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Chadwick F. Alger

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Pioneer in the Study of the Political Process and on NGO Participation in the United Nations

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Pioneer in the Study of the Political Process and on NGO Participation in the United Nations

Springer

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY MERSHON CENTER for INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

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I dedicate this volume to Elinor R. Alger, my wife for 64 years. She was a very devoted, and creative participant, and leader, in local community politics. She helped me to perceive how the political goals of local citizens are significantly linked to global politics, and how we all have the responsibility to participate in the development of a world that will provide a friendly environment for our children and grandchildren. At the same time, she was a magnificent educator of our four children, and traveled with me and the children when I did first-hand research at a number of UN offices around the world.

Books by the Same Author Published by Springer

Vol. 8: Chadwick F. Alger: *The UN System and Cities in Global Governance*. Springer Briefs on Pioneers in Science and Practice No. 8. Subseries Texts and Protocols No. 3 (Cham – Heidelberg – New York – Dordrecht – London: Springer-Verlag, 2014).

Vol. 9: Chadwick F. Alger: *Peace Research and Peacebuilding*. Springer Briefs on Pioneers in Science and Practice No. 9. Subseries Texts and Protocols No. 4 (Cham – Heidelberg – New York – Dordrecht – London: Springer-Verlag, 2014).

Preface

Chadwick Alger's scholarly achievements have helped to define the field of international organization over many decades, especially in the areas of United Nations studies, the role of publics, NGOs, and local authorities in the UN and global governance, and the role of cities in the international system. His 1957 Princeton dissertation, "The Use of Private Experts in the Conduct of U.S. Foreign Affairs," foreshadowed his later work on the interaction between private nongovernmental entities and the public policy of both states and especially international organizations. Chad began as a Post-Doctoral fellow at Northwestern in 1957, moved on to become an assistant professor, and had already been promoted to full Professor by 1966. By 1971, when he moved to Ohio State University, he was an acknowledged leader in the field of international organization, and he continued his development in the pioneering of other academic fields throughout his career there, even after his official retirement in 1995.

His early work using participant observation in the study of decision-making in the UN was seminal in both methodology and the development of theory. His insights into the actual political process that happens at the United Nations have influenced research in the field over many years. His interdisciplinary and international knowledge is comprehensive. His commitment to improving the political process, to promoting individual participation in international affairs at all levels, and to making the world a better place, have influenced generations of students and scholars.

In his teaching, Alger continued to develop new courses and programs of study, linking the local and global, the micro and the macro, the international and the intranational, and the study of peace with the study of international organization. His "Comparison of Intranational and International Politics" appeared in APSR in 1963, presaging later work on transnationalism that was to come in the 1970s, as well as on borrowing theoretical concepts from domestic politics. Both at Northwestern (1958–1971) and at Ohio State (1971–1995 and continuing now as Emeritus), he taught and mentored and inspired generations of both students and other faculty. He mentored numerous graduate students in international organization, many of whom have gone on to be extremely active in the International Organization and other related sections of the *International Studies Association*

(ISA), including the immediately previous (Roger Coate) and the most recent (myself) International Organization section chairs.

Chadwick Alger was recognized as the International Organization section's Distinguished Scholar at the 2012 Annual ISA Meeting in San Diego. The award is given by the section every two years (another International Organization Section award, the Chadwick F. Alger Book Prize, had already been set up in Alger's name). At the panel recognizing Chad's distinguished work, former graduate students and Chad's colleagues spoke of both his scholarly work and his impact as a mentor and scholar on their own work and careers. One of the panelists, Kent Kille, on whose dissertation committee Alger had served, had previously guest-edited a special issue of the *International Journal of Peace Studies*, "Putting the Peace Tools to Work: Essays in Honor of Chadwick F. Alger," where, in the "Introduction: A Tool Chest for Peacebuilders," (2004), he acknowledged how Chad's concepts and approaches to the UN, civil society, and peace studies, influenced both what he teaches and how he teaches it. Another, Welling Hall, described Alger's significance as a public intellectual, noting that Alger had been responsible for pulling her into the Ph.D. program at Ohio State at the time she was a peace activist, and had introduced her to organizations where she developed the important linkages between international law and organization that continue to inform her work today. She noted that he "has been a pioneer in developing an academic understanding of what it means to think globally and act locally." Alex Thompson, a colleague at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at Ohio State, summed up his presentation with his own diagnosis of why Chad has been such a remarkable scholar of global governance. "First, he was so far ahead of his time," particularly as early as 1962 in *Administrative Studies Quarterly* and 1963 in the *American Political Science Review,* outlining ideas behind what later became theories of "two-level games" and "principal-agent" approaches. Second, "he never got caught up in the macro-theory debates of the 1980s and 1990s, including its state-centrism," third, Chad's work is "grounded in a realistic sense of how the world works."

Alger served in leadership roles in many organizations, including serving as Program Chair (1968, 1972) and President (1978–1979) of ISA. His continuing relationship with the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) included serving as Secretary-General of IPRA from 1983 to 1987. He was also significant in the development of both the Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development, serving on its Executive Committee and as Chairperson 1974–1975, as well as in the Academic Council on the UN System, both of which crossed the lines between serious research and the development of better public policy and governance. He served on the editorial boards of significant journals in the fields of political science, international relations, and peace studies.

Alger has published more than 100 articles in journals such as *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *International Social Science Journal*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and *World Politics.* He also published multiple books and book chapters.

Chad's research has been significant in three primary areas. First, he was a major innovator in the use of participant observation to gain new insights into decision-making in the UN General Assembly and other UN organs, bringing a new level of reality to what was actually happening. His insights into "Interaction and Negotiation in a Committee of the UN General Assembly" (1965) [republished below as Chap. 4] on the relationships between speech-making and non-seatmate interactions took us far beyond the sometimes superficial voting analyses then popular in UN studies. His article on the "Non-Resolution Consequences of the United Nations and Their Effect on International Conflict," originally in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1961) and widely reprinted and cited thereafter, examined the importance of how the UN changed national patterns of communication, and impacted national policy and career patterns of participants. In "Interaction in a Committee of the UN General Assembly" (1968) [republished below as Chap. 5], he made us aware of the importance of the social learning that takes place in committees and working groups at the UN. He wrote both on the methodological innovation itself as well as developing the theory of UN decision-making and helping us to understand the real production of policy in the UN. Chad's work has focused not only on the well-studied primary organs of the UN, but also on the entire UN system, broadening our focus.

Chad then moved on to two interrelated areas of study related to increasing the role of public participation in the UN and in global governance. In the city-in-the-world project, he did a comprehensive study of the local/global linkages of Columbus, Ohio, a city not thought to have many global connections, using both in his research and teaching the discovery of these linkages to inspire both greater awareness of the impact of civil society on global governance and greater participation in it. Grants he received for the project while at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies funded many graduate students. In my case, it resulted in my 1980 dissertation, for which he served as chair, on a comparison of the international relations of Columbus, Ohio and San Diego, California.

In a related area, his focus on the UN expanded to include and emphasize the role of civil society, NGOs, transnational social movements, and local authorities in the development of policy in the UN and global governance. His emphasis on citizen participation in world affairs was the integrating factor in his research, teaching and service. Chad was one of the pioneers in developing an understanding of the importance of nongovernmental and local phenomena in international affairs, an area which has virtually become its own subfield in international organization and international relations today. Chad's work on the UN led him not only to New York, but also to Geneva, where he was moved to see the world not only from a North American perspective, and not only as it is, but as it might be, moving him to become one of the parents of the related field of peace research. His work on peacebuilding as a significant component of UN work and global governance continues (see Volume 9 in this series).

Alger not only focused on his own research interests; he also examined and analyzed the field of international relations and especially international organizations as a whole. In addition to his 1963 *American Political Science Review*

publication of his "Comparison of Intranational and International Politics," which was one of the first significant recognitions of both the distinctions and linkages between the two levels of analysis, an area later recognized by other significant scholars as "two level games," he also wrote an overview of "International Relations: the Field" in the 1970 *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, and continued over the years to write important critical and analytical articles on the development of the field as a whole. His article "Research on Research: A Decade of Quantitative and Field Research on International Organization," which appeared in the journal *International Organization* in 1970, was a cogent examination of all of that variety of research during that period, and helped students and other researchers look at the emerging trends in the field. Alger's methodologies were various; in addition to his significant contribution to participant observation at the UN, he was also part of the early movement toward scientific and quantitative research that characterized the beginnings of peace research. His 1967 *World Politics* article with Steve Brams looked at correlations between states' trade and diplomatic exchange patterns with their Intergovernmental Organization memberships. But his conclusions were both scientific and normative. The authors said (p. 662), "The most important conclusion that emerges from our analysis is that organizational ties provide most nations with far greater access to the outside world than do diplomatic ties." Chad's research has always drawn clear policy implications from his analysis, especially in the area of democratizing access and increasing citizen empowerment at the international level.

Alger was also able to talk about the impact of his work on himself personally, something most political scientists have been reluctant to do. In "United Nations Participation as a Learning Experience," published in *Public Opinion Quarterly* and in sociologist Louis Kriesberg's edited volume *Social Processes in International Relations,* and in other later talks and writings, he spoke of the importance of his first exposure to the United Nations, which broadened his vision both geographically and psychologically. It is interesting to note that Alger has never been limited to the discipline of political science; he has worked with and been cited by many other varieties of social scientists.

Not only has Chad researched citizen participation in international affairs and international organization, but he has also practiced this in his teaching and his service. Elise Boulding, in her book *Building a Global Civic Culture* (1988), points out how she was influenced by Chad's project on your community in the world/the world in your community and used his method of making students aware of the international dimensions of their local organizations, churches, girl/boy scouts, businesses, local government, to empower students for participation in international structures. Chad became my mentor through his writing on his innovative work at the UN long before he became my dissertation chair at OSU. His example, doing the work he was doing at the UN, served as both inspiring and empowering to me in my own work, making the UN accessible rather than distant and overpowering, and led directly to my own work on the role of NGOs and social movements in the UN global conferences on women. He also was one of those who introduced me to the field of peace studies, and to the interdisciplinary

research approaches of that field. Chad brought academics from other countries into his classroom, introducing us to important figures from Norway, Japan, and various parts of Latin America and Africa, and allowing us the time to dialogue with them, forging important relationships that were then continued through ISA, IPRA, and other professional organizations.

Although now Professor Emeritus, Chad Alger is still teaching and writing and mentoring and attending ISA, especially the International Organization section, and IPRA. His most recent book is *The United Nations System: A Reference Manual* (ABC-CLIO, 2006). Most recently, he has also continued to write and edit books and articles on the peacebuilding potential of global governance, on peace studies and peace research, on widening participation in the UN, and on expanding the role of NGOs and increasing the democratic potential in global governance.

University of Hawaii at Manoa,
Honolulu, Hawaii,
February 2013

Carolyn Stephenson

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Stephenson, Carolyn M. "The International Relations of a Metropolitan Area: San Diego in the World/the World in San Diego," Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, December, 1980.

Carolyn M. Stephenson has been a Political Science faculty member at the University of Hawaii at Manoa since 1985. Before that she was Director of Peace Studies at Colgate. Her B.A. (1966) is from Mount Holyoke College, and M.A. (1974) and Ph.D. (1980) from Ohio State. She has published on alternative security systems, NGOs at the UN, gender and peace, and on the study of peace studies. She has chaired the Peace Studies, Environmental Studies, and International Organization Sections of ISA.

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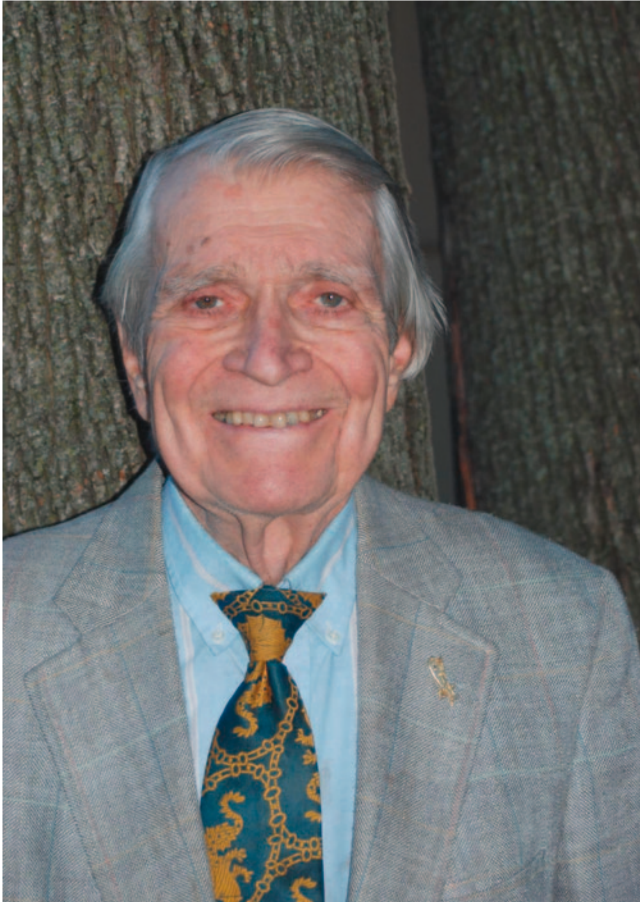
Part I
On Chadwick F. Alger



Prof. Dr. Chadwick F. Alger, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA. *Source*: Photo taken by Laura Alger Carter

Chapter 1
Biographical Note of Chadwick F. Alger: Introduction to the Selected Texts

1.1 Biographical Note of Chadwick F. Alger

I have been Mershon Professor of Political Science and Public Policy Emeritus at Ohio State University since 1971 (Box 1.1). During my academic career, I have served as Secretary General of the *International Peace Research Association* (IPRA), and President of the *International Studies Association* (ISA) (Photo 1.1). In 2012 the International Organization Section of ISA honored me with its Distinguished Scholar Award. Over a number of years I spent many months at the UN New York City Headquarters, observing meetings of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and meeting with and interviewing representatives of member States and the Secretariat. I also spent a year at UN Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. I have also spent time at UNESCO in Paris, and at UN agencies in Vienna.

My recent research has focused on the growing involvement of organizations other than member States in the UN system: civil society organizations, business organizations and local governments. I have published numerous articles on this growing involvement. My most recent book is *The United Nations System: A Reference Handbook* (2006).

Over many years I have been involved in efforts to educate local people in world affairs, and encourage them to become involved in the development of the foreign policies of the United States government in Washington. I have also made efforts to involve them in the recent growth of UN involvement of civil society organizations, business organizations and local governments. I was one of the founders of the Columbus Council on World Affairs and I served as President of the Columbus chapter of UNA-USA. I am presently the Vice President for Advocacy of this organization.

I have an MA from the *School of Advanced International Studies* (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University and a Ph.D. from Princeton University. My interest in international relations was stimulated by my service in the US Navy across the Pacific in World War II. After my MA at SAIS I served for four years at the Office of Naval Intelligence in the Pentagon, 1950–1954.

C. F. Alger, *Chadwick F. Alger*, SpringerBriefs on Pioneers in Science and Practice 7,
DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-00509-6_1, © The Author(s) 2014

Photo 1.1 Prof. Dr. Chadwick F. Alger, a former Secretary-General of IPRA, at the 24th IPRA Conference in Mie-City, Japan, 24–28 November 2012. On his left is Prof. Carolyn Stephenson, University of Hawai who contributed the preface to this volume. *Source*: this photo was provided by the author

Box 1: Curriculum Vitae of Chadwick F. Alger

Education

B.A. Ursinus College (Political Science), 1949.

M.A. School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1950.

Ph.D. Princeton University (Political Science), 1957.

Employment (Academic)

The Ohio State University:

Mershon Professor of Political Science and Public Policy, 1971–1995, Emeritus 1995;

Director, Program in Transnational Intellectual Cooperation in the Policy Sciences, Mershon Center, 1971–1981; Director, Program in World Relations, Mershon Center, 1982–1991.

Northwestern University:

Co-Director, International Relations Program, 1964–1968; Director, 1968–1971.

Professor of Political Science, 1966–1971.
Associate Professor of Political Science, 1963–1966.
Assistant Professor of Political Science, 1958–1962.
Visiting Professor of United Nations Affairs, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University, 1962–1963.
Instructor in Political Science, Swarthmore College, 1957.

Employment (Non-Academic)

United States Navy, 1943–1946, enlisted man, Pacific service. Department of Navy, Pentagon, 1950–1954, Naval Intelligence Analyst.

Honors and Awards

Du Bois Fellow, 1955–56; Procter Fellow, 1956–57, Princeton University.
Post-doctoral Fellow, International Relations Program, Northwestern University, 1957–1958 Mid-West Political Science Association Prize, 1965. LLD. Ursinus College, 1979.
Distinguished Scholar Award, International Society for Educational, Cultural and Scientific Interchanges, 1980.
Phi Beta Delta Outstanding Faculty Award, 1992, The Ohio State University International Outstanding Faculty Award, 1993, The Ohio State University.
Golden Apple Award, The American Forum for Global Education, 1993.
Recognized by Mayor Havermans of The Hague for leadership in research and teaching on how "local authorities/municipalities" are linked to the world at the opening of an exhibit on "Your City in the World" at World Congress of International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), The Hague, September 3–7 1995.
Chadwick F. Alger Prize for best Graduate Student Essay on "Civil Society" established by International Organization Section of the International Studies Association in 1997.

Professional Association Positions

American Political Science Association, Member of Council, 1970–1972.
Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development, Executive Committee, 1970–1973, and 1980–1983; Chairperson, 1974–1975. International Peace Research Association, Executive Committee, 1971–1977; Secretary General 1983–1987.
International Studies Association, Program Chairman, 1968, 1972; President, 1978–1979.

Editorial Boards

Midwest Journal of Politics, 1969–1971.
Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1968–1972.
Current Research on Peace and Violence (Tampere, Finland), 1971–1990.
International Interactions, 1972–1988.
Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research, 1980–1995.

International Studies Notes, 1982–1995.
Scandinavian Journal of Development Alternatives (Stockholm), 1984–1990.
The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy, 1987–1991.

International Organizations

United Nations University, participant in Goals, Processes and Indicators of Development Project, 1977–1982; lecturer for UN University Global Seminar, Hakone, Japan, September 1985. UNESCO, consultant on research project on international organizations, 1972–1978; consultant on research project on links between peace, disarmament and development, 1984.

International Peace Academy, Vienna (July 1970), Helsinki (July 1971), director of course on peace theory.

UN Foreign Service Training Course, Barbados, November 1963, lecturer on multilateral diplomacy.

Community Organizations

United Nations Association, Columbus Chapter, President, 1991–93; Vice President for Education, 1993–1995; Vice President for Advocacy, 1997.

Columbus Council on World Affairs (Board of Directors) 1974–1988; Vice President, 1978–1985.

Hunger and Development Coalition of Central Ohio (Board of Directors), 1983–1992, Vice-President 1986–1987.

Trade Council, State of Ohio (member), 1984–1987.

Sister Cities Task Force, City of Columbus (member), 1984–1987.

1.2 My First Encounter Studying the UN System

Very early in my academic career, I learned of the importance of having personal contact with people that you are studying, and not just learning about them by reading books and journal articles. When I was an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, the chair of my department, Richard C. Snyder, told me that the person scheduled to do a first-hand study at UN Headquarters in New York was ill and unable to do it. He asked me if I was willing to perform the task. Of course, I was very impressed that he asked this Assistant Professor to carry out this research. But I felt the need to be honest with him, so I told him that I was not qualified for this position because I had never even had a course in international organizations, or the United Nations. He responded: "Chad, this may be your most important qualification for this job." Obviously, I assumed that this was a joke.

For the next several years I spent every other week during the Fall academic term at UN Headquarters in New York, while the General Assembly was in session. I also spent some time in each summer at the UN. Before going I read a number of books and articles about the UN. During my initial trip, I first walked

into the Delegates Lounge while the General Assembly was in session. What a surprise this was! It seemed like I was in the lounge of an airport or railway station. There were many people standing while talking, and talking while sitting at small tables. There were also many people around the bar, and the snack bar. Immediately I knew why Dick Snyder said that academic courses about the UN would not have prepared me for this experience.

The Delegates Lounge, particularly the bar, became a place where I could rather easily talk with Delegates. A few became very informative personal friends. The most important was Johan Kaufmann, who was in the Netherlands UN Mission. Our relationship developed because he was both a diplomat and a scholar. He and his wife had an apartment a very short distance from the UN, and he invited me to meet with them there. I invited him to speak at Northwestern University. After he died in 1999, I wrote an article honoring him as a practitioner-scholar in *International Studies Perspectives* (Alger 2002). His publications include a book on *Effective Negotiation: Case Studies in Conference Diplomacy* (1989), and an article on "New Tasks of the United Nations System in the Changing Environment: Political and Security Aspects" (1995) (Photo 1.2).

Photo 1.2 Prof. Dr. Chadwick F. Alger, a former Secretary-General of IPRA, with his successor as IPRA Secretary-General, Prof. Dr. Katzuya Kodama, at the 24th IPRA Conference in Mie-City, Japan, 24–28 November 2012. *Source*: This photo was taken by and permission was granted by Hans Günter Brauch

1.3 Selection and Introduction to the Texts

Of course, on my way to General Assembly meetings I walked through Delegates meeting in corridors, was with delegates in elevators, in the library, and in the dining room. Thus I quickly learned that UN Headquarters is not just a meeting place for the General Assembly, Security Council and Economic and Social Council. It is also a community in which representatives of UN member States interact in many ways throughout the day. When comparing it with diplomacy in the capitals of States, I began telling my students: When a diplomat wants to meet the representative of another State in a capital they must plan it. When a diplomat wants not to meet the representative of another State at the UN they must plan it. I also told them that I thought that the bar in the Delegates Lounge should have been included in the UN Charter, because of its importance in diplomacy at UN Headquarters. How these experiences influenced the development of my UN research is further discussed in Chap. 3. (Photo 1.3).

My personal experience at the UN also significantly expanded my knowledge while I observed meetings of the seven UN General Assembly Committees. All UN member States are members of each Committee. Initially I only focused on listening to those who were speaking publicly, but gradually I became aware of

Photo 1.3 Prof. Dr. Chadwick F. Alger at the 24th IPRA Conference in Mie-City, Japan, 24–28 November 2012. *Source*: this photo was taken by Hans Günter Brauch who granted permission

the extensive movement on the floor, as Delegates privately spoke with each other. Eventually, 1n 1962, this motivated me to make a record of who was speaking, to whom they were speaking, and who took the initiative. This provided me with another perspective on diplomacy at UN headquarters. At times Delegates who were rarely involved in public speaking were very active in private speaking. At times these delegates were at the center of a network of Delegates who were in contact with them. Occasionally there were regional networks of Delegate speakers. At other times it was surprising to observe Delegates from States that I considered to be enemies having frequent contact. I once was also surprised to see that the Delegates from Israel, Sri Lanka and Finland were frequently speaking with each other. When I asked one of them why this was happening, he told me that they all graduated from the same university in England. The great significance of this aspect of my personal research is presented in Chap. 4. (Photo 1.4).

I again made a record of private speaking among delegates in the same General Assembly committee in 1963. By this time I had acquired information about negotiations that were taking place outside the public sessions, and learned that those involved in private conversations in public meetings were also those most involved in negotiations outside the public sessions. This is very important information for those studying the political process in an organization with 193 members. They

Photo 1.4 Prof. Dr. Chadwick F. Alger speaking at the 24th IPRA Conference in Mie-City, Japan, 24–28 November 2012. *Source*: this photo was taken by Hans Günter Brauch who granted permission

can quickly identify those members that are playing very important roles in the political process outside public meetings. In this paper I also provide analysis of variation in UN committee activity of representatives of member States that have different characteristics, and a different number of people in their General Assembly delegations. This provides useful insight on how the characteristics of UN member States may affect their impact on the UN political process. This analysis is presented in Chap. 5.

Soon after I began spending some of my research time in the Delegates Lounge, I became aware that not all of those present were representatives of UN member States. Of course, some were journalists. I became friends with a St. Louis Dispatch journalist, and others, who shared their knowledge with me. Also present were representatives of what the UN charter refers to as *Non-governmental Organizations* (NGOs). Article 71 of the charter states that "The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence." I soon learned that that NGO activity at UN Headquarters extends much beyond ECOSOC. As I began interacting with many people in the Delegates Lounge, NGO members became a very important source of information for me about the present UN agenda. I learned that their involvement with ECOSOC had extended to the General Assembly and even the Security Council. This led me to do extensive research on NGO involvement in the UN system.

I learned that NGOs had group meetings and about the diversity of NGO relations with UN decision-making bodies. This includes not onlyobservation, but also private sessions. NGO relations with secretariats includes regular scheduled meetings, joint research, NGO training and the internet. Of course, there are also restraints on this evolutionary expansion of NGO participation. These developments are reported in Chap. 6.

I continued my research on the expanding UN participation of NGOs at UN headquarters and beyond. I also did some research on NGO activities at the headquarters of the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. I also learned that, when UN World Conferences were held around the world, NGOs were holding conferences parallel to these conferences and making contributions to the UN conferences. Secretary General Kofi Annan responded to this expanding involvement of NGOs in the UN system, when he proposed designating the year 2000 General Assembly as a Millennium Assembly. He also proposed that NGOs should create a companion People's Millennium Assembly. For sevetal decades there had been proposals that a Second UN General Assembly, composed of elected representatives, should be created. This research is reported in Chap. 7.

As my research on UN participation of NGOs continued, I learned ever more about the great diversity of NGOs and of the diversity of their roles. I was surprised to learn about the transfer of resources to NGOs by UN agencies, and about contributions of NGOs to the UN. I also learned about the involvement of NGOs throughout the UN system, by 92 NGO Liason Offces in 18 cities. This is reported in Chap. 8.

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Photo 2.1 Prof. Dr. Chadwick F. Alger speaking at the 24th IPRA conference in Mie-City, Japan, 24–28 November 2012. *Source*: This photo was taken by Hans Günter Brauch

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Part II
The Political Process in the UN General Assembly

Prof. Dr. Chadwick F. Alger, Mershon Professor of Political Science and Public Policy Emeritus, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA. *Source*: Photo taken by Laura Alger Carter in late 2012 in Columbus, Ohio

Chapter 3
The Researcher in the United Nations: Evolution of a Research Strategy

My main purpose in the ensuing pages is to indicate how a research strategy evolved as I became progressively more involved in trying to understand the dynamics of international organizations. The account is presented in some detail because, in retrospect, it illustrates the large extent to which our research strategies are shaped by our subject matter even as they also shape our findings. Research strategies cannot be fully explicated in advance. They evolve as one gets deeper and deeper into the phenomena one is trying to comprehend. They also evolve because individuals, institutions, and societies under investigation have an impact on the researcher. This would seem to be especially so if one's research site puts him in personal contact with people from virtually all countries who are involved with a global agenda of issues.[1]

With the advantage of hindsight it is now apparent that my research was guided by five assumptions. All of these can be discerned in the following account, but it is perhaps useful to explicate them at the outset. First, the documentary residue provided by officials and journalists offer only a very partial view of the activities and impact of institutions such as the United Nations. While it is important that this residue be carefully studied, scholars may make serious errors in interpretation of these documents if they do not independently acquire information through firsthand efforts. In retrospect, most of my work at the United Nations, in New York and Geneva, can be viewed as experiments in the development of methods for supplementing official documents and journalistic accounts with 'scholarly documents' that are reasonably systematic.

Second, the political and social processes of international institutions such as the United Nations are not fundamentally different from those in other political and social institutions. They involve processes such as communication, socialization, decision making, voting, etc., that can be found in local, national, and international

[1] This chapter was published first as: "The Researcher in the United Nations: Evolution of a Research Strategy," in James N. Rosenau (ed.), In Search of Global Patterns. New York: The Free Press, 1976, 58–72. This text is republished with the permission of the author.

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organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental.[2] This is more widely accepted than when I began my work, but much teaching and research still makes artificial distinctions that inhibit social scientists from analytic movement across these ‘laboratories’.

Third, it follows from the above that international organizations can be studied with the same kind of research techniques, including field investigation, that are used in local and national organizations.

Fourth, no single research technique is adequate for handling a significant research question. Each is only able to provide one perspective, one approximation, of what is going on. I sensed this before my work at the UN but experiences in this ‘laboratory’ deepened my understanding of the value of multimethod research. Documents, voting records, interviews, informants, observed behavior, all can be seen as pieces of a mosaic. Each piece was placed there for a purpose by the actor and must be understood in terms of its special purpose. Each piece of the mosaic has effects that the actor may not understand and sometimes may not even perceive. But a number of pieces must be viewed in order to comprehend fully the context of a single piece.[3] This simple truth is most obviously, and repetitively, violated by many who do UN voting studies—those who exhibit a naive unconcern with the context of the voting data they manipulate.

Fifth, an ever deepening belief in the importance of observation, both systematic and more anthropological—as a research tool—and as a way of sensitizing users of data acquired through other techniques.

My ‘experiments’ in field research at the UN, ILO, and WHO have stimulated a number of my own graduate students and students at other institutions to engage in field research in both international organizations and national capitals. Thus, demonstration of what is possible seems to have had some impact on others. For the reasons described above I believe this work has made an important, although quantitatively very modest, contribution. Most important, I think, are the insights this work has contributed on the potential of international organizations as agents of change in the international system—through socialization, changes in communications patterns, and the generation of new agendas for national governments.

On the other hand, it seems that my work has had no effect whatsoever outside a small sector of scholars in North America and Western Europe who have replicated some aspects of my work, asked for my data, and cited my articles. It has not had any effect on the realm of activities we study.[4]

[2] This argument is made more fully in Alger (1963a).

[3] This discussion is extended in Alger (1970a).

[4] For a more general assessment of the minimum extent to which systematic research into international organizations has been undertaken, see Alger (1970b).

3.1 Initial Impressions of the UN

The seeds from which my research strategy grew were planted in September 1958, on the day I first walked into the delegate's lounge of United Nations headquarters and wandered through the corridors of the conference building during the General Assembly. Textbooks, scholarly articles, newspapers, and television reporting of Security Council and General Assembly meetings had not prepared me for this experience.

I had pictured the lounge as a quiet and somewhat austere room, resembling the lounges of English clubs as they are portrayed in films. But the scene I observed was more like a lounge in a busy airport. As Assembly committees broke for lunch 1 was enveloped in a sea of humanity. The scene that I observed simply did not jibe with my image of diplomatic behavior. People stood three deep, and sometimes more, at the L-shaped bar, trying to outwit each other in acquiring a drink. Since there is no table service those who were lucky enough to acquire a place to sit carried then- own drinks to their seats. Ambassadors were observed carrying trays of drinks to their guests. For those eating a quick lunch a line formed at the snack counter. The rack provided for briefcases was overflowing, and briefcases spilled out onto the floor. Some delegates patiently picked their way through the crowd, searching for each other; others asked one of the hostesses to page another delegate. But hostesses paging delegates over a public address system were barely audible over the noise created by a multitude of conversations.

What were these people doing? What might the consequence of their activity be for the goals of the organization described in the familiar words of the UN charter? It took many years to find partial answers to these questions. To a large degree they are still unanswered. Put in the simplest terms, these people were doing the same kinds of things that men everywhere do when they gather in conventions, assemblies, and congresses. They were looking for their luncheon companions. They were searching out members of their own delegation to find out the latest news from home. They were talking with members of committees other than their own to find out what was going on. They hoped to see again an attractive blonde whom they had met in the lounge yesterday. They were trying to get support from other delegates for a proposal. They were looking for old friends who had been in the Assembly in earlier years but whom they had not seen as yet. And some were so wearied by the endless debate of the morning that they felt unable to face the afternoon speaking schedules without first being fortified by a couple of martinis.

If one has keen interest in and fascination for behavior of men in assemblies, parliaments, legislatures, and conventions, the first encounter with the corridors and lounges of the United Nations is an exhilarating experience. The languages, costumes, faces, and the decor are reminders that these men represent virtually all the nations of the world. The fact that they are all gathered together, proclaiming their support of the charter and pledging their nations to the peaceful resolution of all international problems, gives renewed hope where pessimism had abounded. Observing representatives of unfriendly nations in friendly conversation

encourages this hope. But the UN simultaneously provides experiences that check false optimism. A few hours spent listening to Assembly debates or talking with a delegate involved in one of the conflicts on a UN agenda is all that is required. The continuous intrusions of the world outside, and their reminders that the UN is not separate from, but an integral part of, this world, tend to drive one alternately to despair and hope—despair that some of the big conflicts can ever be resolved, hope engendered by continued amazement that the UN exists and can, in some ways, thrive despite an inhospitable international environment.

Close observation of the United Nations makes it seem much more difficult to assess its affects on world affairs than when appraising it from afar. The task seems hard enough in the documents room of a university library. To which of many organs should attention be given? If, as an example, the General Assembly is chosen, which of the seven committees should be chosen? Which of the over one hundred agenda items should be covered? Which of over one hundred nations should receive attention? But the researcher who desires to supplement the documentary view of the United Nations must contend with these choices and more. Shall he focus on public debate, private negotiations, regional groups, delegations, secretariat, relations of secretariat and delegations with home governments, the press, or nongovernmental organizations?

But observation of the UN draws attention to an even wider range of events, moods, and impressions:

The sense of vacuum and aimlessness that one felt at the UN in the days immediately following the death of Dag Hammerskjold—a striking measure of the importance of his leadership.
The bewildered look on the face of an Arab diplomat when he finds that he has unwittingly been engaged in conversation with an Israeli diplomat in the delegate's lounge.
A touching scene in which a Saudi Arabian representative leads a UN colleague of some years, the Albanian ambassador, from the rostrum of the General Assembly after he has been gaveled down as out of order by the Assembly president from Ghana and is unwilling to remove himself.
Ambassador Zorin (U.S.S.R.) and Ambassador Lodge (U.S.), not long after scathing exchanges in the political committee of the Assembly, serenely enjoying Brahms's Fourth Symphony played by the Boston Symphony in the General Assembly hall on UN Day.
An African delegate in tribal robe washing his feet in the wash basin of the men's room in the delegate's lounge.
A black U.S. delegate standing up in the midst of the U.S. delegation in the assembly hall to applaud the passage of a historic anticolonial resolution which the United States delegation had opposed.
A normally verbose and buoyant French delegate disdainfully reading a statement as a clear signal to foreign colleagues—of many years that he is opposed to his government's policy. Adjournment of a debate of the Second Committee of the General Assembly on economic development at the request of the

U.S. delegation because (privately known but not publicly stated) the State Department and the Treasury Department have not yet reached agreement on the position the U.S. delegation should take in the debate.

An Irish diplomat personally delivering his afternoon speech to the United Press so it will be sure to make the morning papers at home. The contempt expressed, even by delegates from friendly countries, when the U.S. Permanent Representative becomes involved in the work of a committee for the first time by making a speech that once again goes over ground covered many times in the preceding weeks—obviously for the television audience of the six o'clock news.

The private thoughts of a weary secretariat official who has publicly, and patiently, again explained the details of UN budgetary procedures to delegates uninformed on the issues for which they are responsible.

The contents of a humorous poem written by a delegate, and privately circulated to selected colleagues from other delegations, ridiculing a colleague campaigning for a committee post.

The friendship of delegates to a UN committee from India, Israel, and New Zealand—all graduates of Cambridge University.

The camaraderie and jovial mood of some night committee meetings.

An Anglican clergyman presenting taped appeals to the UN from leaders in Southwest Africa—tapes smuggled across borders in a hollowed-out volume of Treasure Island.

A multitude of snapshots of UN life were viewed, primarily between 1958 and 1964, when some two months were spent at the UN each year—normally during the sessions of the General Assembly. In addition to attendance at virtually every kind of public meeting, assemblies, councils, committees, etc., an effort was made to experience as wide a selection of UN life as possible (in snack bars, restaurants, receptions, private homes, bars, corridors) and to establish contact with as wide a range of participants as possible—career diplomats, delegates from many walks of life (foreign ministers, parliamentarians, businessmen, clergymen, housewives), bartenders, secretariat, nongovernmental organization representatives, and journalists. A research strategy was developed incrementally from these experiences.

3.2 Factors Underlying Research Strategy

In retrospect, four factors underlying this evolving strategy may seem more apparent now than they did at the time. First, impressions acquired from initial exposure to the UN milieu raised questions that persisted and intensified through time. These impressions, providing a dramatic contrast with the image of the UN obtained from the literature, reshaped my initial research agenda. I had gone to the UN to discern how firsthand inquiry could supplement documentary records of the conflict management activities of the UN—specific conflicts such as the Middle East and Kashmir. But my attention was immediately consumed by an effort to

understand what was going on in the intensely active and heterogeneous UN community in which I found myself. Clearly the consequences of this activity for the global system of intergovernmental relations was not captured in the decisions of public bodies. What difference does it make when several thousand people from all over the globe gather together on a few acres of land to prepare for and debate a common agenda, struggle to win others to their point of view, strive to obtain some consensus, and interact intensely in a variety of settings? What happens to the people? What happens to the agenda of governments? What happens to norms for intergovernmental relations? (see footnote 3).[5]

Second, initial UN experiences reinforced previously held assumptions about the similarities of human behavior across a variety of political entities and arenas. It had seemed to me that distinctions made between diplomacy, national politics, and local politics were overdrawn, and that differences in customary labels (e.g., the use of the term public diplomacy in the UN and legislative behavior in the U.S. Congress) inhibited perception of the common attributes of political behavior in different arenas. Certainly there is much that is different, and this is important. But men from a variety of territorial units who come together to grapple with common problems must, because of shared biological, sociological, technological, and normative factors, engage in strikingly similar kinds of activities. To overlook these similarities limits understanding by inhibiting the application of knowledge across arenas of human activity. It also causes neglect of some of those things that are found everywhere that men gather to reach collective decisions—tilings that make it possible for an institution like the UN to exist—public exchange of views under agreed procedures, drafting of alternative proposals to be debated and amended, procedures for designating representatives of larger groups, appointment of secretariats to carry out decisions, sharing food and drink as both relief from and an extension of more formal debate and negotiation, and utilization of a variety of means widely used in human face-to-face contact to create trustful relationships.

Third, there had yet been virtually no firsthand, systematic study of the United Nations. In 1958 systematic fieldwork on national and local politics was rapidly growing, but it was generally believed that field research techniques could not be applied to the behavior of diplomats. This meant that there was virtually no past experience on which to build. Indeed, I was warned by scholars, and others with firsthand knowledge of the UN, that it would be impossible for a researcher to do systematic interviewing, and impossible for him to really find out what was going on because of the great sensitivity of most of the issues with which delegates were occupied. This meant that my research not only sought to answer substantive questions but at the same time represented experiments in discerning relevant and feasible methods for carrying out research in international organizations and demonstrating their utility.

Fourth, I frankly admit that I enjoyed firsthand exploration of the UN community, and investigated the less obvious paths, as well as the thoroughfares, because

[5] These initial impressions and questions were presented in Alger (1961a).

of a compulsive inquisitiveness about all aspects of this community, and because of continual doubts that those things on which journalists and scholars had traditionally focused their attention were necessarily most important. This enjoyment of face-to-face contact with members of the UN community was partly the result of a personal need to see the individuals and institutions whose behavior I am studying. This gives me greater confidence that I really understand what is going on. Others acquire the same feeling from printed documents and statistics, such as voting data. Of course, we all justify our choice of methods on other grounds, and these grounds are often scientifically valid, but choice of research methods also seems to correlate with the personal characteristics and needs of researchers. My enjoyment of firsthand exploration of the UN community was also partly a result of the stimulation I received from interacting with people from all parts of the globe who were concerned with virtually all of the problems confronting mankind as a whole. This satisfied my own need to think about and to develop a personal posture toward mankind as a whole, both in an analytic and a normative sense.

