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**UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS, PRAGUE**

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**Defining the “International Community” in the  
context of current International Relations**

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### **Declaration**

I have composed this thesis, entitled *Defining the “International Community” in the Context of Current International Relations*. The used bibliographical sources are listed in the enclosed index of Bibliography.

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Prague .....

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I Love You. God Bless You All.

## **List of Abbreviations**

AI Amnesty International

ANC African National Congress

AQIM Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

AU African Union

BOAD West African Development Bank

BRICS Brazil Russia India and South Africa

CAP Common Agricultural Policy

CEP Common Environmental Policy

CFSP Common Foreign and Security Policy

CTC Counter-Terrorism Committee

DAC Development Assistance Committee

DPKO Department of Peacekeeping Operations

DRC Democratic Republic of Congo

DRG Democratic Republic of Germany

EAD Electoral Assistance Department

EC European Community

ECJ European Court of Justice

EMU European Monetary Union

ECOSOC United Nations Economic and Social Council

EU European Union

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

FDI Foreign Direct Investment

FRG Federal Republic of Germany

GA General Assembly

GATT General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GNI Gross National Income

HRW Human Rights Watch

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

IBRD International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

IC International Community

ICJ International Court of Justice

IGC Inter-governmental Conference

IGOs Inter-governmental Organizations

IMF International Monetary Fund

IPCC Intergovernmental Panel

IR International Relations

LAS League of Arab States

LN League of Nations

MAD Mutual Assured Destruction

MNCs Multinational Corporations

NAM Non-Aligned Movement

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGOs Non-Governmental Organizations

OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

ODA Official Development Assistance

PM Prime Minister

PSC Peace and Security Council

PDT President

UN United Nations Organization

UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNDP United Nations Development Program

UNDPI United Nations Department of Public Information

UNEP United Nations Environment Program

UNFCCC United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNHCHR United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

UNICEF United Nations Children Fund

UNIS United Nations Information Service

UNMOVIC UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission

UN SC United Nations Security Council

USA United States of America

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WB World Bank

WHO World Health Organization

WFP World Food Program

WMO World Meteorological Organization

WP Warsaw Pact

WTO World Trade Organization



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# Introduction

We all heard or read about the “International Community” one day, whether it was on television, on radio or in a newspaper. Journalists but also scholars, diplomats and politicians often refer to the expression whenever there is an international issue or a particular issue that requires attention and/or action. The International Community regrets, condemns, protests... These words are used again and again like a refrain to a song. In a work published in the *International Studies Review* in 2009, David C. Ellis underlined that the term “International Community” appears in more than 15,800 stories when searching for it in the headline or first paragraph of European and North and South American newspapers for the period of June 1, 2003 to June 18, 2005<sup>1</sup>. Who do they actually refer to? What is the meaning of the expression? Is it something real or is it just an expression used to justify particular actions in the name of general interest? Does such a community exist? Can we actually define it and how can we define it in the context of current International Relations?

One might think that the concept of “International Community” was not being broached enough by scholars since no one can give an exact definition of it. Choosing this topic during my last year of studies was the result of such a reflexion. I realized that not only do the media and the politicians use those two words; they also did not explain what they actually were talking about. I therefore started to research on the matter and I discovered that some scholars had actually tried to somehow address the issue. In order to write this thesis I had to take a look at the previous works of some of these scholars. The difficulty here was selecting the readings that would be useful for my work as articles, reviews and books on the subject are various but not easy to identify depending on what aspects of the IC one might be interested in. To begin, I asked my International Relations Theory professor at VSE some help and he indicated me a couple of papers to start with. The authors of the aforementioned papers were David Ellis, Bruno Simma and Andreas L. Paulus, Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez<sup>2</sup>. I first perused the work of these authors on the “International Community”

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<sup>1</sup> ELLIS, DAVID: *On the possibility of an “International Community”*. The *International Studies Review*, 2009. 11 - P.1

<sup>2</sup> ELLIS, DAVID: *On the possibility of “International Community”*. The *International Studies Review*, 2009.

and took note of the common references they made in their respective works<sup>3</sup>. It has led me to take a look at other scholars such as E.H. Carr, Hedley Bull, Hans Morgenthau, Emmanuel Kant and R.J. Dupuy but also Thomas Hobbes, Thomas Aquinas and Philippe Moreau Defarges. I however did not judge necessary to include all of them in this thesis since they do not all focus on the distinction between International Community and International Society, one major aspect of the subject that is highlighted in this thesis. I decided to base my work mostly on David Ellis paper as well as Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez article. In fact, *On the Possibility of "International Community"*<sup>4</sup> actually explores whether there is an "International Community" or not but also how it can be defined. *"International community" after Iraq*<sup>5</sup> on the other hand analyzes the impact of the second Golf War on the different aspects of the "International Community", more specifically the North Atlantic Community. I chose these two papers mostly because they are contemporary and they focus on the North Atlantic Community. I also reached out to Philippe Moreau Defarges work<sup>6</sup> for historical aspects of the "International Community" in this thesis because I believe that it is not possible to understand the present without knowing and apprehending the past. One additional source, different from the previous ones because of its origin, was later added to the mix. The reason for this is I believed sources outside of the North Atlantic Community could provide a different insight on the "International Community" and the North Atlantic Community itself because of the difference of cultures. This led me to Kanga Bertin Kouassi who believes that an "International Community" exists even if it does not function properly. According to him the operating ways of that community tend to show that it is unfair because the members of the community are not equal<sup>7</sup>. It is one of the points that I present in this thesis. Finally I used

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SIMMA, BRUNO, AND ANDREAS L. PAULUS: *The "International Community": Facing the Challenge of Globalization*. European Journal of International Law 9, 1998.

BUZAN, BARRY, AND ANA GONZALEZ-PELAEZ: *"International Community" after Iraq*. International Affairs 81, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> The common references I refer to are the difference between "society" and "community", the different views of the international system (Hobbesian, Vattelien, Grotian, Kantian), the difference between the universalist view of the International Community and the particularist view. The authors also mention the creation of rules and international institutions and their role in defining an international order. Authors like Carr, Morgenthau, Bull and Dupuy have dealt with these main points in some of their writings. For more information about these writings, see Appendix 3.

<sup>4</sup> David C. Ellis

<sup>5</sup> Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez

<sup>6</sup> MOREAU DEFARGES, PHILLIPE. *La communauté internationale*. Presses Universitaires de France, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Kanga Bertin Kouassi is a scholar from Ivory Coast. He has a Ph.D in Law and he is a Lecturer/Researcher in various universities. He is known for his works on the "International Community" and International Law. For my thesis, I used the following book: *La communauté internationale de la toute puissance à l'inexistence*. Editions L'Harmattan, 2007

the official websites of the institutions and organizations that I came across for additional information such as the dates of their creation, their purpose and their operating ways<sup>8</sup>. I also read many press articles on the Internet (Le Monde, Le Monde Diplomatique, BBC News) as well as random posts that were related to the “International Community”. All of them were processed through Google Search. The analysis and the synthesis of all these documents helped me determine whether the “International Community” currently exists or not and how it can be defined if defining it is actually possible.

Having a more precise idea of the “International Community” theoretically, I decided to find examples in the current international system that fits into the descriptions made of it. To proceed with my work, I started to delimit a period of study. I needed a marker to determine what I actually considered to be “current” in International Relations. I thought that having a point of reference would only help the structure of my work because I can then relate the present to the past. In fact it is sometimes difficult to apprehend present situations and issues without looking back at the past events that led to their development. Looking at the evolution of the international system, I quickly realized that the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War was a key moment in the history of International Relations. It is a major historical moment that has changed the structure and the nature of International Relations<sup>9</sup>. The reunification of Germany and the dismantling of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) have paved the way for what one might describe as a unipolar world in which the Western ideology of liberalism – democracy and free market – would prevail, thus provoking changes that will be discussed later in this paper. This is why I ended up choosing the year 1989 as my point of reference. I will therefore try to define the “International Community” in the post-Cold War era of International Relations, that is to say from 1990 until now.

The aim of this thesis is to provide an analysis of the concept of “International Community” in order to determine if such a community presently exist. To better understand the current and future issues in terms of International Relations and International Politics, I think it is actually important to understand the concept of “International Community”. This paper will focus particularly on states, international organizations and international

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<sup>8</sup> The United Nations for instance. See Appendices 6, 7 and 8

<sup>9</sup> KENNEY, PADRAIC: *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989*. Princeton University Press, 2002. ISBN 0-691-05028-7. P.2

“The year 1989 - the moment when the Cold War, and communism, lost out to democracy, the free market, and nationalist aspirations, in Central Europe and across the world - was a year of dramatic, and immediately evident, beginnings and endings.”

institutions because they represent in my opinion the most important elements of any possible “International Community” currently and they are the ones that the media refer to. To proceed, I will first try to define the “International Community” through two main perspectives: Semantics and History. Defining the terms of the present subject appears to be essential in trying to define the concept of IC. That is why I will first approach the subject semantically by defining the words “International” and “Community”. Regarding History, it is important like I said earlier to have markers; getting to know what was perceived as the “International Community” before the Fall of the Iron Curtain<sup>10</sup> will help us define that community as of today. In the second part of this thesis I will try to define the “International Community” as of today by analyzing two major aspects of current International Relations: International Security and Peace on one hand and Global Economy, Trade and Development on the other.

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<sup>10</sup> The Berlin Wall is also referred to as the Iron Curtain. Built on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August 1961, it divided the city of Berlin and Germany in two parts during the Cold War until its destruction on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 1990.

# 1 Trying to define the “International Community”

## 1.1 The Semantic approach

According to the Oxford Dictionary, a “community” is either (1) “a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common”, (2) “a particular area or place considered together with its inhabitants”, or (3) “a body of nations or states unified by common interests”. Then I believe that any country in the world considered with its population can be a “community”<sup>11</sup>, that the inhabitants of Prague are a “community”<sup>12</sup>, and that the European Union (E.U) with its 27 members or the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) with its 15 members are also “communities”<sup>13</sup>. Semantically, it appears that there is no single community. There are actually various communities with different sizes. The ECOWAS for instance is a smaller community than the E.U. The community represented by the inhabitants of Prague is small compared to the community represented by the inhabitants of Beijing<sup>14</sup>. Countries all over the world have different sizes, different populations and different characteristics; there are different languages, different cultures and different nationalities. This shows that there are many different types of communities everywhere depending on how we choose to define the word “community”.

When I searched for the term “international” in that same dictionary, I could read the following: (1) “existing, occurring or carried on between nations” or (2) “agreed on by all or

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<sup>11</sup> A particular area or place considered together with its inhabitants

<sup>12</sup> A group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common

<sup>13</sup> A body of nations or states unified by common interests

<sup>14</sup> According to preliminary data from a 2011 census carried out by the Czech Statistical Office (CSU), Prague had 1,272,690 inhabitants. Meanwhile, in April 2011, the population of Beijing as reported by the National Statistics Bureau of China was 19,612,368.

*Communiqué of the National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China on Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census* – National Bureau of Statistics of China, 29 April 2011 -

[http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/newsandcomingevents/t20110429\\_402722516.htm](http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/newsandcomingevents/t20110429_402722516.htm) (10. 11. 2012)

many nations”. The existing relations between nations can then be considered as “international”. A treaty or a law that have been agreed on by a couple of nations can also be described as “international”; the United Nations Charter for instance fits in this definition of “international”. So do the European Treaty, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade or the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations to name a few. According to that definition, even the Olympic Games can be described as “international”. Actually anything can be “international” as long as two or more nations are concerned. Thus it is safe to say – at least semantically wise – that there is an “International Community”. It does exist. In fact, there can even be as many “international communities” as we want in the world. It is indeed interesting to underline that according to the definition of the word “international” in the dictionary, anything could be considered as such – including a “community” – as soon as it is “agreed on by many nations” or “simply existing, occurring or carried on between nations”. It would therefore be a mistake to think that all States or entities should be part of a “Community” for it to be considered “International”.

Based on the definitions of “community” and “international” – highlighted in the previous paragraphs – it is possible to propose a definition of “International Community” that would make sense semantically speaking. The main words used to define them are “group”, “people”, “particular”, “common”, “characteristic”, “interests”, “nations or states”, “existing” and “agreed”. “International Community” could consequently be defined as following: ***an existing group of Nations, Non-State actors or People whose particular characteristic is to have agreed on common interests***. It can be argue that this definition is similar to the third definition of “community” seen previously, that is to say a “body of nations or states unified by common interests”<sup>15</sup>, still there are two main differences. First, I have introduced possible alternatives to the nations that are non-state actors and people. Secondly I mention common interests existing upon agreements. The reason for this is that I believe the unity of nations or states through common interests has to rely more on a stronger basis like a common process rather than just a common goal. Indeed having common interests in International Relations do not necessary imply unity and cooperation. China and USSR for instance were both communist countries ideologically opposed to the Western capitalists countries during the Cold War but there was no formal agreement regarding what could have been considered a common interest. Instead, there were tensions between the two countries. They had different

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<sup>15</sup> Oxford Dictionary

national interests but also different strategies and these tensions led to a scission of the communist movement at the time.

At first glance, my definition of “International Community” seems to be correct but it is actually not complete. According to this definition, an International Governmental Organization (IGO) can be an example of an “International Community” as much as any other forms of bilateral or multilateral cooperation – formal and informal – such as treaties and conventions but also Multinational Corporations (MNC) and Non Governmental Organizations (NGO)<sup>16</sup>. Despite all fitting into that definition of “International Community”, these examples do not always tally with the “International Community” the media, the politicians and the people often refer to. When the BBC interviewed two Syrians on the principle of international protection for activists in Syria, the question they were asked was: “should the international community intervene in Syria?”<sup>17</sup> Neither Danny Abdullah – a Syrian British activist – nor Bashar who resides in Saudi Arabia mentioned a treaty, a convention, a MNC, an IGO or a NGO. The first linked “Western countries”<sup>18</sup> to the intervention and the latter did the same by simply using the term “West”<sup>19</sup>. Their answers are both intriguing but so is the question. If they were questioned about **an** international community, maybe they would have answered differently. The fact is they were asked to give their opinions on **the** international community as if there was only one existing international community for the whole world. Hence I assume that my definition is either too broad or not complete. Also I wonder if an IGO or an International Institution (e.g. the United Nations) can be considered as a community when the existence of such entities is actually the consequence of an organizational process. The creation of the United Nations (UN) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for instance is the consequence of an agreement between multiple countries. So is the creation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Trade

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<sup>16</sup> It might seem surprising to mention MNCs and NGOs but they both are non-state actors that fit into the definition I came up with in the previous paragraph.

