw attention to the important aspect of political structure. Constitutions, rules of procedure, finance, organization charts, and other administrative details are often crucial in determining political outcomes. An outline of the UN's structure is depicted in Table 2.

Table 2.



Representative Bodies

There are several important issues that relate to how the representative bodies of international organizations are structured and operate. Two such considerations are the membership basis of representative bodies and voting issues.

Membership Basis

Almost all IGOs have some form of plenary representative body that includes all members. The theoretical basis for plenary bodies is the mutual responsibility of all members for the organization and its policies. The UN General Assembly (UNGA) is that organization's plenary organ, but in other IGOs it may be termed a council, conference, commission, or even a parliament. These plenary bodies normally have the authority to involve themselves in virtually all aspects of their organizations. Thus, in theory; they are the most powerful elements of their organizations. In practice, however, the plenary organization may be secondary to the administrative structure or some other element of the organization.

A second type of representative body is based on limited membership. The theory here is that some members have a greater stake, responsibility, or capacity in a particular area of concern. The UN Security Council (UNSC) has 15 members. Ten are chosen by the UNGA for limited terms, but five are permanent members. These five (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) were the five leading victorious powers at the end of World War II and were thought to have a special peacekeeping role to play.

Voting Issues

One of the difficult issues to face any international organization is the **formula for allocating votes**. Three major alternatives as they exist today are majoritarianism, weighted voting, and unilateral negative voting.

The most common voting formula used in IGOs is **majoritarianism**. This system has two main components: (1) each member casts one equal vote, and (2) the issue is carried by either a simple majority (50 percent plus one vote) or, in some cases, an extraordinary majority (commonly two-thirds). The theory of majoritarianism springs from the concept of sovereign equality and the democratic notion that the will of the majority should prevail. The UNGA and most other UN bodies operate on this principle.

An alternative to majoritarianism is **weighted voting**, or a system that allocates unequal voting power on the basis of a formula. Two possible criteria are population and wealth. The European Parliament provides an example of an international representative body based in part on population. A number of interna-

tional monetary organizations base voting on financial contributions. Voting in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund is based on member contributions, which means that Germany, Japan, the United States, and a few other countries command a majority vote in those IGOs. This "wealth-weighted" voting is especially offensive to Third World states, which contend that it continues the system of imperial domination by the industrialized countries.

A third voting scheme is **negative voting**, in which a member can unilaterally block action. The most common variation is a requirement for unanimity. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and some other IGOs operate on that principle. Unanimity preserves the concept of sovereignty but can easily lead to stalemate and inaction.

A second variation is the big power **veto**. In the UN Security Council, any of the 5 permanent members can, by its single vote, veto a policy statement or action favored by the other 14 members. Between 1946 and 1991, the veto was cast 225 times, with each of the members using its special prerogative to protect its interests. Whatever arguments might be made for abolishing the veto power, it is likely to persist in the UN because of the Charter amendment difficulties noted in the earlier discussion of UNSC membership.

The issue of how to apportion representation in the parliamentary bodies of such IGOs as the UN will become increasingly important and contentious as they become more powerful, especially if and when they begin to have true supranational power to compel states to act in certain ways. As seemingly dry as they may seem, the formulas for deciding vote allocation have major implications for who will be powerful, who will not, and what policies will be adopted.

Administration

In addition to representative/legislative bodies, most international organizations have an administrative structure. In the UN, the administrative structure is called the **Secretariat**, and the secretary-general is the chief administrator.

Appointment

In the UN, the secretary general is nominated by the UNSC, then elected by the General Assembly for a five-year term. The secretary-general appoints the other principal members of the secretariat. These simple facts do not, however, adequately

emphasize the political considerations that govern the appointment of administrators. Because nomination of the UN secretary-general is subject to veto in the Security Council, this position has been one of intense diplomatic struggle.

Politics also heavily influences the appointment of the understaff. Several principal positions are, by tradition, reserved for and, in practice, named by one big power or another. The UN and other IGOs also distribute positions on a regional basis.

Assignments

I. Find the equivalents in the text to the following words and expressions:

1. essential, high-priority, important
2. an aftermath, a consequence
3. to be victorious, to prove superior, to succeed
4. an agreement, consensus
5. domination, supremacy
6. to cancel, to put an end to
7. to distribute, to divide
8. to enforce, to oblige

II. Study the use of *italicized* words in different phrases, suggest their Russian equivalents.

~AMENDMENT~

draft ~; drafting ~; to approve an ~; to consider an ~; to make an ~; to move an ~; to pass an ~; to propose an ~; to ratify an ~; to reject an ~; to second an ~; to vote down an ~.