3.3 Interviews of Assembly Delegates and Members of Permanent Missions

The research strategy that evolved was shaped significantly by my broadening awareness of the characteristics and processes of the UN community, through personal experiences in this community and calculations about what kind of research method might work in investigating questions generated by this experience. The first question that was systematically investigated was the impact of experience in the UN on the participants. Data for this project were collected by interviewing new General Assembly delegates before and after their first experience in the Assembly in September and December 1969. There is no doubt that my own experiences in the General Assembly of 1968 partly influenced the choice of this topic. It seemed to me that new delegates would be as surprised as I was at the contrast between expectations and the actual UN. Change in delegate attitudes toward the UN, toward some UN issues, and toward specific countries were measured by asking questions about those issues before and after delegates had served in the Assembly. Experience with this project underlined the value of checking out impressions gained through conversations with informants (selected on the basis of chance encounters, introductions from other informants, etc.) with information gathered through more systematic methods. Conversations with many UN participants in 1958 had convinced me that UN delegates were indeed having significant learning experiences at the UN. But my informant sample did not alert me to the fact that many UN delegates just don't have explicit attitudes about many aspects of the UN, many UN issues, or many nations in the UN. Their knowledge and experience is not adequate enough for these attitudes to be developed.[6]

[6] This study was published as Alger (1963b).

The second systematic inquiry investigated the difference between diplomatic activity at the United Nations and that in national capitals. In early 1960 one person from each permanent mission was randomly selected and asked questions about diplomatic practice at the United Nations. Most of the questions asked those responding to make comparisons between their experiences in New York and those in national capitals. Although the questions asked developed out of my exploratory work at the UN (Alger 1965), this study was designed and executed by Best (1960). While this study tended to confirm differences between UN and national capital diplomacy that were suggested by informants, the value of systematic inquiry was once again underlined. For example, it had been hypothesized that delegates from Eastern European countries would find the UN less different than those from other countries because they seemed to be less integrated into the full range of UN activity at the time of the research. But Latin Americans were the only regional group that provided responses significantly different from the world as a whole.

Along with these efforts to deepen understanding of the effect of the UN on individuals and on diplomatic procedures and norms, a continual effort was being made in discussions with numerous UN participants to become acquainted with a broad range of UN issues. Initially, an effort was made to sit in on all of the seven main committees of the Assembly as well as the plenary. Sampling all committees was deemed important because press and scholars in the U.S. have given primary attention to the two political committees. This provided insight into diverse viewpoints on priorities for the UN and also drew attention to some of the UN subcultures, composed of experts in international law, human rights, disarmament, economic and social development, UN budgetary procedures, etc. This breadth of experience gradually made it possible to have fruitful exchange with a wide variety of UN participants. Although my primary interest in the early phases of my UN research were in socialization and communication, most participants quite naturally wished to discuss agenda issues. Only through discussing issues could information be obtained on the social processes of the UN. Few informants were both interested in discussing and able to discuss abstract generalizations about those processes.

3.4 Research on the Political Process

An effort was also being made to understand the political process in UN public bodies, particularly the General Assembly. One quickly becomes aware that much so-called public diplomacy is not public. I was able to experience scattered pieces of more private activity in the company of delegates in the lounge and corridors, and at receptions and parties. But I had to depend on informant accounts of group meetings and a variety of kinds of negotiating sessions at the UN, at national missions and elsewhere. Unfortunately, a research strategy that facilitated the development of a broad overview knowledge of UN issues seemed to be less and less useful in obtaining a deep knowledge of the political process. It became increasingly apparent that this would require me to focus on a single General Assembly

committee for a period of time. This would permit me to concentrate on issues being debated by this committee and to become as informed about these issues, and their related documentation, as the delegates. It would also enable me to cultivate informants from one committee so I could develop a deeper understanding of those aspects of the political process carried on outside the public meetings. While I had gathered snippets of information on these behind- the-scene activities, I felt like I was floating on the surface, dependent on a few informants for reporting on a very complicated process in which different participants had very different perspectives. Also, I felt the need personally to follow through some issues from beginning to end, to record events and participant perspectives as the political process developed. On a number of occasions I had found participant accounts of what had happened unreliable. For example, there is a tendency for participants to rationalize outcomes so that they believe, or at least assert, that they are the expected product of a deliberate strategy. But these same participants, if interviewed several times as the political process unfolds, may give quite contradictory interpretations at different stages.

All of these reasons contributed to a decision to follow the political process of one General Assembly committee intensively for an entire session (approximately three months). (A research fellowship gave me the opportunity to spend a year in New York.) The Fifth Committee of the General Assembly was chosen (Administrative and Budgetary Committee). This committee was considering exceedingly important, and highly controversial, issues related to the financing of the Middle East and Congo peacekeeping operations, and was the only committee to meet at a special session of the General Assembly that convened in May and June 1963. Because members of the committee in permanent missions were active between the two sessions, although not in public meetings, it was possible for me to follow committee activities intensively for nine months. In retrospect, the fall session of the committee provided an opportunity for laying the groundwork (through learning the issues, contacting informants, and experimentation with research techniques) for an intensive study of the special session of the same committee. But this was a completely unanticipated opportunity that did not emerge until the General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the special session in December. This unexpected opportunity increased the value of the research product manyfold.

3.4.1 Development of an Observation Technique

It was obvious that an in-depth study of the UN political process would require the use of a variety of information and data collection techniques. The records of public meetings and documentation were important for understanding the public sessions. Informants would be needed for obtaining information on activities outside the public arena, and some systematic interviewing would be needed as a check on informants. All of these techniques had already been used. For some time it had seemed to me that some kind of systematic observation technique would be useful in UN

research. The opportunity that the researcher has for observation of much UN activity should make systematic observation particularly relevant. While relatively ad hoc observation of a variety of kinds of UN behaviors had contributed much to my understanding of the UN, I found it difficult to develop a systematic technique useful in studying important research questions, although my notebooks already contained much information acquired through observation (in addition to information obtained from conversations). I found that recording observations not only made me much more attentive to what was going on around me, but these observations often provided a basis for asking questions of informants. The delegate's lounge provides a remarkable opportunity for getting snapshots of the interaction patterns of the UN community, but the number of participants is so large that one can only recognize a few of them, and the number present at one time is often so great that it is impossible to see what is going on except for the persons in your immediate vicinity. My favorite daydream was the possibility of blowing a whistle at randomly selected times and asking all present to file out of the lounge past me, and to tell me why they were there and what they were doing when the whistle blew.

The observational method eventually used in my study of the political process in the Fifth Committee in 1962 and 1963 emerged between midnight and two in the morning in September 1960, at a session of the Security Council on the Congo peacekeeping operation. As I was making notes on the debate, I found myself making notes also on the delegate interaction that was taking place simultaneously with the debate. These notes simply recorded who talked to whom, and who took the initiative. They were particularly interesting as they revealed the considerable interaction that took place during the consecutive translation of speeches. (Most delegates do not listen to these translations because simultaneous translation is also provided.) This tended to confirm the often expressed belief that consecutive translation provides time for private consultation that would not otherwise be available. In order to gain insight on the potential for observation techniques in UN meetings, I made copies of a report on these observations available to some of the participants, with a request for comments (Alger 1961b). In general, delegates tended to think that this kind of simple observation would not be very useful. For example, a highly effective, and widely respected, U.S. delegate wrote to me:

How many of the conversations concerned pretty girls in the gallery and last week's parties I don't know. At any rate you can't assume that all conversations, even in a crucial period such as that one, were related to the business at hand; a considerable amount of other United Nations business gets done at such times, as does a considerable amount of personal conversation.

Academic colleagues who were knowledgeable of the UN, and of international relations in general, were also skeptical about the usefulness of simple observation, particularly because it was impossible to learn the content of those private conversations. Nevertheless, I decided to use simple observation in my study of the Fifth Committee. The most important reason was a rather compulsive curiosity to learn more about the significance of these private conversations. It seemed to me that knowledge of patterns would give additional leads to processes behind the public debate. This would require systematic data collection and analysis, because casual

observation, without systematic records and analysis, did not reveal the patterns. Persistence was also dictated by my determination to develop some way to capitalize on the observational opportunities that the UN provides as a part of a multiple method strategy. While my interaction notes in the Security Council were made in early morning hours without deliberate plan, this activity was preceded by much thought about how systematic observation might be applied and intense inquisitiveness about the importance of those aspects of public debate that could be seen but not heard.

It took exceptional curiosity about the interactions observed for me to have the patience required to record interactions in 70 meetings of the Fifth Committee in the fall of 1962. Despite this high motivation, I thought of quitting many times. The first 18 meetings were utilized for developing the ability to recognize over 100 participants, and the last 52 meetings for recording 2,662 interaction situations (most with two participants, but some with more). Very early in this effort it became quite clear that interactions were related to highly significant parliamentary activity, and not just random movements of bored delegates. Observed patterns provided the basis for asking questions of informants that would not have occurred otherwise. Also, it gradually became evident that, regardless of what the interactors were talking about, they tended to be a select group, i.e., those most intimately involved in the behind-the-scenes parliamentary activity, working toward some kind of consensus or decision following the public debate. For the most part, those who were highly active in interaction seemed to be highly informed on what was going on behind the scenes. High interactors seemed to be much more useful in this regard than those most active in public debate.

The results of a 'fishing expedition', in which I searched for systematic relationships between interaction patterns and the reputation of delegates for being capable and informed, non- committee roles of delegates, regional groups, investment of money and men in the UN by nations, national characteristics, and participation in public speaking (Alger 1968), were sufficiently interesting to warrant replication of interaction data collecting in the special session the following May and June.[7] The analysis of the special session revealed the value of interaction analysis in studying the UN political process. Of particular importance in this case is the fact that the interaction network was virtually a mirror image of the negotiation system behind the scenes—more useful as a guide to this network than participation in public debate. Thus, interaction observation came to be a very useful element in the array of techniques used in the study of the UN political process (Alger 1971a).

3.4.2 Relations with Informants

My daily routine for intense study of the political process in the Fifth Committee was as follows:

[7] The two sessions are compared in Alger (1969).

1. Picking up relevant UN documents and reading them before the committee's activities began.
2. Arriving at committee sessions before starting time (10:30 a.m.) in order to talk with delegates who passed, my seat, in the front row of the press gallery.
3. Taking notes on interactions and debate throughout meetings (in the special session a research assistant made a record of interactions), taking advantage of any opportunity to talk to delegates that passed.
4. Joining the stream of delegates moving to the lounge and the bar after morning and afternoon meetings.
5. Sitting in the lounge when the committee was not in session, taking any opportunity to observe members of the Fifth Committee or to talk to them about committee activity behind the scenes.
6. Occasionally lunching with participants. Although it would have been possible to have lunches with delegates every day, either at my initiative or theirs, UN lunches often take as much as two hours. Since this required spending too much time with one person, I tended to float around the lounge during the lunch hour and have a sandwich or impromptu lunch with someone about 2:00 p.m. one hour before the committee normally resumed meeting.
7. Utilizing all available free time to record information obtained from conversations.
8. Arriving home around 7:30 or 8:00 p.m. and, after dinner, spending an hour or two typing up notes on the day's conversations with delegates. Reading these notes, looking at interaction patterns, and reading documents picked up during the day, provided an agenda of questions for discussions with delegates the following day.

After both the fall session and the special session, informants were interviewed for additional information on issues, the political process, and the activities of individual participants. In addition, informants, including a member of the secretariat, read a descriptive account of the negotiations in the special session and gave corrections and reactions on this draft to me.

In contacts with delegates I gave priority to informants, whom I had selected because of their knowledge of, and involvement in, behind-the- scenes activity. Most of these delegates are exceedingly busy. Why would they take time out of their busy day to tell a researcher what was going on? I never asked this question, although I have some hunches. It seems that the most fruitful relationships develop between researcher and participant when both have something to gain from the relationship. The researcher is likely to be most successful in achieving his goals if he is sensitive to what he is giving the participant in exchange, although it may often be the case that the participant has not even made the exact nature of the exchange explicit to himself. What can the researcher give the participant?-enjoyment from talking to someone intensely interested in his activity who has a different perspective than other participants, an opportunity to try out new ideas on someone who is not a participant, an opportunity to acquire knowledge about academic work on the UN, and an identification of the participant with academic life in the past and/or an aspiration for becoming so associated in the future. Attention

from an academic researcher implies that the participant is engaged in something considered worthwhile by outsiders. And finally, the participant may desire to convey to others his knowledge of what the UN is really like or to ensure that the views of his nation or region of the world are adequately reported.

As a regular attendant at the Fifth Committee, spending virtually full time at this activity, I was surprised to find that I was much more informed on the activities of the committee and some of the issues being debated than many of the delegates, particularly some from smaller delegations that were simultaneously following other committees and perhaps had responsibilities for other matters at their mission. This knowledge was something I could exchange with delegates. Many times, as committee members passed me on entering the room I would be asked simple factual questions. “When are we expected to vote on this issue?” “Has a resolution been introduced yet?” “Are we going to have a meeting tonight?”

Maintaining relations simultaneously with some 25 informants from one committee, who are involved in intense interactions, and who all observe each other in conversations with the researcher, make the researcher self-conscious about how his activities are being perceived by participants. It is important for him consciously to endeavor to act so as to engender no suspicion that he is working for the delegation of his own country. Perhaps this is most difficult for the researcher from a superpower. As contacts develop it is important not to create the impression that you are working for one bloc or regional group. But, as you are observed in contact with many nations from many regional groups, will this not inhibit anybody from telling you anything? No, and one reason that it does not is that there is much that the researcher needs to know that is already known by many delegates from many nations and groups. For example, information on negotiations between groups is known by many but can only be obtained by the researcher from the participants themselves.

It is clearly more difficult to obtain information about negotiations and debates within groups and within delegations, as well as opinions and attitudes about the performance and abilities of other delegates. But it is possible over a period of time for the researcher to develop a sufficiently close relationship with individual delegates so that they will provide information and opinions, on these kinds of issues. One never fully understands why trust develops between two delegates, or between a delegate and a researcher, but I had a strategy that I hoped was helpful. I expressed genuine interest in the opinions, attitudes, and perspectives of all, and tried to keep my own views to myself as much as possible. Although I learned many things that I knew were known only to a few (e.g., the name of the author of a specific resolution that was actually sponsored by others), I kept these things to myself. I resisted a frequent temptation to parade my knowledge before a delegate in order to impress him. This was done primarily to give informants the impression that I could keep confidences, since I was sometimes told things with the request that I keep them to myself. It seemed that one way to demonstrate to an informant that I could keep a confidence was not to tell him things I learned on the same basis from other people. This restraint on passing on information was also imposed by my wish to intrude on the process I was trying to study as little as possible. Actually this was a more stringent restraint than keeping confidences requested by delegates.

3.5 Need for a Comparative Perspective

While United Nations headquarters involves representatives of virtually all nation-states in a broad range of issues, it is only one of many headquarters of international governmental organizations, and only one of many headquarters of organizations in the UN system. As time passed, I became increasingly uneasy that the conclusions of my work were based on activity at only one of these headquarters. Therefore, after eight years of research focused on the United Nations in New York, I spent fourteen months in Geneva, in 1966–1967. Geneva is a secondary United Nations headquarters, where UN activities such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees are located. It is also the headquarters of several specialized agencies in the UN system: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, International Labor Organization, World Health Organization, and World Meteorological Organization. The value of a comparative perspective was overwhelmingly confirmed by my work in Geneva, and I learned many things from this comparative effort that were unanticipated.

While a basic element of my strategy in Geneva was to learn as much as possible about the substantive issues and differing organizational forms of the Geneva institutions, I planned to do this while replicating certain aspects of my research on the political process in New York. I was interested in finding out if patterns of cooperation and conflict varied across different organizations and issues. Could it be said that participation in the United Nations was creating patterns of affiliation and cooperation that cut across political alliances, thereby tending to restrain violence in the international system?

An important unanticipated consequence of this effort was insight on the degree to which methods are influenced by the cases which they examine. For example, I attempted to replicate observation of General Assembly committees in New York by observing assemblies of the Geneva agencies at the Palais de Naciones. The layout of the committee rooms in the Palais made this impossible. In New York observers sit on a higher level than the delegates, with an excellent view of all activity in the room. If one wished to construct a laboratory for observing UN activity, he would not do it much differently. But in Geneva the observer sits close to the committee, on the same level, and cannot get an adequate overview for systematic observation. Thus, comparable data just could not be obtained.[8]

It was possible to observe the smaller governing councils of the Geneva agencies who assemble in meeting rooms in then own headquarters. Yet even here there were difficulties. For example, the council of the World Health Organization adjourns during each session for a coffee break, deliberately intended to provide an opportunity for informal discussion. This diminishes the tendency of delegates

[8] Nevertheless, the Geneva experience stimulated a systematic comparative study of documentary records of debate (Alger 1971b, 1973).

to move about during the meeting, and interaction is clustered during the coffee break, when it is impossible for an observer to obtain a systematic record.

If overlapping patterns of alignment are to be measured, data on voting patterns are very useful. This, of course, requires roll-call votes. But the Geneva agencies very rarely have roll-call votes. When they do, it is often in the context of the intrusion of an item on the New York agenda into a Geneva agency-such as the Middle East conflict, disarmament, Vietnam, etc. Thus, the extensive roll-call vote analysis applied to General Assembly votes is useless. Alternative methods must be sought to study alignment patterns.

Following an ongoing political process through contacts with informants was also exceedingly more difficult because the ‘central switchboard’ was missing in the Palais—i.e., the delegate’s lounge. There- was a lounge in the Palais, but it was small and did not serve the same function, partly because it was not as central to the delegates’ traffic pattern as the New York lounge, and also because newspapers, telephones, and paging services were not provided. Food and bar service was on a much smaller scale. Because of the arrangement of central corridors and lounges in New York, you can hardly fail to see any delegate present—unless he has a careful plan for avoidance. In Geneva you must make much greater effort. This requires a much more explicit strategy for developing and maintaining contact with informants.

While the different Geneva milieu disrupted my advance comparative research strategy, nevertheless, I obtained important comparative insights. My Geneva experience demonstrated the impact of architecture and the availability of personal services (such as telephones and refreshments) on political processes. The very small number of roll- call votes, and their slight relevance to actual issues being handled in Geneva not only demonstrated the limited usefulness of highly developed methods for analyzing roll-call votes but also suggested a reexamination of General Assembly roll-call vote analysis. While more numerous, they are a rather skewed sample of UN issues (Alger 1973, p. 223).

The Geneva experience also intensified my anxiety about the nation-state unit of analysis that did and does dominate international relations research. Earlier I was concerned that researchers establishing data banks on nation-states erred by blithely collecting and manipulating data on units as different as Malta and the United States. The Geneva experience challenged the nation-state unit of analysis in yet another sense. For example, in Geneva people from several national government departments are observed sitting behind the sign ‘United States’. These representatives reflect a diversity of professions, governmental and private interests, and values—in regard to human rights, medicine, labor, meteorology, etc. Members of Congress and a variety of private citizens also participate. It is a tremendous intellectual leap to treat all of these participants, with their diversity of regional and functional clientele—within the United States and outside—as a single actor. Yet all of this activity is coded in data banks as ‘United States’, without any explicit justification. This is not to say that this coding custom might not be useful in answering certain research questions. But it is not appropriate for all research questions, and it obscures the ability to perceive important dimensions of international relations.

3.6 Socialization of the Researcher

Perhaps the most important benefit from the Geneva experience was disengagement from intense involvement in the network of international relations researchers in the United States, thus giving me an opportunity to evaluate this experience and relate it to alternative networks in Europe. This enabled me to sense more clearly than ever before the degree to which the substantive interests and methods of U.S. scholars are shaped by the society in which we live, and the slight degree of awareness we have of the impact of the interests and norms of specific sectors of United States society on our work.

Observation of the economic and social activities of the United Nations in Geneva was helpful in this regard. At the time I went to Geneva, United States scholars were giving but slight attention to these activities. While some economic and social programs are headquartered in New York and extensively debated in the General Assembly and other bodies, the United States press, public, and scholars give them slight attention. In Geneva they are at the center of the stage. Here the emerging confrontation between the rich and the poor nations seemed much more pronounced. The degree to which the United States (along with other big powers) was blocking effective response of the UN system to these issues was more clearly perceived.

In this context, which now included the headquarters of UNCTAD, the degree to which the United States scholars were obsessed with conflict resolution was more readily perceived. Even when economic and social issues were considered, it was in terms of their likely contribution to conflict reduction. Yet the different agenda and milieu of Geneva caused me to wonder why conflict was the dependent variable of so many United States international relations scholars. Why was social and economic justice not considered as an end in itself? A quite plausible answer is that American society, particularly the institutions that support most research, give priority to international order. It is not surprising that the research of United States scholars, as with scholars in other countries, is affected by their social context. Yet, the lack of awareness that most United States international relations scholars had (and still have) of the influence of certain sectors and institutions of their society on their research paradigms is surprising in the light of our self-consciousness about research methods.

Viewing United States scholarship from outside the country also helped to stimulate my slowly emerging perception of international relations within social science, and the degree to which these relationships have an impact on the achievements and potential value of our work. It had never occurred to me before that international systems of social scientists tend to 'big powers' in the nation-state system. Social scientists in these countries have the most resources, dominate international associations, export their methods and research paradigms, attract a brain drain of talent, and have a great influence in determining which problems are studied through the control of a high percentage of research grants. This dominance by scholars from a few countries creates the same suspicions of the

powerful that are found within the nation-state system, and is a deterrent to the development of knowledge about international relations that will be perceived as useful outside the countries that produce it. Yet, the sector of United States social science with which I identify aspires to produce knowledge that is universally valid and useful.

In retrospect, it is ironic that one of the first concerns in my research on the United Nations was the socialization of participants in the United Nations. I was not as aware as I might have been of the impact of the research 'laboratory'' on the researcher. Certainly I understood that my evolving research strategy was a product of the learning that was taking place as I attempted to apply new methods in social contexts that I had not experienced before. But I was not aware of the degree to which research involvements were having an impact on my basic orientation toward methods, toward the United States research community, and toward the basic issues of international relations.

It is also ironic that I early saw the value of observation as a research method in the United Nations 'laboratory'. As my research evolved I even became quite aware of my own involvement in the political process and attempted to minimize my impact while maximizing data collection opportunity. I even observed myself by including my own interactions with committee members in my observational data. Yet, only in retrospect do I realize the full impact on me of the global perspectives of the participants and the global array of issues I encountered in New York and Geneva.

3.7 Our Collective Future

The foregoing research experiences, along with reflection on the state of our field, leads me to several overall conclusions. These are stated in the form of problems that we collectively face as we look to the future in the light of our collective efforts over the past decade. Four problems strike me as especially important:

First, and fundamental, has been our inability to break away from the nation-state as a unit of analysis. We are in the same position as a man standing in a field of daisies who is wearing pink—colored glasses—while looking for pink daisies. Of course, he sees them everywhere. By analogy, Barbados is a nation-state and the U.S.S.R. is a nation-state and our nation-state glasses enable us to file away their attributes in data banks as though they were the same thing. On the other hand, we have depended on schools of business administration to collect data on multinational corporations, and data on the international activities of banks are not to be found in our data banks at all (although the assets of First National and Bank America exceed the GNP of all but 17 nation-states). This is because our nation-state glasses filter them out. Likewise, the activities in cities, the nodes of most international transactions, escape our attention. It is not only that our nation-state glasses prevent us from seeing the world as it really is, our tenacious preference for the nation-state unit of analysis also incapacitates our students and the public

from thinking about alternative futures. How can they? We even destroy their capacity for seeing the present.[9]

Our nation-state 'hangup' becomes more pronounced the more we depend on data for our research because this is the way virtually all data is aggregated—for nation-state units. This is partly our fault, but largely the result of the customs of national government statisticians. It is fair to say that nation-states, at least our perceptions of them, are largely the creations of statisticians. How can we develop data banks that are not self-fulfilling prophecies?

A second problem has been created by our lack of sensitivity to the impact of the geographic scope of our scholarly organizations, and the society in which we live, on our research. We have habitually, and without question, organized ourselves in the image of the things we study—into national organizations. We have not been mindful of the way in which the affluence of our nation, as well as its size, has affected our research agenda. Nor have we been conscious of the way in which our social class has affected our agenda. Yet we have pretensions that we are creating a universal science. Why have we been so concerned with 'power'' while our Latin American colleagues have been so concerned with 'dependency?'' Why are we so concerned with the management of conflict and the prevention of violence while our African colleagues are more interested in social justice? Why do we tend to see social justice as a means for preventing violence rather than as a condition to be pursued for its own sake? When we consider the special environment in which we work (affluent citizens in a big power) in comparison to most of our colleagues around the world, how can we think it possible for us alone to generate knowledge about international relations that has universal value? Because of the interdependency of major problems, and our penchant for focusing on ones that are important to us, is it not necessary for a research community to reflect the diverse priorities of the global system it is attempting to understand? For those of us who wish our findings to be applied, must we not have a community reflecting diverse interests for our work to be considered legitimate by practitioners representing different interests? Certainly the knowledge we generate will have little impact on the world if our findings are applied in only one country. Yet there is little likelihood that the findings of affluent white citizens from North America will be considered valid by the vast majority of the world who do not share these characteristics.

If we accept the necessity of creating a community of scholars that incorporates representatives whose interests in the international system are more diverse, how could we do it? How would it be possible for us to establish such a community in the face of the tremendous advantage in resources and facilities available for our interests in contrast with those available to our colleagues in Africa, Asia, and Latin America? (Have you seen any research lately on dominance and dependency

[9] The concerns presented here have led to an effort to develop data on the international relations of cities, using Columbus, Ohio, as a 'laboratory'. Procedures developed in this project are now being replicated in several other cities. See Alger (1974, 1975).

in international social science?) Can patterns of dominance and dependency in our own transnational 'community' be changed without first changing the international system which our own 'community' reflects?[10]

Third, it is most unfortunate that our methodological training almost completely ignores observation. While training in observation would feature instruction in the development of quantitative indicators of social interaction, this is not really the basic issue. Training in observation would begin with the development of the researcher's sensitivity to his social context—his identities and social contacts, constraints on research priorities imposed by sources of financial support and the theoretical and value biases of these constraints. This training would also include the generation of an awareness of international knowledge systems, discussed in the last paragraph, in which all social scientists are involved. Observation training would train the young researcher to exercise restraint in drawing conclusions from data analysis until some form of observation (whether personal or through reading) had provided understanding of the context of the data. Sensitivity to context could be obtained by providing observational training in local institutions. But wherever possible any student planning major research on specific institutions should not consider his research complete without a period of personal observation.

Fourth we have been negligent in sharing the fruits of our labors with our local communities, while relatively overly concerned with sharing our research with national governments. (Is this partially a result of our tendency to look at international relations as primarily relations between national governments?) Are we concerned about the increasing dominance of the executive in our national government, particularly as it results from the increasing importance of foreign affairs? Are we concerned about the minimal interest and widespread ignorance of the public in international affairs. Are we concerned about the decline in international relations teaching at all levels? Has our own behavior helped to create these problems? Do we relate too much to Washington and distant communities of scholars and not enough to our own communities? Do we have a responsibility to help generate strong and highly informed international interest groups in our own communities? (see footnote 9).[11] If we agree that we have too narrowly defined the potential users of our research, how can we build the necessary global community of scholars and relate to our own communities at the same time without completely neglecting our responsibilities toward national governments? What, moreover, are those responsibilities?

The four main questions above, and those that flow from them, are difficult, but they underline the fact that we need to make more explicit the interdependencies between the character of our research community and our research findings. We also must make more explicit our choices of the groups and communities we serve. While we have been remarkably systematic and explicit in our study of

[10] For further discussion see Alger and Lyons (1974).

[11] See Alger (1974, 1975) for one method by which international relations scholars can help to extend local awareness, comprehension, and involvement in international issues.

people out there, we have been distressingly opportunistic and ad hoc in decisions about what we study and what we do with our research products, and woefully unconcerned about why we make the kind of decisions we do.

In conclusion, the title of this chapter could have been identical to one of my articles: “Participation in the United Nations as a Learning Experience.” In terms of what those who enter its ‘classrooms’ learn about the whole world, I believe the United Nations is the greatest university in the world—whether the participant be diplomat, doctor, lawyer, journalist, or scholar. Reflection on my own research experience there suggests that we should take exceptional care in choosing the ‘laboratories’’ in which we work and learn. Some ‘laboratories’ offer experiences that liberate, so we can help students, colleagues, and a diversity of communities to face evolving future worlds more effectively. Other ‘laboratories’ may imprison creative potential and inhibit capacity to develop analytic postures that can encompass future worlds. What we study, where we do it, and whom we serve largely determines what we become.

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Chapter 4
Interaction in a Committee of the United Nations General Assembly

4.1 Introduction[1]

Scholars have devoted much attention to the significance of public sessions in international organizations for both the practice of diplomacy and the condition of relations between nations. They have not, however, taken much account of the dramatic way in which 'public diplomacy' provides them with greater access to the phenomena they are studying than is the case with more traditional diplomacy. The access consists of opportunities both for observation and for direct contact with participants. This paper will be concerned primarily with observation. As an exploration in the systematic collection of observational data on a main committee of the U.N. General Assembly, it is part of a larger effort to study the political process in the United Nations.

The research data described here were collected in 1962. At that time the seven main committees of the General Assembly—all committees of the whole—each had a hundred and ten nations as members. The committees are the setting in which the major work of the General Assembly is achieved, and their decisions are, for the most part, later accepted by plenary sessions of the Assembly. The members of the committees are seated at spots designated by their nation's name

[1] Data for this paper were collected while the author was Visiting Professor of United Nations Affairs at New York University. Generous research support for this professorship was provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. Analysis of the data was made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to the International Relations Program of Northwestern University. Valuable research assistance was contributed by Dr. Robert Weiner of New York University and Mrs. Jean Jacobsohn, Mrs. Lucille Mayer, and Mr. Allen Wilcox of Northwestern. I am grateful to Professors Harold Guetzkow, Kenneth Janda, and Raymond Tanter of Northwestern University for helpful criticism. This text was first published as: "Interaction in a Committee of the United Nations General Assembly." In Singer, J.D. (ed.), *Quantitative International Politics: Insights and Evidence* (I*nternational Yearbook of Political Behavior Research*, Vol. VI. Heniz Eulau, General Editor). New York: The Free Press, 1968, 51–84. Shortened version printed in Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. X, No. 4 (November, 1966), 411–447. The permission was granted by the author.

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on two large horseshoe desks, one located inside the other. National delegations are seated in alphabetical order, with each nation moving five places to the right at the first session of each week. One person from each delegation sits at a desk, each of which is equipped with a microphone, with other members of his delegation seated directly behind him.

The observer of the main committees of the Assembly, and other public United Nations bodies as well, soon becomes aware that two kinds of activity are simultaneously taking place before his eyes. There is a continuous flow of public debate heard by all in the room, and there are frequent private conversations between two or more delegates that are only heard by those involved. The public debate consists of prepared general statements on each agenda item followed by statements introducing resolutions and amendments and discussion of these, sometimes concluding with voting and explanation of votes. As the debate on an item proceeds, it tends to pass through a cycle in which the earlier portion often consists of monotonous statements and restatements of national positions, often addressed to audiences outside the committee room. Only the final stage includes interchange that can be called debate. It is clear to the observer that much debate and discussion has gone into the drafting of resolutions and development of support for them that is not voiced in the public debate.

Only occasionally do all the members of a committee focus their attention on the public speaker. As in other parliamentary bodies, members daydream, read, nap, and engage in chitchat with their neighbors. They also move about the chamber talking to other colleagues. Although public debate is the ostensible purpose for a committee meeting—indeed, it cannot meet if delegates are not willing to speak—members come not only to hear the speeches but also to carry on private negotiation and to circulate among other members in order to keep in touch with what is going on. Chairmen recognize the importance of private conversation when they try to keep the debate going in a committee at times when delegates are reluctant to inscribe their names on the speaker's list. Usually the chairmen do not believe that yet another public speech will help the committee reach consensus, but they do believe that, while the committee is in session, private lines of communication are established and members are encouraged to work on committee problems.

Therefore, as in all parliamentary bodies, the fate of items on agendas of General Assembly committees is affected not only by public debate, but also by private debate, negotiation, and discussion in and out of the committee chamber. Outcomes are affected by the characteristics of the parliamentary society that develops around the concerns of a committee, such as the nature of the international communication system, development of leadership roles, availability of expertise, and length of time participants have served together. Outcomes, in terms of effects on relations among member nations, are not always revealed by votes and may not be reflected in public debate at all. It is not uncommon for a delegate to begin a speech like this: "While my delegation is not completely happy with the resolution, we have agreed to support it, because it appears to be the most feasible arrangement under existing conditions. Therefore, in the spirit of cooperation…."

Such statements often come after hours of negotiation in small groups, efforts to obtain support of informally circulated alternative draft resolutions, regional group meetings, and frantic pleas to foreign offices for changes in instructions.

But the political scientist finds his efforts to study this process time-consuming and expensive, even after establishment of the personal contacts necessary for gathering data. One problem is that certain aspects of the political process may have to be studied as they occur, because participants tend to forget and over rationalize past behavior in response to interviews administered sometime after events occur. But it is exceedingly difficult for a researcher to study an issue as it is processed by a committee. Which of the over one hundred members should he contact? Should he extend his contacts to include additional members as the process moves forward? Since the more he knows the more he can find out, how can he increase knowledge before talking to contacts? Research reported here explores how intensive observation can help answer such questions.

The first task is to describe briefly the milieu of the Fifth Committee. Then the 3,475 observed interactions in the Fifth Committee are analyzed in terms of: (1) relation of interaction to the legislative process, (2) interactions of individual nations, (3) relation of interaction to national public speaking, (4) regional group interaction, (5) relation between group interaction and voting, (6) relation between non-committee roles of individuals and interaction, and (7) relation between individual reputation for being capable and informed and interaction. While attempting to limit exposition to moderate length, an effort will be made to offer richness in describing the context of observed interactions. Hopefully, readers will be enabled to join in the development of strategies for generating significant knowledge from observation of parliamentary behavior.

4.2 The Fifth Committee Milieu

The observational data reported here were collected during the meetings of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee (Fifth Committee) of the UN General Assembly in the fall of 1962. This committee held 70 meetings between October 1 and December 20. With the exception of two night meetings in the last two weeks of the session, meetings were held at 10:30 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. The length of sessions ranged from 0.5–3.5 h, with most sessions lasting 2–3 h.

In order to collect data, all but one of the sessions of the committee were attended,[2] the observer sitting in the first row of the press section, which is approximately 10 feet from delegate seats on one side of the outer horseshoe desk. The activities of the observer included recording in a notebook: (1) length of public speeches; (2) participants in private conversations, length of each conversation, and name of initiator; and (3) number of delegates in attendance for each nation.

[2] In the midst of the Cuban missile crisis, one meeting was missed because of attendance at a Security Council meeting. some members of the Fifth Committee also attended.

In addition, the observer held conversations with delegates whenever they approached him in the chamber. A record of these conversations reveals 167 with delegates from 27 nations. Activity also included contact with delegates between sessions in corridor, lounge, bar, and dining room. Outside the committee room, conversations were held with 47 members of the committee. Of these, 22 were contacted three or more times. Although this paper focuses on observations made in the committee chamber, conversations with delegates in and outside the chamber helped in relating observed behavior to the wider political process, and offered some information about the content of private conversations in the chamber.

In the 1962 fall session, the work of the Fifth Committee ranged from routine details of Secretariat operations to highly controversial and widely reported decisions on the financing of peace-keeping operations.[3] All resolutions passed by the committee were accepted by the plenary. In December the committee voted to 'accept' the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice declaring that all members were obligated to pay assessments levied against them to cover expenses for peace-keeping operations in Suez and the Congo.[4] The committee also approved continued expenditures for the Suez and Congo operations, proposed the establishment of a Working Group of 21 to study problems of peace-keeping finance, and passed a resolution calling for a special session of the General Assembly devoted solely to financial problems of the organization. The committee had a debate on geographic representation in the Secretariat, controversy centering on the appropriate methods for insuring that all member nations were adequately represented and on the preference of some nations for having a higher percentage of fixed term appointments in contrast to career appointments.

The more routine business of the committee included budget estimates for the coming year, supplementary budgets for the current year,[5] reports from auditors, appointments of members to administrative and budgetary subsidiary bodies, and miscellaneous administrative and personnel problems. In much of the debate on these items, the committee, displaying attitudes typical of national parliamentary committees, gave microscopic examination to the expenditures of international bureaucrats under its scrutiny: Are these printing charges out of line? Do we really need a new telephone exchange in the Geneva headquarters? Why don't all members of the Secretariat travel economy class? Although delegates from all parts of the world engaged in a game intended to keep the Secretariat economy-minded, budgetary debate revealed deep disagreement whenever expansion of the scope of United Nations activities arose. The poorer nations of Africa, Asia, and to some degree Latin America, continually pushed for an extension of the services of the organization to members, while the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries resisted.

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[3] Summary records of the debates may be found in the United Nations, General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Fifth Committee, *Official Records*, 914th meeting to 983rd meeting (Oct. 1 to Dec. 20, 1962).

[4] The advisory opinion is published in *ICJ Reports*, 1962, pp. 151–181.

[5] See Singer (1961, pp. 96–121) for more detailed discussion of the role of the Fifth Committee in the United Nations budget process.

The smaller developed nations tended to be supportive of the underdeveloped nations, with the larger developed nations less supportive, but not overtly as negative as the Soviet group. Thus, the Fifth Committee debates on administrative and budgetary issues are also discussions in which members define the role of the organization.

Though all nations in the United Nations are members of each main committee, there is much variation in the interest different nations demonstrate in particular committees. Because the work of the seven main committees is conducted simultaneously, small delegations may have difficulty being present at all meetings. A count of number of delegates present was made in the middle of 42 of the Fifth Committee sessions under observation, and the number present ranged from 70 to 148. But because some nations are always represented by more than one delegate, the number of nations represented varied from 45 to 105. The number of delegates present surpassed one hundred (approximately 70 nations) on only one third of the occasions on which attendance was taken. Attendance rose and fell in cycles related to progress being made with items on the agenda, with the high figure of 148 reached on December 12, when the committee voted on the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

Daily attendance for most nations involves one or two delegates, with the major powers often having three or four present and sometimes as many as five. The United States offers an example of how division of labor within a delegation may occur when there is high representation. A Senator or member of the House of Representatives usually sits in the Fifth Committee, delivering all major speeches and handling most of the public debate. He is advised by one or two members of the U.S. Permanent Mission who prepare speeches and handle most of the contact with other delegations. Depending on the specific issue being debated, one or two advisers from the State Department may be present. If they have had United Nations experience, or if they stay for a number of weeks, they, too, may get involved in relations with other delegations. A nation that can afford to assign a number of persons to a committee has advantages over those which cannot. Such a nation has more opportunities to keep in touch with what other nations are thinking and doing, has more chance to influence other delegations, and has a greater supply of manpower for devising proposals consistent with its interests. On the other hand, in a fast-moving parliamentary process, a four or five man team may have difficulty in coordinating and in presenting a consistent image of their nation's intentions. This may produce misunderstandings with other delegations that sometimes engender lack of confidence.