<sup>17</sup> “Should the international community intervene in Syria?” – BBC News, 21 September 2011 - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14996290> (1. 5. 2012)

<sup>18</sup> “Should the international community intervene in Syria?” – BBC News, 21 September 2011 - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14996290> (1. 5. 2012)

“Of course I am in favour of international intervention because, despite all their faults, Western countries are better than our government that kills, destroys and steals.” – Danny Abdullah

<sup>19</sup> “Should the international community intervene in Syria?” – BBC News, 21 September 2011 - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14996290> (1. 5. 2012)

“What's happening now is been taken as an excuse for the West to intervene in Syrian affairs. We saw how the West intervened in Iraq under the excuse of WMDs and ruined the country, and intervened in Afghanistan with the excuse of terrorism and ruined the country too.” - Bashar



Organization (WTO) to name a few. They might fit in my definition but they are more representative of the concept of **Society** than the concept of **Community**.

### *Society vs. Community*

There is a distinction to be made between “society” and “community”. In a book entitled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* – published in 1887 – the German sociologist Tönnies have opposed both concepts: there cannot be a society without a community but in the same time a community is not necessarily organized in a society<sup>20</sup>. The definition by Tönnies here suggests that first you can have a community and only after there can be a society. However, a society is just another form of organization of a community. Indeed according to the sociologist, a community can be organized in many different ways thus dismissing the idea that society tops community. Both concepts refer to Human groups but their analysis reveal one major difference. The “community” is more of a natural phenomenon, something spontaneous. It is a blend of common history, common traditions and common culture. In the “community”, the group is more important than it’s members. The whole existence of the individuals is based on the group as a whole. The “society” meanwhile is more of a rational construction<sup>21</sup>. It is the result of a will, to define a legal order. It is the case of organization. The “society” therefore can be seen as an instrument for the individuals. In fact, in a “society” the group is based on an agreement between the individuals. Thus, the individuals are more important than the group.

Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez have dealt with the distinction between the two concepts. They consider that there is a spectrum that goes from a “system” to a “community” with a “society” somewhere in between. According to them, “Community carries a sense of shared values and (...) shared identity, and based on that a mutuality of rights duties and obligations among the members”<sup>22</sup> whereas “Society implies the existence and maintenance of rules, norms and institutions aimed at facilitating coexistence and a degree of order among the agents in a system. It represents the rational, contractual, large-scale way of organizing

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<sup>20</sup> DUPUY, R-J. *L’humanité dans l’imaginaire des nations*. Conférences et essais du Collège de France, Julliard, 1991. Pp. 98-99

<sup>21</sup> MOREAU DEFARGES, PHILLIPE. *La communauté internationale*. Presses Universitaires de France, 2000. P.12

<sup>22</sup> BUZAN, BARRY, AND ANA GONZALEZ-PELAEZ: “*International Community*” after Iraq. *International Affairs* 81, 2005. P.33

humankind”<sup>23</sup>. In regard to the difference between both concepts and their definitions, it is safe to assume – at least semantically wise – that the international organization of the world and the International Organizations (IOs) that originate from it can not be taken into account when referring to the “International Community”. People who view the “International Community” as a unitary actor or a collectivity of states cannot refer to an IO simply because any existing IO is more representative of an “International Society”. The United Nations for instance can be considered like an international society of states rather than an international community of states<sup>24</sup>.

David Ellis – who has also analyzed the two concepts in one of his papers – goes further when he identifies two conditions for an “International Community” to exist. According to him an “International Society” and a common identity and interests are two key characteristics of any “International Community”. He wrote: “The most basic requirement for any putative international community is a unified society of states adhering to generally the same norms, rules, identities, and views of moral conduct. Without a common conception of the way society should be ordered and the goals to be achieved, there is no community as such. (...) The implication for collective international action and the importance of international organizations is significant”<sup>25</sup>. Here the distinction between “society” and “community” is thinner than the previous distinction made by Tönnies. Ellis presents both concepts as linked and interdependent and he underlines the importance of the process. The bottom line according to the author here is that if there cannot be a society without a community, there also cannot be a community (international) without an organized society.

Whether there is an “international society” or an “international community” actually depends only on the common things that are shared in that “society” or that “community”. It can be common values, common interests, common morality, common religion, common rules or common actions. In this case, referring to international organization in general and IOs in particular when using the term “International Community” seems correct simply because IOs are all about common values, common rules and common actions at some extent,

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<sup>23</sup> BUZAN, BARRY, AND ANA GONZALEZ-PELAEZ: *“International Community” after Iraq*. International Affairs 81, 2005. P.33

<sup>24</sup> ELLIS, DAVID: *On the possibility of “International Community”*. The International Studies Review, 2009. P.6 “As a universal organization, the United Nations purports to speak on behalf of all people everywhere, (...), yet it also is the primary representative of international society and law as created by states”

<sup>25</sup> ELLIS, DAVID: *On the possibility of “International Community”*. The International Studies Review, 2009. P.4

especially the government-type ones.

### *International Order, Universalism and Particularism*

Having things in common implies a common order whether it is natural or provoked. “International Society” is a form of international order. Bull wrote that states create rules to define the international order. They agree on an ordering principle, establish norms of coexistence (e.g. the regulation of the use of violence) and develop rules of cooperation<sup>26</sup>. International Law and International Institutions codify and institutionalize “International Society”. Such an organization creates a framework of relations between the members of a community. Maybe it is that institutionalization and codification that makes people believe the “International Community” is a unitary actor with a single vision for all the people when it is actually more of a collectivity of states acting upon particular interests.

Defining whether there is one “International Community” or multiple “international communities” depends on the view we choose to support. There are two visions of the “International community” that seem to prevail. There is the Universalist view and the Particularistic view. The first view advocates for a world legal and political system and thus for a true global order. It is a rule-based approach that focuses on the setting of norms based on some form of collective moral and humankind<sup>27</sup>. These rules of behavior apply equally to the whole of members of the community regardless of everything else. They tend to prove that there is an effort to organize relations among nations. In contrast, the Particularistic view is that there cannot be an international order clearly defined. The rules here do not matter. It is more a question of relations and particular interests, each state proceeding from the “firm ground of national interest”<sup>28</sup>. There cannot be one way of doing things because there are unique circumstances to take into account. What is right in one situation may not be right in another situation. If the national interest requires for instance a disruption of existing organizations or relationships then it is vital to disrupt them in order to preserve your interests. That doesn’t mean that every time your interest is at stake you will have to disrupt an organization or a relationship. It was just the right thing to do at that particular moment.

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<sup>26</sup> ELLIS, DAVID: *On the possibility of “International Community”*. The International Studies Review, 2009. P.6

<sup>27</sup> BUZAN, BARRY, AND ANA GONZALEZ-PELAEZ: *“International Community” after Iraq*. International Affairs 81, 2005. P.32

<sup>28</sup> BUZAN, BARRY, AND ANA GONZALEZ-PELAEZ: *“International Community” after Iraq*. International Affairs 81, 2005. P.33

See quote of Condoleezza Rice under the Bush Administration

IGOs like the UN and International Law fit in the Universalist view of International Relations and Community. The UN Charter for instance is an example of a set of rules destined to organize the International Relations and to create an international society whose existence is a condition for the existence of the “International Community”. In contrast, the American intervention in Iraq in 2003 is a good example of a Particularistic approach. First, the United States of America (USA) accused Iraq of detaining weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and the US Delegation at the UN did everything it could possibly do to gather support inside the Organization for a resolution that would authorize an intervention on the Iraqi soil. In fact, a UN resolution would have been synonymous of legitimization<sup>29</sup> as it would have respected the framework established by the UN Charter. Unfortunately for the Bush administration, the Security Council did not grant the USA the authorization to invade Iraq. It has made it clear that such an intervention was illegal and unauthorized by the UN Charter. The USA refused to take into account the views expressed by the UN Security Council (UN SC) and lopsidedly decided to invade Iraq with the support of the United Kingdom under the banner of the “coalition of the willing”. In this case, the UN SC spoke on behalf of the “International Community” but the national interest of the US was greater than the general interest and by refusing to comply with the UN position, Americans fully embraced a Particularistic approach.

## 1.2 The Historical Perspective

Historically speaking, “International Community” can be defined differently. The distinction between “society” and “community” is harder to make in the Antiquity or the Middle Age because at that time there were no traditional states, as we know them today. There were kingdoms, empires and city-states. Non-state actors were quasi inexistent and Religion was a major component of International Relations. Indeed, the majority of the wars

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<sup>29</sup>“*True Story of the day before Iraq invasion*”. – The Guardian.co.uk, 8 March 2008  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/mar/08/iraq.unitednations> (16. 4. 2012)

were religion-based (e.g. the Crusades). As the time went on, the relations among the different actors engaged evolved and so did the concept of “International Community”. In this chapter it will be interesting to analyze the past in order to determine what was the perception of “International Community”. To proceed, I will take a look at past societies such as the Roman Empire, Antique Greece and its city-states, European Monarchies and Christianity. The aim is to identify the type of communities that existed and their characteristics and see if the past perceptions still subsist nowadays and if they do, understand how it helps defining the current “International Community”.

### *Antiquity*

The existence of an “international community” is not new. Indeed, one can find two examples of “international communities” dating back to the Antiquity. The first example is Antique Greece. Greece did not exist, at least as we know it today. There were different city-states that were independent one from another<sup>30</sup>. Greeks however formed a community in the sense that they acted like they were the only people of value to live at the time; they had the strong feeling that they all belonged to a common civilization with a common culture<sup>31</sup> but also a common enemy: the Persian Empire<sup>32</sup>. Every non-Greek person at that time was considered to be a “barbarian”<sup>33</sup> and despite being rivals on a daily basis, Greek people would unite their forces to fight the outside threats. The community that they represented defined itself mainly as a united entity face to a common threat. Nevertheless they would violently fight each other with no mercy like Athena and Sparta who did not hesitate to join forces with the Persians to vanquish. This shows that the Greek civilization was somehow particularistic. It can be compared to today’s structure of International Relations and its communities that share common values despite being composed of states with personal interests. The city-states shared a common identity and common enemies but they were ready to fight one another if they had to for the sake of their own interests.

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<sup>30</sup> Athena and Sparta were the most of the famous ones because of their intense rivalry

<sup>31</sup> Two examples of this are the Olympic Games and the Cult of Oracles (e.g. the Pythia in Delphi)

<sup>32</sup> MOREAU DEFARGES, PHILLIPE. *La communauté internationale*. Presses Universitaires de France, 2000. P.13

<sup>33</sup> MOREAU DEFARGES, PHILLIPE. *La communauté internationale*. Presses Universitaires de France, 2000. P.13

The Roman Empire is the second example of an “international community” dating back to the Antiquity. In this case there was diversity in terms of religions but there was a common citizenship for all the people living in the Empire. Like the Greek city-states, the Roman Empire had common enemies. Like the Greek city-states, the Roman Empire was well organized. It had a structure and a clear hierarchy that were supported by a strong military power. Nevertheless, one could argue that the fall of the Empire was due to its main weakness, the “community” itself. The Empire was too huge and even though the Romans shared a common citizenship, they did not share a common identity or a common culture on the whole territory. In fact the Empire was the result of territorial expansion and each part of it had its own values and traditions. In the process, “barbarians” and other people were incorporated into the Empire, making it more and more heterogeneous. The expansion fueled the economy and thus the power of the Empire but it was also its limit. Indeed the whole structure was viable for a time but couldn’t last forever because at some point there was too much diversity and no more territories to conquer or enemies to fight against and the enemies of the past would eventually become mercenaries fighting for the Empire. If the lack of a common identity could not just be compensated by the common citizenship proclaimed in the Caracalla Edit of 212, the Christianization of the Empire under Constantin could have provided – with a common religion – a bigger sense of “community” in what was the Roman “international community” but it did not. It actually had the opposite effect because there was already a very diverse body of spiritual believes and practices that prevented the new religion from being truly common.

The Roman Empire was somehow universalist. Unfortunately it may have overlooked the diversity of its society and overestimated its power and ability to federate. It can be concluded here that an “international community” does not necessarily need to be based on a common identity, a common culture or a common religion to be considered as such even if the absence of such characteristics can be detrimental to any sustainable “international community”. A good analogy today is the UN who is viewed by some people as the “International Community”; the countries within the organization are very diverse in terms of identity, culture and religion. They may share common values or else but they remain what they are and the unity reflected by the organization might just be illusory because the personal interests are actually not the same.

## *Middle Age*

If religion appeared to be more exclusive than inclusive in the Roman Empire, it was the contrary in the Christian European community of the Middle Age. Europe was at the time a mix of states and monarchies that were different one from another but they shared many things in common such as Religion and principles of Law and Politics. According to Voltaire, the European nations “do not turn their prisoners into slaves, they respect their enemies ambassadors, they agree altogether on the supremacy and the rights of some Princes, as well as the Emperor, the Kings and other Potentates (...), last but not least they agree on maintaining as much as they can an equal balance of Power through negotiations channels, even at War Times, but also ambassadors and spies (...)”<sup>34</sup>

Europe had a common cultural history based on Christian traditions, the expansion of trade and the development of Public Law. It was a Christian “international community” with a common Faith and a common Enemy; the European Nations shared the same religion (Christianity) despite some differences (Catholicism, Anglicanism and Protestantism for instance) and the same Enemies (Turkish, Islam). They had principles and both the Pope and the Emperor were considered as the heads of the community. The Pope had the power to excommunicate and his authority was symbolic. He was viewed as a Leader. In fact, as Georges Abi-Saab noted, “in the Middle Age, there was the idea of an *imperium mundi* in Europe based on the existence of an (universal) Christian Empire heir of Rome, what Vinogradoff called ‘the world State of medieval Christianity’. It was a feudal, theocratic, hierarchized community with the Emperor and the Pope at its helm”<sup>35</sup>. One of the main principles of that community – if not the main one – was to regulate as much as possible the violence linked to the feudal system by trying to set rules for War. The Church, then responsible for that regulation came up with a Just War Theory<sup>36</sup> based on three conditions. For a war to be just, it has to be motivated by a just cause, it has to be carried on by a legitimate authority and its ultimate goal has to be just. This again suggests that the Christian European community was a well-organized society with clear rules on how to behave within the community. However none of these rules actually prevented the European nations to fight each other and like Antique Greece, their national or personal interests were actually strong

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<sup>34</sup> VOLTAIRE. *Le siècle de Louis XIV*. 1751. Chap. II : “Des Etats de l’Europe avant Louis XIV”

<sup>35</sup> ABI-SAAB, GEORGES. ‘Humanité’ et ‘communauté internationale’ dans la dialectique du droit international in *Mélanges René-Jean Dupuy*. Paris, Pedone, 1991. P.3

<sup>36</sup> Thomas Aquinas and Francisco de Vitoria who are believed to be the ‘fathers’ of the Just War Theory were both catholic monks from the thirteen-century and the fifteen-century respectively.

enough to be detrimental to the community as a whole. The Pope and the Emperor were considered like leaders of the community but the European nations were actually independent. Some monarchs were rebellious and they would eventually agree to prevent the possibility of a universal empire; Francis I of France for instance joined forces with Suleiman the Magnificent – the Ottoman enemy – to stop Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. Contrary to the Roman Empire and the exclusive nature of Religion in that community, Religion in this case appeared to be inclusive. The common religion here was the heart of the community. Actually, Religion was so important that it represented one of the principal sources of conflicts in the Middle Age, the most famous illustration being the armed pilgrimages encouraged by the Pope in Jerusalem. Known as the Crusades, they resulted in violent confrontations between Catholics and Muslims. It is however important to note that there are other main characteristics of this “community” other than just religion: the existence of a common enemy as well as the existence of a social order.