~NEGOTIATIONS~

arms-control ~; bilateral ~; cease-fire ~; diplomatic ~; fruitful ~; multilateral ~; peace ~; separate ~; stage-by-stage ~; top-level ~; trade ~; ~ on medium-range nuclear force; ~ on a wide range of issues; a new round of ~; a breakdown in the ~; completion of ~; an outcome of ~; postponement of ~; progress of ~; results of ~; by means of ~; in the course of ~; through ~; within the framework of ~; to begin ~; to break off ~; to carry on ~; to complete ~; to conduct ~; to continue ~; to delay ~; to

discontinue ~; to enter into ~; to hold ~; to initiate ~; to resume ~; to suspend ~; to torpedo ~; to wreck ~.

~AGREEMENT~

arms-control ~; bilateral ~; cease-fire ~; commercial ~; cultural exchange ~; intergovernmental !; interim ~; interstate ~; legally binding ~; long-term ~; multilateral ~; mutual ~; preliminary ~; regional ~; quadripartite ~; trade ~; trilateral ~; tripartite ~; ~ on the establishment of diplomatic relations; ~ on limiting nuclear weapons; ~ on tariffs and trade; ~ on unlimited duration; ~ on a wide range of issues; in accordance with the ~ achieved; to abrogate an ~; to annul an ~; to break an ~; to come to an ~; to conclude an ~; to denounce an ~; to enter into an ~; to honor an ~; to observe an ~ to ratify an ~; to reach an ~; to sign an ~; to violate an ~.

~CAPACITY~

a document certifying one's ~; an international ~ to act; treaty-making ~; in a consultative ~; in the ~ of ambassador; in the consular ~; in one's individual (personal) ~; in one's ~ as depositary of conventions.

~STATEMENT~

a foreign-policy ~; a formal (official) ~; a joint ~; an unfounded ~; a verbal ~; a written ~; a ~ of the defence; a ~ of the prosecution; to come out with a public ~; to issue (publish) ~; to make a ~; to make a ~ for the press.

IGO ACTIVITY AND ISSUES: THE UNITED NATIONS

The most important aspects of any international organization are what it does; how well this corresponds to the functions we wish it to perform; and how well it is performing those roles?

Promoting International Peace and Security

The United Nations is among the many international organizations that attempt to prevent international conflict and to limit its severity and restore the peace when violence occurs. This role for the United Nations is symbolized by the opening words of the Charter. They dedicate the organization to saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which ... has brought untold sorrow to

mankind." The United Nations attempts to fulfill this goal by creating norms against violence, by providing a debate alternative to fighting, by intervening diplomatically to avert the outbreak of warfare or to help restore peace once violence occurs, by instituting diplomatic and economic sanctions, and by dispatching UN military forces to repel aggression or to act as a buffer between warring countries. Note that the following individual consideration of each of these five approaches to avoiding and resolving conflict does not imply that they are used in isolation. Often just the opposite is true, and the UN will pursue several approaches at once.

Creating Norms Against Violence

One way that the United Nations helps promote international peace and security is by creating norms (beliefs about what is proper) against aggression and other forms of violence. One way of doing this is by the UN's effort in such areas as promoting the concept of nuclear nonproliferation Atomic Energy Agency, limiting chemical and biological weapons, and promoting rules for the humanitarian conduct of war when it occurs.

There is a growing acknowledgment, as found in the UN Charter and elsewhere, that using military force except in self-defense is unacceptable. The countries that have signed the Charter are pledged to accept the principle "That armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest," and further agree to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means," to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or the use of force" except in self-defense, and to "refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action." Reaffirming the Charter's ideas, the UN (and other IGOs) have condemned the U.S. invasion of Panama, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Serbian aggression against its neighbors, and other such actions. These denunciations and the slowly developing norm against aggression have certainly not halted violence, but they have created an ever-increasing onus on countries that strike the first blow. The U.S. administration's repeated stress on rejecting Iraq's 1990 aggression against Kuwait, establishing a new, peaceful world order, and working through the UN, for example, may well inhabit any future U.S. inclination to launch a unilateral war as it did in Grenada.