Eighteen of the 70 meetings were observed primarily to learn the identity of committee members. Therefore, the 3,475 interactions[6] included in the analysis that follows were recorded during the last 52 meetings of the committee. In

[6] This total, and the analysis that follows, includes the interactions of 95 nations. The remaining 14 nations engaged in a total of only 13 interactions. The total also includes the 167 interactions of the observer which, distributed among 27 nations are included in the nation totals. In cases where total number of interactions is reported as 3,321, these interactions have been excluded.

recording interactions, it was possible to identify 91 delegates by nation and actual name and 34 by nation and coded name designation. Thus a total of 125 delegates were identified.

It is certain that interactions were missed, particularly very short ones between delegates who were sitting next to each other in locations distant from the observer. Those missed because of distance from the observer are probably rather evenly distributed among the committee membership because of the five-place weekly rotation of seats of nations. A few interactions were also missed when the observer occasionally talked with delegates as they walked past. Such opportunities were always given priority over observation because of their importance in providing information needed in interpreting interaction data. Discussions with participants took only three of the 137 h spent in observing the committee.

The 3,321 interactions resulted from 2,840 interaction situations in which the number of participants ranged from 2–9. Where there were more than two participants in an interaction situation, it was broken up into all possible pairs for counting purposes. The frequency distribution of number of participants in interaction situations is as follows:

Participants	Situations
2	2,662
3	158
4	16
6	1
8	1
9	1
Total	2,840

Interactions take place between delegates sitting next to each other, by a delegate getting up and going over to the seat of another delegate, or by a discussion that takes place at a spot in the committee room other than at the seat of one of the participants. Fifth Committee delegates did most, although not all, of their talking at the seat of one of the participants:

At own seat	3,995
At seat of another	1,611
Another place in room	1,028
Total	6,634

Since these figures are on individual participants, N is $2 \times 3{,}321$, or 6,642, with eight unknown.

4.3 Interaction and the Legislative Process

In a highly informative description of United Nations parliamentary activity two delegates comment: “Frequently formal meetings are used chiefly as a place where individual delegates can be reached at a certain time so as to arrange informal

meetings." They also observe that these 'informal' meetings sometimes take place "at the back of the committee chamber itself" (Hadwen and Kaufmann 1962, p. 50). But there are very few references in the literature to private conversation in public diplomacy and no systematic analysis. A UNESCO study of The Technique of International Conferences (1951) contains a lengthy check list of potential subjects for systematic study of international conferences that even extends to non-verbal communication. But there is an intriguing oversight in the fact that many conferences have a simultaneous two-level dialogue and no recognition of the fact that national units in international conferences often have more than one spokesman. It is even more surprising that a search of the conference literature, including the experimental literature in other areas of social behavior, also reveals no recognition of the simultaneous two-level phenomenon.

The widely known social interaction analysis of Bales could be utilized for analysis of public debate; yet his categories cannot be used for analysis of interaction data, because the content of conversations is not known (Bales 1950).

This makes the one known exception, a 1938 paper by Garland C. Routt, all the more remarkable. He recorded contacts of eleven members of the Illinois Senate during the first 15 min of each hour the body was in session, a total of 86 sample periods.[7] As a result of discussions with Senators, he found a 'general estimate' that at least 75 % of conversations on the floor of the Senate were about legislation. He concluded from "preliminary inspection of the tabulations" that "contacts tended to center around individuals who by other indices were shown to play important roles in the process of legislation" (Routt 1938, p. 132).

No estimate of the percentage of Fifth Committee private conversation that was related to issues before the committee has been made, but the observer was drawn to those delegates playing important roles in the legislative process by discerning who was very active in private conversation. The observer's judgment is that those delegates taking initiative requiring them to leave their seats were most involved in drafting and obtaining support for legislation and in working for a committee consensus.

It is difficult to go beyond the contributions of Routt in relating to the legislative process interaction data that do not include the content of conversations. There may be some advantage, however, in working with data from continuous observation over long periods of time, in contrast to samples of portions of meetings. When a delegate who has previously been inactive starts a round of conversations, the observer is stimulated to develop hypotheses about new developments that are not yet (and perhaps never will be) reflected in the public debate and to direct questions to participants about these inferences. For example, during the debate

[7] Although their work is not based on observation in legislative chambers, the work of Samuel Patterson (1959) and Wayne L. Francis (1962) on state legislators and Alan Fiellin (1962) on the New York delegation to the U.S. House of Representatives have common concerns with Routt and the author of this paper. Particularly relevant is Francis' effort to obtain information on interaction patterns of state legislators through interviews.

on the International Court of Justice advisory opinion, a Ceylon delegate suddenly became active as follows:

11:25 a.m.	Ceylon	to Czechoslovakia
11:29 a.m.	Ceylon	to U.S. No. 2
11:31 a.m.	Ceylon	to U.S. No. 1
11:42 a.m.	Ceylon	to Czechoslovakia
11:44 a.m.	Ceylon	to Czechoslovakia
11:45 a.m.	Ceylon	to U.S. No. 3
11:45 a.m.	Ceylon	to Czechoslovakia, both proceed to an adjacent small conference room and are joined by U.S. No. 3
12:29 p.m.		Czechoslovakia and U.S. No. 3: return to the committee room

This pattern suggests, in the light of knowledge of the issues being debated, that Ceylon is trying to mediate disagreements between the United States and the Soviet group. Armed with such evidence, the observer can say to a participant, "What kind of compromise is Ceylon trying to achieve between the Soviet group and the West?" If the respondent is cognizant of the activities of the Ceylon delegate (he may know less than the observer), it is almost certain that his response will extend the knowledge of the observer. But it is doubtful that a participant would volunteer information about this quiet Ceylon mediation effort were it unsolicited.

In this case the observer was correct in guessing the nature of the mission of the Ceylon delegate. Why did Ceylon choose Czechoslovakia instead of the Soviet Union: Possibly because of acquaintance facilitated by seating proximity. Should this effort be taken very seriously? Evidence tending to indicate that this was a serious effort was offered when the Czechoslovak delegate returned from the 'back room' conference and moved as follows:

12:31 p.m.	Czechoslovakia to U.S.S.R.
12:33 p.m.	Czechoslovakia to Ukraine
12:34 p.m.	Czechoslovakia to Romania
12:34 p.m.	Czechoslovakia to Poland
12:35 p.m.	Czechoslovakia to Bulgaria
12:38 p.m.	Czechoslovakia to Mongolia

This suggests that the Ceylon effort was important enough to merit the attention of other members of the Soviet group. Since the Czechoslovak did not stop long enough with each delegate to discuss the matter, it is guessed that he was arranging a later meeting. The Czechoslovak pattern also reveals who is in the Soviet consultation group. Although Albania and Cuba always voted with the group in this session, the interaction pattern in the committee reveals that these two delegations were not in on group consultations (Byelorussia and Hungary were probably absent in the example described above).

Table 4.1 Number of interactions during debate of major agenda items[a]

Agenda item	Minutes per item[b]	Interactions per item	Average attendance per item	Interactions per minute	Interactions per minute / Av. At'd'ce
UNEF-ONUC	86	60	88.00	0.70	0.0080
ICJ advisory opinion	1210 (20 h)	979	104.25	0.81	0.0078
Geographic distribution of secretariat	941 (16 h)	597	97.33	0.63	0.0065
International school	83	39	85.00	0.47	0.0055
Budget estimates	2775 (46 h)	1356	92.29	0.49	0.0053
Scale of assessments	541 (9 h)	216	79.00	0.40	0.0049
Pattern of conferences	68	6	101.00	0.09	0.0009

[a] All figures in this table based on last 52 or 70 meetings of fifth committee, UN general assembly, 17th session
[b] All over 60 min

Might the analysis of change in rate of interaction over two months of observation indicate a relationship between interaction and the legislative process? Table 4.1 reveals that the interaction rate, based on analysis of those items to which the committee devoted more than one hour, is not the same for all agenda items. Rankings, based on interactions per minute for agenda items, roughly correspond to rankings, based on the observer's judgment, of controversy generated in the committee. It seemed that UNEF and ONUC expenditures, the ICJ advisory opinion, and geographic distribution of the Secretariat generated the most controversy. These items rank highest in number of interactions per minute. They also rank highest when variation in number present is taken into account by dividing interactions per minute by average attendance. On the other hand, Soviet group dissatisfaction with the scale of assessments on members seemed to generate more controversy over this item than its low place in the rankings indicates. A Soviet Union resolution on this issue was withdrawn, while resolutions on ICJ, UNEF-ONUC, and geographic distribution of the Secretariat all received wide support. Therefore, the data suggest that the more controversial an issue, the greater the interaction that accompanies the successful passage of a resolution. The data also indicate that interaction is vitally related to the parliamentary process.

4.4 Interaction of Individual Nations

A tally of total interactions by nation reveals heavy concentration of activity in the delegations of a few nations. Only one nation, the United States, had over 600 interactions; the next highest interactors, the Netherlands and Ireland, were in the 400–500 range; Canada, the United Kingdom, and Israel were in the 300–400 range; New Zealand, Iraq, and Secretariat personnel, in the 200–300 range: the USSR, Australia, Brazil, Norway, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Argentina experienced between 100 and 200 interactions; and the remaining 94

delegations scored fewer than 100. As Table 4.2 shows, approximately half of the 3,475 recorded interactions were accounted for by ten delegations and the Secretariat. Worth noting is the dominance of the Western parliamentary democracies, and the absence of any African delegations from the high interactor list; also interesting is the fact that five of these 10 high interacting nations (the Netherlands, Ireland, Israel, New Zealand, and Iraq) rarely had more than one man present at committee meetings.[8]

Conversations between seatmates accounted for 1,240 of the 3,475 interactions. If the most frequent interacting pairs are ranked, it is found that the first six pairs are all seatmates.[9]

U.K. and U.S.	158 interactions
Ireland and Israel	150 interactions
Netherlands and New Zealand	148 interactions
Iraq and Ireland	108 interactions
Ukraine and U.S.S.R	66 interactions
Israel and Italy	56 interactions (see also Table 4.2, column 6)

It is likely that much of the talk between seatmates is not on committee business, though this does not necessarily mean that the relationship that develops between seatmates does not create communication patterns and rapport that have political effects. The amount of seatmate conversation may vary because of individual personalities and political and cultural differences existing between delegations. It is likely that the second ranking pair, Ireland and Israel, talked a great deal because they were both gregarious individuals. Had they not been seatmates, it is most unlikely that this pair would have ranked very high. On the other hand, the United States and the United Kingdom would have had close liaison, although probably only about one third the number of recorded conversations, no matter where they sat.

When rankings are made that do not include conversations with seatmates, the American lead over the number-two nation drops from a ratio of 6:4 to 4:3. In this ranking, Canada, with only 15 conversations with its neighbors from Cameroon and Central African Republic, moves into second position (see Table 4.2).

The active role of Canada in committee interaction is brought out more clearly when nations are ranked on the basis of initiatives taken (see Table 4.2). Canada ranks second, only 23 behind the 201 recorded for the United States. Since initiatives in seatmate conversations are often not discernible to the observer, Canada's high ranking is partially attributable to her lack of seatmate interaction. Thus, a higher percentage of Canada's initiatives were recorded than in the case of the

[8] For all delegations there is a Spearman rank correlation of 0.49 between attendance and amount of interaction ($N = 96$). Attendance was measured by summing the number of delegates present for each nation for all of the 42 occasions on which attendance was taken.

[9] Total interactions for all interacting pairs of nations were compiled, after data were punched on IBM cards, by using NUCROS, a general cross-classification program. See Janda (1965), Chap. 6, for a discussion of this program; on pp. 40–42, he describes how NUCROS was used.

Table 4.2 Higher interactions in rank order

Total		Total minus seatmates		Initiatives taken		Total interaction time in minutes		No of nations contacted		Pairs		Pairs minus seatmates	
U.S.	621	U.S.	436	U.S.	201	U.S.	2415	U.S.	61	U.K.–U.S.[b]	158	Canada–U.S.	52
Nether-lands	443	Canada	317	Canada	178	Canada	1451	(Sec.)	50	Ireland–Israel[b]	150	(U.S.-Sec.)	45
Ireland	418	Netherlands	252	Ireland	131	U.K.	1436	Brazil	37	Netherlands–Newzealand[b]	148	Norway–U.S.	34
Canada	344	(Sec.)	215	U.K.	114	Mexico	971	Yugos-lavia	36	Iraq–Ireland	108	Netherlands–US	31
U.K.	114	Mexico	971	Yugos-lavia	36	Iraq Ireland[b]	108	Netherlands U.S.	36	Ukraine–U.S.S.R.[b]	66	Canada–U.K.	30
U.K.	309	U.K.	157	Israel	75	Chile	936	Canada	33	Israel–Italy[b]	56	Can–Netherlands	28
N.Z.	250	Norway	145	Australia	71	Netherlands	931	Iraq	31	Canada–U.S.	52	Israel–Netherlands	28
(Sec.)	222	Brazil	137	Norway	71	Ireland	753	U.K.	31	(Sec. U.S.)	45	Poland Romania	27
Iraq	220	Australia	123	Brazil	70	Norway	710	Australia	27	Afghanistan–Yugoslavia 1	45	Australia–U.S.	26
U.S.S.R.	196	U.S.S.R.	117	(Sec.)	68	Newzealand	557	Czech.	27	Austria-Belgium[b]	43	Czech–U.S.S.R	24
Australia	176	Czech.	116	U.S.S.R.	66	Denmark	517	Argentina	23	Nepal–Netherlands[b]	41	Ireland–Netherlands	23
Brazil	165	Israel	116	Yugoslavia	60	(Sec.)	443	U.S.S.R.	23	U.S–Norway	34	Australia–Netherlands	21
Norway	157	Iraq	115	Czech.	55	Czech.	411	Ceylon	22	Netherlands–U.S.	31	Ireland–Newzealand	21
Yugoslavia	154	Yugoslavia	109	Ceylon	45	Israel	387	Chile	22	Canada–U.K.	30	Ireland–U.S.	21
Czech.	135	Newzealand	103	Iraq	40	Pakistan	350	India	21	Canada–Neth.	28	Argentina–Brazil	19
Poland	113	Poland	101	Chile	37	Yugoslavia	313	Mexico	21	Israel–Netherlands	28	Canada–Ireland	19
Argentina	101	Denmark	84	Poland	37	Sweden	278	Ireland	20	Poland–Rom.	27	Canada–N.Z.	18
Denmark	97	Argentina	80	Colombia	34	Ceylon	273	Pakistan	20	Hon–Hungaryb	27	Canada–Ceylon	17
Austria	90	India	77	Newzealand	34	Australia	260	Poland	20	Australia–U.S.	26	Denmark–Sweden	16
India	89	Ceylon	75	Argentina	33	India	242	Mali	19	Czech–U.S.S.R	24	(U.K–Sec.)	16
Chile	78	Mexico	67	India	24	U.S.S.R.	238	Norway	19	Ireland–Netherlands	23	Denmark–Norway Canada–Denmark	16

[a] Includes first 20 nations and secretariat. [b] Seatmates

United States. Nevertheless, this figure does indicate that the Canadian delegation had the greatest mobility—conversations in which Canada went to the seat of another delegate.

Committee interaction can also be measured by the number of nations with which a nation is observed talking. When rankings are made on this basis in contrast to total interactions, Austria, Denmark, Israel, and New Zealand drop out of the first 20 and are replaced by Ceylon, Mali, Mexico, and Pakistan. The United States still leads the rankings, showing conversations with 61 nations, followed by the Secretariat with 50, Brazil with 37, and Yugoslavia and the Netherlands with 36. Brazil and Yugoslavia attract attention, because they rank eleven and 13 in total interactions, but two and three in number of nations contacted.

Figure 4.1, showing the interaction links between the first 20 pairs of nations, eliminating seatmates, offers a useful view of the most used communication links. The most active network links together nations from North America, Europe, the Commonwealth, and Israel. One Latin American pair and two Eastern European pairs are in the first 20, but are not tied to other nations. It is remarkable that no African or Arab nations are included. The figure reveals the nations that have a number of very active links.

Canada	7
United Stats	5
Netherlands	5
Ireland	4

Interaction between nonseatmates is used in Fig. 4.1 because it is felt that the nonseatmate relationships more adequately reflect purposeful legislative activity

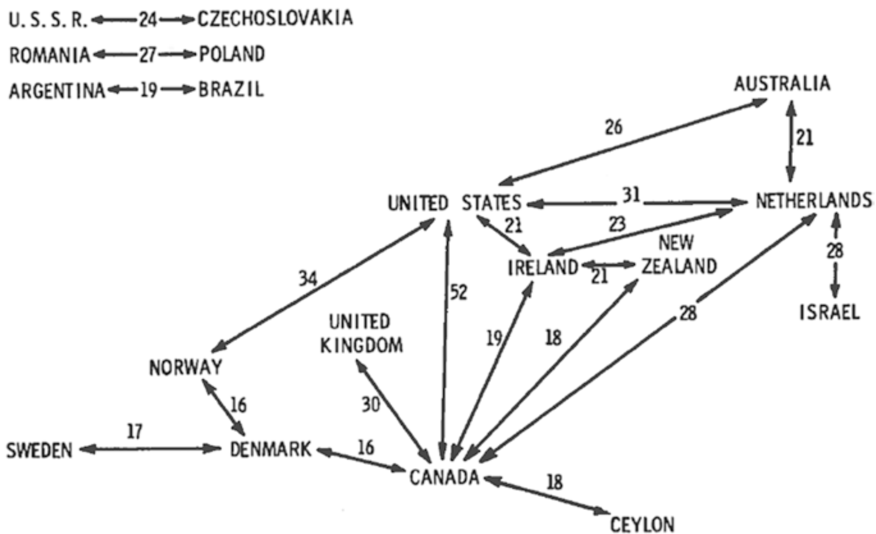

Fig. 4.1 Diagram of interaction between first 20 ranked nonseatmate pairs

than seatmate conversations. This caused ten seatmate pairs to be dropped from the figure—United Kingdom–United States, Ireland–Israel, Netherlands–New Zealand, Iraq–Ireland, Ukraine–U.S.S.R., Israel–Italy, Afghanistan–Yugoslavia, Austria–Belgium, Nepal–Netherlands, and Honduras–Hungary. In the observer's judgment, three of these pairs would fall above the minimum number of interactions for pairs in Fig. 4.1, even if they had not been seated next to each other—United Kingdom–United States (about 50), Ireland–Israel (about 20), and the Netherlands–New Zealand (about 20). These could be added to the diagram and would increase the number of spokes running to the hubs of the wheels accordingly:

Canada	7
United Stats	6
Netherlands	6
Ireland	5

Why are some nations higher interactors than others? At first glance at the diagram of high interactors, it might be concluded that there is a relationship between committee interaction and nations with Western democratic institutions. The fact that the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations are not linked into the major interaction network, as defined in Figure 4.1, tends to support comments that have been made on Soviet diplomatic behavior. C. Chaumont and Walter Sharp have suggested that there is a relationship between Soviet domestic institutions and their diplomatic behavior (Chaumont 1953, p. 273; Sharp 1963, p. 333). Philip Mosely observes:

> The important network of informal communication among the 'western' powers as well as the moderate latitude given to their representatives, makes for a swift pace of negotiation which arouses bewilderment and suspicion among their Soviet colleagues (Mosely 1951, p. 276).

Data are not available in this study on the latitude of decision given to representatives nor on Soviet attitudes toward the 'informal communication' among Western nations. On the other hand, the data do not tend to indicate that there are great differences between the parliamentary activity of Soviet and Western nations. In number of interactions and in interaction initiatives, the Soviet Union ranks in the first ten nations and the Eastern European nations are well represented. Four out of eleven Soviet group nations are listed in the high- interactor diagram. On the other hand, a major Western nation, France, does not appear at all.

Observation of the Fifth Committee and examination of data collected suggest a number of factors that might help to explain the amount of nation interaction in the committee: (1) interest in an issue, particularly in terms of desire to get certain resolutions enacted; (2) national policies on issues that are close enough to the view of the majority to permit negotiation of and agreement with a negotiated consensus; (3) number of nations with whom close ties are maintained outside the organization; (4) working relationships established between individuals; and (5) characteristics of individual participants. Relevant characteristics of individuals

appear to be: (1) personality traits that affect the capability and desire for establishing and maintaining personal contacts, (2) knowledge of issues under consideration, and (3) perception of United Nations parliamentary processes.

Delegate perceptions of parliamentary processes in the world body might be influenced by the characteristics of legislatures in their own nations and their role in governmental decision-making. But their perceptions are also shaped by the kinds of roles delegates have themselves performed in their own governmental system. Upon first encountering United Nations parliamentary activity, some Western bureaucrats and foreign service officers appear to be no more attracted to its norms and procedures than their Soviet and Eastern European counterparts. Many modify their view to some degree, because participation also shapes delegate perception of the very parliamentary processes.[10]

4.5 Comparison of Public Speaking and Interaction Performance of Nations

Interaction data, it has been shown, reveal some information about the legislative process that is not reflected in public debate. But it is necessary to investigate further differences between the two sources of data because of the differential costs in data collection. Collecting interaction data on legislative bodies as large as that under analysis is a time-consuming and tedious task. If the same information could be obtained from public debate, perhaps summary records of the Fifth Committee might even be substituted for attendance at sessions. In order to face this issue forthrightly, data were collected on participation in public debate and compared with interaction data. In order to see the relative relationship of these two measures of United Nations participation with other measures, both were compared with attendance, resolution sponsorship, size of delegations, and financial contributions. In addition, correlations were computed between both interaction and public speaking and a few characteristics of nations, such as gross national product (GNP) and population. Spearman rank correlations relating a total of 27 variables with each other are provided in Table 4.3.[11]

[10] For more extended discussion, see Alger (1963), and C. Chaumont, who asserts: "The international conference is one means of cultural adaptation" (1953, p. 277).

[11] Spearman rank correlations are used because the distributions for a number of variables are not of the same form. Thus the Pearson product-moment correlation could not reach the maximums of −1.0 and +1.0. Ranking the data prior to calculating the product moment results in the distributions generally having the same form, although some information is sacrificed (Guilford, 1956, p. 287). Less than 0.20 Slight; almost negligible relationship 0.20–0.40 Low correlation; definite but small relationship 0.40–0.70 Moderate correlation; substantial relationship 0.70–0.90 High correlation; marked relationship 0.90–1.00 Very high correlation; very dependable relationship (Guilford 1956, p. 145) (Since Guilford's guidelines apply only to significant r's, Kerlinger's rule of thumb for significance of Pearson r is helpful. "With about 100 pairs of measures" an r of 0.20 is significant at the 0.05 level and an r of 0.25 is significant at the 0.01 level (Kerlinger 1964, p. 171).) .

Table 4.3 Spearman rank Correleations between nation participation in fifth committee, nation investment of men and money in the UN, and nation characteristics[a]

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1 Time spent in interact.	($N = 97$)																											
2 No. intraction	($N = 97$)	92																										
3 No. interaction(ns.)[a]	($N = 97$)	86	91																									
4 Initiatives taken	($N = 97$)	85	91	91																								
5 Initiatives received	($N = 97$)	86	92	90	83																							
6 Initiatives taken(ns.)	($N = 97$)	84	86	92	95	82																						
7 Initiatives rec'd (ns.)x	($N = 97$)	83	87	90	81	97	82																					
8 No.res.& amend. sponsd	($N = 97$)	41	34	38	30	39	34	44																				
9 No. of speeches	($N = 97$)	63	70	73	65	77	67	75	34																			
10 Length of speeches	(N - 97)	60	70	72	64	77	64	74	32	96																		
11 Questions asked[b]	($N = 97$)	32	38	42	35	44	40	46	29	65	58																	
12 Questions answered[b]	($N = 97$)	46	48	54	48	51	51	52	40	58	55	60																
13 Total citations[b]	($N = 97$)	55	64	70	59	73	62	73	33	91	90	61	50															
14 Neutral citations[b]	($N = 97$)	59	69	73	63	76	65	75	30	87	87	56	48	95														
13 Positive citations[b]	($N = 97$)	49	56	60	50	65	55	64	37	85	82	59	47	94	82													
16 Negative citations[b]	($N = 97$)	44	53	60	50	61	51	62	31	80	78	66	57	82	79	73												
17 No. in Perm. Mission	($N = 96$)	36	38	42	36	37	35	35	22	29	30	14	36	31	33	28	23											
19 No. in GA delegation	($N = 96$)	41	48	48	50	49	43	46	19	40	43	21	39	39	43	35	26	69										
19 Total attendance	($N = 96$)	38	49	48	46	51	44	51	09	49	50	21	35	46	49	44	29	50	69									
20 Voluntary contrib,	($N = 96$)	51	53	52	52	52	46	50	30	38	39	13	39	37	39	35	24	56	67	59								
21 % reg. budg. contrib.	($N = 96$)	52	59	59	59	55	52	52	17	43	45	17	40	41	45	36	31	62	81	66	82							
22 UN payments/GNP	($N = 93$)	14	14	18	17	14	13	13	17	11	07	18	18	05	05	04	13	-03	06	04	30	12						
23 %total UN contrib.	($N = 93$)	55	60	59	58	56	50	51	20	45	46	18	42	42	44	36	44	60	79	62	88	96	30					
24 Population	($N = 90$)	23	29	29	28	32	23	29	04	34	35	20	33	33	33	31	21	64	66	54	61	75	-13	71				
25 GNP	($N = 90$)	46	54	52	53	51	44	48	10	40	42	18	39	40	41	36	29	60	76	64	77	94	07	92	80			
26 GNP Population	($N = 90$)	46	53	53	59	40	52	38	16	20	23	-01	21	28	32	21	22	32	47	33	56	65	21	63	18	56		

In order to check whether choice of one of several measures of participation in interaction would make a great deal of difference, several measures were used: time consumed in interactions, total number of interactions, and number of interactions minus those with seatmates. Because total interactions correlates over 0.9 with the other two measures, it is a useful single measure of amount of interaction. There was similar concern whether total length of a nation's speeches would result in a quite different ranking for a nation than number of speeches. Rankings for these two measures correlated 0.96, so either could be used.

A correlation of 0.70 between rankings of nations according to number of speeches and rankings based on number of interactions indicates that public debate records are quite a helpful indicator as to who is active in private conversation. When number of speeches is plotted against number of interactions in a scatter diagram, however, it is discovered that much of the unexplained variation is accounted for by a few nations who are high interactors. Canada, Ireland, Israel, the Netherlands, and New Zealand are among the first seven interactors, but rank between 17 and 35 in number of speeches.

The differences in their rank for speaking and rank for interacting vary from 14 to 30 ranks. Thus, despite a generally high correlation between rankings for speaking and interaction, public speaking data do not draw attention to a group of deviant cases that are very active interactors and seem to be highly important participants in the political process. There are also deviant cases that rank much higher in public speaking than they do in interaction.

If interactions with seatmates are removed from the interaction/publicspeaking scatter diagram, the deviant cases are more noticeable. A scatter diagram reveals a striking tendency for high participants in public speaking and/or interaction to have one of three styles of participation. One group, falling near a line that cuts through the B sector in Fig. 4.2, has balanced participation in both public speaking and interaction. Here are found Tunisia, India, Romania, Hungary, Chile, the Ivory Coast, Poland, Australia, Brazil, and, far out on the top right, the United States. Near a line cutting the A sector are nations that speak much more than they interact—China, Mali, Nigeria, Togo, the Sudan, France, Liberia, Argentina, Nepal, Pakistan, Colombia, the U.S.S.R., and the U.K. Near a line passing through the C sector are nations that interact more than they speak—Sweden, Ceylon, Norway, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Canada appears deviant even from this group, having more interaction in relation to its amount of speaking than the others, and thus falling below the line.

The relationship between nation rank in public speaking and rank in interaction can be further probed by comparing the degree to which several indices of interaction relate to public speaking. Rank order correlations between number of public speeches and interactions are as follows:

Total interaction time	0.63
Initiatives taken	0.65
Total interactions	0.70
Initiatives received	0.77

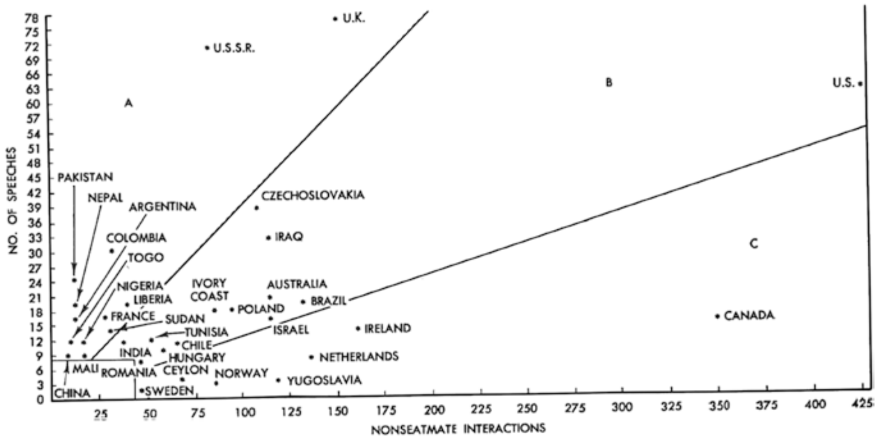

Fig. 4.2 Public speaking and nonseatmate interaction

Thus the strongest relationship is between number of speeches and initiatives received. It sounds plausible that those who give the most speeches may receive initiatives consisting of questions, replies, congratulations, and so on. Initiatives received also correlates more closely with citations in public debate of the speeches of others (0.73), than with other measures of interaction.[12] This, too, seems plausible in that it would be expected that those who mention the speeches of others in their public assertions would receive initiatives related to these citations.

Although these findings are plausible, research hypotheses proposed a different, and also plausible, kind of relationship between public and private conversations. Instead of the interaction between private and public discourse suggested by the above correlations, it was hypothesized that the two kinds of activity would be mirrors of each other i.e., nations high as to interaction time would be high in public-speaking time (actual correlation 0.60), and nations with a high number of interactions would deliver a high number of speeches (actual correlation 0.70). But these correlations between public speaking and interaction are both lower than that between public speaking and initiatives received (0.77).

An alternative research hypothesis was tested by content analysis of speeches for citations of speeches of other committee members. It was predicted that high interactors would more often cite speeches of other committee members. It was expected that high interactors would be more immersed in an interchange of ideas

[12] Reliability checks have not been done on the data acquired through analysis of speeches: questions asked, questions answered, and citations of speeches of others. The primary value of conclusions based on these data is as an aid in making the judgment that additional resources should not be invested in this type of content analysis. Number of speeches not only has a higher correlation to number of interactions than these measures of debate content, but also can be obtained with much less research effort and expense.

that would also be reflected in their public speaking. The correlation between citations of others and number of interactions is quite high (0.64), but not as high as the correlation between number of interactions and number of speeches (0.70). It was also expected that the number of questions asked in public debate might be more related to interaction initiatives than number of speeches, but this was not confirmed. Initiatives taken is much more closely related to number of speeches (0.65) than it is to questions asked (0.35).

In an effort to probe the relationship between roles in the legislative process and amount of activity in the public arena, the number of resolutions and amendments sponsored by each nation were correlated with the number of speeches and number of interactions. It was thought that this might give a useful comparison of speeches and interactions as related to the legislative process. But neither number of speeches (0.34) nor number of interactions (0.34) is closely related to sponsorship of resolutions and amendments. The prbbable explanation for the low correlations is that resolution sponsorship by a nation often is not accompanied by active participation in the preparation of the resolution. Sponsors are selected often from various geographic and interest groups of nations in order to encourage support from other nations in these groups.

Table 4.4 indicates how nation ranks for number of speeches and number of interactions relate to other measures of participation (manpower and money allocated to the United Nations) and a few characteristics of nations. The table shows that interaction is generally more closely related to such phenomena than is public speaking. Manpower invested can be measured in terms of actual attendance at meetings, number in General Assembly delegations, and number permanently stationed at headquarters. The expectation that these measures would be related in this order to committee participation is supported, but the relationship is not very strong. The closer relationship between monetary contributions and committee activity was not expected. It was expected that manpower in the committee room would be more related to activity than financial contributions.

Table 4.4 Comparison of speaking and Interaction rank correlations with nation investment of men and money in the UN and national characteristics

Variable	No of interactions	No of speeches
No in permanent mission	0.38	0.29
No in general assembly	0.48	0.40
Committee attendance	0.49	0.49
Voluntary contributions	0.53	0.38
Regular budget	0.59	0.43
Total UN contributions	0.60	0.45
UN payments/GNP	0.14	0.11
GNP	0.54	0.40
GNP/Population	0.53	0.20
Population	0.29	0.34

Monetary contributions were measured in four ways: total contributions, contributions to the regular budget (not including peace-keeping operations, most economic programs, and refugee relief), voluntary contributions (primarily for peace-keeping operations, economic programs, and refugee relief), and total contributions over gross national product. It was expected that voluntary contributions would be more closely related to public speaking and interaction than total contributions. This was based on the assumption that voluntary contributions reflect an interest and concern with the United Nations that would be related to degree of participation in public speaking and interaction. The expectation is not supported by data. United Nations payments/GNP was included to see whether costs of participation in terms of capacity to pay would be more related to debate and interaction activity than absolute figures on payments. There is virtually no correlation.

Because population and GNP are popular measures of 'national power' in the international relations literature, it is interesting to discern their relationship with United Nations activity. Population has rather low correlations with interactions (0.29) and speeches (0.34), but it is the only item in the table that is more correlated with speeches than interactions. GNP is more closely related to interaction (0.54) than public speeches (0.40). The relationships here are not far below total contributions and regular budget contributions. This is not surprising, because GNP is an important factor in the determination of national assessments for UN budgets. GNP/population is also included, because it was noted while collecting observational data that a number of the higher interacting nations were those with high per-capita incomes. Although GNP/population (0.53) has about the same relationship to interactions as does GNP (0.54), GNP/population has only a 0.20 relation to public speeches while GNP has a 0.40 relationship. Furthermore, a most interesting characteristic of GNP/population is the great difference between its degree of relationship to interactions and its relationship to public speeches, a difference of 0.33. This is over twice the difference for any other item in the table.

The consistently higher relationship between interaction, in contrast to public speaking, and measures of number of men in missions and delegations, United Nations financial support, and GNP of nations is important evidence of the significance of interaction data. Had the reverse been true, it would have encouraged doubts about the significance of interaction behavior. Had there been no difference between the relation of interaction and public speaking to these variables, it would have suggested that the greater effort required to obtain interaction data is not justified, since the public debate data are easier to compile. It is not known, of course, whether the same pattern of relationships would be evident in other main committees of the Assembly. Because United Nations budgets are considered in the Fifth Committee, it could be that there is a higher relationship between budgetary contributions and committee activity in this committee than in other committees. If an issue-related phenomenon has been uncovered, instead of one that holds across all committees, then it might be found that interaction in other committees is related to other variables. For example, in the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing

Committee, interaction might be more closely related to date of independence (the more recent the date of independence, the more interaction) than to monetary contributions to the United Nations.[13]

4.6 Interaction of Regional Groups

Table 4.5 provides data on the number of nations in each of eight regional groups that engaged in one hundred or more interactions. The information indicates low activity on the part of African, Arab, and Asian nations, with only one nation of the 41 interactors from these regions having more than one hundred interactions. With only two high interactors out of 18, the Latin American group is not much different in this respect from the Arab group. NATO, the Commonwealth, the Soviet group, and Western Europe do not vary a great deal in the percentage of interaction leaders, ranging between 27 and 38 %. The relatively low activity of the African, Arab, Asian, and Latin American nations is also confirmed by Table 4.6, where total interactions are presented for regional groups. Though Latin America has about one hundred more interactions than the Soviet group, their rate per active nation (47) is lower than that of the Soviet group (75). All other groups (Western Europe, NATO, and Commonwealth) average over one hundred interactions per nation.

Table 4.6 shows the degree to which members of regional groups confine their interactions to members of their own group. Latin America has the largest percentage of intragroup interactions, 64 %, which is 3 % above that of the Soviet group. NATO is the only other group with a reasonably high figure (44 %). Asia (28 %), Western Europe (25 %), and the Commonwealth (24 %) are clustered below groups with high internal interactions. Sub-Sahara Africa (18 %) and the Arab nations (16 %) have a remarkably low percentage of communication with other nations in their group.

There is great variation in performance by nations within regional groups. In the Latin American group only Brazil (165), Argentina (101), Chile (78), Mexico (77), Colombia (61), and Honduras (51)[14] have more than 50 interactions. In contrast to 64 % intragroup interaction for the Latin American group as a whole, these nations performed as follows: Colombia (34 %), Brazil (44 %), Honduras (45 %), Chile (51 %), Argentina (53 %), and Mexico (70 %). Brazil stands out in intergroup activity, having contact with 27 nations, with the other high intergroup

[13] It was expected that participation in public debate and interaction in the Fifth Committee would be related inversely to date of independence (the more recent the date of independence, the less a nation's activity). This was based on the belief that delegations of new nations would not have the technical competence and background of experience enabling them to take an active role in Fifth Committee affairs. Table 4.3 indicates a consistent negative correlation between date of independence and committee activity, but all correlations are very low.

[14] Twenty-seven of Honduras' interactions were with seatmate, Hungary.

Table 4.5 Number of interactions for nations in regional groups

Regional group (and no. of nations)[a]	Under 50	50–99	100 or more
NATO (13)	5	3	5 (38 %) Canada, Netherlands, Norway, U.K., U.S.
Commonwealth (12)	6	2	4 (33 %) Australia, Canada, New Zealand, U.K.
Soviet (10)	4	3	3 (30 %) Czechoslovakia, Poland, U.S.S.R.
Western Europe (15)	6	5	4 (27 %) Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, U.K.
Latin America (18)	12	4	2 (11 %) Argentina, Brazil
Arab (12)	10	1	1 (8 %) Iraq
Asia (13)	9	4	–
Sub-Sahara Africa (16)	15	1	–

[a] Includes only nations for which interactions are recorded

Table 4.6 Interactions of regional groups

Regional group (and no. of nations)[a]	Total interactions	Average per nation	Total in group	Per cent in group
Latin America (18)	842	47	542	64
Soviet (10)	746	75	456	61
NATO (13)	2,185	168	972	44
Asia (13)	467	36	92	20
Western Europe (15)	1,819	121	455	25
Commonwealth (12)	1,395	116	340	24
Sub-Sahara Africa (16)	313	20	56	18
Arab (12)	393	33	62	16

[a] Includes only those nations for which interactions are recorded

interactors ranging between 10 and 14. In comparison, ten of the 18 Latin American nations have more than 85 % of the interactions within their own group.

Though the Soviet group, as a whole, has about the same percentage of intra-group activity as the Latin Americans, most nations in this group perform nearer the group norm. The major interactors in the group are U.S.S.R. (196), Czechoslovakia (135), and Poland (113). Czechoslovakia leads in number of nations contacted outside the group (19), with both U.S.S.R. and Poland contacting 14.

Members of the Arab group are in general not very active, with only two nations having more than 25 interactions: Iraq (220) and Tunisia (56). Both have less than 20 % of their interactions within the Arab group, with Iraq talking to 24 other nations and Tunisia talking to only 10. Whereas Tunisia's contacts are largely centered on Africa, Iraq's are rather widely spread.

The activity of the NATO group presents a dramatic contrast: United States—621, the Netherlands—443, Canada—344, United Kingdom—309, Norway—157, and Denmark—97. Examining the interactions of the four highest outside the group, little variation is found in number of nations contacted for Canada (28), the Netherlands (28), and the United Kingdom (25). The United States offers a striking contrast with 50 nations contacted. Only Brazil had more interactions with

Latin America than the United States, and no Arab nation contacted other Arabs as often as did the United States. Interactions between the United States and regional groups are as follows: Western Europe—60, Latin America—56, Asia—38, Soviet—24, Sub-Sahara Africa—24, and Arab—23.