### *Post-French Revolution*

The French Revolution of 1789 reinforced the perception that an “International Community” is a community that faces the same challenges. The huge difference however is that the enemy in this case was different from the previous enemies that the former communities had to fight. It had nothing to do with religion or power or expansion. The enemy was not Islam nor the Ottoman Empire or any other agent outside of the community. The enemy actually came from the inside. Indeed the French Revolution shook up the pre-existent social order that the European nations had in common by spreading around the continent ideas of revolution and rebellion. European monarchs and potentates therefore decided that they had to face this threat together and they agreed on helping each other maintaining the status quo. Whenever one of them would be endangered, the others would help. It was the period of the Saint Alliance<sup>37</sup>, a period of relative peace between these countries all focused on their internal affairs more than anything else. The “community” here was characterized by the common values and ideas the European leaders shared and wanted to preserve at the time. The perspective of a revolution represented a common threat to their desire of maintaining the social order that they have benefited from, and the best way to face

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<sup>37</sup> The pact was signed in Paris on the 26th of September 1815



that threat was to act together against it. There were congresses (Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, Karlsbad in 1819) as well as order restoration operations conducted successfully (Piedmont and Naples in 1821, Spain in 1823)<sup>38</sup>. These forms of cooperation can be considered as another important characteristic of “international communities”. Acting jointly is indeed as important as sharing common values or agreeing on common interests. The “international community” that was the Saint Alliance actually defined itself as such by its actions and a parallel can be made with the current perception of the “International Community”. Indeed the “International Community” that is portrayed in the media nowadays is one of actions. Also when the Politicians and the Governments refer to it, it is in general in regard to its actions or inactions compared to a specific topic. In another perspective, let’s imagine that Gadhafi, Ben Ali and Mubarak had decided to join forces during the Arab Spring in order to preserve their common interest to stay put. Would they be considered an “international community” like the Saint Alliance? In fact, had the recent unrests in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya in 2011 produced a similar type of “international community”, it would have been interesting to see how the media and the politicians that advocated for the intervention of the “International Community” in Libya for instance would have reacted to that. The bottom line here is that an “international community” is one that not only share values or else but also one that act. The international organization of the world that has followed the Second World War and the various organizations and “communities” that were formed all had one main objective: *face the common enemies by acting together on the basis of common values and common interests agreed upon*.

In my attempt to define the “International Community” in the context of current International Relations, this historical perspective gives me three valuable hints. First, a common enemy or a common threat can define the “international community” or any other type of community for the matter. The nature of the enemy has little importance; it may be another State or another “community” as well as it may be an ideology, an invisible threat or an action that requires a reaction. Anything or anyone that might be hostile and/or harmful or simply an opponent can be considered as an enemy. In fact for the community to exist, there should be other agents outside of the community and interacting with it. However, the enemy

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<sup>38</sup> MOREAU DEFARGES, PHILLIPE. *La communauté internationale*. Presses Universitaires de France, 2000. P.20 caractéristique

can sometimes come from the inside and provoke the implementation of a “community” based more on common interests than common values. Secondly, Power and Religion can define the existence of “international communities”. In fact all the past major conflicts were either expansionist (Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire, Colonization wars) or religious (Crusades). The confrontation between Christianity and Islam led for instance to alliances between European nations (against the Ottomans and Islam). Had it not be for the power they were pursuing or the religion they were protecting, past monarchs would probably have never fought these wars and formed alliances beyond their borders. In a more recent time, the hunger for more Power led Adolf Hitler and Germany to form an alliance with Italy and Japan during the Second World War. Japan and Germany did not share anything in common if not some interests like conquering parts of the world at the time. Still the Axis can be considered like an “international community” because that alliance occurred between three nations that agreed upon common interests and they had common enemies: the Allies. Samuel Huntington’s theory of a clash of civilizations attaches a particular importance to the role of religion and culture in the way people define themselves. According to him civilizations are the result of a great religion that formed their moral and political base. The same can be said of some “international communities” like the Muslim Brotherhood, which has become one of the largest and most influential political and social Islamic movements in the world. Power and Religion are simply two forces to reckon with when attempting to define the “International community”. Last but not least, there are the actions by the “International Community” and Peace. The common actions of members of an “international community” can define that community. They actually reflect the values and the interests of the community and kind of justify its international aspect. The “International Community” present in our news feeds should be recognizable by its actions, thus helping us in defining it. Peace also is a crucial aspect of an “international community”. It can be detrimental for a community because once there is no more threat or enemy to face against, the community loses its main reason of existence. Indeed there are no more outside agents it can relate to and if there are no more enemies, there are no more wars to fight, which means there is no need to maintain a coalition with no real purpose. The past “international communities” presented earlier all had to fight a common enemy; they lasted as long as that statement was true. When the common threat no longer existed, they all disappeared and the individual interests of their members resurfaced. In some cases, it was even these individual interests that had disaggregated the community. This is how the Roman Empire failed for instance and it can be an argument against Universalist views of the “International Community”, especially the ones that portrays an IO

like the UN to represent the “International Community” as a unitary actor. Indeed the UN main purpose is to gather all the people and the nations in the same place for an everlasting peaceful relationship. The organization does not exclude any State or Nation to be part of it. All the people and the civilizations are welcomed to participate on it regardless of their religion and their cultures. It is an inclusive type of organization and we can imagine that once its main objective is achieved, the organization might not subsist, as the personal interests of the agents inside the community would prevail sooner or later or simply when the opportunity presents itself.

The Nations may vary one from another depending on their culture, their attributes and their **religion** as of today but they all remain sold on common things such as **power**, **peace**, security, economic development and trade but also any type of **threat** that may be dangerous or harmful to them. Even though we can assume that they do not have the same perceptions of these concepts, they share the same tools and institutions to maintain International Security and Peace on one hand and foster Global Economy and Trade on the other. Some Nations being more prominent than others because of their power, it also seems natural that they lead the way for the others on the international scene. In the following chapter, we will try to identify what countries represent the “International Community” as we speak of it today through two main perspectives of current International Relations: International Security and Peace and Global Economy and Trade.

## 2 The “International Community” as of today

There is a French saying that goes: “history is written by the victors”. The “International Community” as we think it and experience it today is the reflection of our world in the current international system. The countries that have designed that system are the ones that came out victorious of the Second World War. These countries are responsible for the creation of the UN (1945), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB)<sup>39</sup>. These three organizations all play an important role in today’s international system; they participate in the maintenance of peace and security worldwide as well as the proper functioning of the global economy. The impact of their role and their actions however started to become more and more important at the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall. How did the end of that conflict shape the International Relations and the current international system thus introducing the perception in the mind of many people around the world that there is an “international community”, one that acts as a unitary actor for the good of mankind as a whole.

### 2.1 International Security and Peace

#### 2.1.1 The United Nations

The UN deals with three main clusters: peace and security, human rights and finally development<sup>40</sup>. The structure of the whole UN is complex, as several commissions, committees, boards, specialized agencies and partners compose it. I will expose briefly the organization with regard to its ancestor the League of Nations (LN) and its mission as well as its actions as of today. I will underline its global aspect and show why it is an “international

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<sup>39</sup> The IMF was created on 1944 and the World Bank in 1945

<sup>40</sup> WEISS, T.G., FORSYTHE, P.D., and COATE, R.A.: *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. Boulder Westview Books, 4th ed., 2004

community” but also why it should be taken into consideration when trying to define who is the “International Community” often referred to in the context of current International Relations.

There was the failed experience of Woodrow Wilson’s League of Nations (LN) after the First World War. There would be Roosevelt and Churchill’s United Nations (UN) after the Second World War. Even though it was a form of “international community” at the time, the first failed and never was considered like the “International Community” that the second presumably embodies today. Both organizations were created with the aim of maintaining peace and security and preventing conflicts through negotiations channels mainly. Their structure and their composition however differed one from another and it is probably the main reason of one’s failure and the other’s success. These differences are actually crucial in defining the current “International Community”. In fact, at the end of the World War I (WWI), there was a Peace Conference in Paris where the European Nations and the USA gathered and ultimately agreed on the creation of a forum to provide a means of resolving conflicts peacefully; the conflict has been exhausting for all the countries involved and they realized that they actually needed security. They wanted to avoid fighting again such a war so they had to find a way to prevent conflicts. Security and Peace became their common interests and Wilson’s Fourteen Point Peace plan became the framework of their future common actions. Nevertheless, there were three major flaws for that “international community”. First, the USA did not ratify the treaty and the USSR refused to be a member of the organization. These were two of the largest and most important countries and they did not take part in what was supposed to be the first true global organization to exist. Secondly, all the members of the organization had a veto power. This hardened the task of the LN because all the countries within the Organization would use that power for the sake of its own personal interests. The common interests agreed upon during the Peace Conference would not be respected; Italy (1924, 1935) and Japan (1931)<sup>41</sup> will break the rules and subsequently leave the Organization. Finally, the LN did not have a body like the UN Security Council (UN SC). The fact that the Organization did not have a body empowered to enforce its resolutions hindered its development because it could not act. The LN was an “international community” semantically speaking. It wasn’t however a very effective one on the practical side of things because the

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<sup>41</sup> Italy took Fiume in 1924 and invaded Ethiopia in 1935. Japan attacked Manchuria in 1931. By doing so, both countries did not respect the Peace Treaty they have ratified earlier in the aftermath of WWI. Note that in 1932, Italy, Japan and Germany left the League

personal interests of its members were greater than their common interests but also because it could not act. It is this latter aspect of the “international community” that separates the LN from the UN. By implementing a Security Council (SC) in its structure, the founders of the UN have paved the way for the Organization to become the “International Community” it is perceived as today.

### *The Security Council*

Because the core of the UN system is the General Assembly (GA), some people might think that the GA actually is the “International community”; according to Noam Chomsky for instance “the international community can be identified with the UN General Assembly”<sup>42</sup>. As it is written on the UN website, the General Assembly is “the main deliberative, policymaking and representative organ of the United Nations. Comprising all 193 Members of the United Nations, it provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion of the full spectrum of international issues covered by the [Charter](#)”<sup>43</sup>. However, the reality is that only the UN SC enables the UN to do what the LN could not do that is to say act and react. In fact, unlike the members of the LN, the members of the UN can actually act together on the basis of common values and common interests agreed upon. There has been Peacekeeping operations taking place all around the world whenever the SC felt like it was necessary<sup>44</sup>. Sanctions can be voted against countries that are believed to disobey the rules of the UN and the fate of some countries can be determined by a simple resolution voted within the SC. It was the case of Libya in 2011 when the SC adopted Resolution 1973 demanding a ceasefire, approving a “no-fly zone” over Libya and authorizing “all necessary measures to protect civilians”<sup>45</sup>. The resolution was introduced by France and endorsed by the Arab League, the USA and the UK. Ten members of the Council voted for while five abstained arguing that it was necessary to give a priority to peaceful means and warned against “unintended consequences of an armed intervention”<sup>46</sup>. The five countries that abstained were Brazil, Germany, India, Russia and

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<sup>42</sup>ELLIS, DAVID: *On the possibility of “International Community”*. The International Studies Review, 2009. P.11-12

<sup>43</sup>General Assembly of the United Nations – UN.org  
<http://www.un.org/en/ga/> (19.11.2012)

<sup>44</sup>67 Peacekeeping Operations have been directed since 1948

<sup>45</sup>UN SC Resolution 1973 on Libya – UN.org  
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sc10200.doc.htm> (19.11.2012)

<sup>46</sup>UN SC Resolution 1973 on Libya – UN.org

China. The majority of the Council voted for the Libyan resolution but the case can be made that all the countries did not agree on the way to proceed. Among the five countries that have abstained, two are permanent members of the SC. Indeed China and Russia expressed their concerns on the implementation of the resolution but they did not use their veto right partly because they did not feel it was necessary; the responsibility to protect invoked in the Libyan case and the active diplomacy of France might have influenced their decisions. Among the other countries that abstained, there were two countries worth noting: Brazil and India; both countries are on the rise economically and they are part of the upcoming countries that are commonly referred to as the BRICS countries. They are worth noting because both countries have voted like two other members of the BRICS that were mentioned earlier: China and Russia. Had the last member – South Africa – voted the same way, the case could have been made of a concerted vote. The bottom line here is that the majority of the members of the SC supported the resolution and the Arab League Organization as well as the NATO Organization participated in the operations that were authorized by the SC. These two organizations and the UN SC represented the “International Community” in this case.

That same year 2011 in Ivory Coast, the SC intervene in order to end the ongoing post electoral crisis by adopting the Resolution 1975 asking former President Laurent Gbagbo to surrender, to stop killing his people and to leave the power to actual President Ouattara and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) was alerted and ceased regarding the killings and atrocities and it was asked to the United Nations Operation in Ivory Coast (UNOCI) to cease weapons and protect civilians<sup>47</sup>. The motion was raised yet again by France but also Nigeria. It pledged for a peaceful solution to the post-electoral crisis, yet it urged Mr. Gbagbo to comply with the results of the elections. The African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) endorsed the resolution but mainly France handled the operations. In this case, all fifteen members of the Council voted for the resolution and the SC represented once again the “International Community” with a bigger role devoted to France.

It is interesting to note that in both cases the resolutions were not brought up straight by only one country – France in this case – and other countries endorsed them as well. If the African Union or the Arab League cannot be considered as countries, these organizations

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<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sc10200.doc.htm> (19.11.2012)

<sup>47</sup>UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 1975 (2011) [on targeted sanctions against individuals meeting the criteria set out in resolution 1572 (2004) on arms embargo against Côte d'Ivoire]*, 30 March 2011, S/RES/1975(2011)

<http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?docid=4d9ac4ea2> (19.11.2012)

nevertheless represent the interests of their member countries, thus adding more consistency to the procedures that took place. In the Libyan case, France got the support of the USA and the UK, their historical allies with whom they form the North-Atlantic Community. The co-author of the resolution on the other hand – Arab League – may not have had any particular ties with France. It did however have a tie with Libya, member of the organization. In the case of Côte-d'Ivoire, the same kind of applies. There were not one but two countries presenting the resolution. One of them – Nigeria – had ties with the country concerned and the initiative of both Nigerians and French Representations had the support of almost the entire continent<sup>48</sup>. This highlights two things. First, there is some form of a collective will to carry resolutions within the UN SC and secondly, it seems necessary to have a country or a group of countries “close” to the hearth of the issue. E.g. the Arab League in Libya, Nigeria in Ivory Coast or Togo who presented a resolution jointly with Portugal on Guinea-Bissau to name a few.