Providing a Debate Alternative

A second peace-enhancing role for the United Nations is serving a passive forum in which members publicly air their points of views and privately negotiate their differences. The UN thus acts like a safety valve, or perhaps a sound stage where the world drama can be played out without the dire consequences that could occur if another "shooting locale" were chosen. This process, which one scholar has called "the grand debate approach to peace," involves denouncing your opponents, defending your actions, trying to influence world opinion, and winning symbolic victories.

Diplomatic Intervention

International organizations also regularly play a direct role in assisting and encouraging countries to settle their disputes peacefully. Ideally this occurs before hostilities but it can take place even after fighting has started. The United Nations and other IGOs perform the following functions: (1) *Inquiry*: Fact-finding by neutral investigators; (2) *Good Offices*: Encouraging parties to negotiate; acting as a neutral setting for negotiations; (3) *Mediation*: Making suggestions about possible solutions; acting as an intermediary between two parties; (4) *Arbitration*: Using a special panel to find a solution that all parties agree in advance to accept; and (5) *Adjudication*: Submitting disputes to an International court such as the UN's International Court of Justice.

These activities do not often capture the headlines, but they are a vital part of maintaining and restoring the peace. For example, the United Nations and other IGOs are often able to act as a bridge between warring parties when hostilities are too strong for direct talks between the combatants.

Often it is the efforts of the secretary-general and other Secretariat officials that are key in these diplomatic endeavors. But the structure and political nature of the UN means that the secretaries-general have been most effective when they have had strong support. The multisided, very delicate negotiations is an example of an outcome that nearly everyone had come to favor but which would have been much more difficult without the activity of UN diplomats. For example, in Central America, the end of the cold war signaled a time for the end of the left right struggles

in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Disengagement would have been more difficult had the UN not acted as a neutral broker.

Sanctions

The United Nations also has various methods of coercion at its disposal. One form of pressure is diplomatic and economic sanctions. For example, diplomatic sanctions against South Africa, such as refusing to accept its representative's credentials at the UN and banning its sports teams from international competition, worked with economic sanctions to help ease apartheid there.

The increased economic independence of the world has heightened the impact of economic sanctions. In recent years, these have been applied by the UN, Iraq (for invading Kuwait, and for not abiding by the cease-fire agreement), Yugoslavia (for promoting aggression against former Yugoslav republics).

There are, it must be said, limits and drawbacks to sanctions. Sometimes countries and individuals ignore international law and supply sanctioned countries with goods. Second, sanctions take time and, therefore, sometimes seem to be a weak response in the face of aggression and death. Third, sanctions hurt the most vulnerable, least responsible parts of a sanctioned country's society first. Rulers and their armies are usually last to feel the pangs of hunger and the ache of cold in winter.

Dispatching UN Military Forces

The United Nations additionally has at least a limited ability to intervene in a dispute. In the UN, this process is often called peacekeeping. It is normally conducted under the auspices of the Security Council, although the General Assembly has sometimes authorized action. What we will focus on in the following sections is the UN activity to date.

Collective Security

One theory behind UN use of security forces is the concept of collective security. This idea was first embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and is also reflected in the Charter of the United Nations. Collective security's basic tenets are these:

1. All countries forswear the use of force except in self-defense.
2. All agree that the peace is indivisible. An attack on one is an attack on all.

3. All pledge to unite to halt aggression and restore the peace, and all agree to supply whatever material or personnel resources are necessary to that end.

4. A UN armed force will be formed to defeat aggressors and restore the peace.

If you think about it, this theory is something like the idea that governs domestic law enforcement. First, acts of violence are considered a transmission against the collective. If you assault someone in Ohio, the case is not the victim versus you but the society (Ohio) versus you. Second, except in self-defense, we cannot resort to violence to settle domestic disputes. Third, we rely on a collective security force, the police, and jointly support this force through taxes.

Collective security, then, is not only an appealing idea but one that works—domestically. It has not, however, been a success on the international scene. In part, applying collective security theory is limited by problems such as how to tell the aggressor from the victim in some cases. But these uncertainties also exist domestically and are resolved. The more important cause of the failure of collective security is the unwillingness of countries to subordinate their sovereign interests to collective action. Thus far, governments have generally maintained their rights to view conflict in terms of their national interests and to support or oppose UN action based on their nationalistic points of view. Collective security, therefore, mostly exists only as a goal not as a general practice.