Notably absent from the group of high interactors is France, with a total of only 25 interactions. France's participation in public debate was also lower than would be expected, with France ranking 15th (17 speeches) and the United Kingdom (76 speeches), Soviet Union (72 speeches), and United States (61 speeches) in the first three ranks. The interaction record in this case is a realistic portrayal of French conduct in negotiations and discussions outside the committee chamber. France refused to participate in the very active negotiations that took place on the International Court's advisory opinion, authorization of further UNEF and ONUC spending, and future plans for handling problems of peace-keeping finance.

Western Europe includes one high interactor which was not in NATO: Ireland, with 418 interactions. A striking aspect of Western European interaction is the contrast between two Benelux partners, the Netherlands and Belgium. The Netherlands participated in 443 interactions, 15 % within the Western European group; and Belgium participated in 57 interactions, 86 % intragroup. If this region is divided into its Common Market and Scandinavian subgroups, a further contrast emerges. Among the Common Market nations, a mere 22 out of 608 interactions for these nations were within the group (4 %), whereas Scandinavia had 106 out of 348 interactions taking place within the group (30 %). The contrast may possibly be the consequence of the splitin the Common Market group over peace-keeping finance, with France and Belgium largely out of step with the Assembly majority and not participating, and Italy and the Netherlands in step with the majority and participating.

Notable in the Sub-Sahara Africa group is the fact that no interactions are recorded for nine nations and, of the 16 that had interactions, none had more than 53. The highest interactor was Liberia, whose delegate was vice president of the committee.[15] Following Liberia were Mali (45), Nigeria (43), and the Ivory Coast (31). Only 17.9 % of the interactions of nations in this group were intragroup.

With 28 % of their activity intragroup, the Asian nations had slightly more intragroup interaction than the Arabs, Sub-Sahara Africa, and Western Europe. Only four nations in the group had more than 50 interactions: India (89), Nepal (81), Ceylon (76), and Afghanistan (53). It is the only regional group beside Sub-Sahara Africa that does not have a nation with over one hundred interactions. With about half of Afghanistan and Nepal's interactions occurring with their seat-mates, actually only Ceylon and India reveal significant involvement in the private consultations in the chamber.

The highest interactors in the Commonwealth are the members of the so- called old Commonwealth: Canada (344), United Kingdom (309), New Zealand (250),

[15] It is not customary for the chairman to serve also as delegate from his nation. In this session of the Fifth Committee, a Dutch delegate was elected chairman, but then ceased to represent his nation on the committee.

and Australia (176). India with 89 and Ceylon with 76 are the only other nations with over 50 interactions. The fact that the Commonwealth nations have more intragroup interactions than Sub-Sahara Africa and the Arabs is surprising (24 %). It is also surprising that those Commonwealth nations with the highest percentage of intragroup interactions are not old Commonwealth, but proved to be Pakistan (44 %), Ceylon (36 %), and Nigeria (35 %). They are followed by Canada (28 %), India (26 %), Australia (22 %), New Zealand (21 %), United Kingdom (21 %), and Ghana (10 %). Other Commonwealth nations do not have enough interactions to make percentages meaningful.

It is difficult to place Yugoslavia in any group, although she most often collaborates with the underdeveloped nations, particularly those from Afro to Asia. Yugoslavia's interaction pattern tends to mirror this non-group status. The single Yugoslav delegate was observed in contact with 37 nations (only two nations contacted more) and these contacts were spread among a number of groups: Arab (28), Sub-Sahara Africa (18), Asia (17 plus 45 with seatmate Afghanistan), Soviet (15), Latin America (13), and Western Europe (3).

4.7 Voting in Regional Groups and Its Relation to Interaction

Virtually all of the rigorous empirical work done on United Nations politics has been devoted to the analysis of roll call votes. It will be of interest, therefore, to relate interactional behavior to voting behavior by investigating whether regional groups with the highest percentage of intragroup interaction tend to be more in agreement in voting. The Fifth Committee had eight roll call votes during the 17th Session. One roll call was taken on proposed emergency assistance of $2 million to Rwanda and Burundi for the construction of roads and government buildings. Controversy arose because the assistance was for capital expenditures of a character not previously included in the regular budget of the United Nations. In the voting (Yes—50, No—0, Abstain—37) none would vote against the assistance, though those disagreeing on principle abstained. Abstentions came from Latin America, the West, and the Soviet group. Exceptions to this pattern were the affirmative votes of Mexico, Colombia, and Chile from Latin America and those of Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands from Europe.

Three roll call votes concerned geographic distribution of the Secretariat. One vote passed a resolution sponsored by Brazil, Iraq, Nigeria, Sudan, Syria, and Tunisia that offered general guidelines to the Secretary-General for achieving more equitable geographic distribution. The support for the resolution was overwhelming (Yes—84, No—10, Abstain—2) with only the Soviet group opposing. The other two votes on geographic distribution were on amendments to this resolution offered by Poland and not passed by the committee. They would have tended to extend that portion of the Secretariat covered by principles of geographic distribution, implied lessening of support for a career service, and

removed a portion of the resolution indicating that nations with no more than five nationals in the Secretariat are not overrepresented. The Polish amendments received little support outside the Soyiet group. Voting on one was Yes—14, No—44, and Abstain—36, and voting on the other was Yes—11, No—39, and Abstain—46.

The final four roll calls were conc Tned with problems of peace-keeping finance. Three were related to the aforementioned advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice which stated expenditures for UNEF and ONUC peacekeeping operations are expenses of the organizations for which all members can be legally assessed. The fourth established the Working Group of 21 and asked it to submit a report to the Assembly on peace-keeping finance problems.

The committee voted overwhelmingly to 'accept' the opinion of the Court, with a vote of Yes—75, No—17, and Abstain—14. (A quite similar roll call vote was taken on just the operative paragraph of this resolution and on the resolution establishing the Working Group of 21.) Votingin the negative were the Soviet group, four Arab nations, France, and South Africa. Abstaining were six Arab nations and a few close African neighbors plus Belgium, Spain, and Yugoslavia. A third vote on the Court's opinion came earlier when Jordan submitted an amendment that asked the General Assembly 'to take note of' the opinion rather than 'accept' it. Jordan's amendment was rejected by a 28-61-14 vote, being supported by the Soviet and Arab groups, and also Guinea, Mali, Madagascar, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, and Belgium.

A measure of the voting cohesiveness of each regional group was obtained through calculating an index of agreement for each pair in the group and averaging the indices for all pairs. The index of agreement used is that proposed by Arend Lijphart which takes into account the three voting alternatives in the United Nations: yes, no, and abstain. The Lijphart procedure makes it possible for an index of agreement between two nations on a single vote to have three conditions: (1) Nation A and nation B may be in complete agreement by both voting in favor, both voting against, or both abstaining; (2) A and B may be in complete disagreement, that is, when A votes infavor and B against, or vice versa; (3) A and B may be in partial agreement, that is, one of them votes either in favor or against, and the other abstains. Lijphart's formula for calculating an index of agreement (IA) is as follows:

$$IA = \frac{f + \frac{1}{2}g}{t} \times 100\,\%$$

in which t equals the total number of votes under consideration, / equals the number of votes on which A and B are in full agreement, and g equals the number of votes on which they agree only in part. An index of agreement of 100 % indicates full agreement on all roll call votes and an index of zero indicates that the two countries always vote opposite. When one of a pair of nations is absent for a vote, no index is calculated for that pair on that vote (Lijphart 1963, p. 910).

Table 4.7 Comparison of regional group voting and interaction

Regional group (no. of nations)[a]	Voting agreement	(Rank)	Intragroup interaction	(Rank)
Soviet (11)	97.99	1	0.61	2
Latin America (18)	92.07	2	0.64	1
Western Europe (15)	84.54	3	0.25	5
Sub-Sahara Africa (16)	84.03	4	0.17	7
Commonwealth (12)	83.39	5	0.24	6
NATO (13)	83.37	6	0.44	3
Arab (11)	82.85	7	0.16	8
Asia (13)	80.11	8	0.28	4
Spearman rank correlation = 0.50 (not significant at 0.05 level) $N = 8$				

[a] Applies to voting data only. Number of nations for whom interactions are recorded is provided in Table 4.6

Table 4.7 provides the average indices of voting agreement for regional groups.[16] Voting agreement for all groups is above 80 %. The Soviet group and Latin America stand out at the top of the rankings, with voting agreement indices of 98 and 92 respectively. The other six groups cluster between 80 and 84. There is not a significant rank correlation between voting agreement of groups and percentage of intragroup interaction of groups (Spearman rank correlation, 0.50). On the other hand, the fact that the Soviet and Latin American groups are both widely separated from the other groups in percentage of voting agreement and intragroup interaction suggests that there may be a relationship between these two variables. This relationship should be investigated further in a committee where group voting agreement scores are more dispersed.

4.8 Effect of Non-Committee Roles on Individual Behavior

Individual delegate characteristics, such as personality, past experiences, and non-committee roles, appear to have an effect on committee activity. Observation has revealed cases where change in delegates alters a nation's rate of participation in a committee from high to low, without evident change in policy. With different representation a nation's influence on the parliamentary process may change considerably. Some delegates seem not to have the qualities necessary for becoming mobile operators in a parliamentary body, while others thrive on it. But some who are mobile are more effective than others. Delegates often mention the importance of trust in their relationship with other delegates. Trust between delegates seems not to be strongly related to the state of relations between their nations. Irrespective of nationality, some delegates have the confidence of other delegates

[16] Indices were computed by a program written for the CDC 3400 computer by Allen R. Wilcox, Department of Political Science, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University.

who trust that their promises will be kept and that information they offer is accurate. The trust seems to be based both on the qualities of the presentation of self to others and on performance in parliamentary activity.

Participants in General Assembly delegations come not only from national permanent missions at the United Nations but also from other posts. In the Fifth Committee, permanent mission personnel participated in 2,436 interactions, with officials from other posts participating in 2,758. If the officials coming from other posts are separated into categories, the distribution is as follows:

Post (no. of interactors) no. of interactions	Post (no. of interactors) no. of interactions
UN permanent mission (41)	2,436
Foreign office (26)	1,728
Overseas missions (13)	651
Private citizens (4)	221
Parliamentarians (5)	114
Other government post (2)	44
Unknown	1,448
Total	6,642

The high number of interactions by permanent mission personnel fulfilled expectations. As permanent participants in United Nations activities, they know each other, are inclined to be informed on substantive issues, and are experienced in United Nations parliamentary activity.

Another perspective on the relationship between post and interaction is obtained if the number of interactors from each post is taken into account. Table 4.8 shows that the 91 identified interactors come primarily from permanent missions (41), foreign offices (26), and other foreign posts (13). The foreign office personnel have the highest rate of interaction (66), in contrast to 60 for permanent missions, and 50 for those from other posts. A Chi square one sample test reveals that the post of a delegate is positively related to the amount of his interaction, with only a 0.001 probability that the observed relationship occurred by chance. The high interaction rate of foreign office personnel on the Fifth Committee could be partially explained by the fact that many come from foreign office bureaus where they work on Fifth Committee problems. Furthermore, many have had prior service on this committee. The importance of length of service in the Assembly to interaction is supported by the fact that the ten highest interactors participated in the Assembly an average of 4.2 years, while the other 81 delegates served an average of only 2.5 years.

Similar differences between posts are found for interaction initiatives taken and initiatives received. Once again foreign office personnel have the highest rate, followed by permanent mission delegates and those from other overseas posts. There are greater differences among posts in regard to initiatives taken than in regard to initiatives received. Nevertheless, differences among posts for both initiatives taken and initiatives received are significant with Chi square one sample tests showing the significance level to be 0.001 for initiatives taken and 0.02 for initiatives received.

Table 4.8 Interactions and public speaking by post[a]

Post	No of interactions	Observed average	Expected average
Total interactions			
Permanent mission	41	59.4	44.7
Foreign office	26	65.8	44.7
Overseas post	13	49.3	44.7
Parliamentarian	5	21.6	44.7
Other government post	2	17.0	44.7
Private citizen	4	55.0	44.7
	91	268.1	
$\chi^2 = 46.7$ (5 degrees of freedom, significant at 0.001 level)			
	Initiatives taken		
Permanent mission	41	18.2	14.7
Foreign office	26	21.3	14.7
Overseas post	13	14.8	14.7
Parliamentarian	5	5.6	14.7
Other government post	2	3.5	14.7
Private citizen	4	25.0	14.7
	91	88.4	
χ^2–25.2 (5 degrees of freedom, significant at 0.001 level)			
	Initiatives received		
Permanent mission	41	14.0	12.3
Foreign office	26	17.2	12.3
Overseas post	13	16.8	12.3
Parliamentarian	5	4.8	12.3
Other government post	2	5.0	12.3
Private citizen	4	15.8	12.3
	91	73.6	
$\chi^2 = 13.7$ (5 degrees of freedom, significant at 0.02 level)			
	Speeches		
Permanent mission	41	7.0	7.6
Foreign office	26	7.8	7.6
Overseas post	13	7.5	7.6
Parliamentarian	5	5.8	7.6
Other government post	2	3.0	7.6
Private citizen	4	14.5	7.6
	91	45.6	
$\chi^2 = 9.7$ (5 degrees of freedom, significant at 0.10 level)			

[a] Chi square one sample test used, a goodness-of-fit test used to test whether a significant difference exists between an observed distribution and a distribution that would be expected by chance (Siegel 1956, pp. 42–47)

Table 4.8 reveals that foreign office, permanent mission, and other overseas post personnel all intervened in public debate an average of seven to eight times. The relationship between public speaking and post is not significant at the 0.05 level. Thus, at least in the 17th Session of the General Assembly, the Fifth Committee interaction data give the researcher a greater ability to discriminate

between the activity of delegates from different posts than is the case with public speaking data.

Eleven delegates who served on the committee are members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the total membership of the body except for its chairman, although one member was only present for part of the session. They serve on the committee as individual experts in closed meetings, giving detailed attention to budgetary and administrative requests of the Secretary-General. After detailed examination of his requests, they make recommendations to the Assembly, and the recommendations, along with the Secretary-General's requests, are considered by the Fifth Committee. The recommendations of the ACABQ carry much weight and generally are accepted with few modifications. Because members of the ACABQ—in the formal sense at least—serve as individuals, nations have no obligation to appoint them to the Fifth Committee. Since the experts are drawn from permanent missions, and occasionally foreign offices, however, it is convenient for nations to use their expertise in the latter committee. Here they are no longer individual experts, but serve as representatives of their governments. In this capacity, they may occasionally take different positions than they did in meetings of the ACABQ. In the Fifth Committee meetings, the ACABQ is represented by its chairman, who sits at the chairman's desk and occasionally explains the position of the ACABQ, but never speaks for his nation.

Trygve Lie thought that membership in the Advisory Committee should disqualify a person from service in the Fifth Committee. It did not seem appropriate to him that Advisory Committee members "also represent their Governments [in the General Assembly]… where they act as advocates for the Advisory Committee or may argue or vote against its recommendations" (Singer 1957, p. 402). On the other hand, it might be considered beneficial to have the expertise of ACABQ members injected into Fifth Committee deliberations. It is not the purpose of this paper to render a judgment, but to extend knowledge of their committee behavior as it compares to other members'.

It appears to the observer of the Fifth Committee that some members of the ACABQ demonstrate superior knowledge of a number of items on the committee agenda, that other members of the Fifth Committee acknowledge their expertise, and that members of the ACABQ manifest interest in obtaining acceptance of their recommendations. On the basis of general impressions of the session under examination, five members appeared to be quite active committee members (Argentina, Iraq, U.K., U.S., U.S.S.R.), three moderately active (Nigeria, Pakistan, and Sudan), and three engaged in little activity (Chile, France, and Romania). But over-all it would be expected that members of the ACABQ interact more and speak more than members of the committee that are not on the ACABQ. Furthermore, if members of the ACABQ interact more than other members, this would tend to support argument for the importance of interaction to the legislative process.

The data reveal that ACABQ members do indeed engage in more interactions and make more speeches than other members of the committee. Based on the 91 identified committee members who participated in interaction, it is found that

ACABQ members interact an average of 99 times, whereas other members of the committee interact only 51 times. In addition, ACABQ members speak an average of 24 times, whereas non-ACABQ members speak an average of five times. Chi square one sample tests reveal that both of these differences are significant at the 0.001 level. It is noted, however, that whereas ACABQ members speak over four times as much as their colleagues, they interact only twice as much.

4.9 Individual Reputation for Being Capable and Informed

It would be expected that members of the ACABQ would receive greater respect from their colleagues in the committee than other members, and a modest effort was made to ascertain the extent to which this is so. Since reliable information on this question can best be obtained from delegates with whom the researcher has had considerable contact and rapport, only seven such persons were interviewed to obtain the information, of whom six were willing to name individuals. Each was asked to name the delegates in the Fifth Committee considered to be the "most informed on Fifth Committee business" and those considered to be the "most capable in obtaining their objectives." Each of the six delegates who supplied names was from a different nation, with two from North America, two from Europe, one from the old Commonwealth, and one from Africa. With each respondent permitted to name as many delegates as he wished, they cited 25 persons as being capable and 20 as being well-informed. All but two of those on the informed list are on the capable list as well, but eight of those on the latter are not on the former. This indication that a reputation for being informed is harder to achieve than recognition of being capable is further supported by the fact that a total of 71 nominations were made for capable delegates (with the highest individual score being seven) and a total of only 38 nominations were made for informed delegates (with the highest individual score being five).

Returning to the ACABQ, it is found that its members are more likely to be given credit for being informed and capable than are nonmembers. When the number of ACABQ members receiving nominations is compared with those of the other 80 identified interactors, we find that ACABQ members are more frequently identified as highly capable and informed than are nonmembers, and less frequently identified as noncapable and noninformed. Whereas six of the 11 ACABQ members were identified as informed, only 14 of 80 nonmembers were nominated. Nine of the 11 ACABQ members were identified as capable but only 17 of the 80 nonmembers. Chi square tests[17] show ACABQ members to be significantly different from other committee members in both cases, with a 0.02 significance level for 'informed' and a 0.001 significance level for 'capable'. It was expected that more ACABQ members would receive nominations for being capable and informed than other committee members, but it was not expected that ACABQ members

[17] Chi square tests for 2×2 tables with correction for continuity (Siegel 1956, pp. 107–109).

Table 4.9 Average number of nominations of ACABQ and non-ACABQ for capable and informed list

	Capable		Informed	
	No of delegates	Average number of nominations	No of delegates	Average number of nominations
ACABQ	9	3.67	6	3.00
Non-ACABQ	17	2.29	14	1.43
	Mann–Whitney U = 57 not significant at 0.05		Mann–Whitney U = 74 significant at 0.01	

would be distinguished from other members more on the basis of capability than on the basis of knowledge about committee business.

This kind of test of ACABQ repute for being informed and capable is not completely satisfying, because persons nominated receive equal weight no matter how many times they are mentioned. A complementary approach is to work only with the population of persons nominated as capable or informed, and ask: Did individual members of the ACABQ or individual non-ACABQ members receive a higher number of nominations? Table 4.9 reveals that individual members of the ACABQ are nominated more often as both capable and informed; however, when the question is asked in this form, the ACABQ members are distinguished from the rest of the committee more for their reputation for being informed. When the Mann–Whitney U Test[18] is applied to the data to determine whether ACABQ scores (average number of times each member is nominated) are larger than non-ACABQ scores, there is not a significant difference at the 0.05 level for capable scores, but there is a significant difference at the 0.01 level for the informed scores.

The data on the reputation of ACABQ members for being capable and informed must be handled with restraint, since it represents the judgment of only six committee members. Nevertheless, it does support observer judgment and fits in with conclusions based on other legislative bodies. Richard Fenno, writing of the Appropriations Committee of the United States House of Representatives, concludes:

> Within the Committee, respect, deference and power are earned through subcommittee activity and, hence to a degree, through specialization. Specialization is valued further because it is well suited to the task of guarding the Treasury. Only by specializing, Committee members believe, can they unearth the volume of factual information necessary for the intelligent screening of budget requests (Fenno 1962, p. 316).

The ACABQ is the guardian of the United Nations treasury, and specialization permits it to achieve its goal.

So far as budgetary and administrative questions are concerned, observer judgment is that the members of the ACABQ have not only the respect of their colleagues, but they also have considerable influence. Their recommendations are rarely challenged by the full committee. Though many of these recommendations are accepted without resolutions sponsored by delegations, an effort was made to

[18] Mann–Whitney U Test is used as a nonparametric alternative to the parametric/-test for difference between means (Siegel 1956, pp. 116–126).

Table 4.10 Speaking and interaction of capable and informed compared to other delegates

	Delegates named as capable and/or informed ($N = 27$)		All other delegates ($N = 64$)		
	Mean	Total	Mean	Total	
Interactions	129.78	3,504	25.67	1,643	Mann–Whitney U test = 2.63 (significant at 0.004 level)
Speeches	16.66	450	3.61	231	Mann–Whitney U test = 4.84 (significant at 0.00003 level)

find out whether delegations with ACABQ members have greater success in getting resolutions and amendments they sponsor accepted. It was found that delegations with ACABQ members are more involved in sponsorship, with 10 of 11 delegations sponsoring an item, whereas only 44 of the other 99 were sponsors. But delegations with ACABQ members differ little from other delegations in ratio of successes to failures (80 % of the ACABQ delegations had 100 % success and 84 % of other delegations had 100 % success). With 45 of 54 sponsoring delegations having complete success, successful sponsorship is not a very useful basis for discriminating among delegations in this session of the Fifth Committee.

It was expected that those named as capable and informed would be more active participants in the Fifth Committee than other members. This is the case, with delegates named as either capable and informed giving significantly more speeches and participating in significantly more interactions than delegates not so named. Table 4.10 reveals that those delegates named as capable and/or informed have a mean interaction rate of 130 compared to 26 for other committee members. Those nominated as capable and/or informed speak an average of 17 times compared to four for other committee members. The strong relationship between a reputation for being capable and/or informed and rate of participation in both private conversation and public debate conforms to findings in a number of natural and experimental settings that are summarized by Collins and Guetzkow (1964, pp. 155–156). Particularly relevant is the finding by Bates (1952) and by Borgatta and Bales (1956) that amount of communication sent and reputation for “who contributed the most to carrying out the assigned task of the group” are highly correlated.

4.10 Summary and Conclusion

Observation in the United Nations General Assembly supports Garland Routt’s assertion, based on observation of interaction in the Illinois Senate, that high interactors play important legislative roles.[19] An observer attempting to follow the leg-

[19] Further confirmation of this assertion has been obtained through analysis of interaction in a 1963 session of the Fifth Committee and comparing it with participation in negotiation outside the committee chamber (Alger 1966a, b).

islative process finds that high interactors are those who seem to be most active in drafting resolutions and obtaining support for them. But interaction is not highly correlated with the sponsorship of resolutions and amendments, apparently because many sponsors neither write resolutions and amendments nor take major responsibility for the development of support of them.

Variation in the interaction rate that accompanies different issues indicates relationship between interaction and the legislative process. More controversial items appear to generate a higher rate of interaction. Further evidence of relationship between interaction and legislative activity is provided by patterns that give the observer cues to mediation efforts. In addition, proof that interaction gives useful cues to the observer is provided when a nation such as France, which would normally be expected to play a prominent role, is not active in interaction and is also inactive in the parliamentary process that extends outside the chamber.

Observation of the Fifth Committee tended not to support explanations of differences between Soviet and Western behavior, in ‘informal’ parliamentary activity that are based solely on cultural differences. It is suggested that Soviet interactional behavior, and that of all nations, might more effectively be explained by a number of factors: (1) degree of issue interest, (2) national policy (whether close enough to majority to permit negotiation), (3) national ties outside the organization, (4) working relationships of individuals in different delegations, and (5) individual delegate characteristics (perception of parliamentary process, knowledge of issues, personality).

Amount of nation interaction is more related to a number of other measures of United Nations participation than is public speaking. Measures for participation used are number in permanent mission, number in Assembly delegation, voluntary financial contributions, regular budget contributions, total United Nations financial contributions, and total payments/GNP. Attendance at Fifth Committee meetings is related equally to public speaking and interaction. Comparison based on national characteristics shows interaction to be more related to GNP and GNP/population, and public speaking to be more related to population. The stronger relationship between most of these variables and interaction suggests that interaction may better reflect some aspects of national activity in the United Nations than records of public debate.

This hunch is given further support by an examination of a scatter diagram on which public speaking by nation is plotted against interaction. Although interaction and public speaking correlate 0.70, there is an important group of deviant cases that is high in interaction (ranking from 2–7) and relatively lower in public speaking (ranking 17–35). Three of these nations (Canada, Ireland, and the Netherlands) rank in the first four of nations with the largest number of intensive interaction relationships. That is, for those pairs of nations that have more than 16 interactions, these nations are hubs of communication wheels. They are also known to be important participants in the legislative process. However, it is unlikely that their important role would be discerned from records of public debate.

Of all the measures of interaction available, number of initiatives received correlates most highly with public speaking. This finding offers some support for a hypothesis, developed out of an earlier study, that interaction serves as a feedback system for public debate. This hypothesis was generated by analysis of interaction data collected during brief observation of the Security Council (Alger 1961). It is of considerable interest because of reports from experimental research with small groups indicating that opportunity for feedback increases the accuracy of reception of messages and increases receiver and sender confidence in their part in the communication process. These factors in turn increase amity, whereas the absence of feedback engenders greater hostility (Leavitt and Mueller 1955).

Considerable variation is found in the percentage of intra-group interaction among regional groups, with the Latin American and Soviet groups having a much higher percentage of such interaction than all others. These two groups also had much higher indices of voting agreement than all others, with little difference between the voting agreement of the other six. Though the rank correlation between voting cohesion and intragroup interaction scores for all groups was not significant, the performance of the Latin American and Soviet groups suggests that there may be some relationship between these two variables. This relationship might be revealed more clearly in committees where group scores on voting cohesion are more dispersed.

There is a significant relationship between the permanent roles of General Assembly delegates and their quantity of interaction, with foreign office personnel being the most active, followed by members of UN permanent missions. Though there is a similar tendency in public speaking, it is not significant at the 0.05 level. Delegates that rank high in interaction have had more years of Assembly service than others. Delegates considered to be capable and informed by other delegates have significantly more interactions than other delegates. They also deliver significantly more speeches.

Members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions have significantly more interactions and also deliver significantly more speeches than other nonmember delegates. They also have a reputation among their colleagues for being more capable and more informed. The eleven individuals on the ACABQ nominated to a list of capable and a list of informed delegates received a higher average number of nominations than other delegates. Their average number of nominations for being informed is significant at the 0.05 level, while their average number of nominations for being capable is not significant. In general, the findings on ACABQ members tend to conform with data collected on the roles of specialists in other parliamentary bodies.

In conclusion, this study of interaction in a General Assembly committee has tended to indicate that in some respects the parliamentary process in an international organization is similar to that found in the parliamentary bodies of nations and their subdivisions. There are also indications that social processes in international parliamentary bodies are, in some respects, similar to those found in face-to-face groups operating in quite different settings.

There is considerable evidence that many of the interactions observed during meetings of the Fifth Committee are significantly related to the handling of the issues before it. The researcher obtains a different appraisal of the activity of some delegates through observing interaction than he does through listening to the public debate. Cues to important actions never discussed in public debate can be discerned through observation. If these kinds of data appear important to the researcher, he should consider adding the collection of interaction data to his research strategy. This conclusion seems to be applicable not only to international parliamentary bodies, but also to those found in a variety of other political units.

Chapter 5
Interaction and Negotiation in a Committee of the United Nations General Assembly

5.1 Introduction[1]

The careful observer of main committees of the General Assembly, and other public United Nations bodies as well, soon becomes aware that two kinds of activity are taking place simultaneously before his eyes.[2] There is a continuous flow of *public* debate heard by all in the room, and there are frequent *private* conversations between two or more delegates that are heard only by those involved. Delegates are seated at two long horseshoe desks, one placed inside the other. Conversations may be carried on by delegates seated next to each other. They also move around the chamber, sometimes sitting down behind another delegate to talk and at other times standing and talking with others who also are circulating. An observer in the press gallery, after he learns to recognize the participants, can make a record of who talks to whom, who initiates the interaction, and how long they talk. Such a record was kept during 18 of the 22 meetings of the Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary Committee) during the Fourth Special Session of the General Assembly in May and June 1963. This paper will be devoted primarily to an analysis of the 1,752 interactions observed during the 18 meetings.

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[1] This chapter was first published as: "Interaction and Negotiation in a Committee of the United Nations General Assembly." In *Peace Research Society (International) Papers* (Philadelphia Conference, 1965), Vol. V, 1966, 141–159, and in Rosenau, James N. (ed.) *International Politics and Foreign Policy*: *A Reader in Research and Theory* (revised edition). New York: The Free Press, 1969, 483–497. The permission to republish this text was granted by the author.

[2] Data for this paper were collected while the author was Visiting Professor of United Nations Affairs at New York University with generous research support provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. Through a grant to the International Relations Program at Northwestern University, the Carnegie Corporation provided assistance for data analysis. Professor Robert Weiner, Northeastern University, collected the interaction data and Mr. Manus Midlarsky, Northwestern University, assisted with data processing. Professors Harold Guetzkow and Raymond Tanter of Northwestern University provided valuable criticism of an earlier draft. Mrs. Lucille Mayer assisted in all stages of the paper, particularly in the presentation of data in tables and figures.

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Like all of the main committees of the General Assembly, the Fifth Committee is a committee of the whole, with all nations in the United Nations as members (111 in 1963). National delegations in the committee range from one to five in size, with most nations having one person in attendance and others rarely having more than two present. During the session analyzed here, the observer was able to identify 130 delegates, 88 by name, and 42 by designations invented by the observer.

Analysis of 3,475 interactions observed in an earlier session of the same committee has been reported already (Alger 1967). Systematic observation data have been collected and analyzed as one part of an effort to study the effect of political and social processes in intergovernmental organizations on intergovernmental conflict and consensus development.[3] Field work at the United Nations over a period of 7 years has revealed that the voluminous and, to the scholar, highly valuable documentary records of UN proceedings provide only a partial view of the legislative process. The political scientist often finds it necessary to supplement analysis of documentary records with interviews and informal discussion with diplomats. Exploration in the collection and analysis of observation data has been undertaken because of a hunch that such data can offer information complementary to the already mentioned data collecting techniques. In addition, observation data may offer valuable short cuts to the scholar who finds it necessary to interview in the study of legislative processes, as an aid in identifying key participants and in generating hypotheses.

5.2 The Seventeenth Regular Session

The earlier analysis of Fifth Committee interactions is based on data collected during 52 meetings from October to December 1962 (the Seventeenth Regular Session of the General Assembly). The analysis supported Garland Routt's assertion in 1938, based on observation of interaction in the Illinois Senate, that high interactors play important legislative roles (Routt 1938). High interactors tended to be the ones the observer knew to be most active in drafting resolutions and in obtaining support for them. This conclusion was based on information obtained in contact with committee members outside the committee chamber. Variation in the interaction rate as the committee debated different issues also pointed to a relationship between interaction and the legislative process.

The analysis indicated that observation of legislative bodies may be a source of information about the legislative process that is complementary to records of public debate. Delegates of certain nations known to play key roles in the legislative process ranked much higher in number of interactions than they did in rankings based on the quantity of contribution to public debate. The number of interactions by a nation's delegates was found to be related more to a number of other measures of United Nations participation than was public speaking. Measures of UN

[3] See Alger (1961, 1963, and 1965) for studies based on interviews, informal discussions with diplomats, and less systematic observation.

participation used were: number in UN permanent mission, number in General Assembly delegation, and financial contributions to the UN. Quantity of a nation's interactions also was related more to GNP and GNP/population than was public speaking, but public speaking was found to be related more to population.

5.3 The Fourth Special Session

The analysis of data for another session of the same HI nation committee offers an opportunity to see if conclusions of the earlier study apply to more than one session. Data for the more recent session also permit a more probing analysis of the relationship between observed interactions in the committee chamber and those aspects of the legislative process that take place elsewhere. This is possible because in the Fourth Special Session the General Assembly had only one agenda item, the financing of peacekeeping operations, instead of the normal load of approximately one hundred items. Therefore, only the Fifth Committee was in session, instead of all seven main committees. Thus, it was possible for the observer to follow in greater depth the less public aspects of the legislative process through conversations with committee members, because their attention was focused primarily on one issue for a longer period of time. In addition, the observer was able to get more information on negotiations outside the chamber in the Special Session, because he had developed more contact with delegates.

The Fourth Special Session of the General Assembly was called by the Seventeenth Regular Session in December 1962 to handle UN financial problems caused by unwillingness of certain members to pay assessments for the United Nations Emergency Force in Suez (UNEF) and the UN Force in the Congo (ONUC). Although it was not expected that the Special Session would solve outstanding financial problems, some hoped that it would be possible to devise a special scale of assessment of peace-keeping operations. Some members believed that a Special Session devoted exclusively to financial problems would highlight the organization's financial difficulties, educate more diplomats in UN financial issues, and, in particular, get heads of missions and their deputies more interested in and more involved in financial problems. The Special Session ran from May 14 to June 27, 1963, and produced seven resolutions which all received between 79 and 95 affirmative votes out of a possible 111. The resolutions provided general principles for sharing of peace-keeping costs, authorized expenditures for UNEF and ONUC, appealed to members to pay their arrears, extended the period during which UN bonds (to support peace-keeping activity) could be sold, and established procedures for continuing the effort to find more long-range solutions to problems of peace-keeping finance.[4]

[4] For further details see United Nations, General Assembly, Fourth Special Session, Fifth Committee and Plenary, *Official Records,* 1963. Also see Singer (1961, pp. 96–121) for fuller information on the role of the Fifth Committee in the U.N. General Assembly.

In debate and negotiation in the Special Session the committee tended to divide into three groups. France, the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies, and a few other nations claimed that the peacekeeping operations violated the UN Charter. They were unwilling to enter into negotiations on how to finance them. Therefore, the legislative struggle was waged between two other groups, referred to by the committee as the developed countries (DC) and the less developed countries (LDC). The major issue was how expenses for past and future peace-keeping operations should be apportioned among the members, with the LDC desiring a scale of assessment with a lesser burden on them than is required by the regular scale of assessment. Lengthy negotiations of the two groups were carried on outside the committee chamber and eventually produced resolutions supported by most members of both groups.

5.4 Overall Comparisons of Interaction in the Two Sessions

In the Special Session 1,752 interactions were observed in 18 meetings, an average of 97 interactions per meeting—length of meetings varied from thirty minutes to three and one-half hours. This is almost one-third more than the rate of 67 in the Seventeenth Session where 3,475 interactions were observed during 52 meetings. As was the case in the Seventeenth Session, only 11 nations contributed over one-half of the interactions. Figure 5.1 shows that the number of interactions per nation for the two sessions produce distributions that are quite similar. If the table were more detailed on the lower end, it would reveal that 41 nations participated in a total of less than 3 % of the interactions in the Seventeenth Session and 70 nations participated in less than 3 % in the Special Session.

Table 5.1 shows the number and percentage of interactions that were between seatmates for both sessions. With thirty-six per cent seatmate interactions in one session and thirty-two per cent in the other, the percentage is quite constant. With one observer recording interactions for 111 nations it is possible that some seatmate interactions of very short duration were missed. Because delegations shifted five places to the right every week, thus varying the ability of the observer to see them, the bias introduced by missing seatmate interactions is not likely to be great. It is believed that few nonseatmate interactions were missed, because delegates can be observed quite easily as they move from one spot to another.

Deciding whether or not to include seatmate interactions in analyses of interactions is difficult. It is likely that a higher percentage of the nonseatmate interactions are of direct consequence to the legislative process. This conclusion rests on the assumption that a delegate who leaves his seat to talk to another person more often has a legislative goal in mind than a delegate who makes a comment to his seatmate. On the other hand, seatmates, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, certainly talk a lot about matters they would discuss even if they were not seatmates. Partially because nonseatmate interaction counts are deemed to be more reliable and because they include a higher percentage of purposeful

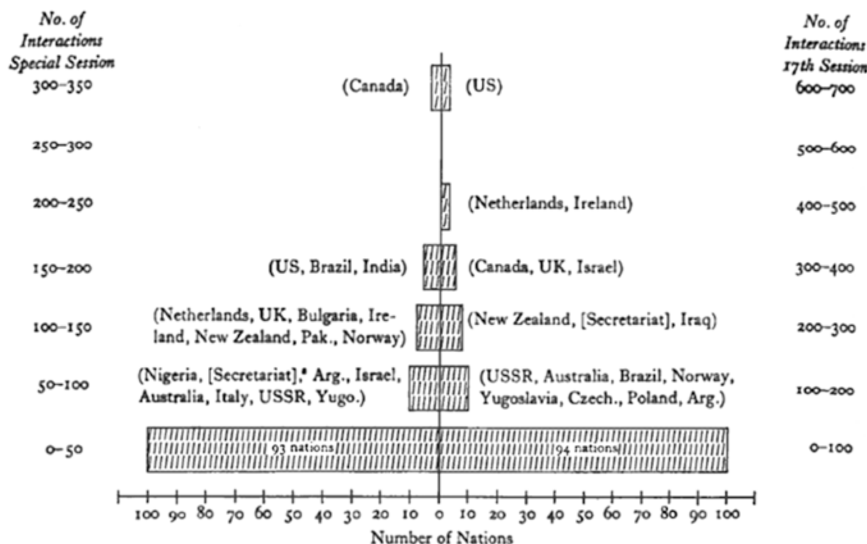

Fig. 5.1 Total interactions by nation for both sessions. [a] Although Secretariat activity is included in tables, it will not be discussed in this paper

Table 5.1 Number of seatmate interactions for the two sessions

	17th session interactions		Special session interactions	
Seatmate	1243	36 %	560	32 %
Nonseatmate	2232	64 %	1192	68 %
Total	3475	100 %	1752	100 %

legislative activity, they alone will be used in the analysis that follows (except where noted otherwise).

Analysis of the Seventeenth Session revealed that nation ranks in number of interactions were correlated more closely with seven other measures of UN participation than was nation rank based on number of public speeches. Other measures of UN participation used were: number of resolutions and amendments sponsored, number in General Assembly delegation, number in UN permanent mission, voluntary financial contributions to the UN, regular budget contributions, total UN contributions, and UN contributions as a percentage of gross national product.[5] Table 5.2 reveals that there is also a closer rank correlation in the Special Session between these measures of nation participation in the UN and number of interactions than is the case with number of speeches. Interaction also was correlated more closely in the Seventeenth Session with gross national product and GNP/population than was public speaking. This is the case in the Special Session as well.

[5] All correlations in this paper are Spearman rank correlations.