The SC Resolutions “authorize”, “request” or “call upon” member states to do whatever they can do to enforce the Council decisions. The fact that almost every nation in the world is part of the UN Organization and that all the members are expected to comply with the decisions of the UN SC<sup>49</sup>, underlines the impact of that same Security Council on both the World and current International Relations. This capacity to act and enforce decisions globally is what separates the UN from the LN and makes it a more effective entity but also an “international community” based on power and actions.

The powers of the SC make the Organization a force to reckon with on the international scene. It has been created to address international and global issues related to Peace and Security and the number of its members is limited to fifteen including five permanent members who were the original allies during World War II (WWII). These five members all have a right of veto and they are the main financial contributors to the UN. It might seem useless to state all this information here but it is actually important to underline a detail like this when we live in such a money-driven world. The UN budget is determined by the countries members' ability to pay and four of the permanent members rank in the Top Ten

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<sup>48</sup> As of July 2011, the AU has 54 member states

<sup>49</sup> Article 94 of the UN Charter: Members “undertake to comply with the decision(s) (...) to which it is a party”



contributors as they are among the richest countries on the planet. The following table<sup>50</sup> lists the ten highest contributors aforementioned.

UN Members	Share in the UN Budget
USA	22.00%
Japan	10.83%
Germany	7.14%
France	5.59%
United Kingdom	5.17%
China	5.14%
Italy	4.44%
Canada	2.98%
Spain	2.97%
Mexico	1.84%

As of today, France and Great Britain contribute each for a little more than 5% of the budget and the USA for 22%<sup>51</sup>. That represents a combined 33% of the Organization budget provided by only three countries. These three countries are the historical allies of the North Atlantic Community. It is quite an important share in a world where money somehow equals to power. This may be why Arjun Appadurai defined the “International Community” as a “club for the world’s wealthiest nations, notably those in North America and Europe”<sup>52</sup>. Indeed eight of the top ten contributors are from North America and Europe. Does it mean that the economic power is determinant in the decision making process of the Organization or in the definition of the “International Community”? The answer is yes. Historically we saw that power was a major attribute of past “international communities” and nowadays, this statement actually still applies. By Power here we mean economic but also military because the capacity to act and react has to be constantly taken into account. A country with economic power but no military firepower cannot represent, let alone lead the “International

<sup>50</sup> *State members contributions to the UN Budget* – UN.org  
<http://www.un.org/fr/aboutun/budget/contributions.shtml> (19. 11. 2012)

<sup>51</sup> *State members contributions to the UN Budget* – UN.org  
<http://www.un.org/fr/aboutun/budget/contributions.shtml> (19. 11. 2012)

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix 2

Community” by itself in the current International relations. The reason for that is that there are conflicts everywhere and to be able to oversee them, there has to be a strong military power to support and enforce the UN SC’s resolutions. Japan and Germany for instance contribute a combined 18% of the UN budget<sup>53</sup> – that is to say 7% more than the 11% share of both the UK and France – but they do not have a veto right and they are not permanent members of the Security Council. One could argue that these countries are simply not in the position of influencing major international decisions within the SC because they were the ones defeated in 1945<sup>54</sup>. The fact is that they do not possess the military power of the USA, the UK, France, Russia or China for instance. These five countries all have the most persuasive weapon to ever exist: the Atomic Bomb.

If economic power and military power actually define the “International Community”, the case can be made that other countries such as India and Israel<sup>55</sup> for instance can also represent the “International Community” because they actually possess these two attributes. Both countries have the Atomic Weapon and the military power that goes with it. India is a growing giant economically speaking and Israel is one of the wealthiest nations in the world. Still these countries can’t be considered as the “International Community” that is referred to in the News for three reasons. First, a state cannot represent the “international community” by itself. It is impossible semantically because it requires at least two nations/agents for anything to be considered “international” and it has never occurred before that a State represented by itself any sort of “international community” historically speaking. Secondly, these two countries are not permanent members of the Security Council, the main body responsible for the common interest of all nations that is to say Peace and Security. The permanent members, with the exception of China, are “the group of states that created the rules and institutions in the first place”<sup>56</sup> that is to say the USA, the UK, France and Russia. They were at the origin of the Atlantic Charter<sup>57</sup> that was designed to rule future International Relations and that later evolved into the UN Charter as former US Vice President Henry Wallace declared in 1942:

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<sup>53</sup> See Table on the State members contributions to the UN Budget

<sup>54</sup> Note that Italy who was also defeated during WWII ranks at the sixth place of the Top 10 contributors

<sup>55</sup> I choose these two countries to show that power is simply not enough to represent the “IC”

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix 2. Quote of Andrew Gowers

<sup>57</sup> CULL, NICHOLAS: *“Peace: the origins, promotion and fate of the Anglo-American new order during the Second World War”*, In *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Volume 3, Number 1, 1996. Pp.4, 6, 15

“Many of the ideas of the Charter came from an ideology of Anglo-American internationalism that sought British and American cooperation for the cause of international security (...) Roosevelt's attempts to tie Britain to concrete war aims and Churchill's desperation to bind the U.S. to the war effort helped provide motivations for the meeting which produced the Atlantic Charter”

“When this war comes to an end, the United Nations will have such overwhelming superiority in air power that we shall be able to speedily enforce any mandate whenever the United Nations may have arrived at a judgment based on international law. The first article in the international law of the future is undoubtedly the United Nations’ Charter. The United Nations’ Charter includes the Atlantic Charter and there is little reason it should longer be called the “Atlantic Charter” in view of the fact that the broader instrument has been validated by thirty nations.”<sup>58</sup>.

That is probably why Andrew Gowers goes further saying that the “international community of the last fifty years was created through the leadership and governed by the common values of the United States and Europe”<sup>59</sup>. The “International Community” can therefore be defined as “essentially, the United States and Europe”<sup>60</sup>. It seems legit that the countries that have designed the current system actually lead it. This automatically excludes all other countries such as India or Israel or Regional Organizations such as the AU, the AL or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to be considered as the “International Community”. They are “international communities” that are part of a broader ensemble. Last but not least, the “International Community” as it is perceived today is the result of a process that started during WWII but actually evolved during the Cold War and more importantly after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In fact, after 1989, the international relations were eased, gaining a certain global reassurance characterized by a slowing down of the arms race and by the cooperation of the largest number of States. The main objectives were peace and security for all as well as economic and social development for the poor and deprived countries that were the most vulnerable. This created a we-feeling that favored the idea of a community.

In fact, before that, the World used to be bipolar due to the Cold War opposing East and West. Countries around the world were part either of the East or the West and they strongly disagreed on the way the world should function. In fact this latter was divided into two communities based on two distinct ideologies: capitalism on the one hand, and communism on the other hand. The USA and the USSR were the two most important countries at the time and they were considered as the leaders and the faces of the West and the East. They had enough economic and military power to face each other and they both exercised a great amount of influence on other countries, thus entertaining a balance of power that would

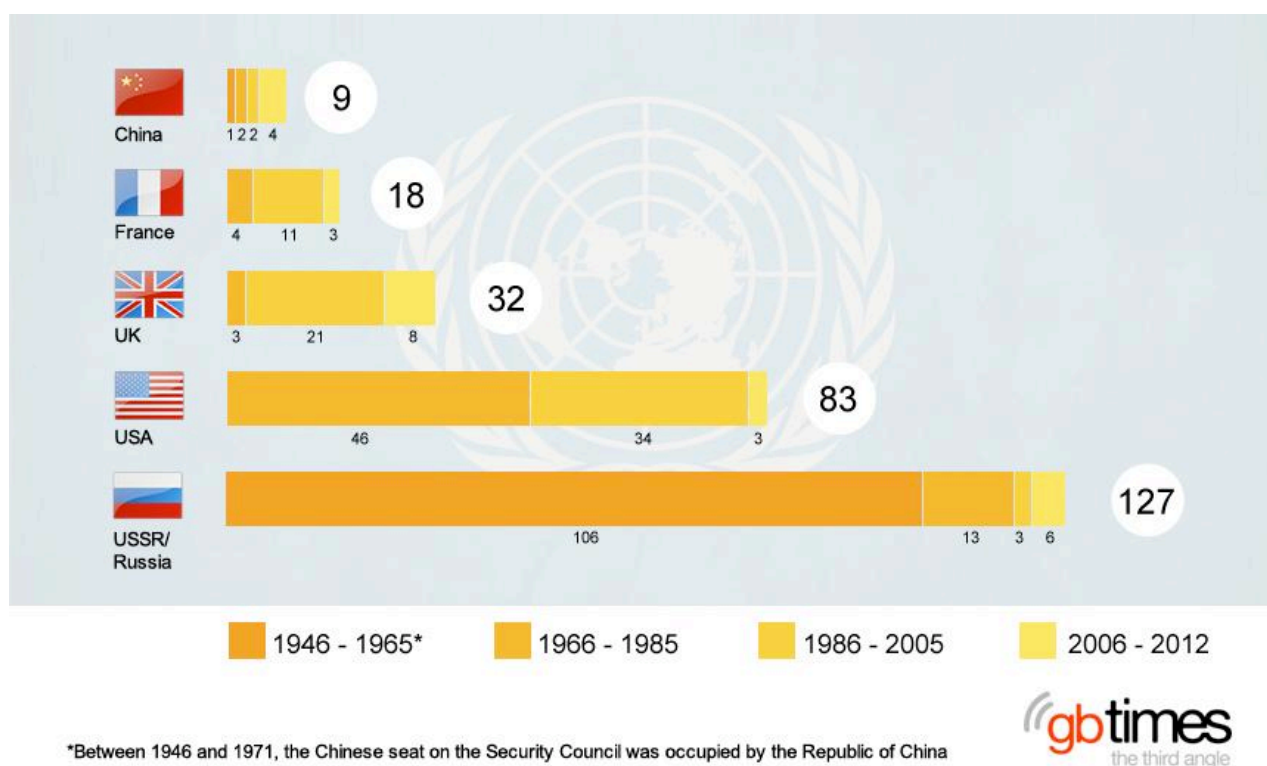
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<sup>58</sup>“Henry A. Wallace address before congress of American Soviet Friendship”. In *United States, Britain and Canada in World Wars I and II*. The Home Front Encyclopedia, James Ciment (Editor) and Thaddeus Russell (Contributing Editor), 1999. P.1275

<sup>59</sup>See Appendix 10 Pp. 32-33

<sup>60</sup>See Appendix 2. Quote of Andrew Gowers

prevent the hegemony of either side but also the emergence of an “International Community” that would act as a unitary actor. The best illustration for that is the way the UN SC voting process suffered from the disagreements between the East and the West. Indeed on the 127 times Russia has blocked a UN Resolution since 1946 and the creation of the UN, the USSR was responsible for using the veto right 119 times from 1946 to 1991<sup>61</sup>. Since then, Russia – following the dislocation of the USSR<sup>62</sup> – has used that same veto right only 8 times. We can assume that the Russian opposition in the SC has been less important due to the relative peace between the East and the West after the fall of the Iron Curtain.



Before 1991, there was actually the perception that there was not one but three different “international communities”. Countries would either be on the American side or the Soviet Side or simply be non-aligned and remain neutral. This separation would be materialized under the forms of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Warsaw Pact (WP) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)<sup>63</sup>. The two first communities were active

<sup>61</sup>“Veto power at the UN Security Council”. – Al Jazeera, 5 February 2012 -

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/02/201225152330761377.html> (14. 12. 2012)

<sup>62</sup>The Treaty of Minsk signed by Boris Eltsine with Belorussia and Ukraine in December 1991 officially ended the existence of the USSR

<sup>63</sup>Movement created in 1961 by Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Gamal Abdel-Nasser (Egypt), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) and Sukarno (Indonesia).

militarily and economically speaking; every action on a side would lead to a reaction on the other side. The WP was a response to the NATO as much as the end of the Cuban Missiles Crisis was helped, at least officially, by the removal of the US Missiles in Turkey.

The NAM however was a more passive community, one that did not want to get involved in the conflict between East and West but one that strived for peace. In fact, the NAM countries were mostly newly independent countries – of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe – with the political will of safeguarding their own integrity and lessening the tension generated by the then rigid bipolar world, prompting observers to refer to them as the Third World<sup>64</sup>. Although the member countries of the NAM represented half of the world population at that time, they had very few influence on International Relations and their economy represented only 8% of the world's total wealth<sup>65</sup>.

Exposing the relations and aims of these three communities might seem useless in understanding the current “International Community” but it is actually the contrary as it helps us analyze the process that led to the formation of such a community. Moreover the origin of the perception that the “International Community” acts as a unitary entity can be found in this process. To put it in a nutshell, the world was bipolar before 1991. It became more of a unipolar world after that, when the USSR collapsed, thus consolidating the position of the North Atlantic Community in the International System.

### 2.1.2 End of the Cold War and Influence of the North Atlantic Community

#### *End of the Cold War*

The end of the Cold War prompted the end of the East vs. West confrontation. The Eastern bloc was dismantled and the Berlin Wall went down. Of the three communities I previously described, two remained: the NAM – big and poor – on one hand and the North Atlantic Community commonly known as the West – smaller but richer – on the other. The

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<sup>64</sup>SAUVY, ALFRED: “Trois Mondes, Une Planète”. L’Observateur, 14. 8. 1952 - [http://www.alternatives-economiques.fr/--trois-mondes--une-planete--\\_fr\\_art\\_173\\_18940.html](http://www.alternatives-economiques.fr/--trois-mondes--une-planete--_fr_art_173_18940.html) (1. 5. 2012)

"We are talking about two worlds, their possible war, their coexistence, etc., but too often do we forget that there exists a third one, the most important, and actually the first one in the chronology. It is the ensemble known as the under developed countries in the United Nations style (...)"