Peacekeeping

The inability to put the theory of collective security into regular practice does not mean, however, that the UN has been ineffective in using military force to promote international security.

What the United Nations has been able to do more often is to implement a process commonly called peacekeeping. Apart from using military force, peacekeeping is quite different from collective security. The latter identifies an aggressor and employs military force to defeat the attacker. Peacekeeping takes another approach and deploys an international military force under the aegis of an international organization such as the United Nations to prevent fighting, usually by acting as a buffer between combatants. The international force is neutral between the combatants and must have been invited to be present by at least one of the combatants.

UN Forces and the Future

There are increasing calls for a more active UN military role. This added role had been dubbed peacemaking.

National leaders who address the UNGA often voice support for the broad concepts of a more effective UN force. Pulling these ideas into effect will be difficult, however. Leaders will have to ensure that their countries supply the funds to underwrite what they so facilely advocate. An even greater sticking point will be sovereignty. Will countries allow their funds and forces to be used by the UN for purposes with which they may disagree? The bottom line, though, is that you cannot have an effective international security force if it either has to be formed like an Old West posse on a basis or cannot act until everyone agrees and finds some money to fund it. Poses may work in the movies, but they are not much good in the world.

Social, Environmental, Economic and Other Roles

In addition to maintaining and restoring the peace, international organizations engage in a wide variety of other activities.

During the early years of the United Nations, the emphasis of the organization's efforts was on security. This concern has not abated. In fact, peacekeeping efforts have grown, as we have seen. Security concerns have increasingly been joined, however, by social, economic, environmental, and other nonmilitary security concerns. The increase in the number of Third World member countries whose concerns often had little to do with the cold war began the trend. Now with the cold war ended, the concern with a variety of nonmilitary security issues will almost surely increase. "The real problem of the next 10 years," Secretary General Boulos-Ghall commented in 1992, "will be mainly in the countries of the Third World." These problems, he said, will not only be "military confrontations," but the problems of "refugees, hunger, drought. So many problems."

Given the influx of Third World countries into the UN and their rise in power in that body, it is important to consider their view of and role in the world organization and other IGOs. Some Third World commentators have portrayed the UN, at least historically, as a vehicle for neocolonial Western domination. The veto-dominated Security Council has been especially suspect. The growing assertiveness

of the less developed countries (LDCs) and the changing balance of power in their favor in the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, and elsewhere have led to a changing orientation. Now the UN and other IGOs are increasingly being used by the LDCs to band together and assert their demands for political, social, and economic equity. In a generally power-politic world, the United Nations and other IGOs provide a ready forum for Third World complaints against the larger powers, and, insofar as there is majoritarian voting, give the collective Third World a vehicle for giving substance, in terms of passed resolutions, to its proposals and criticisms. As such, IGOs are a primary arena of the North-South struggle.

The UN and other IGOs are active on a variety of fronts. One of these is **law and norm** promotion. An important and increasing role of international organizations is defining and expanding international law and international norms of cooperation. International courts associated with IGOs help establish legal precedent. Also, the signatories to the UN Charter and other IGO and NGO constitutions incur obligations to obey the principles of these documents. International organizations additionally sponsor multinational treaties, which may establish the assumption of law.

Promoting arms control and disarmament is another function of international organizations. They are not only involved in individual conflicts, but they are concerned with conflict in general. Consequently, they are active in several efforts to regulate or eliminate the weapons of war.

International organizations also promote *the quality of human existence*. Perhaps the most significant contribution of international organizations to date has been in the area of individual human betterment. A wide variety of IGOs and NGO devote their energies to problems of the environment, humanitarian causes economic progress, and social concerns such as health, nutrition, and literacy.

The UN and other international organizations have also improved the quality of life by *promoting human rights*.

Many scholars agree with James Rosenau, who depicts "the UN as an agent of change" in human rights and other fields and who comments that much of the current "stress on the preservation and promotion of human rights can be traced to the debates and actions of the UN."

Yet another role of the UN and other IGOs is *to encourage national self-determination*. The UN Trusteeship Council once monitored a large number of colonial dependencies, but with the wave of Independence in recent decades, it has largely fulfilled its mission.