Table 5.2 Spearman rank correlations for speaking, interaction, nation investment of men and money in the UN and nation characteristics

Variable		Number of interactions		Total	Length
		Nonseatmate		Speeches in minutes	
		17th	Special	17th	Special
No. in permanent mission	(N = 96)	0.42	0.36	0.30	0.14
No. in general assembly	(JV = 96)	0.48	0.53	0.43	0.22
Voluntary contributions	(N = 96)	0.52	0.56	0.39	0.18
Regular budget	(AT = 96)	0.59	0.59	0.45	0.28
Total UN contributions	(N = 93)	0.59	0.60	0.46	0.25
UN payments/GNP	(N = 93)	0.18	0.18	0.07	−0.08
Diplomats abroad[a]	(N = 108)	n.a.	0.55	n.a.	0.18
Exports	(N = 106)	n.a.	0.60	n.a.	0.20
GNP	(N = 90)	0.52	0.56	0.42	0.22
GNP/population	(N = 90)	0.53	0.45	0.23	−0.04
Population	(N = 90)	0.29	0.35	0.35	0.36
Resolutions and amendments sponsored	(N = 111)	0.38	0.28	0.32	0.17

[a] Number of diplomats abroad taken from Alger and Brams, “Patterns of Representation in National Capitals and Intergovernmental Organizations” (1967)

Two variables appear in Table 5.2 that were not used in the Seventeenth Session analysis: number of diplomats abroad and exports. These also correlate much more closely with interaction than with speaking. Of all the nation measures chosen in the Seventeenth Session, only population related more closely with public speaking than interaction. This is the case in the Special Session as well, although the difference between population correlation with public speaking and interaction is very slight (0.36 and 0.35). Thus, over two sessions there is considerable stability in the comparative relationship of interaction and public speaking to the ten variables. The correlations involving interactions are much more stable than those involving speeches. The average change in interaction correlations is 4.3, whereas the average change in speaking correlations is 16.5, with changes in public speaking correlations almost all downward. There is no obvious hypothesis for this consistent downward pattern. Particularly striking is the high and stable correlation (59) between interaction and regular budget contributions across the two sessions.

5.5 Negotiation and Interaction

Differences between the Seventeenth and the Special Session are crucial to analysis of the relationship between interaction in the Fifth Committee and negotiation outside the chamber. During the Seventeenth Session, the Fifth Committee

handled a number of administrative and budgetary questions. These included annual problems, such as budget estimates, the scale for assessing members, geographic distribution of Secretariat posts, and also less recurrent items, such as financing of the Congo and Middle East operations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on financing of these operations. During the Special Session, on the other hand, the Fifth Committee devoted itself completely to the financing of peace-keeping operations.

As a committee with a number of items on its agenda moves from one item to another, there is some change in the list of nations most involved in debate and legislative activity outside the chamber. While public debate proceeds on one item, interaction in the chamber and activity outside may be devoted to others soon to be debated. Thus, normally it is not possible to assume that interaction in committee meetings is concerned with the same item as is legislative activity outside the chamber or public debate. The Special Session provides an unusual opportunity for assessing the relationship between nation participation in public debate, interaction, and negotiation outside the chamber, because the committee is concerned with only one item. Because interaction and public debate data are available on the earlier Seventeenth Session, performance on the Special Session issue can be contrasted with data summarizing Fifth Committee performance across most kinds of issues handled by the committee.

While a one item committee session provides the researcher with a remarkable opportunity for a field experiment, there could be concern that a Special Session could cause crucial variation other than limitation of the agenda. For example, in the Special Session some ambassadors had more opportunity to give personal attention to Fifth Committee activity than is normally the case. While there is no conclusive evidence against that kind of variation, the stability of some dimensions of interaction across the two sessions provide evidence that the Special Session did not vary in basic parameters crucial to the analysis. It has been reported already that frequency curves for interactions per nation are rather similar across the two sessions (Fig. 5.1). Number of seatmate interactions is rather constant (Table 5.1). Correlations between nation interaction and nation contribution to the UN are almost identical across the two sessions (Table 5.2). There is also a 0.90 rank correlation between the ranks of eight regional groups in per cent of intragroup interaction across the two sessions.[6]

An important part of the political process in the General Assembly is discussion and negotiation outside the chamber as delegates exchange ideas on issues and pass around, amend, and negotiate the wording of resolutions. The discussions often are quite impromptu, in corridor, lounge and dining room. Sometimes they are a result of a planned strategy. Occasionally they develop into rather informal meetings in small committee rooms at United Nations headquarters and in national

[6] In Special Session rank order the groups are: Soviet (2), NATO (3), Latin America (1), Commonwealth (5) >Western Europe (4), Asia (6), Sub-Sahara Africa (7), and Arab (8). (Seventeenth Session ranks are in parentheses).

Table 5.3 Number of meetings of negotiators and regional groups in special session

Negotiators	
Developed countries	12
Lesser developed countries	6
Developed and lesser developed countries	18
Total	36
Regional groups	
Developed (W. Europe, U.S., Canada, Japan)	7
Latin America	5
Afro-Asia	12
Afro-Asia subgroup (Lesser developed countries + Cameroon, Japan, U.A.R.)	3
Commonwealth	2
Arab	4
Total	33
Entire fifth committee	
Public meetings of fifth committee	22

missions scattered around the East Side of New York.[7] During the Special Session, the Fifth Committee utilized highly structured negotiating procedures through which five developed nations and five less developed nations negotiated outstanding issues. The five developed nations were Canada, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, and United States. The five less developed nations were Argentina, Brazil, India, Nigeria, and Pakistan. The observer collected information in discussions with delegates as negotiations progressed revealing that the negotiators held a total of 36 meetings (12 for the developed nation representatives alone, six for the developing nations alone, and 18 negotiating sessions attended by both groups). In addition, Table 5.3 shows that the various regional groups who provided guidelines to their representatives on the negotiating teams held 33 meetings. In meetings between the two negotiating teams, the Canadian representative served as the chairman. He is given much credit by both LDC and DC negotiators for what was achieved in the negotiations.

Examination of nonseatmate interactions in the Seventeenth Session (Table 5.4) reveals that nations chosen as negotiators for the Special Session rank high as interactors in the Special Session. Seven of the ten rank among the first 22 interactors (U.S., Canada, Netherlands, U.K., Brazil, Argentina, India) with five negotiators among the first ten ranks. Past performance in interaction was a better indicator of who would be chosen as a Special Session negotiator than public speaking, because only five negotiators are among the first twenty in time spent in public speeches. Canada, the most active in interaction during the Seventeenth Session, with the exception of the United States, chaired the negotiation sessions. (It would not be expected that diplomats from a super power would assume the role of chairman.)

[7] See Hadwen and Kaufmann (1962), Chaps. 2 and 3, for informative description of the UN political process.

Table 5.4 Highest ranked nations in interaction and public speaking for both sessions[a]

Nonseatmate interactions				Total length of speeches			
17th sessions		Special session		17th sessions		Special session	
*U.S.	436	*Canada	315	(Secretariat)	1259	(Secretariat)	160
*Canada	317	*U.S.	149	*U.K.	323	U.S.S.R.	126
*Netherlands	252	*India	140	U.S.S.R.	294	Ukraine	7i
(Secretariat)	215	*Brazil	120	*U.S.	287	*Pakistan	61
Ireland	173	*Netherlands	96	Iraq	248	Bulgaria	56
*U.K.	157	*U.K.	93	Australia	209	Indonesia	47
Norway	145	*Pakistan	91	Czech.	167	Hungary	45
*Brazil	137	(Secretariat)	86	Colombia	156	Cameroon	43
Australia	123	New Zealand	86	*Argentina	150	Fed. of Malaya	43
U.S.S.R.	117	Ireland	75	Israel	147	*Nigeria	43
Israel	116	*Nigeria	70	Nepal	122	Poland	43
Czech.	116	Bulgaria	69	*Canada	107	Cyprus	41
Iraq	115	*Argentina	68	Poland	105	Czech.	41
Yugoslavia	109	Norway	63	France	103	*Argentina	39
New Zealand	103	Australia	60	Ivory Coast	99	Ceylon	38
Poland	101	Italy	60	Sudan	98	Jamaica	36
Denmark	84	U.S.S.R.	46	*Brazil	91	Tunisia	36
*Argentina	80	Yugoslavia	39	Romania	91	Iran	35
*India	77	*Sweden	39	Ukraine	89	Ghana	34
Ceylon	75	Hungary	33	Ghana	85	Byelorussia	33
Mexico	67	Israel	30	New Zealand	81	*Canada	33
						France	33

[a] Includes first twenty nations and Secretariat
* Special session negotiator

Examination of interaction in the Special Sessions suggests that those who assumed negotiating roles increased their involvement in interaction. In the Special Session all ten negotiators ranked among the first 22 interactors, compared with only seven in the Seventeenth Session. Negotiators hold the first seven ranks, with three others ranked 10, 12, and 18. Also notable is the fact that Canada moved from second place to first, with double the interactions of the United States.

Table 5.5 compares the ranks of negotiators in the two sessions and shows that negotiators moved up a total of 62 ranks in the Special Session. The table shows further the developing nations accounted for 61 of these, with particularly dramatic moves by India (14 ranks), Pakistan (19), and Nigeria (19). Thus, participation in the negotiation seems to have stimulated greater involvement of Afro-Asian negotiators in interaction.

Another perspective on the relationship between negotiation outside the chamber and interactions observed in the chamber is gained from Table 5.6. Here each negotiating nation's interactions are computed as a percentage of total interactions in the committee. All of the Special Session negotiators but Netherlands and the United States increased their percentage of the total in the Special Session. The most dramatic increase was made by Canada, chairman of the negotiating sessions.

Still another view of the shift in negotiator participation in interaction is provided in Table 5.7 where it is indicated that the negotiators participated in sixty-seven per cent of the interactions in the Special Session but only in 47 % in the Seventeenth Session. Subtotals reveal that, as negotiators, the diplomats from the ten nations

Table 5.5 Negotiator change in interaction rank across two sessions

Negotiator	17th session	Special session	Change in rank
Canada	2(317)	1(315)	+1
U.S.	1(436)	2(149)	−1
India	18(77)	3(140)	+15
Brazil	7(137)	4(120)	+3
Netherlands	3(252)	5(96)	−2
U.K.	5(157)	6(93)	−x
Pakistan	26(42)	7(91)	+19
Nigeria	29(35)	10(70)	+19
Argentina	17(80)	12(68)	+5
Sweden	22(215)	18(39)	+4
Total			+62

[a] Plus sign means movement upward in rank

Table 5.6 Negotiator nation nonseatmate interactions as percentage of total for both sessions

Nation	Percent of total 17th session	Percent of total special session	Difference
Argentina	3–6	5–7	+2.1
Brazil	6.1	10.1	+4.0
India	3–5	11.8	+8.3
Nigeria	1.6	5–9	+4–3
Pakistan	1.9	7.6	+5–7
Canada	14.2	26.4	+12.2
Netherlands	11.3	8.1	−3–2
Sweden	2.7	3–3	+0.6
U.K.	7.0	7.8	+0.8
U.S.	19.5	12.5	−7.0

LDC—an average increase per nation of 4.85 %
DC—an average increase per nation of 0.68 %
Total—an average increase per nation of 2.78 %

Table 5.7 Nonseatmate interactions between negotiators and non-negotiators for both sessions

Nonseatmate interactions	17th session		Special session	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Negotiator–negotiator	287	(13)	313	(26)
Negotiator–non-negotiator	764	(34)	483	(4i)
Non-negotiator–non-negotiator	1181	(53)	396	(33)
Total	2232	(100)	1192	(100)

doubled their interaction with each other from 13 % of the total interactions to 26 %. They also increased their interaction with non-negotiators from 34 to 41 %. But interaction between nonnegotiators dropped from 53 to 33 % (Fig. 5.2).

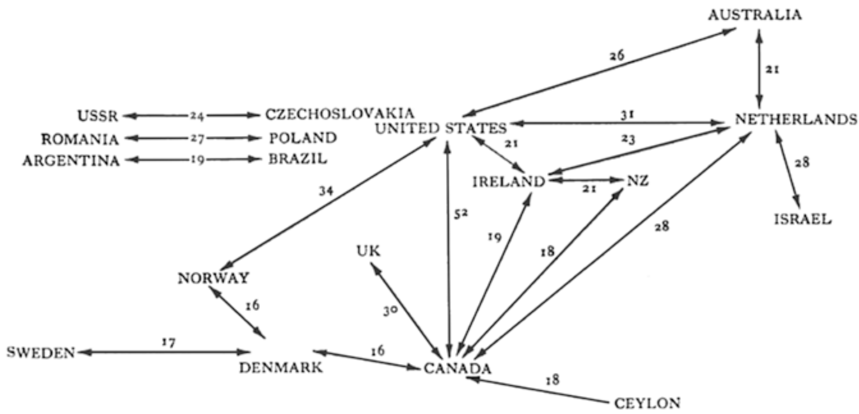

Fig. 5.2 Diagram of interaction between first 20 ranked nonseatmate pairs, 17th session

Table 5.8 Highest interacting nation pairs special session[a]

Seatmates and nonseatmates			Nonseatmates	
Canada/U.S.		48	Canada/U.S.	48
U.S./U.K.	(SM)[6]	46	Canada/Neth.	31
Ireland/Israel	(SM)	40	Canada/India	27
Brazil/Bulgaria	(SM)	35]	Canada/U.K.	24
Neth./N.Z.	(SM)	35 J	Canada/Brazil	21
Bulgaria/Burma	(SM)	3il	Canada/Ireland	19]
Canad/Neth.		31.0	Canada/New Zealand	19 J
India/Indonesia	(SM)	29	Canada/Pakistan	17
Canada/India		27	Canada/Australia	I4 1
Austria/Belgium	(SM)	35	Canada/Italy	14
Canada/U.K.		24	India/New Zealand	14
Canada/Brazil		2I 1	Ireland/New Zealand	14 J
Norway/Nigeria	(SM)	21.0	Argentina/Brazil	13]
Bolivia/Brazil	(SM)	20	Bulgaria/Byelorussia	I3 f
Canada/Ireland		19]	India/U.S.	13 J
Canada/New Zealand		0.9	Brazil/India	I2′l
Norway/Pakistan	(SM)	19.	Bulgaria/U.S.S.R.	“
Canada/Pakistan		17	Nigeria/Pakistan	I2 J
Ukraine/U.S.S.R.	(SM)	l6	Bulgaria/Hungary	“1
Iraq/Ireland	(SM)	*51	Canada/Sweden	II/
Nepal/Netherlands	(SM)	15	r	
Canada/U.S.		48	Canada/U.S.	48

a Total interactions for all interacting pairs of nations were compiled by using NUCROS, a general cross-classification program. Janda (1965), Chap. 6, describes this program. On pp. 40–42 he describes how it was used for this study
[b] (SM)-Designates pairs that are seatmates. Underlining indicates negotiator

Table 5.8 lists the first twenty interacting pairs, with seatmate pairs included in one set of rankings and not in the other. As might be expected, seatmate pairs rank high, taking 13 of the first 20 ranks. It is remarkable, however, that eight of the seatmate pairs include at least one negotiator. Thus, negotiators are involved in all but five of the first 20 pairs. When the pairs from which seatmates have been excluded are examined, the dominance of the negotiators in interaction stands out even more boldly. Negotiator pairs are in the first five ranks with Canada involved in all five. Indeed, Canada is involved in the first ten highest interacting pairs, the second five involving Canada and a non-negotiator. Only four of the 20 pairs do not involve negotiators.

If the first twenty interacting pairs are diagrammed, the position of Canada in the interaction system can be seen more clearly. Figure 5.3 is a diagram of the first twenty pairs in the Seventeenth Session, which includes all pairs with sixteen or more interactions. If the number of links to each nation is counted and all with over two links recorded, the following is obtained:

Canada	7
United States	5
Netherlands	5
Ireland	4
Denmark	3

Thus, Canada, whose delegation was to become the key figure in the Special Session negotiations, was at the hub of the communication wheel that had the most spokes.

Figure 5.3 diagrams the first twenty pairs in the Special Session, including all pairs with eleven or more interactions. Here Canada's role as chairman of the

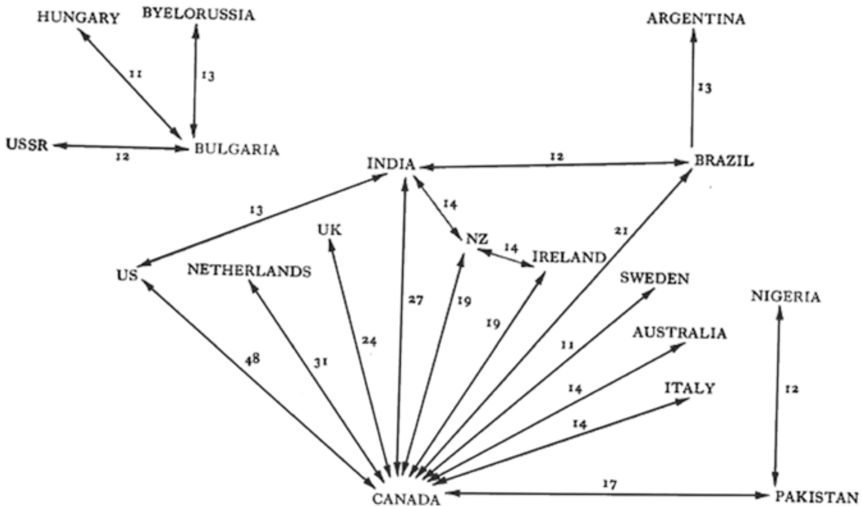

Fig. 5.3 Diagram of interaction between first 20 ranked nonseatmate pairs, special session

negotiating sessions seems to have a profound effect, since the number of spokes to each nation having more than two is as follows:

Canada	12
India	4
Brazil	3
Bulgaria	3
New Zealand	3
United States	3

An examination of the nations with which Canada interacted the most in both sessions also suggests a relationship between the negotiation organization and committee interaction. In the Seventeenth Session the only nations that were to be negotiators in the Special Session to whom Canada is linked are Netherlands, U.K., and U.S. But in the Special Session, Canada is linked to seven negotiating nations: Brazil, India, Netherlands, Pakistan, Sweden, U.K., and U.S.

Comparison of the two diagrams also suggests that the negotiating organization tied representatives of the Afro-Asian nations more directly into the main committee interaction system. During the Seventeenth Session only Western European and North American nations had three or more links, but in the Special Session Brazil and India are added. In addition, the diagrams show that the negotiators, Brazil and Argentina, not attached to the main interaction system in the Seventeenth Session, are connected through a Canada-Brazil link in the Special Session. In contrast, the nations from the Soviet group that appear on the diagram remain outside the main interaction system in the Special Session, as they had in the Seventeenth Session. This is consistent with their refusal to participate in the negotiations. Therefore, the diagrams give rather convincing evidence of the value of interaction observation as a partial reflection of the political process that takes place outside the chamber.

5.6 Differences Between Negotiator and Dissenter Interaction and Public Speaking

It has been demonstrated already, in the sessions under analysis that high participation in interaction is a more reliable indicator of nation participation in negotiation outside the chamber than length of public speeches. The relationship between public debate and interaction merits further scrutiny. Table 5.9 shows correlation between nation rank in number of interactions and nation rank in length of public speeches. In the Seventeenth Session, as contrasted with the Special Session, correlation between nonseatmate interaction and length of public speaking is 72, but in the Special Session it drops to 44. How might this change be explained?

Table 5.4 throws some light on the question. Although all ten negotiators in the Special Session are in the first twenty ranks in interaction, only four are listed in the first twenty ranks for public speaking. On the other hand, a reverse pattern

Table 5.9 Spearman rank correlation between nation ranks in public speaking and interaction in both sessions

No. of interactions	Total length of speeches	
	17th session (N = 97)	Special session (N = hi)
Total interactions	0.70	0.38
Nonseatmate interactions	0.72	0.44

is seen for those nations who refused to participate in the negotiations and who voted against the resolutions. Twelve nations, the Soviet group and France, cast all of the no votes against the seven resolutions passed by the committee, with the eleven members of the Soviet group voting against all seven and the French voting against five. Table 5.4 reveals that eight from this group of nations are in the first 20 ranks for speaking (five among the first ten), but only three are listed among the first twenty interactors (none among the first ten).

Plotting of interaction against length of public speeches provides a very helpful view of the shifting performance of the negotiators and dissenters across the two sessions. Figure 5.3 is a plot for the Seventeenth Session and Fig. 5.5 for the Special Session. If the plots are split into three sectors, nations are divided into three groups in terms of the relationship between their public speaking and their interaction:

A. Nations who speak a lot and interact relatively little.
B. Nations whose speaking and interaction are relatively equal.
C. Nations who interact a lot and speak relatively little.

Turning first to the Special Session negotiators, they are found to be almost equally distributed across the three sectors in the Seventeenth Session (four in A,

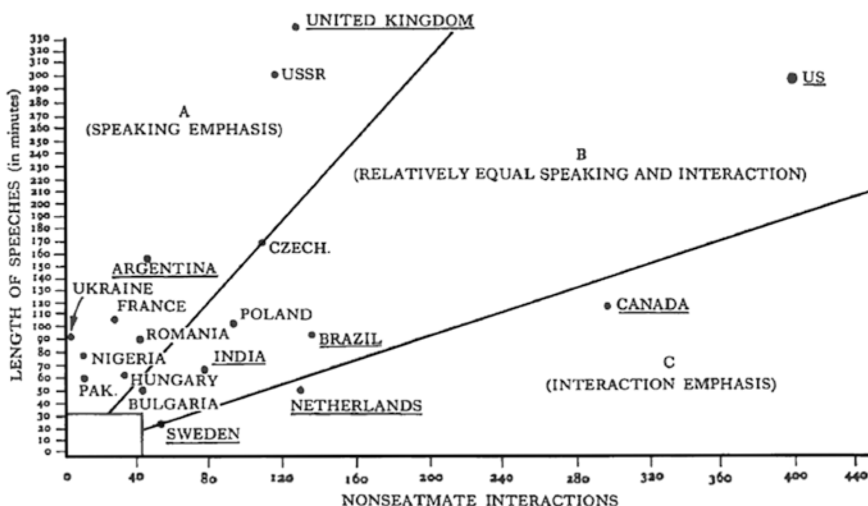

Fig. 5.4 Length of speeches and nonseatmate interaction, seventeenth session. (Negotiators are underlined and all negotiators and dissenters above tenth percentile are identified by name.)

three in B, and three in C), but as negotiators in the Special Session, they have shifted to sectors B and C (five in B and five in C). The dissenters who were active enough to be designated on the plots, those above the tenth percentile on either variable, are clustered primarily in sector A in the Seventeenth Session (six in B and two in A). In the Special Session the dissenters are clustered even more in sector A (eleven in A and one in B). Table 5.10 recapitulates this data.

Analysis of nation change in position on the plots across two sessions shows that two dissenter nations shifted from Sector B to sector A and one in the reverse direction. The more pronounced clustering of dissenters in sector A is accounted for largely by the addition of four nations to the plot. This means that dissenters spoke relatively more in the Special Session, with all 12 above the tenth percentile in speaking (in contrast to eight in the earlier session). On the other hand,

Table 5.10 Recapitulation of sector location in plots of negotiators and dissenters for both sessions

Sector	Negotiators		Dissenters	
	17th	*Special*	17th	*Special*
A. Numerical recapitulation				
A (Speaking emphasis)	4	0	6	11
B (Relatively equal speaking and interaction)	3	5	2	1
C (Interaction emphasis)	3	5	0	0
B. Nation recapitulation				
A (Speaking emphasis)	Argentina		Bulgaria	Albania
	Nigeria		France	Byelorussia
	Pakistan		Hungary	Cuba
	U.K.		Romania	Czechoslovakia
			Ukraine	France
			U.S.S.R.	Hungary
				Mongolia
				Poland
				Romania
				Ukraine
				U.S.S.R.
B (Relatively equal speaking and interaction)	Brazil	Argentina	Czechoslovakia	Bulgaria
	India	Brazil	Poland	
	U.S.	Nigeria		
		Pakistan		
		Sweden		
C (Interaction emphasis)	Canada	Canada		
	Netherlands	India		
	Sweden	Netherlands		
		U.K.		
		U.S.		

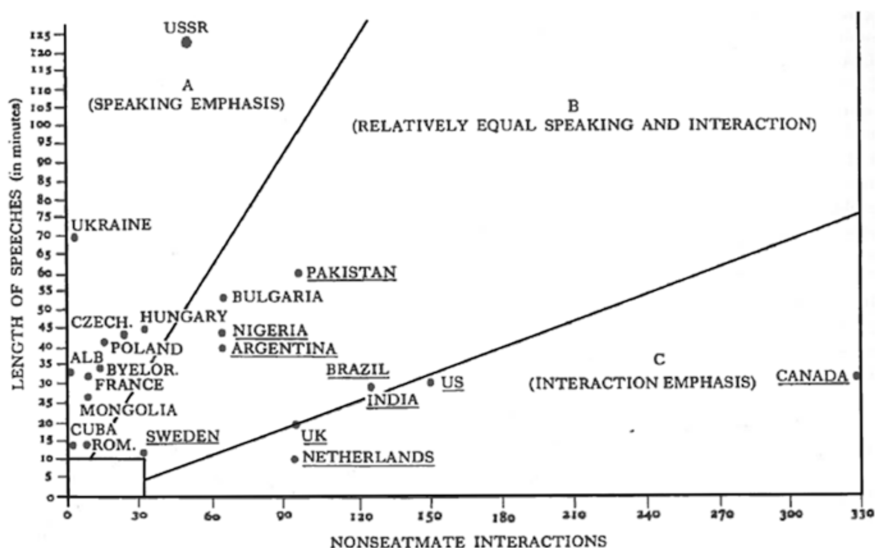

Fig. 5.5 Length of speeches and nonseatmate interaction, special session. (Negotiators are underlined and all negotiators and dissenters above tenth percentile are identified by name.)

although four of these twelve nations were above the tenth percentile in interaction during the Seventeenth Session, only one ranked above this point in the Special Session. Shifts in negotiator nations from one sector to another were in the direction of greater interaction relative to speaking (i.e., in the A to C direction) with one exception. Sweden's slight shift moved it from C to B (Fig. 5.4).

Thus, it can be seen that dissenters tend to emphasize public speaking and negotiators tend to emphasize interaction. This is found both when examining separate lists of highest interactors and speakers and when analyzing plots that reveal relative participation in both kinds of activity. In interpreting the plots it is important to recognize that the A sector of Fig. 5.5 does not include only dissenters. There are other nations in this sector who go along with the general will of the committee and tend to participate little in the legislative process except for public statements of their nation's views. On the other hand, sector C is inhabited almost completely by negotiators. Thus, sector C would provide the observer who knew nothing about the legislative process outside the chamber with a quite reliable list of important participants in this process.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

Comparison of interaction in two sessions of the Fifth Committee has revealed continuity in the number of nations highly active in interaction. In both sessions the number of interactions by specific nations is correlated more highly with

a number of other measures of UN participation than is total length of public speeches. The same is true for a number of other nation characteristics except for population which tends to be correlated more with public speaking in both sessions. Across the two sessions there is less variation in interaction correlations with other measures of UN participation and nation characteristics than there is variation in public speaking correlations with these variables.

In the session where much is known about negotiations outside the chamber, all ten negotiators rank high in interaction and not as high in public speaking. Nations who were relatively high in interaction in one session become negotiators in the next session. After becoming negotiators, these nations ranked even higher in interaction. The chairman of negotiations in the Special Session was chosen from the nation with the most lines of communication to other nations in the earlier Seventeenth Session. In the Special Session the number of lines of communication to this nation greatly increased.

When interaction of individual nations is plotted against public speaking for both sessions, negotiators and dissenting nations (those refusing to participate in negotiations and voting against negotiated resolutions) reveal distinctly different patterns of behavior. In the second session negotiators interact more in relation to their amount of public speaking than they did in the first session. In the second session dissenters move in the opposite direction.

In an earlier analysis of interaction data for the Seventeenth Session, it was concluded that committee interaction provides the observer with important information about the legislative process outside the chamber. Analysis of data for the later Special Session of the same committee gives added support for this conclusion. The information can be useful in helping the researcher to identify important actors in the legislative process that might not be identified through the public debate. Such information can be applied in the use of other field techniques, such as interviewing. In addition, it may offer insights that permit more judicious use of records of public debate. For example, analysis in this paper suggests that records of public debate may be more useful for understanding the public statements of dissenters than for probing the processes of consensus development.

Aspects of continuity in interaction behavior, across sessions and in the relationship between past interaction behavior and the selection of negotiators, offer new insights on the contributions of permanent international organizations to the negotiation of international problems. The permanent organization provides already established communication systems that sometimes can be transformed into negotiation when problems arise. On the other hand, more *ad hoc* conference procedures, for the most part, would have to start building a private conversation system from scratch. It is reasonable to predict that use of *ad hoc* procedures would require longer to achieve a given level of consensus. Furthermore, it would seem appropriate to hypothesize that a permanent organization can achieve a higher degree of consensus than *ad hoc* procedures. This would follow partially from the assumption that lack of established patterns of private conversation would require greater utilization of public debate. Particularly in large bodies, this would bring increased frustration and acrimony because problems would

be dumped into the public forum that could be handled more easily in private conversation.

With the exception of the previously cited brief observations by Routt in the Illinois legislature and occasional brief descriptive comments or anecdotes, such as those of Hadwen and Kaufmann (1962, p. 50), there is an intriguing neglect of the fact that conferences and legislative bodies have a simultaneous two-level dialogue.[8] For example, a UNESCO study of *The Technique of International Conferences* (1951) contains a lengthy check list of potential subjects for systematic study of international conferences that even extends to nonverbal communication, but there is no mention of private conversation in public meetings. A search of the conference literature in other areas of social behavior, including the experimental literature, also reveals no recognition of the simultaneous two-level phenomenon, Therefore, the data reported in this paper are believed to be a contribution to the general field Jfe of conference (and legislative) behavior.

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[8] The work of Wayne Francis is closely related, however. Through interviews with U.S. state legislators, he has obtained information on their interaction with each other outside the legislative chamber.

Part III
Civil Society Organizations in the UN System (NGOs)

Chapter 6
Evolving Roles of NGOs in Member State Decision-Making in the UN System

NGOs have become involved in virtually all issues on the agendas of organizations throughout the UN system, with their presence facilitated by 90 liaison offices. They play a diversity of roles in public sessions of decision-making bodies and also perform a variety of roles in private meetings in which preparations arc made for public meetings. At the same time, their involvements with secretariats involve an even broader range of activities, including regular meetings, representation on committees, involvement in symposia, receiving papers posted on UN websites, joint research, joint implementation and monitoring of UN programs and even standing in for UN agencies. Involvement of NGOs in global governance is growing in dynamic ways at a time in which financial restraints are severely limiting capacity of the UN system to respond.[1]

6.1 Introduction

In addressing the Conference of NGOs at UN headquarters in 1994, Secretary General Boutros Ghali began in this way:

> Madame President, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, on behalf of' the United Nations and for myself, I welcome you. I want you to consider this your home.

The Secretary General's cordial greeting reflected the fact that the number, roles and importance of NGOs involved in the UN had grown significantly since its founding almost 50 years earlier. On the other hand, the formal rules for NGO participation have undergone relatively minor change. As a result, any effort to attain an account of the actual rules guiding NGO activities requires direct observation and

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examination of documentary reports on their activities. In taking this approach we follow the insight offered by Eugen Ehrlich 10 years before the UN was founded.

> Whence comes the rule of law, and who breathes life and efficacy into it? At the present as well as at any other time, the center of gravity of legal development lies not in legislation, nor in juristic science, nor in judicial decision, but in society itself (Ehrlich 1936: 12).

Thus, the evolving rules for NGO behavior are to be found by examining the societies that have developed at the headquarters of agencies in the UN system.

This approach was offered strong support by Secretary Gcneraf Dag Hammarskjöld in the Introduction to his annual report in 1959, when he underlined the importance of the creation of permanent missions by member states at UN headquarters. He asserted that the activities of members of permanent missions 'outside the public meetings—often in close contact also with the Secretariat—may well come to be regarded as the most important "common law" development which has taken place so far within the constitutional framework of the Charter'. Thus, through what Secretary General Hammarskjöld would call ''common law', NGOs have joined members of permanent missions and secretariats as key actors in UN headquarters societies (Hammarskjöld 1959).

In establishing the context for illuminating the dimensions of the enhanced significance of NGOs in the UN system, it is of fundamental importance that we recognize at the outset that the involvement of NGOs in world politics is most certainly not something new. Secretary General Kofi Annan reminded his audience of this when speaking at a commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

> Before the founding of the United Nations, NGOs led the charge in the adoption of some of the Declaration's forerunners. The Geneva conventions of 1864; multilateral labour conventions adopted in 1906; and the International Slavery Convention of 1926; all stemmed from the world of NGOs who infused the international community with a spirit of reform (UN Secretary General 1998: 10).

Furthermore, the contributions of NGOs at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 remind us that NGOs have played an important role in the UN from its founding. Indeed, they were instrumental in the inclusion of Article 71 in the United Nations Charter, providing that 'The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations… They also contributed to the dramatic difference between the opening phrases of the League of Nations Covenant ('The High Contracting Parties') and the UN Charter ('We the peoples of the United Nations…').

Although the inclusion of Article 71 in the UN Charter could be seen as a revolutionary step, when compared with the League of Nations Covenant, it actually 'formalized the extensive consultative relationships which had existed during the years of the League of Nations. But Article 71 also limited the earlier practices by confining mandated consultation to the areas covered by ECOSOC5 (Otto 1996: 9). Nevertheless, NGO practice is again moving far beyond legal provisions. Indeed, it would appear that NGOs intend to give the opening words of the Charter a meaning not intended by the states assembled at San Francisco.

Encouraged by Ehrlich and Hammarskjöld to search for insight on factors that are facilitating growth in NGO participation in societies that have developed around UN agencies, we have identified four factors. First, the parliamentary style through which member states make decisions in open meetings, and the accompanying access to participants by representatives of NGOs. Second, the growing number of global issues on the agendas of the UN system, and the creation of new organizations and sites throughout the world for coping with this expanding agenda. Third, the technological revolution in communications that facilitates instantaneous electronic contact among members of NGOs worldwide, and between members of NGOs and UN agencies in many locations. Fourth, a growing demand on the part of people throughout the world to play a role in shaping political decisions that affect their fate.

It is not easy to attain a comprehensive overview of the diversity of dimensions of NGO involvement that are emerging. We have attempted to make this inventory as complete as possible by searching through information provided by scholars, NGOs, UN secretariats and UN documents. In order to attain an orderly overview we will first examine three basic dimensions that serve as a foundation for NGO practice at various UN headquarters: (1) evolving practice under Article 71 of the Charter, (2) the activities of the UN Department of Public Information, and (3) the spread of NGO offices throughout the system. Second, we mM then iook at two dimensions of practice at these headquarters: (1) NGO involvement I in UN decision-making bodies, and (2) NGO relations with UN secretariats. Third, we will lake note of four ways in which NGO participation has extended to sites outside headquarters of UN agencies: (1) the impact of special UN Conferences on styles of NGO participation, (2) involvement of NGOs in treaty negotiation and implementation at sites external Jo the UN, (3) the significance of the Internet in NGO participation, and (4) NGO Conferences. Fourth, we will conclude with an account of restraints on the evolutionary development of NGO participation.

6.2 Three Basic Dimensions of NGO Participation

This section sets the stage for an inventory of the diverse kinds of NGO involvement, which follows, by first noting the reluctance of member states to revise rules for NGO participation. Nevertheless, the UN Department of Public Information has engaged in an extensive; program of outreach to NGOs and NGO Liaison Offices have been established throughout the UN system.

6.2.1 Evolving Practice Under Article 71

The first session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) established a committee I to consider arrangements for NGOs in 1946, but it was not until

February 1950 that ECOSOC finalized consultative arrangements for NGOs by Resolution 288B(X) in February 1950. This resolution 'remained the definitive statute' for consultative status until I the passage of resolution 1296 (XLIV) in 1968, providing for 'only slight amendments… to the participation rights'. Thus in comparing the 1950 resolution with that governing current practice, Willetts concludes: 'The provisions for attendance, circulation of documents, hearings and proposing agenda items, though changed in some details, remain I fundamentally the same to the present day' (Willetts 1996: 40). As poetically described by I Donini, there is a 'rapidly evolving "NGO galaxy" and [a] not-so-rapidly evolving "UN solar system" 5 (Donini 1996: 83).

On 30 July 1993, ECOSOC decided to open intergovernmental negotiations aimed at expanding NGO rights,[2] although dissatisfaction with the issues on which many I NGOs were focused has contributed to resistance of some member states to significant changes. Three years later, on 25 July 1996, one ECOSOC resolution updated resolution 1296 of 1968, and another ECOSOC resolution[3] called on the General Assembly to establish arrangements for the participation of NGOs in 'all areas of the work of the UN'. NGOs hoped that this would be a route to acquiring consultative rights with the General Assembly. But James A. Paul reports that 'with few exceptions, member states were cool towards further progress' (Paul 1998: 3). Finally, in the autumn of 1997, the General Assembly adopted a resolution[4] calling for a study by the Secretary General on NGO access. The Secretary General issued a report on 10 July 1998 under the title: 'Arrangements and Practices for the interaction of non-governmental organizations in I all activities of the UN system'.[5] This 28-page document concludes with four pages of I recommendations.

In summary, the Secretary General's relatively modest proposals are focused on strengthening Secretariat competence to serve the needs of NGOs and to speed their access to information on documentation. In addition, a gesture is made to enhance access to the General Assembly by suggesting that seats in the General Assembly be made available to NGOs. And it is recommended that access of NGOs from developing and least developed countries be increased by creation of a trust fund dedicated to this purpose. But the Secretary General was offered no encouragement on any of these proposals. Instead, General Assembly action on this issue was delayed for another year. On 17 December 1998 'The General Assembly, having considered the report', without a vote, issued a two-sentence response to the Secretary General that requested him to seek additional views and submit a further report to the General Assembly, at its fifty-fourth session.[6]

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[2] UN ECOSOC Resolution E/1993/80.

[3] UN ECOSOC Resolution E\1996X297.

[4] UN General Assembly Resolution A/52/L.71.

[5] UN General Assembly Resolution A/53/150.

[6] UN General Assembly Resolution A/53/L.68.

6.2.2 Meeting Publicity Needs of the UN

NGO participation in the UN system has also evolved out of efforts by the Secretariat to seek NGO assistance in publicizing the UN and its activities. As early as 1946 the General Assembly authorized the Department of Public Information (DPI) and its branch offices to encourage national information services, educational institutions and other governmental and interested groups in spreading information about the UN. In cooperation with UN information centers and other UN offices worldwide, DPI evaluates applications and decides on the inclusion of NGOs in its annual NGO Directory. An 18-member elected NGO/DPI Executive Committee serves as NGO liaison with DPI, and DPI organizes an annual three-day conference at UN headquarters in September. The most recent was attended by 1800 NGO representatives. Parallel conferences are also held in countries and regions for NGOs unable to get to New York. DPI also organizes weekly briefings and has recently created a UN website, although it is not exclusively for NGOs. The site was accessed by 42.7 million in 1997, from contacts in 132 countries, averaging 141 access contacts every minute in the first quarter of 1998. In addition, 12 UN centers have established their own websites (UN Secretary General 1998: 10).

6.2.3 Spread of NGO Offices Throughout the UN System

Because this article will focus on developments in NGO participation at UN Headquarters in New York, it is important that we immediately recognize the spread of NGO Liaison Offices throughout the UN system. The scope of UN system involvement with NGOs can be illuminated briefly by listing the 26 issues (Table 6.1) with which over 90 UN liaison Offices throughout the system are concerned. Of course, NGO involvement is not confined to these issues, but the list usefully demonstrates the wide range of issues in which NGOs are involved. For the most part, these offices are located at the three main headquarters cities in the UN system (New York, Geneva, Vienna).

In 1990 UN document enumerates the functions performed by each office. In analyzing these, we identified 20 functions that we have condensed into seven clusters. The list begins with (1) the expected effort by UN offices to inform NGOs about UN activities. But they also (2) collect and disseminate information about NGOs and (3) support NGO information activity. (4) Some NGOs do participate in meetings of UN organs, but many more are involved in seminars and symposia. (5) As called for by Article 71, NGOs consult with EGOSOC and other UN bodies and offices, but this has been extended to include coordination of UN and NGO programs with each other. (6) In ways probably not foreseen by those drafting Article 71, some UN offices stimulate and support NGO field activities. (7) Finally, in the promotion of grass-roots and community-based approaches, these UN offices go beyond the definition of NGO as understood by voluntary organization representatives at the San Francisco Conference (Alger 1999: 398–399).