<sup>65</sup>Bandung Conference of 1955 and the resurgence of Asia and Africa". Daily News, Sri Lanka. - <http://www.dailynews.lk/2005/04/21/fea01.htm> (1. 5. 2012)

first, more passive, is happy that the conflict ended. The second, more active, is thrilled by its victory over the East. It is a bloc that just happened to encounter a good amount of success twice in a row; this victory coupled with the one earned during WWII seem to put the North Atlantic Community in the position to lead the rest of the world. Its sphere of influence just got bigger as the “first international Law of the future”<sup>66</sup>, that is to say the UN Charter, and the UN Organization that originates from it would serve more as a platform of cooperation between nations rather than a theater for diplomatic confrontations as it was often the case during the Cold War. The Charter is viewed and “almost universally recognized (...) as the written constitution of the international community”<sup>67</sup> and “individual states assume the role of agents”<sup>68</sup> of that community by asking the UN SC for “authorization before intervening” in a country. It was the case in Iraq, Kuwait, Somalia, Haiti and Rwanda for instance. All these conflicts occurred in the ninety nineties and the authorization model used back then contrasted with the American involvement in Panama years before for instance. One could argue that the tensions of the Cold War and the rivalry between the two blocs might have prevented such a model to take place earlier. Indeed, one might show that the other side for the sake of using their veto would veto any resolution brought up by one side. This nevertheless is the type of events that spread the idea of a new world, a world where all the countries would come together and work jointly to make it a better place; suddenly, “situations arising purely within the territory of Member States are now being considered threats to international peace”<sup>69</sup>.

### *The North Atlantic Community*

Historically, the North Atlantic Community actually influenced greatly the International Relations within the UN. In 1956 during the Suez Crisis for instance, France and the UK vetoed the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Egypt<sup>70</sup>. Following this, the growing tensions

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<sup>66</sup>“Henry A. Wallace address before congress of American Soviet Friendship”. In *United States, Britain and Canada in World Wars I and II*. The Home Front Encyclopedia, James Ciment (Editor) and Thaddeus Russell (Contributing Editor), 1999. P.1275

<sup>67</sup>SIMMA, BRUNO, AND ANDREAS L. PAULUS: *The “International Community”: Facing the Challenge of Globalization*. European Journal of International Law 9, 1998. P.274

<sup>68</sup>SIMMA, BRUNO, AND ANDREAS L. PAULUS: *The “International Community”: Facing the Challenge of Globalization*. European Journal of International Law 9, 1998. P.275

<sup>69</sup>SIMMA, BRUNO, AND ANDREAS L. PAULUS: *The “International Community”: Facing the Challenge of Globalization*. European Journal of International Law 9, 1998. P.275

<sup>70</sup>“Veto power at the UN Security Council”. – Al Jazeera, 5 February 2012 - <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/02/201225152330761377.html> (14. 12. 2012)

with the USSR led to the first ever peacekeeping operation of the organization when the General Assembly voted for resolutions 997 to 1003. Now the North Atlantic Community – mainly the USA, the UK and France – could only influence even greatly the International Relations<sup>71</sup> and the new “International Community” emerging from its victory. With the authorization model occurring in the UN Organization and the role of the UN SC, it would lead the world in the direction it envisioned while spreading its ideology; the development of trade and the democratic model lauded will lead to the globalization trends that we are still somehow currently experiencing. The North Atlantic Community is an “international community” based on common liberal values such as democracy. It is an illustration of the Democratic Peace Theory which stipends that Democracies do not fight each other. Historically, it can be compared to the Saint Alliance and its monarchies. The difference today is that the common identity they would fight for is Democracy. Note here that the meaning of Democracy would be difficult to determine but the main idea behind it is liberalism. Semantically speaking the North Atlantic Community also is an “international community”. It is a group of nations that have agreed on common objectives with common means (NATO) to fulfill these objectives. Hence, referring to the North Atlantic Community while speaking of the “International Community” might actually make sense. Noam Chomsky for instance defines the term “International Community” as follow: “Regularly used in a technical sense to describe the United States joined by some allies and clients”<sup>72</sup>. Countries within the North Atlantic Community are allies and countries like Israel can be considered a client for instance.

Let’s take the example of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Indeed, the Middle East region appears to be the most controversial region regarding the “International Community” and its role. The Conflict between Israel and Palestine is quite simple to understand when it comes to the “International Community”. The country that is probably the most involved as a mediator is the USA. At the same time, that same country is Israel’s closest ally in the world. Indeed the USA heavily supports financially and militarily the state of Israel; Since 1985, it has provided nearly \$3 billion in grants annually to Israel, with Israel being the largest annual recipient of American aid from 1976 to 2004 and the largest cumulative recipient of aid since

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<sup>71</sup>10 out of the current 16 Peacekeeping Operations started after 1990

<sup>72</sup>See Appendix 2

World War II.<sup>73</sup> Yet it is the country that “represents” the “International Community” in the talks along with Russia, the EU and the UN<sup>74</sup>. Their position and actions alone speak out loud as they do not sound logic at all; they want a settlement of the conflict in the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank but still they do not act like they really want to.

In fact the USA does not condemn Israel and they have even been blocking a record of 108 UN SC Resolutions since 1980 that tried to condemn Israel or find a solution to the conflict. One of the latest vetoes regarded one UN SC resolution in February 2011 that condemned Israeli settlements<sup>75</sup>. The attitude of the USA has caused some tensions between the General Assembly and the Security Council as all the efforts done to reach a solution are always swept by the successive American administrations. One attempt by the other UN members trying to find actually a solution has been to mark their opposition by accepting the integration of a Palestine Representation into the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The problem with the American approach is that it does not take into account the positions of other countries except those of Israel. Their foreign policy is interest driven and strongly influenced by the powerful American Israel Public Affairs Committee, an interest group that lobbies efficiently in Washington for the interests of the Zionists.

Noah Chomsky actually highlighted in his definition the United States of America for many reasons. Besides being one of the most powerful if not the most as well as one of the richest countries in the world – the country is the top contributor to the UN Budget – the USA have established themselves as a leader of the North Atlantic Community. They could single handedly be considered as the “International Community” despite being a country and not a community, at least semantically wise. When they invaded Iraq in 2003 on the basis of a preventive war, the USA and a couple of their allies – the UK and Australia – did not actually respected the UN Charter and went on their own under the banner of the “coalition of the willing”. It was not the first time that the USA acted like that independently, not taking into account other countries opinions and finally creating situations that could have been avoided, but it surely wasn’t going be the last. The preventive war that was launched in the year 2003 was based on the existence of “so-called” weapons of mass destruction on Iraq territory and

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<sup>73</sup>*U.S Foreign Aid to Israel*. Report by Jeremy M. Sharp, specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs. 16 September 2010 - <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33222.pdf>

<sup>74</sup> The Quartet established a Road Map Plan that would bring peace for both Israeli and Palestinians

<sup>75</sup>*UN.org*. - <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37572>



that then PDT, Saddam Hussein reportedly wanted to use against the USA.

Before intervening in the region, the US Delegation at the UN wanted to gather as much as countries possible behind them through a UN SC resolution voting procedure. In fact, it seemed like an authorization from the UN SC would be a synonym of legitimization<sup>76</sup>; anything that comes from the UN is viewed as legitimate by the public opinion. Unfortunately, the Bush administration at the time wanted so badly to go at war that they did not took consideration of the UN members opinions and still went to invade Iraq along with Britain even after being told that such an action was illegal and unauthorized by the UN Charter<sup>77</sup>. The idea that the group is stronger than its members when it comes to “community” suddenly becomes a myth in regard to this example. Even if the USA were to be right, and the SC would have voted and not vetoed for such an intervention, the result would still be concerning and it would still be considered a mistake. In his work, *What “International Community” after Iraq*, scholar Barry Buzan basically expressed how difficult it is to actual try to impose or even give a democracy to a country with a society that is as fragmented as it is in Iraq. “It’s a little bit reminiscent of the problems of some post-colonial African countries where you get a country that has a number of well-defined tribal identities within it” he will precise. In Iraq’s case you have Shia, Sunni and Kurd and they fight each other for power. How would it then be possible a democratic constitution that incorporates all of these tribes without, in this case, the Shia being a permanent majority and the other two therefore being alienated. There has been some damage to transatlantic relations and that relationship is far and away the most important one in terms of the stability of international society. Was the damage done worth it? That is another question.

The “International Community” was disrespected in this Iraqi case but it couldn’t vote any type of sanctions, as they would be vetoed by the USA themselves. The question of the veto right might be one to address in order to avoid these kinds of failures in the future. Few media outlets mentioned the “International Community” during the process that led to the War. It was question of the United Nations, the United States, and France. The then Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan did regret the American intervention but the “International Community” that usually “regrets”, “protest” and “condemn” haven’t done anything in

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<sup>76</sup>“True Story of the day before Iraq invasion”. – The Guardian.co.uk, 8 March 2008  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/mar/08/iraq.unitednations> (16. 4. 2012)

<sup>77</sup>*Iraq war illegal, says Annan* BBC 16 September 2004. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/3661134.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3661134.stm) (16. 4. 2012)

particular in that case. The UN simply admitted that the intervention was not legal. After all, if the “International Community” is “regularly used (...) to describe the United States joined by some allies (...)” then Noam Chomsky is right when he continues saying that there is “a logical impossibility for the United States to defy the international community”. In the Iraqi case, the USA did not consider that they defied the “International Community” although their actions were illegal. They still were supported by some of their allies from the North Atlantic Community even though France strongly disagreed with the intervention. What this case shows is that any potential “International Community” can be weak in comparison to certain of its members, namely the US. If the United Nations is the “International Community” like Kofi Annan thinks it is, the Iraq war showed that the USA as a single country appeared to be stronger than the organization. The US position also affected the North Atlantic Community that appeared to be the historic heart of the “International Community” showing that the balance of any potential current “international community” heavily depends on its members and their will to actually create and consolidate an “International Community” rather than just an “International Society”... unless we consider like Sadako Ogata<sup>78</sup> that the “International Community” is a “virtual community...as a potential source of power, to promote common cause or legitimize common action”<sup>79</sup>.

### 2.1.3 The War on Terror

In Iraq the illegal aspect of the armed intervention did not help legitimize the war. The USA did not promote common cause and hence the conflict did not draw a lot of support worldwide. It was a mistake and it is interesting to point that the previous war in Afghanistan that was launched two years earlier gathered more support in part because it was carried on a legal basis. Indeed, in the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919) and in the United Nations Charter (1945), ‘international peace and security’ have been used together as the key purposes of both international organizations to be achieved by global<sup>80</sup> and regional systems<sup>81</sup> of collective security, as well as by collective and national self-defense<sup>82</sup>.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center have prompted the United States of

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<sup>78</sup>Former High Commissioner of the UNHCR

<sup>79</sup> See Appendix 2

<sup>80</sup> Chapters VI and VII of UN Charter. See Appendix 7

<sup>81</sup> Chapter VIII of UN Charter. See Appendix 8

<sup>82</sup>See Art. 51 of the UN Charter. Appendix 7

America and more precisely the Bush administration to start a “war on terror”<sup>83</sup>, a campaign originally waged against Al Qaeda, the terrorist group author of the attacks. The solidarity and support expressed by almost all the other nations around the world was strong and the decision to fight terrorism was unanimous; the attacks were condemned and measures were taken in order to deal with the issue within the United Nations. Almost every country in the world felt concerned by the attacks. Was it because of how spectacular they were? Was it because of the high number of casualties? Or was it simply because of the surprising nature of the attacks? It is not quite clear but one thing is sure, there was a we-feeling emerging from these attacks and that we-feeling could be compared to the one following the fall of the Berlin wall a decade earlier.

The UN SC Resolution 1373 was unanimously adopted on the 28 September 2001, thus establishing a Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC)<sup>84</sup> in the Security Council. Member States of the UN were also asked to implement a number of measures intended to enhance their legal and institutional ability to counter terrorist activities<sup>85</sup> and they agreed to do so. Terrorism was consequently established as the new enemy to fight. The modern warfare appears to be completely different from past warfare, as the new enemy appears to be global and evasive. It is not a country, nor a group of countries but an ideology supported by a group of people. Terrorism can help determine the current “International Community” as it could represent the common enemy that the members of the community have to fight. In elevating terrorism to that status following the 9/11 events, the USA promoted a common cause and provided a direction to the whole North Atlantic Community and the United Nations. It was naturally that the war in Afghanistan got full support from Day 1 within the UN organization, thus getting the necessary legitimation to invade the Taliban State at the time.

The Roman Empire had its enemy. The Greek City-States had their common enemy. The Saint Alliance had its enemy. The present “International Community” just found in terrorism its common enemy, the outside agent who would help define itself. The US Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism has been listing the organizations that represent this new

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<sup>83</sup> George Bush Presidential address to the Nation. Press Release from the White House <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/10/print/20011007-8.html> (18. 4. 2012)

<sup>84</sup>“Guided by Security Council resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1624 (2005), the CTC works to bolster the ability of United Nations Member States to prevent terrorist acts both within their borders and across regions. It was established in the wake of the 11 September terrorist attacks in the United States” <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/> (15. 4. 2012)

<sup>85</sup> Quoted as it is written from the UN Security Council website <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/> (15. 4. 2012)

global enemy now since 1997<sup>86</sup>. The list includes well know organizations such as Al-Qaeda with whom it all started – they are responsible of the 9/11 attacks – but also the Hamas and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), two organizations that are opposed to Israel in the Palestinian occupied territories. Given the US-Israel cooperation, one could wonder if that list is objective and if it actually reflects the opinion of all the countries involved in the War against terror, or if it is based on pandering.

International Security and Peace definitely characterizes the “International Community” as of today, whether it is seen as “some form of moral collectivity of humankind”<sup>87</sup> or “some kind of agent possessing the capacity for action”<sup>88</sup>. It doesn’t however give us a single definition for the term as International Relations constantly evolve; Security and Peace remain subjective notions that each country value differently. A more economic perspective can provide us with more information, confirm the perception we have of the concept or simply indicate an alternative route that has yet to be explored.

## 2.2 Global Economy Trade and Development

### 2.2.1 The Financial and Economic Institutions

When analyzing the current global economic order, it is essential to focus on supra-national financial and economic institutions. They help in understanding the current state of world economics and development. The most global and prominent institutions as of today have been envisioned and formulated by the Bretton Woods agreements in 1944. These agreements include the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and development (IRBD) – now part of the World Bank (WB) – and the World Trade Organization (WTO) respectively. While the UN was created for political

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<sup>86</sup> See Appendix 4

<sup>87</sup> BUZAN, BARRY, AND ANA GONZALEZ-PELAEZ: *“International Community” after Iraq*. International Affairs 81, 2005. P.32

<sup>88</sup> BUZAN, BARRY, AND ANA GONZALEZ-PELAEZ: *“International Community” after Iraq*. International Affairs 81, 2005. P.32

reasons, the Bretton Woods institutions were created to handle economy related issues of the upcoming “International Society”. The WB (1945) objective was to help reduce poverty. The IMF (1944) also aimed at reducing poverty but also provides financial stability, foster economic cooperation and facilitates International Trade. The reason I point out these organizations is that they represent the current global economy and defining the “International Community” from an economic standpoint is a bit different from a more traditional political side.