Promoting other international organizations and integration is one more role of the UN that deserves mention. The United Nations operates in association with a variety of other regional and specialized IGOs, and it also grants consultative status to nearly 700 NGOs. Thus, international organizations of all types cooperate to encourage and strengthen one another.

Assignments

I. Find the equivalents in the text to the following words and expressions:

1. to happen, to take place
2. a curse, a misfortune
3. ratification a support
4. to send, to transmit
5. to confront, to oppose, to resist
6. to suggest, to mean
7. to promise, to guarantee
8. precautionary
9. to blame, to disapprove
10. an obligation, a responsibility
11. to increase, to raise
12. a conflict, warfare
13. an attempt, an effort
14. to forbid, to prohibit
15. a force, an influence, a power
16. to follow, to obey
17. a defect, a disadvantage, a fault
18. unprotected, weak
19. guidance, patronage, supervision
20. to attack, to invade

- 21. to arrange, to extend
- 22. easy, effortless, simple
- 23. a displaced person, a fugitive
- 24. an arrival, a flow
- 25. to claim, to insist
- 26. fairness, honesty, justice
- 27. to celebrate

II. Study the use of *italicized* words in different phrases, suggest their Russian equivalents.

~LEGAL~

~effect; ~effects; ~entity; ~implications; ~instrument; ~force of agreement;
 ~personality; ~protection; ~relations; ~unit; ~validity; ~views; international ~
 guarantees; international ~ norms.

~DIPLOMATIC~

~ act; ~ activity; ~ agent; ~ bag; ~circles; ~ contacts; ~ corps; ~courier; ~ identity
 card; ~ immunity; ~ intercourse; ~ mail; ~ mission; ~ law; ~ personnel; ~ pouch;
 ~ practice; ~ privileges; ~ recognition; ~ relations; ~ representative; ~ service;
 ~ sources; ~ status; through ~ channels.

~RESOLUTION~

advisory ~; draft ~; joint ~; legally binding ~; normative ~; a ~ in favor of smth; to
 adopt a ~; to carry a ~; to draw up a draft ~; to pass a ~; to put forward a draft ~; to
 put the draft ~ to the vote; to second (support) a draft ~; to speak in favor of the ~; to
 submit a draft ~; to table a draft ~; to vote down a ~.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND THE FUTURE

International organization has many doubters and critics. Given the continued conflicts in the world and the ongoing economic and social misery, it is all too easy to get discouraged or to dismiss international organization as inadequate, misguided, and impossibly idealistic. Even retired United Nations secretary-general Kurt

Waldheim was disheartened in an article he wrote to commemorate the United Nations' 40th anniversary. The secretary-general gloomily reported that in the area of peacekeeping "the habit of international security is waning." Waldlheim's assessment of UN activity in economic and social areas was equally distressed as he saw the organization approaching "zones of sensitivity and sharply pit members of different backgrounds against one another."

One reaction to such pessimism is to be wary of judging the future by the moment. Since Waldheim's gloomy assessment, the United Nations has surpassed all previous marks in terms of numbers of simultaneous peacekeeping mission, peacekeeping troops deployed, and other International security efforts. The UN-sponsored Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro focused the world's attention on the fragility of its environment. We should also be encouraged that numerous other UN-sponsored conferences and programs are advancing our knowledge of and attempts to deal seriously with a wide range of economic, social, and environmental global problems.

One must also ask what the alternative to the UN and other international organizations fostering greater international cooperation is. Can the warring, uncaring world continue unchanged in the face of nuclear weapons, persistent poverty, an exploding population, periodic mass starvation, continued, widespread human rights violations, resource depletion, and environmental degradation? Somehow the world has survived these plagues, but one of the realities that is hoped to made it clear that we are hurtling toward our destiny at an ever-increasing, now exponential speed. In a rapidly changing system, doing things the old way may be inadequate and may even lead down a road, although familiar, that will lead the world to an end that Shakespeare was perhaps imagining when he wrote in *Hamlet* of a tale that would "harrow up thy soul, [and] freeze thy young blood."