Table 6.1 Issues addressed by UN Liaison Offices

1.	Ageing (Vienna)
2.	Apartheid (NY)
3.	Children (NY)
4.	Cooperatives (Vienna)
5.	Crime (Vienna)
6.	Decolonization (NY)
7.	Desertification (NY)
8.	Development (NYJ 5 offices, Vienna)
9.	Disability (Vienna)
10.	Disaster Relief (Geneva, NY)
11.	Disarmament (NY)
12.	Emergency situations (NY)
13.	Environment (Nairobi, NY, Geneva, Athens, Bahrain, Bangkok, Kingston)
14.	Family (Vienna)
15.	Food/hunger (Rome, 2 offices)
16.	Human rights (Geneva, New York)
17.	Human settlements (Nairobi, New York)
18.	Law of the sea (New York)
19.	Migrant workers (Vienna)
20.	Narcotic drugs (Vienna)
21.	Palestinian rights (NY)
22.	Peace studies (NY)
23.	Population (NYJ 2 offices; Geneva, 2 offices)
24.	Refugees (Geneva, Vienna, NY 2 offices)
25.	Social development (Vienna)
26.	Welfare policies (Vienna)

Source Adapted from Alger (1999: 397)

In addition to the 90 offices at a number of UN headquarters, it must be recognized that a number of UN agencies have field offices in individual countries that may be involved in NGO relations. A prominent example is the World Bank, which reports that it has NGO Liaison Officers/specialists assigned to many of the Bank's Resident Missions. At end of FY1998, 71 Resident Missions had staff specifically assigned to work with NGO/civil society issues (World Bank Group 1999).

6.3 NGO Relations with UN Decision-Making Bodies and Secretariats

In approaching NGO relations with UN decision-making bodies and secretariats, it is important to bear in mind the significance of the parliamentary setting offered by the headquarters of various organizations in the UN system. During public meetings, members of NGOs have access to representatives of states and members of secretariats in corridors, in meeting rooms, and in various eating and drinking facilities at these headquarters. At the same time, secretariat offices are usually in the same building. Of

course, this access is now being challenged by the increasing security measures now deemed necessary at many public and private institutions around the world. But NGOs with formal consultative status, and also many others, have access to 'diplomats' in these parliamentary headquarters that is not equaled in the capitals of the state system. At the same time, they have wide access to members of various secretariats.

We will first examine a diversity of ldnds of access that representatives of NGOs have to representatives of states, and members of secretariats, thereby illuminating the diversity of kinds of NGO activities that take place in the UN parliamentary setting under the label 'consultation'.

6.3.1 Relations with UN Decision-Making Bodies

Obviously, NGOs arc observers at public meetings of UN decision-making bodies. In addition, some of these bodies have developed a diversity of styles for involving NGOs in their political processes that range from public meetings to more private meetings that are always part of parliamentary style decision-making (Table 6.2). We will briefly present examples of eight types of involvement.

6.3.1.1 Public Meetings

(1) *NGOs address public sessions*. NGOs have appeared as petitioners in the Special Political and De-colonization Committees of the General Assembly. They also have addressed the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, and the Economic and Financial Committee. Other prominent examples occur in human rights institutions. NGOs speak at plenary sessions of the Committee on Human Rights and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights devotes meetings to hearing NGOs (Rice and Ritchie 1995).

(2) *Formal panel and dialogue sessions*. A quite different atmosphere for NGO involvement is created by simultaneous appearance of two or more NGO representatives in 'panel' or 'dialogue' sessions. For example, in November 1998

Table 6.2 Modes of NGO involvement with UN decision-making bodies

Public meetings	
1.	NGOS address public sessions
2.	Formal panel and dialogue sessions
3.	Informal NGO panel discussion
Private meetings	
1.	Observers
2.	Private sessions linked to public decision making
3.	Ad hoc meetings
4.	Non-internal deliberadons'
5.	NGO group meetings with officers or members of a UN decision-making body

the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly held a 'formal panel' that included two NGO representatives (Von Roemer 1998), In April 1997 the Fifth Session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) included a series of Dialogue sessions between governments and representatives of the nine major groups identified by Agenda 2: children and youth, scientific and technology communities, women, workers and trade unions, indigenous peoples, NGOs, local authorities, farmers and business and industry (UN-USA 1995: 3–4).

(3) *Informal NGO panel discussio*n. The Economic and Social Committee of the General Assembly has also held an 'informal panel' discussion on the theme of the social and economic impact of globalization, consisting entirely of NGO personalities, including a representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (Von Roemer 1998). We do not have information enabling us to clearly distinguish between formal and informal NGO panel discussions.

6.3.1.2 Private Meetings

All parliamentary bodies require private meetings, normally committees, that prepare for public decision making. NGOs have acquired access to a broad range of these meetings.

(1) *Observers*. One example of permission for NGOs to observe private meetings is the Standing Committee of the UN High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR), which, in June 1997, agreed to arrangements for NGO observer participation in the committee, as well as the UNHCR Executive Committee. The Standing Committee meets quarterly to carry out consultations on NGO observer participation in the work of the two committees. The committees reserve the right to exceptionally declare any Standing Committee or agenda item closed to observers (Go-Between 1997: 65, 7).
Some bodies have also organized planned private meetings with representatives of NGOs. They have been reported under labels such as private sessions linked to public decision making, ad hoc meeting's, non-internal deliberations, informal meetings and briefings. Examples follow, but we do not have adequate information at this point to clearly distinguish among them.

(2) *Private Sessions linked to public decision making*. The General Assembly Working Group on Financing of Development, organized in 1999, gave NGOs a framework to make presentations and to have discussions with delegations in an informal setting, outside meetings of the Working Group, but still part of its overall process (Paul 1999: 3).

(3) *Ad hoc meetings*. In September 1997, the Secretary General of Amnesty International briefed an ad hoc meeting of the Security Council on human rights considerations in prevention and management of conflicts and in ensuring the rebuilding of societies. Also in attendance were UN agency and Secretariat personnel (Go-Between 1997: 66, 15).

(4) *'Non-internal deliberations'*. The UN Administrative Committee on Coordination's Sub- Committee on Nutrition welcomes relevant and competent NGOs to sit as equals in its non-internal deliberations (Rice and Ritchie 1995: 2).

(5) *NGO group meetings with officers or members of a UN decision-making body*. Different from private meetings with decision-making bodies are regular meetings of groups of NGOs with an officer of the body or with members of a delegation. One example is the NGO Working Group on the Security Council that was convened early in 1995, by the Global Policy Forum, Amnesty International, Earth Action, Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, World Council of Churches and the World Federalist Movement. In 1997, with the initiative of Ambassador Monteiro of Portugal, Presidents of the Council began to meet informally with a special 'Consultation Group5 of the Worldng Group. In 1998, a number of Council presidents offered breakfast or luncheon with the working group, and delegations gave briefings. The Consultation Group is now a well-established NGO voice on Security Council matters. Briefings and meetings with delegations are always private and off the record (Paul 1999: 3).

These examples of eight styles of NGO participation in UN decision-making bodies reveal two significant developments. First, they have spread far beyond ECOSOC, to include several committees of the General Assembly, many other agencies, and even the Security Council. Second, has been the emergence of NGO participation in a diversity of kinds of private meetings, thereby providing opportunity for NGO participation earlier in the political process, where the boundaries for the public agenda are significantly shaped.

6.3.2 NGO Relations with UN Secretariats

Members of secretariats are, of course, deeply involved in parliamentary diplomacy. They are present at all public meetings, often sitting on either side of the Chair. In this context NGOs can establish contact with those who organize public meetings and those who are expected to carry out their decisions. This can build contact, and collaboration, with relevant offices in UN secretariats. Table 6.3 briefly lists the diversity of kinds of secretariat relations that have emerged.

(1) *Secretary General*. In recent years, Secretaries General have paid increasing attention to NGOs. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali, addressing NGO representatives at the UN in September 1994, made this very clear: 'I want you to consider this your home'. According to Rice and Ritchie, 'Until recently, these words might have caused astonishment. The United Nations was considered to be a forum for sovereign states alone. Within the space of a few short years, this attitude has changed. Non-governmental organizations are now considered full participants in international life' (Rice and Ritchie 1995: 256–257).
In 1995 the Secretary General named his Special Political Adviser as the focal point in his executive office for matters pertaining to NGOs. She was made

Table 6.3 Modes of NGO relations with secretariats

1.	Secretary General
2.	Regularly scheduled meetings with NGOs
3.	NGO representation on committees
4.	NGO consultation with Secretariat
5.	Secretariat symposia for NGOs
6.	Secretariat posting of policy papers on web for NGO comment
7.	Secretariat creation of national steering committees
8.	NGO training
9.	UN Financial support of NGOs
10.	NGO Financial support of UN
11.	NGO creation
12.	Joint research
13.	Joint implementing and Monitoring of a program
14.	NGO as stand-in for UN

chair of an interdepartmental working group on relations with NGOs. She was asked to make proposals for innovative ways through which relations with NGOs could be enhanced (Go-Between 1995: 7).

(2) *Regularly scheduled meetings with NGOs*. One example of regularly scheduled meetings is the High Commissioner for Refugees who in 1999 'consulted with leaders of about thirty major human rights and relief NGOs—a meeting that resulted in a follow-up dialogue process'. Another example is the Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs that has monthly meetings with NGOs, co-chaired by the Office and a representative of an NGO, Inter-Action (Paul 1999: 4).

(3) *NGO representation on committees*. The Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has an Inter-Agency Standing Committee on which there is NGO representation (Paul 1999). Another example is the NGO-World Bank Committee, established in 1982 to address ways in which the World Bank could increase NGO involvement in Bank projects. In the mid- 1980s the committee shifted its focus to more policy-related issues, involving 26 NGO leaders from around the world (World Bank Group 1999).

(4) *NGO consultation with Secretariat*. The International Fund for Agricultural Development had its Annual Consultation with NGOs in Rome in October 1997. Represented were 13 NGOs from the 'North', 20 NGOs from the 'South' and seven observers. Proposals emerging from the meeting included the extension of linkage between the IFAD Knowledge Network and global NGOs by appointing a number of NGOs as focal points. IFAD supports a training program for NGOs to build their professional capacities. IFAD facilitates a North–South NGO interface (Go-Between 1997: 66, 15).

(5) *Secretariat symposia for NGOs.* Since 1996 the World Trade Organization has arranged symposia on issues of specific interest to civil society (WTO 1998).

(6) *Secretariat posting of policy papers on web for NGO comment.* In October 1997 the World Bank posted a Strategy Paper on environmental strategy for the energy sector on the World Bank website, soliciting comments until 1 February 1998.

(7) *Secretariat creation of national steering committees*. The World Bank has created national steering committees for examining the impact of World Bank policies on social groups. Composed of representatives of local NGOs, government and World Bank members, they conduct national public fora and participatory field investigations (World Bank website).

(8) *NGO training*. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), at its Annual Consultation in October 1997 in Rome, attended by 13 representatives of NGOs from the 'North', 20 from the 'South' and seven observers, recommended that IFAD support training programs for NGOs to build their professional capacities (Go-Between 1997: 66, 15).

The Communications Coordination Committee for the UN (CCC/UN) held planning sessions in January 1999 to consider establishing a leadership training program in collaboration with Pace University's Straus thinking and Learning Center. The purposes of the center would be to enable NGO leaders to: (1) be more effective at turning discussions into action, (2) master specific skills in communicating, consensus building, conflict resolution and fundraising, and (3) to help groups in a planned Millennium People's Assembly to function more effectively.

(9) *UN financial support for NGOs*[7]: Examples of funding of NGOs by UN agencies include:

- For a decade the World Bank funded the entire administrative budget of the NGO World Bank Committee, many of whose actions are critical and confrontational to Bank programs.
- UNESCO provides relatively significant moral and financial support to the UNESCO NGO Standing Conference and Committee.
- The United Nations Electoral Assistance Fund has provided assistance to NGOs in support of their efforts to observe national elections in member states.
- Among its many grants for NGOs, UNDP has provided sizeable funding for two N G O - man age d interregional initiatives to help municipal governments and community groups mobilize local resources to combat urban environmental degradation.
- Both UNICEF and the UN Centre for Human Settlements regularly provide free space in their publications where the relevant NGO consortium is free to give NGO news and views.

(10) *NGO financial support of UN*. NGOs, particularly those involved in human rights and the environment, often assert that they are substituting for underfunded UN agencies by monitoring the fulfillment of treaty obligations by states. But I have uncovered only one example of direct NGO funding of a UN agency. In order to provoke governments to respond more rapidly and

[7] The last six items on NGO relations with secretariats are drawn from Rice and Ritchie (1995: 262).

adequately to the situation in Rwanda in 1994, two NGOs directly funded part of the UN human rights monitoring mission.

(11) *NGO creation*. UNESCO has stimulated, fostered and virtually given birth to a number of NGOs that are beneficiaries of substantial grant and contract arrangements to implement part of UNESCO's program.

(12) *Joint research*. The World Meteorological Organization has an NGO partner for a joint collaborative program on tropical cyclone research, which includes exploiting an unmanned aircraft observation system.

(13) *Joint implementing and monitoring of a program*. United Nations Volunteers has entered into an equal partnership with an NGO consortium to implement and monitor the ECO- Volunteer program.

(14) *NGO as stand-in for the UN*. The UN's first proclaimed year, the World Refugee Year (1959–1960), led to the creation of an NGO Consortium for the Year that was officially recognized by the UN as its counterpart and was authorized to advocate and fundraise.

In conclusion, our effort to provide typologies of emerging NGO roles in UN decisionmaking bodies and secretariats offers an astounding contrast with the reluctance of member states to make significant changes in formal rules established in 1950. It would seem that the nature of societies that are established at headquarters of multilateral organizations tends to create conditions that inevitably lead to an array of opportunities for public and private NGO participation in member state decision-making bodies and a diversity of relations with secretariats. These opportunities arc seized by both representatives of NGOs and members of decision-making bodies and secretariats. Particularly fascinating is the fact that on some occasions secretariats support and even finance NGOs, and on other occasions the support flows in the opposite direction. Thus our inventory leads to challenging research questions about the present significance of this dimension of emerging global governance, and also about the future potential of this diversity of styles for NGO participation.

6.4 NGO Participation at Sites Outside UN Agency Headquarters

Over the years conferences involving UN members have spread far beyond headquarters, including special UN conferences on global issues and treaty negotiation conferences. At the same time, Internet extensions of headquarters societies have emerged.

These developments have offered opportunity for participation of a growing number of NGOs, and they have offered important opportunities for NGOs to develop their own £ meetings parallel to those of UN member states. And, of course, the growing use of the I Internet has also facilitated the development of larger NGO networks and more effective NGO collaboration.

6.4.1 Impact of Special UN Conferences on Styles of NGO Participation

The practice of holding UN conferences focused on specific global issues at various sites around the world builds on a tradition that reaches back as far as the 1932 World Disarmament Conference (Spiro 1995: 49). These conferences have had a significant impact on the development of NGO involvement in the UN system in at least five respects. First is the practice of having NGO conferences that run parallel to the governmental conference. These parallel conferences have spurred the development of NGO collaboration in the development of policies on specific issues and in presenting them to assemblies composed of government representatives. Second, NGOs have become increasingly involved in the preparatory phases of these UN conferences. This has offered NGOs experience in wider involvement in pre-public phases of parliamentary diplomacy.

Third, the fact that the sites of these conferences have been scattered around the world has made them accessible to a growing number of NGOs, particularly those in the 'Third World' who have not had access to meeting's at various UN headquarters. Fourth, the special conditions at these ad hoc meeting sites have required the development of ad hoc procedures for NGO participation that have led to demands for amended procedures at permanent headquarters. For example, at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, also known as the Earth Summit, the large number of NGOs seeking access led to bypass of UN machinery for granting consultative status to NGOs. After the Earth Summit, establishment of 'an active and dynamic UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) further institutionalized the pattern of NGO participation developed during the Earth Summit5. The Earth Summit plan of action (Agenda 21) outlined nine 'major groups5 in society which should be partners with governments and international organizations in the search for sustainable development: NGOs, local authorities, farmers, the science and technology community, business, labor, indigenous peoples, women, children and youth. When the CSD was established, ECOSOC moved to accredit to its Roster NGOs that had been accredited to the Earth Summit and which wished to participate in the CSD in Earth Summit implementation (UN-USA 1995: 3–4).

6.4.2 NGO Involvement in Treaty Negotiation and Implementation

Another significant venue for NGO participation in inter-state decision making that is closely linked to the UN system is conferences calling for the drafting of treaties on a specific topic such as landmines and an international criminal court. The significant contribution of NGOs in the development of the landmine treaty was recognized by awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the leader of the

International Campaign to Ban Landmines. This successful campaign linked one thousand NGOs in 60 countries, largely through email.

During negotiations on the International Criminal Court Treaty, 'NGOs participated informally, but effectively, alongside governments in a high-level negotiating process. They spoke, circulated documents, met frequently with delegations and had a major impact on the outcome' (Paul 1999: 3). In preparation for the International Criminal Court conference, the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court brought together a broad-based network of hundreds of NGOs and international law experts to develop strategies and foster awareness Again, the key to their network was email and the World Wide Web.

It is also well known that NGOs have been very active in efforts to secure implementation of treaties. Prominent examples are those concerned with human rights and the environment. The UN Convention to Combat Desertification (CCD) places unusually strong emphasis on the role of NGOs in implementation. There are 22 references to the role of NGOs in the text (Burns 1995: 14–15).

6.4.3 The Internet

As a consequence of the growing significance of Internet communication to NGOs, the Internet now offers a fourth arena for their participation in inter-state politics, alongside various UN headquarters, special UN conferences and treaty negotiations. The importance of communications to NGOs is indicated by the Communication, Information, Media and Networking Treaty, concluded by NGOs at their Global Forum at the UNCEU conference in Rio. It asserts that access to communication capabilities, ranging from basic mail and telephone services to electronic networks, is a fundamental right that should be guaranteed by governments and international institutions (Flail 1994: 122). The importance of communications to NGOs is also revealed in the strong challenge NGOs have made to the fact that they do not have free access to the UN Optical Disc System (ODS), which provides access to all UN public documents in all six official languages. NGOs are charged US$1250 per year per computer, a 50 % discount from the commercial rate. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that free access to many UN documents and reports, on websites throughout the UN system, is tremendously enhancing NGO access to UN documents and information. Furthermore, new communications technology is empowering NGOs to mobilize members, and supporters who are many miles away from UN Headquarters.

6.4.4 NGO Conferences

We have already indicated that mobilization of NGOs for participation in UN world conferences has spurred expanded activity of NGOs at UN system

headquarters. At the same time, it would seem that NGO gatherings in the context of these inter-state conferences, where NGOs have had parallel conferences, has spurred a diversity of other NGO conference formats. These include (1) follow-ups to world conferences, (2) broad-agenda NGO conferences (3) a planned People's Millennium Forum and (4) proposals for a Second UN General Assembly.

(1) *Follow-ups to world conferences with issue focus*. A. number of NGO conferences have convened as follow-ups to UN world conferences with an issue focus. There have been two recent examples. The NGO Forum on Social Development provides NGOs with a platform for discussing their role in the implementation of the recommendations of the World Summit for Social Development.[8] They met immediately preceding the 37th Session of the UN Commission for Social Development, on 9 February 1999. This has now become tradition prior to the meetings of this commission, organized by the International Council 3 Social Welfare (IGSW) and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FEWS). The Forum took place at UNICEF Headquarters in New York. A similar forum was held on 6 and 7 February 1999, in The Hague, as a follow-up on the International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo in 1994. Organizers of this ICPD+5 forum sought to provide an opportunity to discuss and give input to many organizations and individuals lable to come to The Hague.
(2) *Broad-agenda NGO world conferences*. Building on NGO conferences linked with UN inferences focused on a single global issues, broad-agenda free-standing NGO conferees, often referred to as 'people's assemblies', have emerged. They include the Hague » ace Conference People's Assembly, the Pilot People's Assembly (San Francisco, June 1998), Milenio Gathering (27 December–1 January 2000, University of Peace in Costa ica) and Earth Citizen's Assembly 2000/2001. An NGO world conference held 16–19 October 1999, at Kyung Hee University in Seoul, focused on the role of NGOs in the twenty-first century. It was advertised as the first-ever conference of NGOs to address issues :ross the whole spectrum of human development.
(3) *People's Millennium Forum*. On 16 December 1998, the General Assembly adopted a solution[9] designating the fifty-fifth session of the General Assembly as a Millennium assembly, with an integral part designated as a limited number of days devoted to a Millennium Summit. Article 4 requests the Secretary General to consult with member ites, specialized agencies, observers and non-governmental organizations before submitting his proposals for topics that 'could help focus the Millennium Summit within the context of an overall theme'.

[8] Copenhagen (1995).

[9] UN General Assembly Resolution A/53L.73.

As the proposal for a Millennium Assembly emerged, Secretary General Kofi Annan, I in mid-summer 1997, joined the call for a companion People's Millennium Assembly I (PMA) in his Reform report. This proposed assembly met on 22-26 May 2000 under the I name People's Millennium Forum, no doubt a result of an effort by member states to clearly I distinguish its role from that associated with the General Assembly. Participating were 1350 | representatives of over 1000 NGOs from more than 100 countries. The Forum declared its I; intent to build on UN world conferences and civil society conferences of the 1990s toward I the end of drawing 'the attention of governments to the urgency of implementing the commitments they have made and to channel our collective energies by reclaiming globalization for and by the people'. It also offered a broad Agenda for Action in pursuit of a 'vision of the world that is human-centered and genuinely democratic, where all human beings are full participants and determine their own destinies'.

(4) *Second UN Assembly proposals*. For several decades there have been proposals for a second General Assembly that have included differing proposals for the nature of its members, including members of state legislatures, representatives of non-governmental organizations and directly elected members. More recent proposals include the International Network for a Second Assembly (1982), Childers and Urquhart's (1994) proposal for a UN Parliamentary Assembly and a proposal for an annual Forum of Civil Society (Commission on Global Governance 1995). Many working for the People's Millennium Forum saw it as a building block toward a permanent second assembly, but certainly not all. The Secretary General's office made it clear that he supported it as a special millennium event. Leaders of the Millennium People's Assembly Network noted that 'it is most important that we be clear that the Secretary General has not endorsed the idea of a permanent People's.

Assembly; however, we can certainly continue to discuss the establishment of such an assembly during the millennium activities and take steps towards its creation on our own behalf. At the same time though, it is important that we avoid undermining the support we have for the millennium activities' (Rice and Ritchie 1995: 262).

Some desiring a permanent second assembly see it as something that will evolve out of ad hoc events into a permanent organization that is formally established by an amendment to the UN Charter. But a 1999 proposal of the United Planetary Foundation has a much more ambitious goal, the creation of a United Planetary Assembly that would eventually have seven houses. They see the need for a movement that includes 'efforts that support both an evolution of the UN and a revolution of the people'. Their evolutionary perspective is clearly stated: 'With the increasing involvement of NGOs in the UN, one could say that a prototype of a Citizens' Assembly already exists through its structure, yet it cannot be described as a truly democratically elected entity. It is for this reason that we must go beyond the present model to include any and all options' (Wheeler 1998).

It is obvious that NGO involvement in UN conferences away from headquarters and new relationships provided by the Internet are having a feedback impact

on NGO participation at various UN headquarters. They have greatly increased the number of NGOs involved, broadened geographic representation and extended the array of policy issues on the agendas of NGOs at headquarters. Also, more flexible rules for NGO participation away from headquarters has led to demands for the same opportunities at headquarters. Finally, they have also become important 'laboratories' in which some NGO leaders have begun to envisage greatly enhanced roles for NGOs in global governance that would even include a Second UN Assembly.

6.5 Restraints on the Evolutionary Development of NGO Participation

Obviously there are significant restraints on the evolutionary development of NGO involvement in the UN system, some of which have been noted in this paper. In his July 1998 report to the General Assembly on NGO relations, five of the points made by Secretary General Kofi Annan would seem to be particularly significant:

1. lack of knowledge 'about this complex and expanding universe';
2. inadequate Secretariat staff for relating with NGOs;
3. failure to share within the Secretariat knowledge of best practices in NGO relationships;
4. information and documentation is not received by NGOs in timely fashion;
5. financial constraints (UN Secretary General 1998).

Of particular significance to scholars is the Secretary General's emphasis on lack of knowledge 'about this complex and expanding universe'. Also notable is his emphasis on the lack of financial resources and the fact that this lack prevents other desired improvements.

Not unexpectedly, NGOs frequently complain about their access and make suggestions, and demands, for improvement. James A. Paul, Executive Director of the Global Policy Forum in New York City, in a June 1999 comprehensive, 29-page response to the July 1998 report of the Secretary General, identified the 10 most important issues in NGO relations with the United Nations. Here we have extracted only a few points made on each issue (Paul 1999).

1. *Access to information* should include free access to the Optical Disc System, which offers member states all UN public documents in all six official languages.
2. *Access to UN premises* has become more difficult because of increased security measures. NGOs are concerned about new procedures for 'perimeter security', document searches and internal security, and lack of clear and consistent rules with regard to these matters. Some security restrictions are due to the lack of adequate financial means to update security procedures. At the same time, the UN financial crisis is causing deterioration of the physical infrastructure and inability of the UN to expand meeting space to keep up with demand.

3. *Right to participate* has extended through practice, beyond ECOSOC, to the General Assembly and a variety of other forums. 'These practices have never been codified, but they have become well-established precedents, recognized broadly in the UN system'. But Paul is concerned that these practices, depending on the 'good will of the delegates', may suffer from loss of institutional memory that occurs with steady turnover in membership of delegations. At the same time, he is concerned that 'the UN Office of Legal Counsel has long enunciated a restrictive approach to the question of NGO access' by applying only formal rules in deciding issues of access, thereby ignoring 'fifty-four years of practice'.
4. *Advocacy and support within the Secretariat and UN agencies*. Paul is dissatisfied that NGO relations are placed under the Assistant Secretary General for External Relations, an office with other important responsibilities. The essential spirit of his concern is bluntly made: 'The NGO portfolio should not be in the hands of an office charged with "external relations,"' since NGOs are not external but internal to the UN system. 'NGOs want a focal point that can be a partner, advocate and friend.'
5. *Consultation in administrative decision-making*. After recognizing that pressures from member states prevents the Secretariat from giving high priority to the views of NGOs, he asserts: 'But if NGOs are the UN's partners, some decisions must take NGO views into account'. Therefore, he calls for 'regular consultation with NGOs, especially on administrative decisions that directly affect' the interests of NGOs.
6. *Relations with delegations*. Paul asserts the importance of relations with delegates and notes that 'a considerable number of delegations have recently offered more briefings, receptions and other meetings with NGOs'. He concludes by saying that NGO relations with delegations 'will continue to be the keystone of NGO action'.
7. *ECOSOC Committee on NGOs.* It is noted that this 19-member elected committee now 'has better dialogue with NGOs than in the recent past', but it is recommended that the committee regularize consultation with NGOs and permit NGOs to participate in agenda-setting for these consultations. One concern here is that granting of accreditation is politicized, particularly in the human rights field. It is suggested that a panel of experts be invited to make recommendations on accreditation to the committee.
8. *The problematic of 'civil society'*. The frequent use of the term 'civil society' by the secretariat is questioned. When the Secretariat increasingly uses the term 'civil society' in UN reports, interchangeably with the term 'NGOs', it blurs an important distinction made in the UN Charter. It is suggested that the Secretariat, delegations and NGOs should have 'meaningful consultation' on this issue.
9. *Office and meeting space*. There is a serious shortage. Reasonably priced office space I and free or very low-priced meeting space is needed, particularly by Southern 3 NGOs. The UN could develop a site to be used for NGO offices and meeting I areas, such as the 'Boys' Club site West of the 'Con

Ed' site to the South, or perhaps obtain low-cost financing through the city of New York as was done for construction of other UN buildings such as that of UNICEF.

10. *The challenge of Southern participation*. 'NGOs from the "Global South" have relatively weak presence at the UN.' Visiting NGOs from the South need help in understanding the UN system and in getting quick orientation and accreditation. They also need temporary offices and places to hold caucuses.

After our detailed account of the evolutionary development of NGO participation, without significant amendments to legal documents, Paul's desire that practices be codified immediately captures our attention. At the same time, he offers a fundamental challenge to scholarly approaches by asserting that 'NGOs are not external but internal to the UN system'!

6.6 Conclusions

We have noted that formal procedures for implementing Article 71 of the UN Charter have changed only slightly since they were first defined in 1950. Nevertheless, repeating League of Nations experience, actual participation of NGOs has been dynamically growing and changing, responsive to (1) the public parliamentary character of social relationships at various UN headquarters, (2) widening UN system agendas and creation of new UN organizations to cope with these agendas, (3) the technological revolution in communications and (4) growing demand of people throughout the world to play a role in shaping political decisions that affect their lives.

NGOs have become involved in virtually all issues on the agendas of organizations throughout the UN system, with their presence facilitated by 90 liaison offices. They play a diversity of roles in public sessions of decision-making bodies and also perform a variety of roles in private meetings in which preparations are made for public meetings. At the same time, their relations with secretariats involve an even broader range of activities, including regular meetings, representation on committees, involvement in symposia, receiving papers posted on UN websites, joint research, joint implementation and monitoring of UN programs and even standing in for UN agencies.

NGO involvement in UN conferences away from headquarters has broadened NGO participation, and served to relax restraints on NGO participation and encourage NGOs to develop their own parallel assemblies. These developments have led to the involvement of an increasing number of NGOs at UN headquarters and demands for fewer restraints on UN participation there. It has also fostered the development of a People's Millennium Forum at UN Headquarters and visions of a permanent People's Assembly alongside the present General Assembly of states.

Despite this remarkable evolving expansion of NGO participation in the UN system, there are, of course, significant restraints. Important to scholars is the Secretary General's focus on lack of knowledge 'about this complex and

expanding universe'. Also highly significant is his emphasis on lack of financial resources for strengthening relations with NGOs. Noteworthy too is the fact that James Paul, an active NGO representative, does not feel comfortable with the right to participate being 'extended through practice' and suggests the need for these practices to be codified. This too presents a challenge to scholars. Would efforts to codify practice into formal rules insure the longevity of practice? Or, might efforts to write formal rules incite responses that lead to restraints on evolving practice?

It is apparent that new forms of global governance are emerging that arc very widespread and very complicated, but we still have very limited knowledge on which to base a sound assessment of their present significance and future potential (Alger 1997: 268–270). On the other hand, developments arc probably fulfilling the dreams of many of those members of civil society present at the San Francisco Conference who were largely responsible for the first seven words of the Charter: *We the peoples of the United Nations…*

But it is in many respects ironic that involvement of NGOs in global governance is growing in dynamic ways at a time in which financial restraints are severely limiting the capacity of the UN system to respond. At the same time, although not reported in this paper, NGOs involved in environment, human rights and humanitarian support of peacekeepers often report that they are being asked to substitute for the UN in a variety of ways because of UN secretariat, and UN peacekeeping, shortages of people and money. Will this be only a temporary condition in the development of future forms of global governance? Or, is it possible that civil society and business corporations will become the major players? What would the implications of this be for the capacity of emerging global governance to cope effectively with the growing agenda of global problems and the potential of global governance to adequately reflect the will, and needs, of the people of the world?

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Chapter 7
The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a People's Millenium Assembly

The relations between the UN system and what is referred to as civil society are dynamically growing and changing. In this article I focus on five aspects: (1) evolving procedures for UN-nongovernmental organization (NGO) relations presided over by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); (2) broadening of NGO involvement at UN headquarters; (3) the present scope of NGO involvement in the UN system; (4) growing NGO involvement in the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO); and (5) NGO conferences.[1] I conclude with an overview and a few thoughts about implications for global governance. But necessary insight on the importance of these topics requires that we first place them in their broader context.

The foundations for systems of governance are often created by constitutions and treaties, but these documents, as in the case of the UN Charter, emerge out of documents and practice that have gone before. Constitutions and treaties continue to grow and evolve in the light of practice that builds upon them. This is certainly true of systems for global governance that are emerging out of the UN Charter. There is no more dynamic area of growth and change through practice in the UN system than that involving NGOs and other aspects of "civil society." Before focusing on more recent aspects of this dynamic sector of emerging global governance, it is essential to recognize that NGOs were deeply involved before and during the creation of the UN.

There were representatives of 1,200 voluntary organizations present at the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. They played a significant role in writing the first seven words of the charter: "We the peoples of the United Nations…" and also in the inclusion of Article 71, providing that

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[1] Revised version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., February 1999. This text was first published as "The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a People's Millennium Assembly, in International Organization, in The Library of Essays in Global Governance (five volumes), edited by John J. Kirton. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2009, 409–436 (First published in *Global Governance*, Vol. 8, 2002, 93–117, Academic Council on the UN (ACUNS). The permission to republish this text was granted by Rienner Publishers on 17 January 2013.

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"the Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-govern- mental organizations." They also fought for the inclusion of individual human rights (mentioned seven times in the charter) and for educational cooperation in the pursuit of friendly relations among nations (Article 55). But the roots of present NGO activities go much deeper into history. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, speaking at a commemoration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, recently reminded his audience:

> Before the founding of the United Nations, NGOs led the charge in the adoption of some of the Declaration's forerunners. The Geneva conventions of 1864; multilateral labour conventions adopted in 1906, and the International Slavery Convention of 1926; all stemmed from the work of NGOs who infused the international community with a spirit of reform.[2]

A succinct overview of recent rapid change in the nature of NGO involvement in the UN asserts that, from the earliest days, many NGOs monitoring activities at UN headquarter cities in the system were large membership and service organizations, such as the Rotary, the International Conference of Free Trade Unions, and the International Chamber of Commerce. Some had full-time paid staff, often retired members or officers of the organization. But, beginning with the Women's Conference in Mexico City in 1975 and culminating with the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) or Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, many new kinds of NGO representatives began to show an interest in the deliberative process of ECOSOC and large UN-sponsored conferences. Many of the new NGO actors are national instead of international in character, and they are increasingly activist and issue based. Although more NGO representatives come from Europe and North America, there has been a significant growth in those coming from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Newly involved organizations also reflect a generational change, because new constituencies often have younger representatives.[3]

Building on Article 71, focusing on NGO relations with ECOSOC, NGOs are emerging throughout the UN system. In 1990, there were more than ninety UN offices handling NGO relations. In 1995, 4,000 NGOs participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. The 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro created a Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) and outlined nine major groups that should be partners with governments and international organizations in the search for sustainable development: NGOs, local authorities, farmers, scientists and the technical community, business-labor, indigenous peoples, women, children, and youth. NGOs have recently addressed ad hoc meetings of the Security Council. A committee of ECOSOC has held discussions, and a

[2] Kofi Annan, "Address to the 51st Annual DPI-NGO Conference," United Nations, New York, 1998.

[3] United Nations Association-USA, Issue Paper 3 (New York: United Nations, 1995), p. 3.

committee of NGO representatives has made proposals for arrangements for NGO relations with the General Assembly.[4]

The creative vitality in this aspect of world politics is also revealed by the emergence of plans, and visions, for the future. A People's Millennium Forum was hosted in New York in May 2000 in conjunction with the UN General Assembly's Millennium Summit held later that year. Some see it as a potential prototype for an ongoing UN People's Assembly.

7.1 Evolving Procedures for UN-NGO Relations

The growing involvement of NGOs in the UN system has led to demands for change in formal procedures for UN-NGO relations. In fulfillment of Article 71 of the UN Charter, ECOSOC established a roster of NGOs with consultative status. The number on this roster has grown from 41 in 1948, to 377 in 1968, to 1,350 in 1998. NGOs on the roster are now divided into three categories: (1) general consultative status, large international organizations whose area of work covers most of the issues on the ECOSOC agenda; (2) special consultative status, organizations that have special competence in a few fields of the council's activity; and (3) roster consultative status, organizations whose competence enables them to make occasional and useful contributions. Of course, access to headquarters facilities has at the same time facilitated informal access of a growing number of NGOs to the Secretariat, the General Assembly, the Security Council, and all meetings held at several UN headquarters. But it is events held away from UN headquarters that have recently spurred the involvement of NGOs in UN affairs and led to challenges to procedures developed under Article 71.

UN world conferences, beginning with the UN Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm, 1972), seem to have been central to the escalating involvement of NGOs in the UN system in recent decades. Then, "the floodgates were opened" at UNCED in 1992, where over 1,400 NGOs were accredited; there they played a significant role in developing the agenda and "contributed to building the political consensus that made adoption of the Rio Declaration possible."[5] Following the conference, the General Assembly and ECOSOC adopted resolutions providing for participation of NGOs in the work of the new Commission on Sustainable Development and gave 550 NGOs that had participated in UNCED consultative status with ECOSOC. The consultative status machinery was bypassed, and this created an important precedent. Momentum for change in

[4] Erskine Childers and Brian Urquhart, Renewing the United Nations System (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1994), pp. 211–213.

[5] Antonio Donini, "The Bureaucracy and the Free Spirits: Stagnation and Innovation in the Relationship Between the UN and NGOs," in Thomas Weiss and Leon Gordenker, eds., NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 1996), p. 84.

provisions for NGO participation has continued to build as a result of subsequent world conferences on other global issues: the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993), the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, Cairo, 1994), the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), and the World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995); Many members of NGOs who have participated in these world conferences feel that rules governing ECOSOC consultative status were poorly designed to facilitate their participation in conference follow-ups at the headquarters of permanent UN organizations.[6]

Nevertheless, there has been very slow progress in adapting consultative procedures in response to changes in the number of NGOs orbiting around UN headquarters and meetings, the range of issues on their agendas, and the growth in the diversity of their activities. As poetically described by Donini, there is a "rapidly evolving 'NGO galaxy' and [a] not-so-rapidly evolving 'UN solar system'."[7] NGO activities at UN headquarters were until recently governed by the thirty-year-old ECOSOC Resolution 1296 of 1968. On 30 July 1993, ECOSOC decided to open intergovernmental negotiations aimed at expanding NGO rights (ECOSOC Res E/1998/80). But dissatisfaction with the issues on which many NGOs were focused has contributed to resistance of some member states to significant changes. Some states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America find NGO prodding and exposure of human rights violations annoying. And some powerful European, North American, and East Asian states resent NGO pressure for economic justice, disarmament, and global democracy. There are also some established NGOs that worry about opening the gateways to a flood of new NGOs.[8]

On 25 July 1996, one ECOSOC resolution updated Resolution 1296 of 1968, and another ECOSOC resolution (E/1996/297) called on the General Assembly to establish arrangements for the participation of NGOs in "all areas of the work of the UN." NGOs hoped that this would lead to consultative rights with the General Assembly. But James Paul reports that "with few exceptions, member states were cool towards further progress."[9] Then, General Assembly consideration of the issue became stalled over debate on what procedures would be used for taking up the question. Eventually, in late 1996, the Malaysian president of the General Assembly, Razali Ismail, created a subgroup of the General Assembly Working Group on the Reform of the UN System, chaired by Ambassador Ahmad Kamal, a candidate favored by NGOs. In meetings from January to July 1997, little progress was made as Southern states pushed for a broad committee mandate, with the United States and Europeans proposing a very narrow one.

Finally, in the fall of 1997, the General Assembly adopted a decision (A/52/L.71) calling for a study by the secretary-general on NGO access; TWs

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[6] United Nations Association-USA, Issue Paper 3, p. 3.