The current perception of the “International Community” can be viewed as the result of the end of the Cold War and the spread of Western liberal ideology of democracy and free market. The main idea was that free market would enhance trade and exchanges of goods and services worldwide, making the world a better place with fewer borders and less protection. Every country would therefore be able to reduce its deficit and living together would be more than possible, surfing on the we-feeling generated by the fall of the Berlin Wall. This is actually what happened, due partly to Globalization phenomenon that followed the openness of the world. To better understand this, let’s take a look back and see if it helps us in defining the “International Community” as of today.

### *Origins of the IMF*

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was by no means stable, particularly in terms of political economy. The world had fallen following the two World Wars and a Great Depression, leaving much of the European continent in ruins<sup>89</sup>. With capitalism showing signs of faltering in the 1930s, and communism, headed by a growing industrial USSR unaffected by the crises, its domination over the international economy was threatened. The rebuilding of Europe after the devastation of World War II became imperative, as much as preserving the world as a whole from future economic depressions<sup>90</sup>. It would not have been possible to efficiently counter communism without a stronger economy. The Marshall Plan was a good start but the System as a whole needed some adjustments. It was about reordering the international system. Whereas the Marshall Plan was an example of the unilateralism for which the U.S. is known, the Bretton Woods conference was a triumph of multilateral coordination. It featured countries as diverse as Honduras, Liberia and the Philippines to name a few. Semantically

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<sup>89</sup>WEISS, T.G., FORSYTHE, P.D., and COATE, R.A.: *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. Boulder Westview Books, 4th ed., 2004

<sup>90</sup>*Bretton Woods System* by Benjamin J. Cohen - <http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/cohen/inpress/bretton.html> (5. 5. 2012)

speaking, it already seems like that economic “community” in the making could be considered as an “International Community”.

In fact, when US President Roosevelt decided to convene a conference to discuss how to deal with international monetary problems, two different proposals were discussed, one backed by the United States and the other by the United Kingdom. There was American economist Harry Dexter White on one hand and British economist John Maynard Keynes on the other<sup>91</sup>.

The Keynes plan was based on the creation of an international body of compensation, the International Clearing Union (ICU), which would be capable of issuing an international currency linked to hard currency and local currency exchanged through a fixed exchange rate. Through the ICU, surplus countries would help deficit countries that would be funded via a transfer of surplus, so it would have the advantage of growing global demand and prevent deflation, which ultimately would be beneficial for all countries<sup>92</sup>. This sounds interesting because a common currency would have probably been the best characteristic of any community. Actually, the whole idea of having a common exchange rate and a common institution that would compensate deficit countries via surplus countries would have led to an economic “International Community” that would have been easy to define. Indeed if it seems difficult to have an “International Community” based on morality, culture or religion because of the differences that exist, having a single common currency makes it easier to have such a community. The E.U for instance have shown flashes of an “International Community” when the Euro was endangered in the aftermaths of the global economic crisis in recent years.

Unfortunately at the time, International-Banking mechanisms were not very formalized and automated enough for the central banks to be able to manage such a system. Instead of an “International Community”, the conference would lean toward a form of “International society” with an organized system that would function more like a set of structured institutions with precise rules. In fact, White proposed a structured institution that legally would specify the roles, rules and boundaries of a new system as well as the conditions and measures to implement it. He foresaw an IMF that functioned more like a bank, making sure

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<sup>91</sup> Comments by John Maynard Keynes in his speech at the closing plenary session of the Bretton Woods Conference on July 22, 1944 in Donald Moggeridge (ed.), *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1980), vol. 26, p. 101. This comment also can be found quoted online at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/209/42675.html>

<sup>92</sup> *Bretton Woods System* by Benjamin J. Cohen - <http://www.polsci.ucsb.edu/faculty/cohen/inpress/bretton.html> (5. 5. 2012)

that borrowing states could repay their debts on time<sup>93</sup>.

A main element of the Bretton Woods system was the creation of the fixed exchange rates. This emerged on what was called “pegged rate” or “par value” currency regime. As a complete fixed currencies system, the British, claiming that this would constrain government policies during periods of crisis, disliked it. Floating exchange rates on the other side were discouraging for the Americans remembering the earlier crisis of the 1930s. Thus, a compromise was found with the ‘adjustable peg’. All currencies were made equal to the US dollar and the dollar fixed to gold<sup>94</sup>.

The new system had two important elements: on one side, it created a liberal international trading order and on the other side an international monetary regime. According to this system, Governments were free to pursue their national economic interests but in a fixed monetary order, based on fixed exchange rates, to prevent the undesirable effects of free competition that it has witnessed during the 1930s<sup>95</sup>

For 25 years, after WWII, the international monetary system known as the Bretton Woods System was based on stable and adjustable exchange rates. In order to set up a system of rules, institutions, and procedures to regulate the monetary system, the planners at Bretton Woods established the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF is an international financial institution that promotes economic cooperation among the member countries for ensuring rapid economic development throughout the world. It was established in July 1944 with a vision to promote consultation and collaboration on international monetary problems and to lend money to member countries in need due to recurring balance of payments deficit<sup>96</sup>. Each fund member would submit with the approval of the IMF a par value for its currency. All exchange transactions between member countries were to be effected at a rate that fluctuated within 1% band around the par values of the respective currencies. Each IMF member country would pay into the IMF pool a quota, one quarter being in gold with the remainder in its own currency.

On the other hand, IMF is often criticized for providing financial assistance on the condition of structural adjustment, which involves a change of the economic policy of the

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<sup>93</sup>"IMF History and Structural Adjustment Conditions". - UC Atlas of Global Inequality. Economic Crises. - <http://ucatlas.ucsc.edu/sap/history.php> (18 March 2012)

<sup>94</sup>IMF. - <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2009/09/cohen.htm>

<sup>95</sup>GILPIN, ROBERT : *The Challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in the 21st Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000

<sup>96</sup>IMF. - <http://www.imf.org/>

particular country. Structural adjustment can be a cause of hindering social stability<sup>97</sup>. Many members of IMF have gone through banking collapse and reduction in Gross Domestic Product<sup>98</sup>. However, IMF has taken many reformatory measures since its inception to eliminate some of its inherent weaknesses. By acting as an international financial institution with a membership of over 180 countries<sup>99</sup>, fulfills an important role in the world economy. It has succeeded in ensuring economic growth and stability to an extent by providing financial aid to its member countries.

The WB and the WTO also were created for the implementation of a liberal international economic system to enhance postwar peace<sup>100</sup>. Although their roles are different from the ones of the IMF, they all are part of the global post-war governing structure that suggests the existence of the “International Community”. Under the impulse of the United Nations<sup>101</sup>, the Bretton Woods system turned out to be the first example of a fully negotiated monetary order intended to govern monetary relations among independent nation-states. Some barriers were lifted and protectionism lowered down, benefiting trade and globalization and by extension the community of nations involved. However, the effects of liberalization are not always positive and the world still has to face high degrees of poverty in developing countries, the richer getting richer and the poorest getting poorer. The Financial and Economic Institutions do represent the “International Community” as they dictate the global economic orientations. While promoting liberalism, they have “destroyed new-born economies”<sup>102</sup>. Indeed, the IMF and the WB have contributed to the indebtedness of smaller countries through development aid and structural adjustment policies attached to it. In the nineties, as M. Bulard puts it: “where the IMF passed, the economy collapsed”<sup>103</sup>. What do the nations involved actually share besides the institutions? There is no common wealth and the aid system imagined by

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<sup>97</sup>FOMERAND, Jacques: *The Politics of Norm Setting at the United Nations: The Case of Sustainable Human Development*. In: Dijkzeul, D., and Beigbeder, Y. : *Rethinking International Organizations*, Oxford: Bergham Books, 2003. pp.77-106

<sup>98</sup>*The Euro Crisis: Key Facts and Predictions*–

<http://www.morssglobalfinance.com/the-euro-crisis-key-facts-and-predictions/> (5. 5. 2012)

<sup>99</sup>IMF. - <http://www.imf.org/external/country/index.htm> (5. 5. 2012)

<sup>100</sup>Hull, Cordell (1948). *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull: vol. 1*. New York: Macmillan. pp. 81.

“Unhampered trade dovetailed with peace; high tariffs, trade barriers, and unfair economic competition, with war...if we could get a freer flow of trade...freer in the sense of fewer discriminations and obstructions...so that one country would not be deadly jealous of another and the living standards of all countries might rise, thereby eliminating the economic dissatisfaction that breeds war, we might have a reasonable chance of lasting peace.”

<sup>101</sup> Understand here the 44 Allied Nations at the time

<sup>102</sup> KOUASSI, KANGA BERTIN: *La Communauté Internationale – De la toute puissance à l’inexistence*. Editions L’Harmattan, 2007. P.82

<sup>103</sup>“Du FMI au Vatican: Les fourberies de M. Camdessus” – Le Monde Diplomatique, January 2004. P.10



White is based essentially on interest rates. We can believe that the common enemy of such a community would be poverty since these institutions were created to reduce poverty in the first place. Unfortunately, the economic and financial crises in the recent years have shown that Finance is actually the common enemy responsible for the economic downturn since 2007. Helping the most deprived must be a priority for any “International Community” aiming to preserve peace and security<sup>104</sup> especially in today’s globalized world.

### *Globalization*

Globalization can be economic (movement of resources, goods, services, capital), political (transnational institutions, international organizations), or human (migration, culture). It could be defined as the transformation of the world into a single society where there are very few barriers in terms of culture. The effects on our societies are impact our daily lives as we all consume the same type of goods and services or simply depend on the goodwill of the some countries on a macro level.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is probably the organization that encompasses the most globalization and its effects. Its member countries constantly try to gain new markets, offering a larger choice to consumers while providing new opportunities for producers. This could be considered as positive but the backlash is that developing countries with weak industries or the ones unable to produce at a high rate, are somehow left behind and they do not benefit as much from the system than the developed countries with more means do.

The effects of globalization are the interconnections between all the different economies around the world, the cultures and the people. They can be both positive and negative; on one hand it encourages all states and people to cooperate and share a common vision both economically and politically, hence creating an “international community” but on the other hand, local populations can show tendencies to reject the outside agent for the sake of nationalism. They prefer preserving their differences and specificities rather than moving towards universality; can a true “International Community” be made of many smaller communities? Isn’t a difference like religion big enough to prevent such a community? If we read Huntington’s *Clash of Civilizations*, we might answer yes to this question.

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<sup>104</sup> Harry Dexter White: “the absence of a high degree of economic collaboration among the leading nations will...inevitably result in economic warfare that will be but the prelude and instigator of military warfare on an even vaster scale.”

Quoted in Robert A. Pollard, *Economic Security and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p.8.

Nevertheless, the possibility of an “International Community” as some kind of unitary agent tasked with resolving global common issues – through an international organization such as the UN – is somehow a result of Globalization. It seems appealing since borders are disappearing and an “International Society” is emerging. In this case, divisions and differences do not necessarily mean the absence of unity or universality. The UN is a universal organization despite the differences of its members for instance. The WTO members are all united towards the same goals. Still, they remain divided regarding the process. Globalization therefore seems to be at the heart of any evolution regarding the “International Community” today. Positive trends might transform what looks more like an “International Society” today into a real “International Community” tomorrow.

One thing seems to be certain at least for the moment; members of a community are interdependent one from another. There is a strong feeling to belong to some place or to share something in common. As Human beings, there is the feeling that we are all part of Humankind. Because of that, it is hard to imagine today an “International Community” that wouldn’t assist its members when needed.

### 2.2.2 Assisting the most deprived

Amid the post-Cold War advancement of globalization, the “International Community” presently finds itself in a new environment, grappling with a multiplicity of problems such as terrorism, ethnic and religious conflicts, armed conflicts, infectious diseases and gender issues. On top of those, the gap between the rich and the poor keeps growing while we can observe the growing suppression of freedoms, human rights and democracy. Humanitarian problems triggered by extreme poverty, famine, natural disasters and refugee crises need to be addressed for the “International Community” as a whole to achieve sustainable development because they are cross border issues that present a threat to each all of us.

Developing the most deprived therefore might be considered as the hardest challenge that the “International Community” has to face as it could help solve other issues such as the international terrorism and economic depression. The world economy needs to be strong as a whole and cannot only be dependent on a handful of countries because their collapse could mean the collapse of all. Developed countries and prominent members of the “International

Community” – meaning the UN here – should focus on the development of the poorest ones. Education, health, employment and sustainable growth are the solutions to the woes that the less advanced countries actually face. Some unknown entities might exploit these woes under the ban of ideology if nothing is done to avoid it.

It is clear that through the decades there were many advances in the UN approach to development, especially in the past 25 years. The idea of development is far richer than simple economic development, and entails more ingredients like the people and their empowerment, the effectiveness of economic policies and the promotion of good governance. The ultimate goal is to eradicate poverty because poverty hinders people’s realization of their rights to development<sup>105</sup>.

In the aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis, ECOSOC and the GA seek to salvage the global economy by providing long-term solutions toward sustainable international economic and social development. In its resolution 65/94 entitles *The United Nations in global governance*, the General Assembly recognized the need for a more “inclusive, transparent and effective multilateral system to better address the urgent global challenges of today”<sup>106</sup> and reaffirmed the “central role of the United Nations in ongoing efforts to find common solutions to such challenges”<sup>107</sup>. In that same resolution, the General Assembly (GA) decided to include in the provisional agenda of its sixty-sixth session, under the item entitled *Strengthening of the United Nations system*, the sub-item entitled *Central role of the United Nations system in global governance*. It has requested that the Secretary-General submit an analytical report focusing on global economic governance and development, to be prepared in consultation with Member States and relevant organizations of the United Nations system. Such relevant inputs would be taken into account for the informal thematic debate on global governance to be organized by the President of the Assembly, without prejudice to the focus of possible future debates on this issue to be determined by the Assembly”<sup>108</sup>.

There are nevertheless two prevailing hindrances to be pointed out in the UN’s work on development, which are the tension between the UN and the Bretton Woods agencies and the

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<sup>105</sup>FOMERAND, Jacques: *The Politics of Norm Setting at the United Nations: The Case of Sustainable Human Development*. In: Dijkzeul, D., and Beigbeder, Y. : *Rethinking International Organizations*, Oxford: Bergham Books, 2003. p.90

<sup>106</sup> UN.org. - <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/economicgovernance/index.htm>

<sup>107</sup> UN.org. - <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/economicgovernance/index.htm>

<sup>108</sup> UN.org. - <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/economicgovernance/index.htm>

conflicting interests between “North” and “South” and their prioritization in the global agenda for development. Even though Bretton Woods’s agencies have broadened their approach to development in the last years, it is still true that they have diverging philosophies and action towards development, as the Financial and Economic Institutions keep on pursuing essentially neoliberal policies while the UN has a more Keynesian approach<sup>109</sup>. This becomes even clearer when financial matters are involved. A great part of the resources provided by countries go into the Bretton Woods institutions, leaving the UN agencies with no power of action; the donor countries that participate to the Official Development Assistance have been giving in 2006 less than the required 0.7% of their GNP<sup>110</sup>, a great part of the resources provided go to Bretton Woods’ hands and leave the UN with no power for action. Moreover, what tends to prevail in their policies, as both UN and Bretton Woods stand for the capitalist system, are the interests and priorities of the developed countries, with lots of attention being given to market-related issues and few to no interest placed in international structural changes<sup>111</sup>. However, the recent proliferation of national actors getting involved tends to show that the influence of the UN conception of development shouldn’t be underestimated. Note for instance that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have rallied 189 countries as well as international organizations at the UN Millennium Summit of 2000. Twelve years later, these same countries are still pursuing the goals that are set to be achieved by 2015 and the World Bank has estimated a total cost of approximately 60 billions of dollars on top of Foreign Aid<sup>112</sup>.