The reality that people are beginning to see the necessity of international organization and cooperation leads Waldheim to be cautiously optimistic that, in the face of these monumental transnational issues, the countries of the world will find that it is in their "enlightened self-interest" to work toward a "single great world community... a single global village" (Waldheim)

One cannot know if Waldheim is right, but it is certain that we face problems that cannot be handled in the same old ways. Those ways have not been very

successful in the past, and they carry the potential of cataclysmic disaster for the future. It is also clear that the rapid growth of international organizations during the 20th century shows that the world has begun to try to perform its political system to meet the new challenges. It is important therefore to concentrate on the positive impact that the UN and other IGOs have had. Peacekeeping missions, children's vaccines, agricultural innovations, and other contributions all mark the UN's 58-year history. An overall evaluation, as one *New York Times* story was entitled, is that there is "Amid the Jealousies, A Suspicion That the U.N. Works."

In the end, the UN and other international organizations are what we make them. It is true that they possess some independence, but it is limited. Mostly their successes and failures are a reflection of the willingness or disinclination of their member countries to cooperate and use international organizations to further joint efforts. As Dag Hammarskjold aptly put it, "everything will be all right—you know when? When people, just people, stop thinking of the United Nations as a weird Picasso abstraction and see it as a drawing they made themselves".

People are beginning to do that, but what is unclear is whether old, no-longer-relevant attitudes can be changed quickly enough. It is also clear that critics of international organization are too often just that, uncreatively negative. They disparage the organization without noting its contributions or suggesting improvements. International organization holds one hope for the future, and for those who would denigrate that effort, the answer is to make other, positive suggestions rather than implicitly advocating a maintenance of the status quo.

Assignments

Find the equivalents in the text to the following words and expressions:

1. an estimation, an evaluation
2. cautious
3. to exceed
4. delicate, weak
5. a problem, a question
6. to criticize, to undervalue

ASSIGNMENTS FOR TRANSLATION

I. Translate into Russian.

Организация Объединенных Наций является центром решения проблем, с которыми сталкивается все человечество. Эта деятельность осуществляется совместными усилиями более 30 связанных с ней организациях, составляющих систему Организации Объединенных Наций. Из дня в день Организация Объединенных Наций и другие организации ее системы ведут работу по содействию соблюдению прав человека, охране окружающей среды, борьбе с болезнями и сокращению масштабов нищеты. Учреждения Организации Объединенных Наций разрабатывают нормы и правила безопасного и эффективного воздушного сообщения и способствуют совершенствованию телекоммуникаций и защите интересов потребителей. Организация Объединенных Наций является инициатором международных кампаний по борьбе с оборотом наркотиков и терроризмом. Действуя во всех регионах мира, Организация Объединенных Наций и ее учреждения оказывают помощь беженцам, осуществляют программы разминирования, помогают увеличить объем производства продовольствия и играют ведущую роль в борьбе со СПИДом.

В сентябре 2000 года члены Организации Объединенных Наций, включая 147 глав государств или правительств, собрались в Нью-Йорке, чтобы выработать международную повестку дня на начальный период нового столетия. По итогам их встречи была принята Декларация тысячелетия, в которой изложены поддающиеся количественной оценке цели, которых необходимо достичь в семи ключевых областях: мир, безопасность и разоружение; развитие и искоренение нищеты; охрана нашей общей окружающей среды; права человека, демократия и благое управление; защита уязвимых; удовлетворение особых потребностей Африки; укрепление Организации Объединенных Наций.

II. Translate the following information about the six main organs of the UN from Russian into English.

1. Генеральная Ассамблея.

Генеральная Ассамблея является основным совещательным органом ООН и включает в себя всех ее членов. Она может обсуждать любые вопросы или дела в пределах Устава и давать рекомендации членам ООН (за исключением диспутов и ситуаций, рассматриваемых Советом Безопасности). В Ассамблее каждое государство, большое или маленькое, имеет лишь один голос, и важные решения принимаются большинством в две трети голосов. Ассамблея собирается каждый год с сентября по декабрь. Экстренные заседания могут созываться по просьбе Совета Безопасности или по требованию большинства членов ООН.

2. Совет Безопасности.

Согласно Уставу ООН, Совет Безопасности несет основную ответственность за сохранение мира и безопасности. Он может созываться в любое время, как только возникает угроза миру. Государства – члены Совета – обязаны выполнять его решения. В случае начала боевых действий Совет пытается обеспечить прекращение огня, направляя миротворческие миссии в районы бедствия или требуя экономические санкции и эмбарго для восстановления мира.

3. Экономический и социальный совет.