[7] Donini, "The Bureaucracy and the Free Spirits," p. 83.

[8] James Paul, "NGOs, Civil Society and Global Policy Making" (New York: Global Policy Forum, 1998), p. 2.

[9] Ibid., p. 3.

twenty-eight-page report was issued on 10 July 1998.[10] It is a very informative report on specific kinds of NGO relations with a number of agencies in the UN system. Recognizing that "the United Nations has entered a new era in its relations with NGOs and other civil society actors,"[11] it concludes with four pages of recommendations for "enhancing the participation of non-governmental organizations in all areas of the United Nations system." There are seven main proposals:

1. On the nature of NGOs, the UN "needs to learn more about this complex and expanding universe."[12] Toward this end efforts must be made to harmonize the diverse databases on NGOs, rather than to create a single database. The secretary-general says that he will entrust a survey of NGO databases in the UN system to the Nongovernmental Liaison Service; if necessary resources can be identified!
2. The secretary-general will encourage all departments, programs, and funds of the system to ensure that they are appropriately staffed to deal with the growing number of NGOs. "Staff assigned to work with NGOs must be the primary recipients of any training program specifically dedicated to cooperation with civil society."[13]
3. It is imperative that all officials concerned with NGOs share their experiences and best practices, so as to promote coherence and efficiency in relations with civil society and to promote proper implementation of existing mandates and rules. Toward this end, all programs and agencies are urged to send representatives to meetings of the Inter-Departmental Working Group on NGOs.
4. It is essential that NGOs receive information and documentation in a timely fashion. In order to facilitate information exchange, particularly with NGOs in developing countries, departments that have the technical capability to do so are encouraged to conduct electronic conferences on the Internet, as was done recently by the UN Institute for Disarmament Research and the Secretariat of the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction.
5. Due to financial and legal constraints, member states may wish to allow representatives of NGOs in consultative status with ECOSOC to occupy, on an as available basis, a number of seats in an appropriately designed area of the General Assembly. This could facilitate their access to the Assembly's official documentation without additional financial expense.
6. Member states may wish to review access to the Optical Disk System (ODS) and allow it to be more widely disseminated. ODS offers much wider access to UN documents than the UN website.
7. Member states may wish to establish a trust fund for the purpose of facilitating the participation of NGOs from developing and least developed countries.

[10] UN Document A/53/150, 10 July 1998.

[11] Ibid., p. 28.

[12] Ibid., p. 25.

[13] Ibid., p. 26.

In summary, the secretary-general's proposals focus on strengthening secretariat competence to serve the needs of NGOs (proposals 1, 2, and 3) and to speed their access to information on documentation (proposals 4 and 6). As a gesture to enhance access to the General Assembly, more seats are made available (proposal 5), and access for NGOs from developing and least developed countries are increased by the creation of a trust fund (proposal 7). But the secretary-general received no encouragement on any of these proposals. Instead, General Assembly action on this issue was delayed for another year. On 17 December 1998 (A/53/L.68), "the General Assembly, having considered the report," without a vote, issued a two-sentence response to the secretary-general requesting him.

(a) to seek the views of member states, members of the specialized agencies, observers and intergovernmental organizations, as well as the views of NGOs from all regions, on his report (A/53/170); and
(b) to submit a further report to the General Assembly, at its fifty-fourth session, in accordance with Assembly Decision 52/453, taking into account the submissions received; and also decides to continue its consideration of this question at its fifty-fourth session under the item entitled "Strengthening of the United Nations System."[14]

It seems that several converging factors are stalling the General Assembly's response to the dramatic challenges, and opportunities, offered by growth in the number of NGOs and in the increasing diversity of their activities. First, there are deep disagreements between states and specific NGOs on particular issues. Occasionally these differences have produced rather extreme behavior by members of NGOs at public meetings. Paul cites two instances in which representatives of a few NGOs have employed what many would judge to be excessive behavior at sessions of the Commission on Human Rights.[15] At a meeting of the commission in Geneva in March 1998, the Transnational Radical Party, with NGO status, accredited a large number of unaffiliated persons to the commission, including a number from Cuba that were sharply critical of the Cuban government. The Cuban delegation responded with a draft resolution that would impose a numerical limit on the number of persons that could be accredited for each organization and would limit accreditation to a year.

Another incident involved a person accredited by the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues (FIDH). The Algerian ambassador was accosted by two Algerians admitted to the gallery. The ambassador charged that a third Algerian, who was accredited by FIDH, was also involved, although UN security later found this to be untrue. So, concludes Paul, "behind a rhetoric of enthusiasm for NGOs lurked profound disgust."[16]

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[14] UN Document A/53/L.68, 17 December 1998.

[15] Paul, "NGOs, CiviJ Society and GJobal Policy Making," pp. 4–5.

[16] Ibid., p. 1.

As Paul has suggested, "These embarrassing events have undermined NGO support by some state officials."[17] Paul reports that disarmament NGOs have faced a "far more closed and less welcoming environment" during a recent meeting of the Conference on Disarmament than they had previously. He notes that environment NGOs have felt that the "status they had achieved at Rio was substantially eroded." And women's NGOs were disappointed that many UN women's programs experienced budget cuts.[18]

Second, demands for accreditation by more and more NGOs has produced conflicts within the NGO community. Major international NGOs are resisting accreditation by the growing number of purely national NGOs. This view tends to be represented by the Conference of NGOs in Consultative Relationship with the UN (CONGO) in New York. The concern, according to Paul, is that "narrowly-based and government-influenced organizations [might] pour into the UN." Yet he sees that many of these national NGOs are of "unquestioned legitimacy and effectiveness." Thus, each perspective "had a certain validity, but the divisions were real and sometimes even acrimonious."[19]

A third factor affecting the development of NGO access to UN political processes is the extreme demands on the UN Secretariat to limit expenditures and the uncertain financial future of the UN. This explains two of the recommendations of the secretary-general in his report. As a result of financial limitations, the UN has reduced its printing of documents, instead making some of these documents available to representatives of states on its ODS. But NGOs are denied free access to ODS and must pay $1,125 for annual access. In a related example, in December 1998, the U.S. representative to the Fifth Committee (finance) of the General Assembly introduced an item for the "pattern of conferences" resolution that would have required NGOs to be charged for all documents, use of rooms, translations of NGO documents, and other costs of NGO representation at UN headquarters. Due to outside objection and opposition by some in the U.S. mission to the UN, this proposal was withdrawn the following week. The United States has also been involved in efforts to stop the organization of UN global conferences, occasions in which NGOs have played important and highly visible roles, both in planning and execution. Paul reports that Secretary- General Kofi Annan, "under intense pressure from the United States," decided in the spring of 1997 that he would oppose any future conferences.[20] This was in the context of U.S. demands that the UN cut expenditures as a condition for paying its arrears, and assertions in the U.S. Congress that global conferences were a waste of time and money. In the end, some global conferences were put on the agenda.

Fourth, there are conflicts between NGOs and specific Secretariat officials who find that NGOs make their life more complex. On the other hand, perhaps even

[17] Ibid., p. 5.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., p. 2.

[20] Ibid., p. 4.

more members of the Secretariat welcome the support for their programs received from NGOs. Also contributing to ill will between NGOs and the Secretariat are emerging security concerns at various sites of UN activity. These security concerns are escalating as growing NGO participation places increased demands on UN security personnel. An example occurred at the fifty-third session of the General Assembly, in September 1998, when UN security personnel closed the entrance normally used by NGOs, requiring NGOs to pass through metal detectors with their documents subjected to searches. Paul believes that although "apologies were offered" and security was relaxed at the end of the General Debate, "NGOs had reason to fear a new era of restrictions and hostility."[21]

Even though these factors impede efforts to change formal consultative procedures, there are important countertrends. The secretary-general is attempting to advance creative change. And new modes of UN- NGO relationships are emerging, as found in the Internet electronic conferences developed by the UN Institute for Disarmament Research and the secretariat of the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction. NGOs are deprived of free access to the ODS, but the availability of UN documents and reports on the UN website tremendously enhances their access to UN information. Thus, new communications technology is empowering NGOs to mobilize members and supporters who are many miles away from UN headquarters.

7.2 Broadening of NGO Involvement at UN Headquarters

Formal arrangements for NGO access to main headquarters in the UN system are made primarily by ECOSOC, but most NGOs are aware that access to headquarters and opportunities for participation are not totally directed by ECOSOC. As early as 1946, the General Assembly authorized the Department of Public Information (DPI) and its branch offices to encourage national information services, educational institutions, and other governmental and interested groups in spreading information about the UN. In cooperation with UN information centers and other UN offices worldwide, DPI evaluates applications and decides on the inclusion of NGOs in its annual NGO directory. An eighteen-member elected NGO/DPI executive committee serves as an NGO liaison with DPI, with the latter organizing an annual three-day conference at UN headquarters in September. The most recent was attended by 1,800 NGO representatives. Parallel conferences are held in other countries and regions for NGOs unable to get to New York. DPI also organizes weekly briefings and has recently created a UN website, although it is not exclusively for NGOs. The site was accessed by 42.7 million in 1997, from contacts in 132 countries, averaging 141 access contacts every minute in the first

[21] Ibid., p. 6.

quarter of 1998. In addition, twelve UN centers have established their own websites.[22]

Ever since its founding, NGOs have been giving input to the General Assembly and to its committees and subsidiary bodies. NGOs are now pushing for access to meetings from which they are excluded. These include five high-level General Assembly working groups studying various topics of UN reform: (1) strengthening the UN system; (2) Security Council reform; (3) Agenda for Peace; (4) Agenda for Development; and (5) the financial situation of the UN. The World Federalist Movement has declared that "this exclusion is difficult to justify given that many of the most creative and thoughtful proposals for UN reform have come from civil society."[23]

In recent years, secretaries-general have paid increasing attention to NGOs. In 1995, the secretary-general designated his special political adviser as the focal point in his executive office for matters pertaining to NGOs. This officer was made chair of an interdepartmental working group on relations with NGOs. She was requested to make proposals for innovative mechanisms to the secretary-general as well as to develop a strategy to enhance relations with NGOs. The interdepartmental group was asked to improve the UN's knowledge of the increasingly complex NGO universe and to develop common approaches for cooperation with NGOs.[24]

Another indicator of expanded involvement of NGOs at UN headquarters is their involvement in humanitarian affairs. Monthly meetings between secretariat officials and NGOs are co-chaired by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and InterAction, an NGO. There is also NGO representation on the Inter-Agency Standing Committee for Emergency Relief.

NGOs have begun to push for regular relations with the Security Council, possibly stimulated by the growing involvement of NGOs in humanitarian activities closely related to UN peacekeeping operations. The NGO Working Group on the Security Council was convened early in 1995 by the Global Policy Forum, Amnesty International, EarthAction, the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, the World Council of Churches, and the World Federalist Movement. This NGO group was formed to provide a forum for NGOs interested in the Security Council and to enable them to cooperate in facilitating meetings with governmental representatives to discuss questions about Security Council accountability, representation, and transparency.[25] Twenty members of the NGO Working Group on the Security Council met in November 1996 with ambassadors of Chile, Finland, India, and New Zealand, among others. In a follow-up meeting with the then Security Council president, Paolo Fulci of Italy, the NGOs proposed presidential briefings for NGOs similar to the newly initiated briefings held by Security

[22] UN Document A/53/170, 1998, p. 19.

[23] World Federalist Movement, "NGOs and Democratization of the UN" (New York: Global Policy Forum, 1996), p. 2.

[24] Go Between 54 (October–November 1995), p. 5.

[25] Go Between 62 (February–March 1997), pp.7–8.

Council presidents for nonmember states. Fulci later reported that the Council had not agreed but said it would be acceptable for individual Council members to meet with NGOs.

Ambassador Juan Somavia of Chile initiated a meeting to enable NGOs active in conflict areas to brief Security Council members. In this "unprecedented informal briefing," in February 1997, twelve representatives of Oxfam, CARE, and Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) told the Security Council "that humanitarian action in Africa's Great Lakes Region is being used as a substitute for political action." They "stressed the grave access problems they face in Rwanda, Burundi, and particularly in eastern Zaire, and called for a commitment comparable to the one required to address the situation in the former Yugoslavia." The meeting did not take place in the Security Council chamber but elsewhere at UN headquarters. In a joint statement, the NGOs told the Security Council:

> Since the beginning of genocide in 1994 in Rwanda the Security Council has consistently failed to abide by the Geneva Conventions and to take action to address the underlying causes of the conflict and to help find political solutions in the region. Humanitarian action has been used as a substitute for political action… Aid agencies… cannot solve these problems with biscuits, vaccines and water.[26]

The Council was urged to use political pressure to bring the parties to negotiate measures for protection, such as safe corridors. In September 1997, the secretary-general of Amnesty International briefed the Security Council in an ad hoc meeting on human rights considerations in the prevention and management of conflicts and in ensuring the rebuilding of societies. In a meeting that was also attended by UN agency and Secretariat personnel, he "stressed the importance of reports of human rights violations as the first step in establishing accountability, which he said changes the behavior of the belligerents." He also said that "analysis of human rights reports for patterns of violations allows early identification of signs of impending conflicts."[27]

In 1997, thanks to the initiative of Ambassador Antonio Monteiro of Portugal, the presidents of the Council began to meet informally with a special "consultation group" of the Working Group of the Security Council. In 1998, a number of Council presidents offered breakfasts or luncheons to the working group in the middle of their presidential month with delegations giving briefings. The consultation group is now a well-established NGO voice on Security Council matters. Briefings and meetings with delegations are always private and off-the-record. Typically fourteen to twenty NGO representatives attend their meetings, usually held in a UN mission, an ambassador's residence, or a similar location.

The working group's five goals for the future include: (1) holding regular briefings; (2) maintaining strong informal ties with delegations to identify key issues, tackle the decision making process, and provide input into policy formation;

[26] Go Between 63 (April–May 1997), p. 11.

[27] Go Between 66 (October–November 1977), p. 15.

(3) obtaining the Security Council's monthly work calendar program; (4) each Council president publishing the presidential press statements (following the precedent of Italy, Slovenia, and Sweden), which should also be published on the Web, thereby increasing the transparency of the Council; and (5) all presidents publishing their presidential reports soon after the close of their presidency, thus helping NGOs and the public to understand the activities of the Council and its policy thinking.[28]

7.3 Overview of the Present Scope of NGO Involvement in the UN System

Despite the snail's pace in revising formal procedures for NGO consultation with ECOSOC, there has been a phenomenal growth in the involvement of NGOs throughout the UN system. A 1990 UN report, the latest available systemwide report, listed ninety-three offices dealing with NGO concerns in the UN system. They are located in eighteen cities scattered across the globe (Table 7.1). This list portrays the degree to which NGO relations with the UN can be understood only by taking a systemic view. The nine offices listed as "service offices" are located in the three main headquarters of the system: New York (4), Geneva (2), and Vienna (2). The fifty-four liaison offices in substantive offices are also found in these three cities, as well as in Rome and Nairobi. The six regional offices of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), and five offices in UN regional economic and social commissions, extend outreach to cities in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. Nineteen specialized agency liaison offices include the cities of Montreal, London, Washington, Paris, and Berne.

7.3.1 Service Offices

In contrast with the other offices, the nine service offices perform functions that transcend specific global issues. Among their functions are providing overall coordination and policy guidance for secretariat units dealing with NGOs, accrediting NGOs in consultative status, and providing data on NGOs and their contribution to the UN. They also conduct the Inter-Departmental Working Group on Relations with NGOs and service the ECOSOC Committee on NGOs. Direct service to NGOs is offered by activities such as holding weekly briefings for NGOs, organizing three-day annual international conferences for NGOs on global issues, and facilitating consultations between NGOs and various sectors of the UN.

[28] NGO Working Group on the Security Council, Information Statement (New York: Global Policy Forum, 1998).

Table 7.1 NGO Offices in the UN System

Nine service offices: New York (4), Geneva (3), Vienna (2)
Fifty-four liaison offices in substantive offices of the UN Secretariat: New York, Rome, Geneva, Vienna, Nairobi
Six UNEP regional offices: Washington, Bangkok, Athens, Bahrain, Kingston, Mexico city
Five offices in UN regional economic and social commissions: Geneva, Bangkok, Santiago, Baghdad, Addis Ababa
Nineteen specialized agency liaison offices: New York, Geneva, Vienna, Rome, Montreal, London, Washington, Paris, Berne

Source UN, Office of the Under-Secretary-General, 1990

Included in these service offices is the UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), with offices in New York and Geneva. It performs three basic functions.[29] The first is to provide publications, including the *NGLS Handbook,* a 300-page handbook for NGOs on UN agencies, programs, and funds working for economic and social development.[30] NGLS also publishes *Go-Between,* a bimonthly journal that provides UN news on NGO activities in UN agencies and other NGO activities, publication information, and a calendar. Among other publications NGLS issues for NGOs about UN activities is *NGLS Roundup,* with each issue focusing on the meeting of a specific UN body, and *Environment and Development File,* which offers briefings on follow-ups to Agenda 21 of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

Second, NGLS offers what Alan Fowler calls "UN-NGO intelligence and multi-constituency facilitation" providing "both outreach and inreach."[31] He notes that both NGO and UN personnel value being able to pick up the phone or send a fax with a specific inquiry and receive strategic insights that NGLS staff can offer on UN-NGO relations and processes.

Third, NGLS promotes NGO involvement in the UN by facilitating NGO participation in conferences, organizing interagency events for NGO specialists, acting as a convener for inter-NGO meetings, training NGOs in the ways of the UN, and maintaining a database. Fowler asserts that NGLS maintains "a non-partisan, relatively autonomous position within the UN system and that users 'trust in the memory' acumen, fairness and sound judgment of NGLS staff."[32]

Of special significance is the broad array of UN agencies sponsoring NGLS. Listed in the handbook are UN Development Programme (UNDP, lead agency), UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, administrating agency),

[29] Alan Fowler, "Strategic Review of the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service: The UN-System and Non-State Actors: What Role for NGLS? Background Note to a Round Table Discussion" (Geneva: NGLS, 1998), p. 2.

[30] UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service, NGLS Handbook, 2nd ed., (Geneva: United Nations, 1997).

[31] Fowler, "Strategic Review of the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service," p. 2.

[32] Ibid.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), UN Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS, Habitat), UN International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP), UN Department of Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development (UNDPCSD), UN Department of Public Information (DPI), UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Bank, World Food Programme (WFP), and World Health Organization (WHO). Financial support for NGLS is provided by the governments of Canada, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Financial support also comes from the UN Centre for Human Rights, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and a number of NGOs.

In June 1998, NGLS issued a three-stage client survey analysis, "A Strategic Review of NGLS," by Alan Fowler. It is based on (1) e-mail and fax questionnaires to both UN and NGO personnel; (2) face-to-face and telephone interviews with some eighty UN staff in Bonn, Geneva, Nairobi, New York, and Paris, and with NGOs in Africa, South and Southeast Asia, Europe, and North and Latin America; and (3) a roundtable meeting with some twenty-six UN and NGO participants. In his background note to the roundtable, Fowler notes that the profile of "non-state actors demanding to interact with the UN is changing." Whereas until recently the NGLS NGO constituency were involved in "international aid in its widest sense," now they are "responding to the impact of economic globalization, climate change, drug abuse, AIDS and many other issues. Peoples' organizations (POs) comprising the poor and marginalized, and northern NGOs with a domestic remit, are mobilizing themselves to better understand how international institutions work and their policies can be influenced."[33]

In his comprehensive report, Fowler highlights three important findings. First, NCLS is uniquely important and valuable to its key constituencies. Second, NGLS is overburdened with demands as compared with its capacity—it has only five professional and five support staff spread over two locations, in New York and Geneva. Third, "the review is taking place at a time of complex change both within and outside the UN system." This includes the fact that NGLS is "under imminent threat because of funding insecurity and attrition." This causes Fowler to raise a puzzling question: "Why is NGLS so highly valued yet critically vulnerable?"[34]

The vulnerability is primarily financial. In spite of recent escalating demands for NGLS services, its budget has been reduced slightly. Contributions from the regular UN budget decreased from 30 % of total expenditures in 1994 to 20 % in 1997. NGLS also receives support from a number of specialized agencies, but its support from the entire UN system has declined, from 84 % in 1994 to 65 % in 1997.

[33] Alan Fowler, "A Strategic Review of the United Nations Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS): Final Report" (Geneva: NGLS, 1998), p. 3.

[34] Ibid., p. 2.

Meanwhile, the dependence of NGLS on voluntary contributions gives it a rather tenuous financial base. In 1997, NGLS received only 20 % of its financial support from UN assessments, with 45 % coming from voluntary contributions to programs in various agencies in the UN system and 35 % from voluntary contributions from UN member states and other sources. This offers a very uncertain future for the ten members of the NGLS staff in New York and Geneva as they contend simultaneously with growing demands for services and escalating uncertainty about whether they will even be able to maintain present capacity.

7.3.2 Liaison Offices

A broad perspective on NGO access to the UN system can be developed by compiling a list of the twenty-six issues on which the fifty-four liaison offices, six UNEP regional offices, and five regional economic and social commissions are focused. The issues dealt with by these offices range from aging and disarmament to migrant workers and social welfare policy (Table 7.2). For those who are inclined to focus their UN interests on New York, it is important to note that there are liaison offices for sixteen issues outside of New York. Although the table is very useful in revealing the issue scope and geographic range of liaison offices, it obviously does not include all offices in the UN system that have intensive relations with NGOs. Not included here are nineteen specialized agency offices. Therefore, a number of issues are not present in Table 7.2, including atomic energy (International Atomic Energy Agency, IAEA, Vienna); civil aviation (International Civil Aviation Organization, ICAO, Montreal); maritime shipping (International Maritime Organization, IMO, London); monetary policy (International Monetary Fund, IMF, Washington); education, science, culture, and communication (UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, Paris); and postal service (Universal Postal Union, UPU, Berne).

Table 7.2 Issues addressed by UN Liaison offices

Aging (V)	Disarmament (N)	Narcotic drugs (V)
Apartheid (N) Children (N)	Emergency situations (N)	Palestinian rights (N)
Cooperatives (V) Crime (V)	Environment (Na, N, G, A, Bh*, Bn, K, M, W)	Peace studies (N)
Decolonization (N)		Population (N, G)
Desertification (N)	Family (V)	Refugees (G, N, V)
Development (N)	Food/hunger (R, N)	Social development (V)
Disability (N, G)	Human rights (G, N)	Welfare policies (V)
Disaster relief (N, G)	Human settlements (Na, N)	
	Law of the sea (N)	
	Migrant workers (V)	

Source UN, Office of the Under-Secretary-General, 1990
Notes Athens (A), Bahrain (Bh), Bangkok (Bn), Geneva (G), Kingston (K), Mexico City (M), New York (N), Nairobi (Na), Vienna (V), Washington (W)

The same UN document describes the activities of each office. In excerpting the relevant words from each, I identified twenty functions, which I have condensed into seven clusters. To facilitate comprehension of what these offices do, I have arranged the seven functions in an order that proceeds from lesser to greater collaboration with NGOs and from headquarters to field emphasis. The list below begins with the effort by UN offices to inform NGOs about UN activities. These offices also collect and disseminate information about NGOs and support NGO information activity. Some NGOs do participate in meetings of UN organs, but many more are involved in seminars and symposia. As called for by Article 71, NGOs consult with ECOSOC and other UN bodies and offices; and Article 71 has been extended to include coordination of UN and NGO programs with each other. In ways probably unforeseen by those drafting Article 71, some UN offices stimulate and support NGO field activities. Finally, in the promotion of grassroots and community- based approaches, these UN offices go beyond the definition of NGO as understood by voluntary organization representatives at the San Francisco conference.

- Provide information on UN issues/activities to NGOs.
- Collect/provide information and serve as clearinghouse on NGO activity.
- Support/assist/advise NGO information activity.
- Involve NGOs in UN meetings/seminars/symposia.
- Promote cooperation/consultation/coordination with NGO programs.
- Stimulate/support NGO field activities.
- Promote community-based/grassroots approaches.

I do not know the priority the various UN offices give to these UN activities, nor how effectively they are carried out. Yet the very fact that they report that they intend to encompass the seven functions listed suggests not only that practice has fulfilled Article 71 but also that the roles of NGOs have been given a far broader definition. Research is needed on the significance of the network of NGO offices in the UN system and the potential they offer for greater citizen participation.

7.4 The World Bank and the World Trade Organization

Since NGO involvement in the World Bank and in the World Trade Organization has recently had remarkable growth, as well as a change in issue focus, brief consideration of these agencies offers insight into current dynamism in UN-NGO relations.

The World Bank opens a brief overview of its relations with NGOs with this statement: "Over the past several decades NGOs have become major players in the field of international development."[35] The NGO Unit of the Bank is housed in the

[35] World Bank, "Cooperation Between the World Bank and NGOs," FY97 Progress Report, NGO Unit, Social Development Department (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1998; reprinted in Transnational Associations 6 [1998], pp. 284–296).

"Social Development Anchor" and is the focal point within the Bank for activities linked to NGO relations. Its responsibilities are collaborating operationally with NGOs, leading and coordinating the Bankwide learning process on participatory development, making Bank-NGO policy dialogue as constructive as possible, and providing information to Bank staff and others about NGOs and information to NGOs about the Bank.

The NGO-World Bank Committee was established in 1982 to address ways in which the Bank could increase involvement of NGOs in Bank-financed projects. In the mid-1980s, the committee shifted its focus more toward policy-related areas. Meetings provide a formal arena for policy discussions among senior Bank managers and twenty-six NGO leaders from around the world. NGO members of the committee collectively form the NGO Working Group on the World Bank (NGOWG), with five members each from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Europe; four from North America and the Pacific; and two "international" NGO liaison officers/specialists; These committee members have been assigned to many of the Bank's resident missions around the world. At the end of FY 1998, seventy-one resident missions had staff specifically assigned to work with NGO/civil society issues.[36]

In recent years, the World Bank has been strongly criticized for the environmental impact of many development projects that it supports around the world. In response, it is taking the unusual step of posting its 29 October 1997 strategy paper on environmental strategy for the energy sector on the Bank's website. The paper was accompanied by an announcement that comments were welcome through 1 February 1998. In January 1998, the Environmental Strategy for the Energy Sector Team analyzed comments received from the Bank's executive directors and identified options for responses. Then "upon completion of the virtual consultation with external stakeholders," the team summarized the comments received and disseminated the results to the executive directors. After meetings with individual executive directors, a revised strategy paper was resubmitted to the board of executive directors at the end of March. The final paper was posted on the website for broad dissemination to the public.

The Bank has also been widely criticized for "structural adjustment" requirements placed on states receiving bank loans. This too has resulted in an effort by the Bank to seek external advice. The Structural Adjustment Participatory Review (SAPRI) was initiated through a series of national public forums and participatory field investigations. Under this initiative, a national steering committee, comprising local NGOs, the government, and the Bank, will be set up in each involved country to examine the effects of World Bank policies on all social groups.[37]

[36] World Bank Group, "Overview: NGO World Bank Collaboration," online at http://www.Worldbank.org, 1999.

[37] Go Between 65 (August–September 1997), p. 7.

External initiatives are also being taken to monitor the development of Bank policy and to mobilize NGOs to demand participation. One prominent example is the Bank Information Center (BIC), located in Washington, D.C., which provides information and strategic support to NGOs and social movements throughout the world on the policies and practices of the World Bank and other multilateral development banks. In order to facilitate greater transparency, accountability, and citizen participation in the multilateral development banks, BIC maintains a library, documentation center, and database in Washington and maintains a website (http://www.bicusa.org) that offers responses to questions through e-mail, fax, or regular mail. Priority is given to requests from Southern NGOs and social movements and Northern NGOs outside Washington.

The World Trade Organization opens the brief report "Relations with NGOs" with this statement: "Although NGOs have been interested in the GATT since its inception in 1947, the period since the creation of the WTO, as the successor to GATT, has vividly demonstrated that the multilateral trading system is being scrutinized by public opinion like never before." The Marrakesh Agreement establishing the WTO included a specific reference to NGOs in Article V:2. In July 1996, the WTO adopted a set of guidelines that "recognizes the role NGOs can play to increase the awareness of the public in respect of WTO activities." Since then, WTO arrangements for NGOs have focused on arrangements for their "attendance at Ministerial Conferences, participation in issue-specific symposia, and day to day contact between the WTO Secretariat and NGOs." As a result, at the 1996 Singapore ministerial conference, 159 NGOs (235 individuals) registered to attend. They included representatives from environment, development, consumer, business, trade union, and farmer interests. The WTO provided them with "a large number of meeting rooms, computer facilities and documentation." Later, at a Geneva ministerial conference and fiftieth anniversary celebration of the multilateral trading system, 152 NGOs (362 individuals) registered.

In 1996, guidelines were established (WT/L/162) that direct WTO relations with civil society and recognize "the role NGOs can play to increase the awareness of the public in respect of WTO activities." Since 1996, a number of symposia have been arranged by the Secretariat for NGOs on specific issues of interest to civil society. In July 1998, the WTO secretariat began a program of regular briefings for NGOs and the circulation each month, to 132 member countries, of a list of documents, position papers, and newsletters submitted by NGOs. Also, a section of the WTO website will be devoted to NGOs.[38]

In addition, the Geneva Centre on Trade and Sustainable Development is being developed. Its goals are to strengthen links between NGOs interested in trade, environment, and development and to help educate NGOs on how to advocate change within the WTO context. It will bring together trade and NGO

[38] World Trade Organization, "Relations with NGOs" (Geneva: WTO, 1998).

communities in public dialogue and help the public understand how the work of WTO and others fits into the larger picture of sustainable development globally. It will also maintain databases.[39]

7.5 NGO Conferences

Mobilization of NGOs for participation in UN world conferences has spurred expanded activity of NGOs at UN system headquarters. NGO gatherings in the context of these interstate conferences, where they have had parallel conferences, have spurred a diversity of other NGO conference formats. These include (1) follow-ups to world conferences; (2) broad-agenda NGO conferences; (3) proposals for a People's Millennium Assembly; and (4) proposals for a second UN General Assembly.

7.5.1 Follow-Ups to World Conferences with Issue Focus

A number of NGO conferences have convened as follow-ups to UN world conferences with an issue focus. There have been two very recent examples. The NGO Forum on Social Development met immediately preceding the thirty-seventh session of the UN Commission for Social Development, on 9 February 1999. This has now become a tradition prior to the meetings of this commission, organized by the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES). The forum provides NGOs a platform for discussing their role in the implementation of the recommendations of the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995). The forum took place at UNICEF headquarters in New York.

A similar forum was held on 6 and 7 February 1999, in The Hague, as a follow-up to the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), held in Cairo in 1994. Organizers of this ICPD-t-5 forum sought to provide opportunity for participants of many organizations and individuals unable to come to The Hague. They created an electronic (e-mail) discussion forum that was especially focused on sexual and reproductive health rights. Information available on the Internet suggests that this forum is based in Stockholm at "Q Web Sweden—A Women's Empowerment Base."

In February 1998, grassroots movements from all continents met in Geneva to launch Peoples' Global Action (PGA), a worldwide network against "free" trade and the WTO. Its main objectives are to "act against corporate domination through non-violent civil disobedience and people-oriented constructive actions," and to provide an instrument for coordination and mutual support for those "resisting

[39] Ibid.

corporate rule and the capitalist development paradigm." Regional meetings of PGA have been held in Nicaragua, Bangladesh, and Italy, and there have been three international conferences. Because of the large number of participants from the North at the Second International Conference, in Bangalore in August 1999, it was decided that only 30 % of the attendees from the North at the Third International Conference, in Cochabamba, Bolivia (September 2001), would have full participatory status. Others attending were to be given observer status. The PGA asserts that it is "a tool for coordination not an organization." In accordance with this decentralized style, it was asserted that roundtable discussions at the Cochabamba meeting would "depend on the initiatives of the participants." But examples of likely topics were given as struggles of indigenous peoples and the struggles against industrial agriculture and biotechnology.[40]

7.5.2 Broad-Agenda NGO World Conferences

The Steering Committee for the World NGO (WONGOC), planned for 1999, met in Geneva on 6 and 7 September 1998. Initiated by the United Nations University, WONGOC is aimed at building global governance partnerships. It plans to bring together decisionmakers in NGO networks and groupings "to share strategies, plans, programs, obstacles, successes, failures, opportunities in working with the United Nations system on issues where civil society and the UN have a common agenda." It has been reported that the steering committee will join forces with the UN Association of Canada, the Conference of NGOs in Consultative Relationship with the UN (CONGO), and the Citizen's NetWork for a Millennium People's Assembly.

Another NGO world conference was held from 16 to 19 October 1999 at Kyung Hee University in Seoul. It drew 13,000 participants, representing 1,360 NGOs from 107 countries. Focused on the role of NGOs in the twenty-first century, it was advertised as the first-ever conference of NGOs to address issues across the whole spectrum of human development. The major goals of the conference were to monitor and explore ways to implement pledges made by UN member states at world conferences and to strengthen NGO partnerships with the UN and its agencies.

7.5.3 People's Millennium Assembly

On 16 December 1998, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (A/53L.73) designating the fifty-fifth session of the General Assembly as a Millennium

[40] All quotes in this paragraph are from the following website: http://www.nadir.org

Assembly, with an integral part designated as a limited number of days devoted to a Millennium Summit. Article 4 asked the secretary-general to consult with member states, specialized agencies, observers, and NGOs before submitting his proposals for topics that "could help focus the Millennium Summit within the context of an overall theme."

As the proposal for a Millennium Assembly emerged, Secretary- General Kofi Annan, in midsummer 1997, joined the call for a companion People's Millennium Assembly (PMA) in his reform report. Then, in his opening statement to the 1997 NGO/DPI Conference, he again issued this invitation and was greeted with sustained applause. In January 1998 an interim steering committee drafted a mission statement for the People's Millennium Assembly.

> [It] will be a bold experiment to seek a means for citizens of the planet to directly communicate our views to the United Nations and the participating nation states about critical global problems and their resolution. It will be an opportunity for non-governmental organizations, civil society, and the peoples of the world to work with the United Nations through the Millennium General Assembly urging it to take definitive action to solve global problems.

The statement asserted that, beginning in 1998, a wide range of technologies and a series of linked and simultaneous events would be employed to gather and synthesize views of citizens from around the world.[41] Included in these "people's assembly" events were the Hague Peace Conference People's Assembly in The Hague and the Pilot People's Assembly in San Francisco.

Eventually, the proposed PMA met under the name of Millennium Forum on 22-26 May 2000, opening with a keynote address from Secretary-General Kofi Annan in which he urged participants to learn to "govern better together." Their response was a Declaration and Agenda for Action, drafted by over 100 NGOs at the end of the Millennium Forum. It called for a Global Poverty Eradication Fund, a Global Habitat Conservation Fund, a UN Peace Force, and a UN Humanitarian Commission. The "general consensus" report of the subgroup "Strengthening and Democratizing the United Nations and International Organizations" contained this declaration: "We the people participating in the Millennium Forum at UN Headquarters in New York resolve to create a global civil society forum as a permanent forum to deal with UN institutions, the UN reform process, members states and other institutions."

7.5.4 Second UN Assembly Proposals

For several decades there have been proposals for a second General Assembly that have included differing proposals for the nature of its members, including

[41] Rob Wheeler, "Toward a Mission Statement for the People's Millennium Assembly," Interim Steering Committee, website, 1998).

members of state legislatures, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, and directly elected members. More recent proposals include the International Network for a Second Assembly (1982), Erskine Childers and Brian Urquhart's proposal for a UN Parliamentary Assembly (1994), and a proposal for an annual Forum of Civil Society.[42] Many working to organize the Millennium Forum saw it as a building block toward a permanent second assembly, but certainly not all. The secretary-general's office has made it clear that his support of the Millennium Forum perceived it to be a one-time event. Leaders of the Millennium People's Assembly Network noted that "it is most important that we be clear that the Secretary General has not endorsed the idea of a permanent Peoples Assembly; however we can certainly continue to discuss the establishment of such an assembly during the millennium activities and take steps towards its creation on our own behalf. At the same time though, it is important that we avoid undermining the support we have for the millennium activities."[43]

Most who propose a second assembly see it as something that will evolve from an ad hoc annual event into a permanent organization that will eventually be formally established by an amendment to the UN Charter. A proposal of the United Planetary Foundation has a much more ambitious goal: the creation of a United Planetary Assembly that would eventually have seven houses. They see the need for a movement that includes "efforts that support both an evolution of the UN and a revolution of the people." Their evolutionary perspective is clearly stated: "With the increasing involvement of NGOs in the UN, one could say that a prototype of a Citizens Assembly already exists through its structure, yet it cannot be described as a truly democratically elected entity. It is for this reason that we must go beyond the present model to include any and all options."[44]

7.6 Conclusion

My examination of developing relations between the UN system and civil society has revealed these relations to be dynamic and diverse in nature. I began with a report on efforts to revise ECOSOC procedures for awarding consultative status to NGOs in response to demands coming from NGOs, particularly driven by their roles in UN world conferences. The response has been very slow because many states disagree with the policies and modes of behavior of some NGOs, and also because some established NGOs are resisting an expansion of their ranks.

Relations between civil society and the UN have been moving dynamically forward through the pressure of everyday encounters. At the New York headquarters,

[42] Commission on Global Governance, Our Global Neighborhood (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[43] Wheeler, "Toward a Mission Statement for the People's Millennium Assembly."

[44] United Planetary Foundation, website, 1998.

this is revealed in the growing relationships between NGOs and the Security Council and in the growing attention by the secretary-general to NGO relations. NGO service and liaison offices have also spread throughout the system, with offices focused on more than thirty global issues. Particular attention has been devoted to the New York- and Geneva-based services of NGLS and to the growing attention to NGOs by the World Bank and the WTO. With regard to the latter, there has been an emerging resistance in civil society to the environmental impact of Bank development projects and the elimination of certain trade barriers, provoking efforts to form broad-based NGO movements.

Our brief glimpse at NGO conferences, seemingly spurred by parallel UN world conferences, indicates an emerging variety of NGO conferences. Some are follow-ups to UN world conferences and focus on issues on the agendas of these conferences. Recently there have also been NGO conferences with broader agendas, as with one focused on the development of effective NGO strategies for engagement in the UN system, and another on the role of NGOs in the twenty-first century. A new departure was the People's Millennium Forum, preceding but held in parallel with the fifty-fifth session of the UN General Assembly, designated as the Millennium Assembly. Many involved in this NGO effort see it as a movement toward a permanent second assembly for the UN that would gradually come into existence through practice, eventually being recognized through a charter amendment.

The emerging relations between the UN system and civil society reveal a dynamism that imbues these relationships that overwhelmingly transcend the modest words of Article 71 of the charter, as well as the efforts of ECOSOC and the General Assembly to prescribe detailed rules for governing them. It would seem that these developments have been propelled by several intertwined factors. First, there is evidence that new modes of communication are speeding and broadening the accessibility of UN information and documents to NGOs and their opportunities for mobilizing response. This includes websites for most UN agencies and NGO websites. Most striking is the Internet posting of World Bank documents and invitations for external comments. Second, in response to what is often referred to as "globalization," NGOs have focused their attention on new global issues such as environment and AIDS. Third, UN activities in the form of development projects, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance have been projected into the everyday lives of people at the grassroots. This too has stimulated NGO response, bringing them into UN arenas, such as the Security Council, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization, with which they had traditionally had very little contact.

From this brief account, it is apparent that widespread, complicated new forms of global governance are being invented. The knowledge needed to assess their present significance and future potential is limited. Yet these developments are likely fulfilling the dreams of many of those members of civil society present at the San Francisco conference who were largely responsible for the first seven words of the charter: "We the peoples of the United Nations."