Assisting the Developing World is probably the key to a strong and united “International Community”. The reason why I make this statement is that there is no other area of cooperation that regroups all the challenges that the world face than this one. Assisting the less developed countries in reducing poverty and stimulating a sustainable growth would help the world on various levels; Poverty reduction is a key development goal for the “International Community”, as it is also essential in overcoming terrorism and other causes of

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<sup>109</sup>FOMERAND, Jacques: *The Politics of Norm Setting at the United Nations: The Case of Sustainable Human Development*. In: Dijkzeul, D., and Beigbeder, Y. : *Rethinking International Organizations*, Oxford: Bergham Books, 2003. p.93

<sup>110</sup> See Chart on ODA in 2006. P.40 of this Thesis. Source: OECD

<sup>111</sup>FOMERAND, Jacques: *The Politics of Norm Setting at the United Nations: The Case of Sustainable Human Development*. In: Dijkzeul, D., and Beigbeder, Y.: *Rethinking International Organizations*, Oxford: Bergham Books, 2003. p.97

<sup>112</sup> The Cost of attaining the Millennium Development Goals. - <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/mdgassessment.pdf> (April 2013)

instability in the world<sup>113</sup>. Sectors as education, health care and welfare, water and sanitation and agriculture should be enhanced in order to provide the local populations with the basic tools that will enable them to grow. At the same time, sustainable economic growth, increase in employment, and improvement in the quality of life are indispensable for realizing poverty reduction. It is why countries, the richest in particular, organizations and institutions should support human and social development in the developing countries<sup>114</sup>.

The United Nations Specialized Agencies play in that regard an important role; they actually represent the “International Community” as of today when it comes to assisting the peoples in the need. They intervene for humanitarian purposes and they allocate all their resources in helping the most deprived. The actions of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)<sup>115</sup> and the World Food Program<sup>116</sup> for instance constantly aim to eliminate hunger in the world. “Achieving food security for all is at the heart of FAO's efforts to make sure people have regular access to enough high-quality food to lead active, healthy lives. FAO's mandate is to raise levels of nutrition, improve agricultural productivity, better the lives of rural populations and contribute to the growth of the world economy”<sup>117</sup>. Food safety is also an “increasingly important public health issue”<sup>118</sup> and the World Health Organization (WHO)<sup>119</sup> efforts to combat diseases and avoid pandemics should be underlined because health issues can represent a threat to the global population, hence destabilizing the “International Community” as a whole. The Mad Cow disease in Europe in the 1990's, the 2009 Swine Flu<sup>120</sup> world pandemic or the multiple cases of epidemic cholera (Asia 1962,

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<sup>113</sup> *Japan's Official Development Assistance Charter*. - Government of Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs Economic Co-operation Bureau. 29 August 2003 <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/reform/revision0308.pdf> (16. 4. 2012)

<sup>114</sup> *Japan's Official Development Assistance Charter*. - Government of Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs Economic Co-operation Bureau. 29 August 2003 <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/reform/revision0308.pdf> (16. 4. 2012)

“The world has changed dramatically (...) and today there is an urgent need for the international community, including Japan, to address new development challenges (...) Faced with these new challenges, many developed countries are strengthening their ODA policy, to deal with the serious problems that developing countries face. At the same time, not only governments and international organizations, but many other stakeholders are also assisting developing countries. All stakeholders engaged in development assistance are strengthening their mutual collaboration”.

<sup>115</sup> *FAO*. - [http://www.fao.org/index\\_fr.htm](http://www.fao.org/index_fr.htm) (16. 4. 2012)

<sup>116</sup> *WFP*. - <http://www.wfp.org/>

<sup>117</sup> *FAO*. - [http://www.fao.org/index\\_fr.htm](http://www.fao.org/index_fr.htm) (16. 4. 2012)

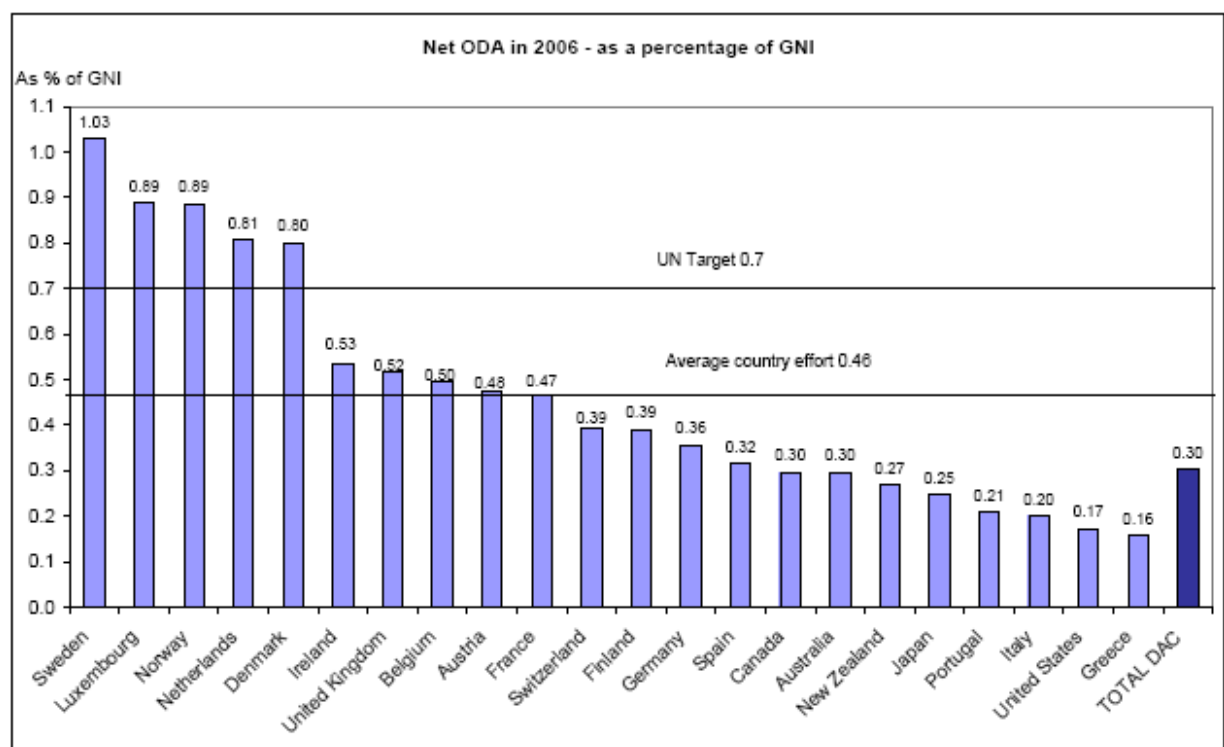
<sup>118</sup> “*Food safety and foodborne illness*”. - WHO.int, March 2007 <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs237/en/> (16. 4. 2012)

<sup>119</sup> *WHO*. - <http://www.who.int/en/>

<sup>120</sup> “*L'OMS considère la grippe A (H1N1) comme une pandémie mondiale*”. - Reuters, 11 June 2009 - <http://fr.reuters.com/article/topNews/idFRPAE55A0EQ20090611> (16. 4. 2012)

Afghanistan 2005, Haiti 2010)<sup>121</sup> are a few examples of the global common threats in terms of health care that characterizes this “International Community”. It is a community with common issues, issues without borders or like Kofi Annan puts it “problems without passports”.

In order to address the issues of development, one solution has been the international aid. It is also referred to as the Official Development Assistance (ODA). It is a measure of government-contributed aid compiled by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) since 1969. Most of the ODA comes from member countries of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) that are believed to have provided about 120 billion of US Dollars in 2009<sup>122</sup>. These countries are all considered to be rich and developed but none of them met the UN target of giving at least 0.7 percent of their Gross National Income (GNI)<sup>123</sup> as aid. The following chart actually illustrates this fact as we can see that in 2006 only Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, Netherlands and Denmark met the target.



Net ODA in 2006 – as a percentage of GNI - Source: *OECD (2006)*

<sup>121</sup> “*Le choléra prend de l’ampleur*”. – Croix Rouge.fr, 23 October 2010 - [https://www.croix-rouge.fr/Je-donne/Don-ponctuel?elk\\_dc\\_id=45&gclid=CIno-cCGpqUCFWL92Aodb10NJw](https://www.croix-rouge.fr/Je-donne/Don-ponctuel?elk_dc_id=45&gclid=CIno-cCGpqUCFWL92Aodb10NJw)

<sup>122</sup> “*DAC Members’ Net Official Development Assistance in 2009*”. - OECD

<sup>123</sup> “*Aid targets slipping out of reach?*”. – OECD

The aid provided is however not always effective and it remains an issue that needs to be tackled in order to reduce poverty faster. Seeing on this chart that countries fail to meet the requirements of the ODA, it is tempting to say that there is no “International Community” in this case. As if interests were needed for a community to emerge. The “International community” embodied by the IMF, the WB or the WTO seem to be more active. The same goes for the UN SC.

If the United Nations Specialized Agencies and the OAD are important, so is the role of the financial institutions and development banks that participate somehow in the development of the poorest. The IMF and the WB for example are crucial in the sense that they can help the developing countries achieve development if they actually wanted to. They can support loans, revise loans conditions<sup>124</sup> but also provide professional advices. The problem is that they also provide structural adjustments plan to go with the loans.

Such Banking institutions are believed to be so important that there are many regional and sub-regional banks such as the West African Development Bank (BOAD) that have been created in order to foster development. The most famous multilateral development banks include the European Investment Bank, the African Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American development Bank Group. As their name suggests it, they each operate over a region of the world but still remain active on every continent<sup>125</sup> thus emphasizing the transnational and global aspect of development that the “International Community” faces as a whole.

However these Banks and Institutions are not able to tackle poverty by themselves and there is help needed by the countries as well for the sake of the community. After all, there can't be an “International Community” without countries participating nowadays. That is where bilateral cooperation steps in on top of donations. Nordic Countries like Denmark, Norway and Sweden regularly donate<sup>126</sup> money and found projects in Africa, in Asia and in the Middle East. Other countries like Japan concentrate more on actions to be taken in the neighboring countries in order to ensure for itself peace and security<sup>127</sup>. This shows that countries no matter what always take into account their personal interests. Still, Japan places

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<sup>124</sup> *UN Economic Governance*. - <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/economicgovernance/index.htm> (15. 4. 2012)

<sup>125</sup> *OECD*. - <http://www.oecd.org/>

<sup>126</sup> See Figure on Net ODA

<sup>127</sup> *Japan's Official Development Assistance Charter*. - Government of Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs Economic Co-operation Bureau. 29 August 2003 <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/reform/revision0308.pdf> (16. 4. 2012)

importance on providing assistance for global development issues accordingly<sup>128</sup> underlining the need of a stronger partnership with all nations.

A stronger partnership is what actually lacks the most within the current forms of the “International Community”; whether it is the UN SC, the North Atlantic Community, the Financial and Economic Institutions or the UN Agencies, there is not a complete nor common will to cooperate and implicate all stakeholders and shareholders on all the issues.

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<sup>128</sup>“In order to invigorate developing countries' trade and investment, as well as people-to-people exchanges, and to support sustainable growth, Japan will place importance on providing assistance for the development of the socioeconomic infrastructure -a key factor for economic activity, and also for policy- making, the development of institutions, and human resource development. This will include (i)cooperation in the field of trade and investment including the appropriate protection of intellectual property rights and standardization, (ii) cooperation in the field of information and communications technology (ICT), (iii)the acceptance of exchange students, and (iv)cooperation for research.”



# Conclusion

After examining under various aspects of International relations the role and the characteristics of what we might consider as the “International Community”, it is still difficult to define precisely the “International Community”. The notion of “International Community” involves multiple aspects for every domain considered. It seems to be a variable-geometry figure that does not always involve the same actors. Therefore, a unique and exact definition of the “International Community” turns out to be difficult to establish because it gets narrower or broader depending on the cases. Nevertheless, considering the current International Relations as well as the past ones, we could define the “International Community” as *a club of the world’s most powerful countries* joining Noam Chomsky’s idea of a technical description of the “United States joined by some allies and clients”<sup>129</sup>

The 193 member states of the General Assembly of the United Nations are politically equal. Still, there is the UN Security Council that has been invested by the UN Charter with the powers of a universal government “competent” to monitor and prevent conflicts, preserve peace and international security. Chapter 7 of the UN charter entrusts the Security Council with the power to decide on sanctions or on appropriate measures to be taken on behalf of the International Community when peace and international security are threatened. Is it possible that five or fifteen countries know and decide what is best for the entire world? There are far more member states and independent states today than back in 1945. Maybe for an “International Community” to be truly involved, there should be a broader consensus. In fact, in some cases that can be argued, the Security Council has symbolized the whole of the International Community for which it decides and takes actions, no matter what the interest or the will of the rest of the other countries might be. The “International Community” can therefore be defined as the UN SC when it comes to international security. Whether it is the war against terror (Afghanistan), the protection of civilians (Libya), the promotion of peace (Côte d’Ivoire), the UN SC represents the “International Community” as it ensures the respect of the UN Charter – the constitution of the “International Community” – through the measures taken when needed. In some other cases (Syria), only a part of the UN SC is

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<sup>129</sup> See Appendix 10

considered as the “International Community”: the North Atlantic Community that is to say mainly the USA, the UK and France.

When it comes to economic related issues, the “International Community” is represented by economic and financial institutions like the IMF and the WB but also the group of the world’s wealthiest nations known as the G8, sometimes extended to the G20. The North Atlantic Community members lead these institutions and groups as of today. They created these structures but more importantly they are the richest countries in the world.