Экономический и социальный совет является ключевым органом ООН, который планирует и определяет приоритеты деятельности ООН в экономической и социальной сфере. Совет рекомендует и направляет деятельность, нацеленную на повышение экономического роста развивающихся стран, на поддержку прав человека и на поощрение мирового сотрудничества для борьбы с бедностью и улучшением жизни в этих странах. Поскольку Экономический и социальный совет не является оперативным органом, Генеральная Ассамблея учредила ряд специализированных комиссий

и комитетов, таких как Продовольственная и сельскохозяйственная Организация Объединенных Наций, Всемирная организация здравоохранения, Организация Объединенных наций по вопросам образования, науки и культуры. Также предусмотрены специальные программы, такие как Программа развития Организации Объединенных Наций, Детский фонд Организации Объединенных наций и Управление Верховного Комиссара ООН по делам беженцев. Работа этих комиссий и комитетов координируется Экономическим и социальным советом.

4. Попечительский совет.

Согласно Уставу ООН, Попечительский совет был предназначен для наблюдения за бывшими колониями или подопечными территориями. Эта система была создана в конце Второй Мировой войны для того, чтобы способствовать прогрессу подопечных территорий и их поступательному развитию по направлению к самоуправлению или независимости.

С момента создания Попечительского совета более 70 колониальных территорий получили независимость при содействии ООН. В результате в 1994 году совет официально решил временно приостановить свою деятельность и будет созван лишь тогда, когда возникнет ситуация, требующая его вмешательства.

5. Международный суд.

Международный суд – это основной судебный орган ООН. Председательствуют на Международном суде 15 судей разных национальностей, которые выбираются Генеральной Ассамблеей и Советом Безопасности. Суд решает юридические разногласия, возникающие между государствами в соответствии с международным законом. Страна не обязана принимать участие в судопроизводстве до тех пор, пока это не будет необходимо в соответствии со специальными положениями договоренности. Если страна принимает эту юрисдикцию, она должна выполнять решение суда.

6. Секретариат.

Секретариат, подходящий к проблемам мирового сообщества с той же мерой ответственности, что и к национальным проблемам, состоит из международного штата, работающего в штаб-квартире в Нью-Йорке и по всему миру. Здесь выполняется повседневная работа ООН, и занято в ней около 9000 людей из 170 стран мира.

Во главе Секретариата стоит Генеральный Секретарь, который назначается Генеральной Ассамблеей по рекомендации Совета безопасности на пятилетний срок. Он руководит работой в качестве главного административного должностного лица организации. Он также следит за приведением в исполнение решений, принятых различными органами ООН.

Генеральный Секретарь может доводить до сведения Совета Безопасности любую проблему, которая, по его мнению, угрожает международному миру и безопасности. Он имеет возможность использовать свою должность для предотвращения конфликтов или мирного урегулирования разногласий между странами. Кроме того, Генеральный секретарь ООН может действовать по своей собственной инициативе для того, чтобы решать проблемы особой важности.

APPENDIX.

Study the use of “pending” in different phrases. Mind that, when used as a preposition, it may correspond to the Russian «до», «в ожидании», «во время», «в течение».

PENDING

the achievement of its objects
 the conclusion of such arrangements
 the filling of a vacancy
 the final decision
 a permanent settlement of the issue
 such ratification
 these negotiations

Memorize the following.

having regard for (to)	обращая внимание на
having respect for	в духе уважения
in this regard/ in this context/ in this respect	в этом плане/в этом контексте/ в этом отношении/в этой связи
in regard to/ as regards/ regarding with regard to (for) as to/ as for in respect of (for)/ with respect to concerning/ as concerns	в области/ в отношении/ с точки зрения/ что касается/ по отношению/ относительно/ в связи/ по поводу
with due regard to	учитывая должным образом
to regard as	рассматривать как

Study the use of “upon” in different phrases. Mind that it may correspond to the Russian prepositions «на», «по» «при».

Upon

acceptance of this proposal
 agreement by the parties concerned
 the conclusion of negotiations
 entry into force
 the exchange of instruments of ratification

the recommendation of the Security Council
 a request submitted to the Director-General

Study the following table, mind the use of the Oblique Moods and modal phrases.