It is in many respects ironic that involvement of civil society in global governance is dynamically growing at a time when financial restraints are severely limiting the response capacity of the UN. This was dramatically revealed by our discussion of the small staff available to the NGLS. Although not reported in this paper, NGOs involved in environment, human rights, and humanitarian support of peacekeepers often report that they are being asked to substitute for the UN in a variety of ways because of UN Secretariat, and UN peacekeeping, shortages of people and money. Will this be only a temporary condition in the development of future forms of global governance? Or will civil society and business corporations be the major players? How will this impact the capacity of emerging global governance to effectively cope with the growing agenda of global problems and the potential of global governance to adequately reflect the will, and needs, of the people of the world?

Chapter 8
Strengthening Relations Between NGOs and the UN System: Towards a Research Agenda

There were representatives of 1,200 voluntary organisations present at the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945.[1] They played a significant role in writing the first seven words of the Charter: "We the peoples of the United Nations and also in the inclusion of Article 71, providing that "The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organisations…". In addition, they fought for the inclusion of individual human rights (mentioned seven times in the Charter) and for educational co-operation in the pursuit of friendly relations among nations (Article 55).

Fifty years later, building on Article 71, it seems that NGOs are emerging everywhere throughout the UN system. There are more than 90 UN offices handling NGO relations. In 1995, 4,000 NGOs participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), in Rio de Janeiro, created a Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) and outlined nine major groups which should be partners with governments and international organisations in the search for sustainable development: NGOs, local authorities, farmers, scientists and the technical community, business labour, indigenous peoples, women, children and youth. NGOs have recently addressed *ad hoc* meetings of the Security Council. A committee of ECOSOC has held discussions, and a committee of NGO representatives has made proposals for the arrangements for NGO relations with the General Assembly.

In addition, emerging proposals for the future would amaze even the most extreme visionaries present at San Francisco. A People's Millennium Assembly is being planned at the beginning of the twenty-first century as a companion to the UN General Assembly's Millennium Summit. Some see it as a potential prototype

[1] This paper was presented to the Peace Movements Commission of the International Peace Research Association at the 17th General Conference of IPRA, Durban, South Africa, June 1998. The paper was first published as "Strengthening Relations Betweeen NGOs and the UN System: Toward a Research Agenda", *Global Society*, Vol. 13, No. 4, October 1999, 393–409. University of Kent at Canterbury. Permission to republish this text was granted by Taylor and Francis on 27 January 2013.

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for an ongoing UN People's Assembly. Erskine Childers and Brian Urquhart, two former members of the Secretariat with long experience, have proposed the creation of a directly elected United Nations Parliamentary Assembly. Beginning only as an advisory body, not requiring Charter amendment, they see it as an eventual "second house" directly representing the people, alongside the government-appointed representatives of the General Assembly.[2]

Fortunately, the growth in NGO involvement in the UN system has stimulated the interest of a growing number of researchers, and written accounts by a number of perceptive participant observers. Not surprisingly, in a domain of such dramatic and complex growth, these researchers tend to raise more questions than they answer. It is the purpose of this paper to pull together a number of these questions in order to provide a resource that hopefully will be useful in developing research agendas. In the sections of the paper that follow we first examine briefly the expanding NGO typology. This is followed by sections on UN services to NGOs, on contributions of NGOs to the UN system, and on transfer of resources to NGOs by UN agencies. These will be followed by an effort to pull together a few of the main research questions that have emerged. The paper will conclude with a summary and brief conclusion.

8.1 The Expanding NGO Typology

Growth in the activities of non-governmental actors, and growing media and scholarly attention to them, has led to efforts to develop typologies of NGOs. Riva Krut[3] has collected this array of 23 acronyms:

PINGO (Public interest NGO)
INGO (Individual-based or international NGO)
ENGO (Environmental NGO)
QuNGO (Quasi-governmental NGO)
GONGO (Government-organised NGO)
GRINGO (Government-run NGO)
DONGO (Donor-organised NGO)
BINGO (Business and industry NGO)
CONGO (Congress of NGOs, a group with ECOSOC consultative status)
ANGO (Advocacy NGO)
NNGO (National NGO)
ONGO (Operational NGO)
GBO (Community-based organisation)

[2] Erskine Childers and Brian Urquhart, *Renewing the United Nations System* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1994), pp. 176–181.

[3] Riva Krut, *Globalization and Civil Society: NGO Influence in International Decision-making* (Geneva: UN Research Institute for Social Development, 1997), p. 9.

CSO (Civil society NGO)
PO (Private organisation or peoples' organisation)
PVO (Private voluntary organisation)
SHO (Self-help organisation)
GRO (Grass roots organisation)
GRSO (Grass roots support organisation that incites and supports GROs)
SHPO (Self-help support organisation)
GSCO (Global social change organisation)
ECO (Ecological citizens organisation or environmental community organisation)
SMO (Social movement organisation)

A list provided by Kunugi[4] adds more:

AGO (Anti-government organisation)
TRANGO (Transnational NGO)
ODANGO (ODA financed NGO)
FLAMINGO (Flashy minded NGO, representing the rich) (Kunugi, no date).

In addition, some distinguish between social movement organisations (SMOs)—organisations which devote their principal effort towards social change—whose roots are within states and transnational social movements (TSMOs). In coding the several thousand international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) in the *Yearbook of International Organisations* for three years, Jackie Smith found an increasing number of TSMOs: 183 (1973), 348 (1983) and 631 (1993).[5]

Increasingly, the entire domain of NGO acronyms is referred to as "civil society". Analysis of the acronyms reveals several important aspects of the growing NGO/civil society domain that is linked to the UN system. Each raises important research questions.

First, research has broadened beyond NGOs which are national and international in character and now often encompasses grass roots organisations. These include CBO (community-based), SHO (self-help), GRO (grass roots) and SHPO (self-help support). Are there variations in the ways in which grass roots organisations are linked to the UN system? What is the significance of these differences? It would be important to know when, and why, influence is moving from the bottom up, and when, and why, from the top down.

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[4] Tatsuro Kunugi, "The United Nations and Civil Society—NGOs Working Towards the twenty-first Century", Informal paper, no date, p. 3.

[5] Jackie Smith, Characteristics of the Modern Transnational Social Movement Sector", in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco (eds.), *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), pp. 42–58. The last chapter of this volume of nine case studies develops a typology of the activities of transnational social movements based on these cases: Chadwick F. Alger, Transnational Social Movements, World Politics, and Global Governance", pp. 260–275.

Second, the acronyms reveal increasing concern for identifying the interests that create and support NGOs. Five kinds of interest are indicated in the list of acronyms above:

Government:

(1) QuNGO (quasi-governmental), GONGO (government organised) GRINGO (government run);
(2) international governmental organisation: (ODANGO);
(3) donor: DONGO (donor organised);
(4) business and industry: BINGO;
(5) NGO: GRSO (organisations that incite and support grass roots organisations).

How does the source of funding of organisations affect their activities? Do some sources of funding permit more independence than others? Can NGOs achieve their own goals more effectively by avoiding the acceptance of some sources of funds? Would it be best for NGOs to accept funds from a balanced array of sources?

Third, efforts have been made to identify, and separately analyse, those organisations working for social change: included are SMOs and TSMOs, and also GSCOs (global social change) and ANGOs (advocacy). Are social change organisations that are successful in the UN context any different from those that are successful in domestic politics? What kinds of SMOs, as well as TSMOs, are most effective in the UN context? Is collaboration with other NGOs important for the success of SMOs and TSMOs?

Fourth, efforts are being made to distinguish between NGOs focusing on different issues, although only those concerned with environment are on the Krut and Kunugi lists: ECOs and ENGOs. Organisations working on different issues, such as environment, human rights, development and control of violence, must link to strikingly different actors and interested publics. Does this in turn require significantly different forms of staffing, outreach and campaign strategies?

8.2 UN Services for NGOs

A 1990 UN document[6] lists 92 NGO offices located in 18 cities throughout the UN system. They are classified into five groups:

(1) eight general service offices: New York (four), Geneva (two), Vienna (two);
(2) fifty-four liaison offices in substantive offices of the UN secretariat (Rome, Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi);

[6] United Nations, Office of the Under-Secretary General for Political and General Assembly Affairs and Secretariat Services, *Directory of Departments and Offices of the United Nations Secretariat, UN Programmes; Specialized Agencies and Other Intergovernmental Organizations Dealing with Non-governmental Organizations* (New York: United Nations, 1990). Reprinted in *Transnational Associations,* No. 5 (1990), pp. 292-302.

(3) six UNEP regional offices (Washington, Bangkok, Athens, Bahrain, Kingston, Mexico City);
(4) five offices in UN Regional Economic and Social Commissions (Geneva, Bangkok, Santiago, Baghdad, Addis Ababa);
(5) nine specialised agency liaison offices (New York, Geneva, Vienna, Rome, Montreal; London, Washington, Paris, Berne).

Another perspective on NGO access to the UN system can be developed by a list of the 26 issues on which these offices are focused. These issues range from ageing and disarmament to migrant workers and social welfare policy (see Table 8.1). The same UN document provides a phrase describing the activities

Table 8.1 Issues addressed by NGO Liason offices

Issue	City	UN Office
Ageing	Vienna	Centre for Social Development & Humanitarian Affairs (CSDH)
Apartheid	New York	Centre Against Apartheid
Children	New York	UN International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)
Co-operatives	Vienna	CSDH
Crime	Vienna	
Decolonisation	New York	Information Unit on Decolonisation
Desertification	New York	UN Sundarro-Sahelian Office (UNSO)
Development	New York	Centre for Science & Technology for Development (CSTD)
	Geneva	UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
	New York	UN Development Programme (UNDP)
	New York	Special Unit for Technical Co-operation among Development Countries (SUTCADC)
	New York	UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
	New York	Capital Development Fund (CDF)
Disability	Vienna	CSDH
Disaster relief	Geneva	UN Disaster Relief Coordinator (UNDRC)
	New York	UNDRC
Disarmament	New York	UN Department for Disarmament Affairs (DDA)
Emergency situations	New York	Special: Emergency Programme Special Political Questions, Regional Coop., Trust and Decolo. (SPQRCTD)
Environment	Nairobi	UN Environment Programme (UNEP)
	New York	UNEP
	Geneva	UNEP
	Athens	UNEP Regional Office
	Bahrain	UNEP Regional Office
	Bangkok	UNEP Regional Office
	Kingston	UNEP Regional Office
	Mexico	UNEP Regional Office

(continued)

Table 8.1 (continued)

Issue	City	UN Office
	Washington, D.C.	UNEP Regional Office
Family	Vienna	CSDH
Food/Hunger	Rome	World Food Council (WFC)
	Rome	World Food Programme (WFP)
	New York	WFP
Human rights	Geneva	Centre for Human Rights (CHR)
	New York	CHR
Human settlements	Nairobi	Habitat
	New York	Habitat
Law of the sea	New York	Office for Ocean Affairs and Law of the Sea (I.OS/OA)
Migrant Workers	Vienna	CSDII
Narcotic drugs	Vienna	Division of Narcotic Drugs (DND)
Palestinian rights	New York	Division for Palestinian Rights (DPR)
Peace Studies	New York	Peace Studies Unit (PCSC)
Population	New York	UN Population Fund (UNFPA)
	Geneva	UNFPA
Refugees	New York	Population Division (DIESA)
	Geneva	UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)
	New York	UNHCR
	Vienna	UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)
	New York	UNRWA
Social development	Vienna	CSDH
Welfare policies	Vienna	CSDH

Source Prepared from a directory issued by the UN Office of the Under-Secretary General, 1990, published in Transnational Associations No. 5 (1990), pp. 292–302

of each office. In excerpting the relevant words from each, we identified 20 functions which we have condensed into seven clusters. To facilitate comprehension of what these offices say they are doing, we have arranged the seven functions in an order which proceeds from lesser to greater collaboration with NGOs and from headquarters to field emphasis:

a. provides information on UN issues/activities to NGOs;
b. collects/provides information/serves as clearing house on NGO activity;
c. supports/assists/advises NGO information activity;
d. involves NGOs in UN meetings/seminars/symposia;
e. promotes co-operation/consultation/co-ordination with NGO programmes;
f. stimulates/supports NGO field activities;
g. promotes community-based/grass roots approaches.

The list begins (1) with the expected effort by UN offices to inform NGOs about UN activities. But they also (2) collect and disseminate information about NGOs and (3) support NGO information activity. (4) Some NGOs do participate in meetings of UN organs, but many more are involved in seminars and symposia.

(5) As called for by Article 71, NGOs consult with ECOSOC and other UN bodies and offices, but this has been extended to include coordination of UN and NGO programmes with each other. (6) In ways probably not foreseen by those drafting Article 71, some UN offices stimulate and support NGO field activities. (7) Finally, in the promotion of grassroots and community-based approaches, these UN offices go beyond the definition of NGO as understood by voluntary organisation representatives at the San Francisco Conference.

At this point we do not know the priority given by the various UN offices to these UN activities, nor do we know how effectively they are carried out. On the other hand, the very fact that they report that they have the intent of encompassing the seven functions listed suggests that practice has not only fulfilled Article 71 but also that the roles of NGOs have been given a far broader definition. Research is needed on the significance of the network of NGO offices in the UN system, and the potential they offer for greater citizen participation.

Very important in UN services to NGOs is the UN Non-governmental Liaison Service (NGLS) with offices in New York and Geneva. It publishes the *NGLS Handbook,*[7] a 300 page handbook for NGOs on UN agencies, programmes and funds working for economic and social development (2nd edn, 1997). Of special significance is the broad array of UN agencies sponsoring the NGLS. As listed in the Handbook: UNDP (lead agency), UNCTAD (administering agency), FAO, IFAD, UNCHS (Habitat), UNCDP (UN International Drug Control Programme), UN/DPCSD (Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development), UN/Department of Public Information, UNESCO, UNHCR, UNICEF, World Bank, WFP, WHO. Financial support for NGLS is provided by the governments of Canada, Denmark, France, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK. Financial support also comes from the UN Center for Human Rights, ILO, UNIDO and a number of NGOs. Also published by the NGLS is *Go-Between,* a bi-monthly journal with UN news, news about NGO activities in UN agencies and news about other activities of NGOs, along with publications information and a calendar. Among other publications issued by the NGLS to keep NGOs informed about UN activities is *NGLS Roundup,* with each issue focusing on the meeting of a specific UN body, and *Environment and Development File,* offering briefings on follow-ups to Agenda 21 of the UNCED Environment and Development Conference.

Nevertheless, Barbara Adams, Senior Programme Officer (New York) for the NGLS has severely criticised UN "Formal mechanisms for NGO presence and participation (and assessment of performance) at the UN… [saying they are] very limited compared to the breadth and depth of NGO involvement in world affairs…. The UN's formal procedures have not made it easy for NGOs to contribute their insights, experience and expertise to UN decision-making and

[7] United Nations, Non-governmental Liaison Services (NGLS), *The NGLS Handbook of the UN agencies, Programmes and Funds working for Economic and Social Development,* 2nd edn (Geneva: United Nations, 1997).

policy-setting directly, other than through governments at the national level".[8] In response, she has proposed eight things that the UN could do to enhance its support of NGO participation:

(1) provision of regular, reliable and readable information on important policy processors also supplying information in a variety of forms (e.g. video, electronic communication), and making it available in many languages;
(2) mandating and improving the capacity of UN offices around the world to work with NGOs on policy issues;
(3) developing mechanisms whereby the UN secretariat, government representatives and NGOs can meet and debate on a regular and sometimes informal basis;
(4) inviting NGOs to nominate participants on expert groups, high-level panels, etc.;
(5) organising regular consultations with NGO representatives at the regional level, as well as annual consultations between the UN and, for example, development NGOs, with NGO participation based on criteria of regional and gender balance;
(6) facilitating NGO participation at inter-agency meetings;
(7) including the contributions of NGOs—experience, analysis, recommendations—in preparing UN substantive reports. To be practicable this requires advance notice, predictability, effective mechanisms and resources;
(8) making arrangements for NGO secondments to UN bodies.[9]

There is some similarity between the functions of NGO liaison offices in the UN system listed earlier and the eight provided by Barbara Adams. But two differences stand out. Barbara Adams offers a much richer array of ways in which the UN could facilitate NGO participation in what we might call UN political processes, as provided for in items (3)–(8). On the other hand, the concern of NGO liaison offices with the grass roots (supporting NGO field activities and promoting community-based approaches) is not included in this Adams list.

Because these eight proposals for UN enhancement of NGO participation come from a UN person experienced in co-operation with NGOs, they would seem to merit inquiry. How successful are the various agencies in the UN system in fulfilling tasks described in these proposals? In cases where they fall short, what factors are responsible?

8.3 Contributions of NGOs

Cyril Ritchie, a long observer of, and participant in, NGO activity has written: "Whether through formal contracts, standing agreements, or ad hoc arrangements, UN organisations collaborate with and often rely on NGOs and NGO networks to

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[8] Barbara Adams, The People's Organisations and the UN: NGOs in International Civil Society", in Erskine Childers (ed.), *Challenges to the United Nations: Building a Safer World* (New York: St. Martinis Press, 1995), p. 177.

[9] Adams, ibid, pp. 186–187.

deliver services, test new ideas, and foster popular participation".[10] He sees that NGO network participation in drafting conventions "has been remarkably strong": Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment, International Trade in Endangered Species, Rights of the Child Desertification, and Biological Diversity.[11] Ritchie joins with Andrew Rice in succinctly summarising the contributions of NGOs to UN organisations and programmes. NGOs:

(1) provide expert knowledge and advice to decision-making bodies and to secretariats that implement decisions;
(2) present views of important constituencies whose voices may not be adequately represented by national delegations;
(3) provide major channels for dissemination of information to their members;
(4) build support for UN programmes by carrying out educational activities directed to the wider public;
(5) in some cases provide co-operation that is indispensable in carrying out agency missions, e.g. UNHCR, UNDP.[12]Complementary to Barbara Adams' eight proposals for enhancing UN support of NGO participation is her list of nine "actions for consideration of NGOs":
(6) setting up a Southern NGO resource centre to ensure more equitable access to UN information;
(7) exploring the value of regional clearing houses for information;
(8) defining criteria to distinguish clearly between a briefing or information meeting and a decision-making meeting;
(9) supporting a process to develop criteria for accountability and representation at international meetings;
(10) further developing and using criteria for (rotating) membership of coordinating or steering committees, which takes into consideration region, gender; expertise, tasks to be fulfilled, reporting functions, follow-up capacity, etc.;
(11) paying more attention to the differences between international, national and regional groups and elaborating a complementary division of labour which builds on respective strengths;
(12) advising some coalitions and networks of NGOs to apply for consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council to enable representation at meetings;
(13) developing and making recommendations to the UN and to national governments on how UN procedures can be more accessible to NGO participation;
(14) making better use of electronic communications for information dissemination, communication and planning.[13]

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[10] Cyril Ritchie, Human Progress through NGO Cooperation and Networking", *Transnational Associations,* No. 5 (1997), pp. 240–246.

[11] Ritchie, ibid, p. 245.

[12] Andrew E. Rice and Cyril Ritchie, "Relationships between International Non-governmental Organizations and the United Nations", Informal paper (Brussels: Union of International Associations, 1995).

[13] Adams, op. cit., p. 187.

With these recommendations, Adams reveals several prime concerns about present NGO performance:

First, she has concern for their representativeness when she suggests Southern NGO resources centres (1), regional clearing houses (2), and more balanced representation in NGO coordinating and steering committees (5). Closely related is United Nations Association-USA's plea that there is need for NGOs from different parts of the world to work effectively together. "Getting our own 'house in order' is an important step towards strengthening the ability of all NGOs to work effectively within the United Nations to promote a more sustainable and equitable future". The UNA-USA also sees need to examine the relationship between UN representatives of NGOs and their constituencies, including processes of consultation, selection of representatives and mechanisms for maintaining flows of information between local and global levels.[14] Thus, the growing involvement of grass roots organisations is offering new challenges to NGO efforts to ensure representativeness. Barbara Adams believes that NGOs face a dilemma. If they become more involved in international networking and lobbying, these activities may pull them away from their local or national work. This can lessen their accountability to their membership and to local communities.[15]

Second, the Adams list indicates that she believes that at least some NGOs require more perceptive understanding of factors important for the UN political processes in which they are involved: "If they are to be effective at the UN, many NGOs need to establish a more consistent presence and to present their experiences and recommendations in a more sustained and strategic manner".[16] Other items in her list related to this plea are: (3) knowing the difference between briefings and decision-making meetings, (4) developing criteria for accountability and representation, (6) distinguishing between international, national and regional groups and their specific strengths, and (8) making recommendations on how UN procedures can be more accessible to NGOs.

Third, in urging NGOs to make better use of electronic communication, she obviously sees the need for them to acquire communications technology equal to others involved in UN political processes, such as the various government departments in member states,, transnational corporations, UN organisations and other IGOs.

Other commentators point out several other factors that are challenging NGOs in the present dynamic context and additional issues that should be on their agendas. First are concerns fostered by the rapid growth in the involvement of NGOs in the UN system. NGOs accredited to ECOSOC for decades express concern about great increases in their numbers, believing that it is diluting their influence and effectiveness. Traditional groups have opposed separate accreditation of national affiliates of INGOs, assuming that they are already represented by their

[14] United Nations Association-USA, "The United Nations 'NGO Review': Reviewing a Fifty-year Relationship and Writing Rules for the Future", Office Issue Paper (Washington, DC: UNA-USA, X995), p. 10.

[15] Adams, op. cit., p. 185.

[16] Ibid.

own international organisation. Opposed to these views are many human rights organisations and those added to the ECOSOC roster as a result of UNCED and the procedures of the Commission on Sustainable Development. They favour opening up consultative status to a wider array of groups, particularly national groups from Asia, Africa and Latin America. They say that "NGOs should be granted or denied accreditation on the basis of their ability to contribute, rather than their national or international position or membership in an international federation".[17]

Second are concerns that NGOs themselves must develop the ability to evaluate their own effectiveness and behaviour. In particular, "Some observers and NGOs themselves are beginning to call for a 'code of conduct: or code of ethics' for participation in international proceedings. Such a code might help set standards for NGO 'accountability and transparency' and institutionalise effective patterns of participation".[18]

Third, in the context of her work on human rights, Sigrun Skogly urges NGOs to place their UN efforts in the context of the full array of actors involved in denying, and attaining, human rights. Writing under the picturesque title "Moving Human Rights out of Geneva", she urges human rights NGOs to direct their attention to:

(1) new public actors, national and international: ministries of agriculture, finance, national bank, and related international organisations;
(2) new private actors, national and international working conditions, health care, education, housing, employment, i.e. employers, landlords, health and education providers, etc.[19]

8.4 Transfer of Resources to NGOs by UN Agencies

The transfer of financial resources to NGOs by UN agencies is taken up separately because it can be viewed as a UN service for NGOs which is in turn usually accompanied by a contribution by NGOs to the programmes of UN agencies. For example, the NGO Conference and Standing Committee of the UNESCO receives year-round financial and material support from the UNESCO budget. In return, the NGOs "elicit, foster and provide substantial and substantive input at many levels of the UNESCO secretariat". UNESCO has also supported the development of international scientific organisations and the carrying out of their programmes.

[17] UNA-USA, op. at., p. 6.

[18] UNA-USA, ibid., p. 10.

[19] Sigrun I. Skogly, "Moving Human Rights out of Geneva: The Need for a Comprehensive Approach to International Human Rights Law", Paper presented to International Studies Association (ISA) Conference, 1996, pp. 10–11.

UNICEF also provides modest financial support to its NGO committee while seeking both regular and *ad hoc* input into its deliberations and field work.

The World Bank funds an NGO-Bank Committee whose main concern over the 15 years of its existence has been increasingly to criticise World Bank developmental concepts and practices, and more recently to offer alternative approaches. The World Bank also occasionally makes small grants to NGOs but does not lend directly to them. It does not encourage NGOs independently to identify, design and implement projects. Rather, it "wants NGOs to *assist* both the Bank and government staffs at all levels of project preparation and implementation". Shaw and Quadir conclude that this "notion of operational collaboration undermines the potential of the NGO networks to achieve an independent status and role in development". Nevertheless, they observe that it is "becoming increasingly clear that the cooperation, if not partnership, between the Bank and NGOs has become a reality. As the most powerful macro-economic strategist in the global political economy, the Bank has begun to recognise the importance of NGOs in promoting the interests of the poor, protecting the environment and providing basic social services". This leads them to conclude that "the World Bank has just started responding to the demands of an emerging global civil society".[20]

In assessing the role of NGOs in "African Development", Isebill V. Gruhn has strikingly different concerns. In contrast to many who see enhanced NGO strength as promoting transnational democracy, in the context of African development she sees possible undermining of public welfare policies: "Transferring resources to NGOs is an analog to returning welfare to local communities and shrinking the national public welfare net…. But there is little evidence that failed national or international public welfare polities are ameliorated when transferred to 'private' or 'local' institutions". Based on this analogy she concludes: "When IGOs farm out their funds and policy execution to hundreds and thousands of NGOs, their capacities and accountability are reduced. A decade hence, NGOs as development assistance vehicles may well be declared a failure, but IGO capacity may in the process also have become weakened".[21] Believing that strong IGOs are needed in the context of African development, she is concerned that public international assistance to Africa through IGOs might "be allowed to erode in the current flurry of enthusiasm and fashions for 'private' activity". Thus, she concludes: "NGOs have their place in the scheme of human activity but the current trend of transferring development

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[20] Timothy M. Shaw and Fahimul Quadir, "Towards Global Governance: (I)NGOs and the UN System in the Next Millennium", presented to the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Academic Council of the UN System (ACUNS), 1995, p. 17. See also Fahimul Quadir, "Relations between Non- and Inter-governmental Organizations: Comparing the United Nations System and the World Bank", Presented at the International Studies Association (ISA) and Japanese Association of International Relations (JAIR) Joint Convention, 1996.

[21] Isebill V. Gruhn, NGOs in Partnership with the UN: A New Fix on a New Problem for African Development", *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations,* Vol. 11, No. 3 (September 1997), pp. 325-337.

policy making and delivery into the hands of NGOs is counter productive and will weaken the international public capacity so desperately needed”.[22]

Another perspective can be gained from a paper by Cheryl Shanks: “NGOs: A Refuge for States?” She raises a series of challenging questions about the nature of NGOs coping with refugees. First, are they fronts for IGOs? “… if NGOs are simply front organisations for IGOs, carrying out IGO policies with IGO money, then they should be seen as no more than a conduit for the exercise of power. The proliferation of NGOs should be read as the proliferation of powerful countries' agents taking the opportunity to make direct and fast changes in areas of chronic crisis”. Second, are they independent actors? “If NGOs are independent, using IGOs and states simply as willing check-writers then their proliferation signals a lack of political will to prevent their interference”.[23] Third, are they taking over states? “If NGOs take over the states that they help, they will both become like states and become “front groups' linked to a state ideological position that they put in place”.[24] Fourth, are they relieving states of obligations?

“NGOs serve a useful purpose for states not just in operational matters but in protecting their state sponsors from further obligations”.[25]

8.5 Towards a Research Agenda

An attempt will now be made to develop a potential research agenda out of this rich and varied array of descriptions, criticisms and future recommendations for UN-NGO relations. In order to achieve reasonable brevity, seven *basic questions* have been selected: (1) the role of NGO liaison offices, (2) UN support for NGO participation, (3) the representativeness of NGOs, (4) effectiveness of NGOs in UN political processes, (5) a code of ethics for NGO participation, (6) sources of NGO funding, (7) variation in the roles of NGOs.

8.5.1 The Roles of NGO Liaison Offices

It would seem essential to have a better understanding of the actual and potential roles of the 92 NGO liaison offices located in 18 cities throughout the UN system. One approach would be to develop a comparative study which:

(1) assesses how they distribute their efforts across the seven functions listed in the UN 1990 report (repeated below), and probably others not in the list;

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Cheryl Shanks, "NGOs: A Refuge for States", Presented to the Academic Council of the UN System (ACUNS) Ninth Annual Meeting, 1996, p. 15.

[24] Ibid., p. 16.

[25] Ibid., p. 16.

(2) evaluates the results achieved in performing each of the functions, and:
   (a) provides information on UN issues/activities to NGOs;
   (b) collects/provides information/serves as clearing house on NGO activity;
   (c) supports/assists/advises NGO information activity;
   (d) involves NGOs in UN meetings/seminar/symposia;
   (e) promotes co-operation/consultation/co-ordination with NGO programmes;
   (f) stimulates/supports NGO field activities;
   (g) promotes community-based/grass roots approaches;

(3) makes recommendations for the future. This would require interviews with both liaison office staff and representatives of NGOs which they are serving. This comparative study would offer insight on the great diversity of challenges faced by these liaison offices as a result of their effort to cope with different issues, in different cultural contexts. The author would tend to select a sample that would offer the greatest expected diversity in order to provide a broad comparative base for future research which might focus on one issue, or a limited set of issues.

8.5.2 Enhancing UN Support for NGO Participation in UN Political Processes

Here the focus would tend to be on six of the eight recommendations of Barbara Adams for enhancing UN support of NGO participation (repeated below):

(1) developing mechanisms whereby the UN secretariat, government representatives and NGOs can meet and debate on a regular and sometimes informal basis;
(2) inviting NGOs to nominate participants on expert groups, high-level panels, etc.;
(3) organising regular consultations with NGO representatives at the regional level, as well as annual consultations between the UN and, for example, development NGOs, with NGO participation based on criteria of regional and gender balance;
(4) facilitating NGO participation at inter-agency meetings;
(5) including the contributions of NGOs—experience, analysis, recommendations—in preparing UN substantive reports. To be practicable this requires advance notice, predictability, effective mechanisms and resources;
(6) making arrangements for NGO secondments to UN bodies.[26]

This inquiry would, of course, begin with a discussion with Barbara Adams in which questions such as these could be raised: How did she come to select these

[26] Adams, op. cit., pp. 186–187.

six items? Are there examples of where these proposals have already been tried which might merit inquiry? Would she see that some proposals would be more useful for NGO participation in some kinds of issues, or in some kinds of UN bodies, and possibly not particularly important for others? Could she suggest other members of UN secretariats, members of permanent missions, or staff of NGOs that might also be able to offer insight on these five proposals?

8.5.3 *How Representative are NGOs, and What are they Doing About it?*

We have found that accountability of representatives of NGOs to their membership and local communities has a number of dimensions, including selection of UN representatives of NGOs and membership in NGO coordinating and steering committees at various UN headquarters. Also important are processes of consultation between local and global NGO units of an NGO, and mechanisms for maintaining flows of information between them. Barbara Adams has indicated that, for some NGOs, representativeness at UN headquarters may be strengthened by better informational outreach through "Southern resource centers" and "regional clearing houses for information".

Further insight on this question might be obtained by asking staff of UN liaison offices to indicate which NGOs appear to be more representative and why this is so. They might also be able to cite examples of creative efforts to increase representativeness. Perhaps interviews with NGOs on how they are confronting representativeness problems should begin with those perceived by UN staffs to be most representative.

8.5.4 *How Effective are NGOs in Participating in UN Political Processes?*

The importance of this question is underlined by Barbara Adams: "If they are to be effective at the UN, many NGOs need to establish a more consistent presence and to present their experiences and recommendations in a more sustained and strategic manner". Some more specific aspects of effective participation that she mentions are: (1) knowing the difference between briefings and decision-making meetings, (2) developing criteria for accountability and representation, (3) distinguishing between international, national and regional groups and their specific strengths, and (4) making recommendations to the UN on how UN procedures can be more accessible to NGOs.

Perhaps the best insights on the requirements for effective participation in UN political processes could be obtained from those NGO representatives who have the reputation of being most effective. Both staffs of UN liaison offices and

members of member state delegations could be asked who they consider to be the most effective NGO representatives and why they have nominated these people. Follow-up interviews with nominated NGO representatives could further illuminate the challenges faced by NGO representatives and insight on how these can be overcome. Dissemination of results of such an inquiry to all interested NGO representatives could help to strengthen NGO participation.

8.5.5 What Should be in a Code of Ethics for NGO Participation in the UN?

The succinct UNA-USA statement on this issue has already been cited: "Some observers and NGOs themselves are beginning to call for a 'code of conduct: or code of ethics' for participation in international proceedings. Such a code might help set standards for NGO "accountability and transparency" and institutionalise effective patterns of participation". In a time of vast growth in the number and diversity of NGOs involved, and of increasing diversity of the backgrounds of individual participants, it would seem that such codes would be very useful in socialising new participants. At the same time, it could enhance the reputation and legitimacy of NGOs with members of secretariats and member state delegations.

If such a code is to be developed by NGOs themselves, and this would seem most appropriate, it could be developed by first asking for suggestions from experienced NGO representatives. In seeking out sources, it would be important to range across issue areas and be inclusive of different participatory styles. For example, there are important differences in the activities of many of the more traditional NGOs and social movements. But it would seem necessary for codes of conduct and ethics to be inclusive of both.

8.5.6 What are the Sources of NGO Funding and What are the Consequences?

Acquiring greater understanding of the sources of NGO funding and the consequences is a vast and complicated topic. Precise definitions are needed of several acronyms in the NGO typology: QuNGO (quasi-governmental), GONGO (government organised), GRINGO (government run), DONGO (donor organised), and ODANGO (ODA financed). All of these acronyms would appear to suggest external financial support by governments, donors and IGOs. Should these organisations be placed in a separate category of NGO? To what degree do government-organised and government-run organisations, and IGO-financed organisations, qualify as "non-governmental"?

We have encountered a number of examples of the transfer of financial resources to NGOs by UN agencies. They include UNESCO support of an NGO

Conference and Standing Committee, UNICEF financial support to its NGO committee, World Bank funding of an NGO-Bank Committee, and World Bank small grants to NGOs. In contrast to these rather limited transfers, Gruhn's assertion has already been quoted: "When IGOs farm out their funds and policy execution to hundreds and thousands of NGOs, their capacities and accountability are reduced. A decade hence, NGOs as development assistance vehicles may well be declared a failure, but IGO capacity may in the process also have become weakened".[27] Thus, she concludes "that the current trend of transferring development policy making and delivery into the hands of NGOs is counter productive and will weaken the international public capacity so desperately needed".[28] In the context of a critique of African development programmes this is a far-reaching indictment that covers many UN agencies and many NGOs.

Obviously there is a diversity of kinds of UN agency disbursements to NGOs. If Gruhn's charges apply to some UN agency activities in Africa, they certainly would not apply to all. We would seem to need a clear typology of the types of transfer of financial resources to NGOs by UN agencies, accompanied by information on the obligations assumed by NGOs in return, and information on the impact of these activities on the UN agency involved.

8.5.7 What are the Roles of Specific NGOs? What Difference Does it Make?

In "NGOs: A Refuge for States?" Carol Shanks raises a series of challenging questions about the roles of NGOs focusing on refugees. First, are they fronts for IGOs, carrying out IGO policies with IGO money? If so, they should be seen as no more than a conduit for the exercise of power. Second, are they independent actors? If so, then their proliferation signals a lack of political will to prevent their interference. Third, are they taking over states? If so, they will become like states and become "front groups" linked to a state ideological position that they put third place. Fourth, are they protecting their state sponsors from further obligations?

This typology of roles obviously overlaps with the preceding question on sources of funding. But after delineating these several roles Shanks asks some provocative questions. It would seem that these roles are applicable in other issue areas beside refugees. Furthermore, it is likely that additional roles would be revealed in other issue areas. To imagine one possibility, perhaps in environmental issues, some NGOs might "protect their corporate sponsors from further obligations".

[27] Gruhn, op. cit.

[28] Ibid.

8.6 Summary and Conclusion

Drawing on contributions of both participants and scholars, an attempt has been made to develop a research agenda that would facilitate better understanding of relationships between NGOs and the UN system. In the first of four sections, a brief overview of the expanding NGO typology was presented. It revealed the growing involvement of grass roots organisations, the creation of NGOs by governments, IGOs, donors and other NGOs, efforts to distinguish social movements from other NGOs, and raised questions about differences between NGOs focusing on different issues.

Second, an examination was made of the diversity of services that the UN provides for NGOs, including the Non-governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), 92 liaison offices in 18 cities that offer services focusing on some 25 issue areas, and a proposed list of recommendations for improving these services was presented. Prominent was an array of ways in which the UN could facilitate NGO participation in UN political processes.

Third, the focus turned on the services that NGOs provide for the UN system. Significant here were issues of the representativeness of NGOs, their competence in participating in UN political processes, criteria for accrediting NGOs for UN participation, and the need for an NGO code of conduct.

Fourth, an examination was made of the issues raised by the transfer of resources to NGOs by UN agencies. These included apparently non-controversial financial support for NGO committees by UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank, and small grants by the World Bank to NGOs. On the other hand, it has been asserted that transfer of resources to NGOs for African development weakens the capacity of IGOs. And it is claimed that, by their involvement in refugee activities, NGOs may protect states from their obligations, take over states in which refugees are located and serve as conduits for the exercise of power by a few states and by NGOs.

Finally, drawing on these materials, possible research topics were presented:

(1) the roles of NGO liaison offices;
(2) enhancing UN support for NGO participation in UN political processes;
(3) the representativeness of NGOs;
(4) the effectiveness of NGOs in participation in UN political processes;
(5) a code of ethics for NGO participation in the UN;
(6) the impact of sources of NGO funding on NGO activities;
(7) varieties of roles played by NGOs.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that the quantity of NGO participation in the UN system, and also the diversity of their activities, is rapidly increasing. At the same time, the UN system has responded by creating new kinds of institutions for accommodating them. This practice has significant implications for the capacity of the UN system for fulfilling its mission. At the same time it is creating new means through which the people in the world can shape this mission. For this reason we

vitally need deeper understanding of emerging UN-NGO relationships, as well as the widest possible dissemination of this information.

It is also important that we learn more about present UN-NGO relationships because they will offer new insight on emerging potential for the people of the world to influence the always evolving role of the UN system. This dynamic laboratory, in which states, IGOs and organisations from civil society struggle with global issues, is revealing new possibilities for future global governance. It is important that our visions of future global governance include roles for the people of the world. But it is vitally important that we build our visions of future roles for organisations from civil society on a solid understanding of the present.

As always, it is necessary to know where you are *now* before you plan a journey into the future.[29]

[29] For three potential alternative futures for participation of NGOs in the UN system see Chadwick F. Alger, "Citizens and the UN System in a Changing World", in Yoshikazu Sakomoto (ed.), *Global Transformation: Challenges to the State System* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1994), pp. 301–329.

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About the Book

This volume is to honor his liftetime achievement in international relations of distinguished scholar Chadwick F. Alger on the occasion of his 90th birthday (2014). *Carolyn Stephenson* presents Prof. Alger as a *Pioneer in the Study of the Political Process and on NGO Participation in the United Nations.* This volume is organized in three parts. Part 1 offers an autobiographical note and a comprehensive bibliography of Chadwick F. Alger's academic publications. Part II includes three texts on *The Political Process in the UN* republished three seminal papers on "The Researcher in the United Nations: Evolution of a Research Strategy" (1976), on "Interaction in a Committee of the United Nations General Assembly" (1968) and on "Interaction and Negotiation in a Committee of the UN GA" (1965). In Part III on Civil Society Organizations in the UN System (NGOs) three chapters deal with, "Evolving Roles of NGOs in Member State Decision-making in the UN System" (2003), analyse "The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a People's Millenium Assembly" (2002) and discuss the "Strengthening Relations Between NGOs and the UN System: Towards a research agenda" (1999).

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