It is/was	advised agreed asked considered decided Proposed recommended requested suggested urged	that	smb	should could might	do	smth
Smb	considered it desirable (possible, necessary, etc.) expressed the hope (desire, wish, etc.) made a proposal (recommendation, etc.)		smth	should could might	be done	

Memorize the following.

relations

ОТНОШЕНИЯ

in relation

to

В ОТНОШЕНИИ
 В СВЯЗИ, С УЧЕТОМ
 ПО СРАВНЕНИЮ
 ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНО К
 ЧТО КАСАЕТСЯ

to relate	to	связывать увязывать касаться относиться
related relating	to to	в области для касающийся родственный связанный смежный соответствующий
relative	to	в связи соответственный связанный
relevance	to	ориентация соотношение уместность
relevant	to	пригодный соответствующий связанный уместный

Study the use of “subject to” in different phrases. Mind that it may correspond to the Russian «подлежит (чему-либо)», «при условии» «в соответствии (с чем-либо)».

SUBJECT TO

the approval of the General Assembly
the conditions of the present Agreement
the entry of the Covenant into force
the provisions of Article 3
ratification. Acceptance or approval

Memorize the following.

IN VIEW OF

the holding of the twenty second session

В ЦЕЛЯХ проведения двадцать
второй сессии

its wide scope

ВВИДУ широкой сферы охвата

its success

С УЧЁТОМ успешного
выполнения

the present imbalances

В СВЯЗИ с имеющимися
диспропорциями

the important regional variation

УЧИТЫВАЯ существенные
региональные различия

Memorize the following.

КАК ПРЕДУСМОТРЕНО

as laid down
as prescribed
as provided for
as stipulated

TALKING POINTS

1. The current Security Council structure does not reflect the changes in the bases of power and the strength of states that have occurred since 1945. Should the Security Council accept new state members? If France and Great Britain are powers, what about Japan and Germany or regional powers such as India, Brazil, Mexico and Nigeria? Think of as many advantages as you can. For every advantage try to find an opposing disadvantage.

2. The problem with the idea of equal voting among states is that it does not consider some standards of reality. Should Costa Rica, with no army, cast an equal vote with the powerful US? Should San Marino, with a population of thousands, cast the same veto as China, with its billion people?

3. "The real problem of the next 10 years," Secretary General Boutros-Ghali commented in 1992, "will be mainly in the countries of the Third World." These problems, he said, will not only be "military confrontations," but the problems of "refugees, hunger, drought." Do you believe that the problem has changed since that time?

4. Some observers believe that the heavy dominance of the USA and its European allies is the factor motivating actions which are considered to be the UN activities since they were authorized by the UNSC. Do you agree with their point of view?

5. Prove the fact that the UN plays an important role in promoting human rights. Give your reasons taking into considerations the documents that demonstrate the UN contribution in promoting human rights.

6. Do you think there is a necessity of reorganizing the UN structure? Give your grounds in favour of it or against.
7. Do you agree with the statement that global, regional, and specialized international organizations can implement policy and carry on other activities?
8. The world's increased independence, particularly in economic sphere, has fostered a variety of IGO. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are just two examples. Regional trade and monetary organizations, cartels, and (to a degree) multinationals corporations are the examples. Could you think of the other examples of international organizations that affect many states and require solutions that are beyond the resources of any single state.
9. The United Nations is the latest attempt to organize for the preservation of peace. The continuing problems in health, food, human rights, and other areas have also spurred the organization of IGOs and NGOs. People and countries have learned that they can sometimes work together internationally, and this has encouraged them to try new ventures in international organization and cooperation. What are the other reasons for closer contact between the states of the world?
10. What is implied in the statement "Governance without government"? What do you think will be in favour of? What won't be approved of? Should the UN be considered as a global government?
11. One of the types of representative body of any international organization is based on limited membership. List as many advantages and disadvantages of limited membership bodies.

12. Do you think that the USSR and Russia have been an active member of the UN since it was formed. Has the UN been an instrument of conducting the internal politics of the USSR and Russia?
13. Originally the UN was formed as the main peacekeeping organ. What is your opinion regarding the fact that economic and social problems are worth considering deeply than political ones by such an organization as the UN.
14. Note down some of the ways the blue helmets influence domestic affairs of a country. Give your grounds for or against the effectiveness of the blue helmets' activity within a country.
15. The polls in Britain, Australia and the USA show popular support for war contingent on UN approval. Do you agree with the fact that it is "illegitimate" to go to war unless under the auspices of the UN? Can only the UN confer moral respectability on the war?

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