Regarding trade and development, the “International Community” is represented by specialized agencies. The WTO is the man in charge when there are issues related to the exchanges of goods and services. The common enemy is protectionism and barriers and related issues are discussed within the organization that settles disputes between countries. The UN specialized agencies such as the UNHCR, the WHO, UNICEF for instance are the closest thing to an “International Community” when it comes to development and helping the most deprived. Sure there is the ODA and the financial aid provided by the IMF or the WB but none of these actually incorporate a common process towards ending poverty with common means and common values such as solidarity. The specialized agencies may not be an “International Community” semantically wise but they entertain a we-feeling by providing help to all the people in the need and they fit in the universalist view of the “International community”. It’s noteworthy to include NGOs in the mix even if they were not the focus of this paper. The bottom line here is that even though there is a community of donor countries dedicated in helping the poorest countries, there is nothing such as an “International Community” when it comes to assisting and developing the most in need.

The existence of an “International Community”, universalist or particularistic, suppose the existence of **common challenges**, a **common enemy** or a common threat. Such a community is characterized by the outside and inside agents it interacts with. It is a community that have **agreed on common values** and that **acts jointly**. Power money and religion define it too. The North Atlantic Community for instance is rich, powerful and Christian. The USA, the UK and France seem to be a virtual lock for any type of “international community” that can exist. They are involved in the creation of every single global institution that is viewed as a possible representing of the “International Community”. The IMF, the WB, the UN system were all created by these countries, as well as the Internet, which plays a huge role in spreading ideas and opinions in a world that is more and more connected. The term “United Nations” for instance was chosen instead of “Associated

Powers” to designate the group of nations that was about to sign the Atlantic Charter<sup>130</sup>. The point here is to show that the USA, the UK and France have set the rules since the beginning and they lead the way today for all the other countries on the basis of their ideology. This probably would be impossible had the USSR not fallen in 1991. A bipolar world or a multipolar world made of countries equally powerful and influential would probably have never favored the emergence of the current “International Community” existing today.

Paradoxically, the globalization trends that were initiated in the 1990’s and that could have helped the spread of a universalist standard of society actually did not disseminate a lone standard. It has mainly be question of sharing with others but not all becoming totally. It is indeed difficult to imagine a whole world with a single culture – the western culture – a single religion – Catholicism – and common values top to bottom when the disappearing of frontiers have shown us that there are too many cultures, languages, religions and values that differ one from another. Is this why Mr. Hubert Védrine<sup>131</sup> describes the “International Community” as an empty concept, a cover-all type of expression that doesn’t have any particular sense?

In fact, after analysis, we can affirm that the notion of “International Community” is based on the idea of collective issues and actions but also on the power and the wealth of a few nations that dominate the others. Indeed when scholars are asked to give a definition of the “International Community” or express what their vision of the “International Community” is, we get different answers as illustrated by the forum in Foreign Policy entitled: *What is the international community?*<sup>132</sup> Authors like Andy Gowers, Walden Bello, Sadako Ogata, Kofi Annan, Arjun Appadurai, and Noah Chomsky all gave a different definition of the “International Community”. Yet there were still similarities because the “International Community”, despite constantly evolving, is based on a small group of countries – members of the North Atlantic Community – that always represent it somehow on the international scene. “Essentially the United States and Europe”... “Less a community than a club for the world’s wealthiest nations, notably those in North America and Europe”... “The United

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<sup>130</sup> CULL, NICHOLAS: “*Peace: the origins, promotion and fate of the Anglo-American new order during the Second World War*”, In *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Volume 3, Number 1, 1996. Pp.4, 6, 15

“Many of the ideas of the Charter came from an ideology of Anglo-American internationalism that sought British and American cooperation for the cause of international security (...) Roosevelt's attempts to tie Britain to concrete war aims and Churchill's desperation to bind the U.S. to the war effort helped provide motivations for the meeting which produced the Atlantic Charter”

<sup>131</sup> Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs and current Professor at the Institute of Political Sciences in Paris

<sup>132</sup> See Appendix 10

States joined by some allies and clients”<sup>133</sup>... These are the definitions of the “International Community” for our contemporary thinkers.

The reality today is that the “International Community” portrayed in the media is more an ensemble of States that have yet to achieve a real community. That community is one that discriminates smaller and weak countries. When Human rights are not respected in these countries, the “International Community” intervenes and sanctions the nations concerned. Stronger countries like the United States on the other hand remain unpunished (Guantanamo). Electoral Crises in Africa are subject to reactions from the “International Community” (Côte-d’Ivoire) but electoral crises in more developed or strong countries are not (USA, Russia). Treaties and conventions are applied selectively. The nuclear issue for instance is only an issue in certain cases (Iran) when it should actually be a more global issue (USA, Israel, France, UK). Indeed, Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty urges countries to stop building nuclear capacities, to reduce their nuclear arsenal and advocates for a general nuclear disarmament<sup>134</sup>. The “United States of America do not respect the treaty and “use armaments and ammunitions containing depleted uranium”<sup>135</sup>. Between 1990 and 2003, “500.000 children have died in Iraq because of economic sanctions”<sup>136</sup>. In 2005, the UN SC declared the Syrian occupation of Lebanon illegal and Syria had to leave the country but in 2006, the same members of the UN SC were all illegally positioned in Tibet (China), Tchetchenia (Russia), Côte-d’Ivoire (France) and Iraq (USA & UK). Actions were taken in Libya to ensure the resolutions would be respected and in the same time nothing is being done with Israel. Like G. de Lapradelle puts it: “only the governments members of Security Council can appreciate the legality of the actions taken by the Security Council”<sup>137</sup>. This tends to show that there is no control over the UN SC and it reinforces the idea that its members rule over the world in the name of the “International Community” without being accountable for it. Furthermore, the Security Council can seize institutions like the International Criminal Court (ICC) which can be problematic since countries like the United States have not ratified the Roma Convention of 1998 but still they can seize the ICC through the UN SC.

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<sup>133</sup> For all these definitions, see Appendix 2 and for more info see Appendix 10

<sup>134</sup> KOUASSI, KANGA BERTIN: *La Communauté Internationale – De la toute puissance à l’inexistence*. Editions L’Harmattan, 2007. P.72

<sup>135</sup> KOUASSI, KANGA BERTIN: *La Communauté Internationale – De la toute puissance à l’inexistence*. Editions L’Harmattan, 2007. P.74

<sup>136</sup> KOUASSI, KANGA BERTIN: *La Communauté Internationale – De la toute puissance à l’inexistence*. Editions L’Harmattan, 2007. P.75

<sup>137</sup> DE LAPRADELLE, G.: *L’ONU, le droit et la poigne américaine* – Le Monde Diplomatique, Mai 1992.

For a true “International Community” to be possible, the group has to be stronger than its members and not the other way round. Unfortunately, sometimes the USA is so strong compared to the other countries that it tries to represent the “International Community” all by itself<sup>138</sup> through unilateral decisions or actions. In 1989, when Noriega intended to control the Canal of Panama, he was illegally arrested and condemned in the USA for drug trafficking<sup>139</sup>. Cuba has been under sanctions since 1962 despite the UN GA voting for an end of the sanctions simply because the USA and Israel are opposed to that. The same USA that detains 42% of the IMF shares<sup>140</sup>. It is the same country that has invaded Iraq in 2003 despite the warnings of the UN. In 1998, when the USA and the UK attacked that same Iraq, the UN Secretary General declared: “It is a sad day for the United Nations and the world”<sup>141</sup>... apparently not for the “International Community” as if there is no “International Community” without the USA or the UK.

To put it in a nutshell, **there is no single “International Community” but different “International Communities” depending on the context and the issues.** What also transpires in this thesis is that a unique and perennial definition seems hard to come up with as the World is constantly in evolution and there are always going to be new factors influencing both the constitution and the role of the different types of existing “international communities”. Nevertheless, whether we consider the “International Community” as a universalist concept or a particularistic concept, a positive or a negative one, the existence of an International Organization regrouping every country in the world and based on principles of International Law such as the UN actually confirms the probable existence of a possible “International Community” at least semantically wise despite its shortcomings. The UN can be considered as a forum, a place of expression of any possible “International Community” regarding the entire common issues beyond borders that the organization has to deal with. In my opinion, the management and resolution of every crisis conflict or issue worldwide whether it is political, economic, social or environmental by one and only one body will be a

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<sup>138</sup> See appendix 9. The Project for the New American Century published in 1997 is a good illustration of the US point of view and international politics

<sup>139</sup> LAPEZE, J.: *La Croisade de Washington contre le Général Noriega* – Le monde Diplomatique, Avril 1988. P.3

<sup>140</sup> KOUASSI, KANGA BERTIN: *La Communauté Internationale – De la toute puissance à l’inexistence*. Editions L’Harmattan, 2007. P.82

<sup>141</sup> KOUASSI, KANGA BERTIN: *La Communauté Internationale – De la toute puissance à l’inexistence*. Editions L’Harmattan, 2007. P.96

step forward in building a true “International Community” and not just an “International Society”. For that to be possible, the process would have to be the same for all countries. More than the common goals, it is the way nations chose to reach them that will have to be common. There has to be common methods for dealing with common obstacles and fair rules that apply to all. Until further developments then, describing the UN Security Council as the center of actions of the “International Community”, for all the power and influence it has on the rest of the countries, can definitely be considered a good start.

# APPENDICES

**Appendix 1:** “The Meaning of International Community” by Kofi A. Annan

**Appendix 2:** Popular Usages of “International Community” – Extract from Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez paper in *International Affairs* 81 (2005) entitled: “International Community” after Iraq

**Appendix 3:** To go further: extended bibliography of authors dealing with the International System, its organization and its evolution.

**Appendix 4:** List of Foreign Terrorist Organizations by the USA Gov. (as of March 2013) – Source: US Department of State, Bureau of Counterterrorism.  
<http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>

**Appendix 5:** NORMAN, PAUL (Dr.) “*The United Nations and Counter-terrorism After September 11: towards an assessment of the impact and prospects of counter-terror ‘spill-over’ into international criminal justice cooperation*”.  
Paper to British Society of Criminology Conference, 6-9th July 2004 - Abstract

**Appendix 6:** UN Charter – Chapter V on **Security Council**

**Appendix 7:** UN Charter – Chapter VII on **Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression**

**Appendix 8:** UN Charter – Chapter VIII on **Regional Agreements**

**Appendix 9:** Project for the New American Century – Statement of Principles  
<http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm>

**Appendix 10:** “What is the International Community?” – Forum published in *Foreign Policy* 132 (2002). PP. 28-46

This last annex is not included in the body of text due to its length. It can be made available separately if needed.

## **APPENDIX 1: “The meaning of International Community”**

UNIS/SG/2478. 30 December 1999

(United Nations Information Service, Press Release)

### **"The Meaning of International Community"**

**By Kofi A. Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations**

*Address to the United Nations Department of Public Information and NGO's*

Ours is a world in which no individual, and no country, exists in isolation.

All of us live simultaneously in our own communities and in the world at large.

Peoples and cultures are increasingly hybrid. The same icons, whether on a movie screen or a computer screen, are recognizable from Berlin to Bangalore. We are all consumers in the same global economy. We are all influenced by the same tides of political, social and technological change. Pollution, organized crime and the proliferation of deadly weapons likewise show little regard for the niceties of borders; they are "problems without passports", and as such our common enemy. We are connected, wired, and interdependent.

Much of this is nothing new; human beings have interacted across the planet for centuries. But today's "globalization" is different. It is happening more rapidly. It is driven by new engines, such as the Internet. And it is governed by different rules, or, in too many cases, by no rules at all. Globalization is bringing us more choices and new opportunities for prosperity. It is making us more familiar with global diversity. However, millions of people around the world experience globalization not as an agent of progress, but as a disruptive force, almost hurricane-like in its ability to destroy lives, jobs and traditions. For many there is an urge to resist the process and take refuge in the illusory comforts of nationalism, fundamentalism or other "isms".

Faced with the potential good of globalization as well as its risks; faced with the persistence of deadly conflicts in which civilians are the primary targets; faced with the pervasiveness of poverty and injustice; we must be able to identify the areas where collective action is needed



to safeguard global interests. Local communities have their fire departments, municipal services and town councils. Nations have their legislatures and judicial bodies. But in today's globalized world, the institutions and mechanisms available for global action, not to mention our general sense of a shared global fate, are hardly more than embryonic. It is high time we gave more concrete meaning to the idea of the "international community".

What makes a community? What binds it together? For some it is faith. For others it is the defense of an idea, such as democracy. Some communities are homogeneous, others multicultural. Some are as small as schools and villages, others as large as continents. Today, of course, more and more communities are "virtual", discovering and promoting their shared values through the latest communications and information technologies.

What binds us into an international community? In the broadest sense there is a shared vision of a better world for all people, as set out, for example in the founding Charter of the United Nations. There is our sense of common vulnerability in the face of global warming and the threat posed by the spread of weapons of mass destruction. There is the framework of international law, treaties and human rights conventions. There is equally our sense of shared opportunity, which is why we build common markets and joint institutions such as the United Nations. Together, we are stronger.

Some people say the international community is only a fiction. Others say it is too elastic a concept to have any real meaning. Still others say it is a mere vehicle of convenience, to be trotted out only in emergencies or when a scapegoat for inaction is needed. Some say there are no internationally recognized norms, goals or fears on which to base such a community. Op-ed pages refer routinely to the "so-called" international community. And news reports often put the term in quotation marks, as if it does not yet have the solidity of actual fact. I believe these skeptics are wrong. The international community does exist. It has an address. It has achievements to its credit.

When Governments, urged along by civil society, come together to adopt a statute for the creation of an International Criminal Court that is the international community at work for the rule of law. When we see an outpouring of international aid to the victims of earthquakes in Turkey and Greece -- a great deal of it from those having no apparent link with Turkey and Greece except for a sense of common humanity -- that is the international community following its humanitarian impulse. When people come together to press governments to

relieve the world's poorest countries from crushing debt burdens, that is the international community throwing its weight behind the cause of development. When the popular conscience, outraged at the carnage caused by land mines, obliges governments to adopt a Convention banning these deadly weapons, that is the international community at work for collective security.

There are many more examples of the international community at work, from East Timor to Kosovo. At the same time, there are important caveats. Too often the international community fails to do what is needed. It failed to prevent the genocide in Rwanda. For too long it reacted with weakness and hesitation to the horror of "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia. In East Timor, it acted too late to save many hundreds of lives and thousands of homes from wanton destruction. The international community has not done enough to help Africa at a time when Africa needs it most and most stands to benefit. And it allows nearly three billion people -- almost half of all humanity -- to subsist on \$2 or less a day in a world of unprecedented wealth. The international community does not always get together effectively to fulfill a common objective. But it can, and it should.

The international system for much of our century has been based on division and hard calculations of realpolitik. In the new century, we can and must do better. I do not mean to suggest that an era of complete harmony is within our reach. Of course, interests and ideas will always clash. But we can improve on this century's dismal record. The international community is a "work in progress". Many strands of cooperation have asserted themselves over the years. We must now stitch them into a strong fabric of community -- of international community for an international era.

\* \* \* \* \*

**APPENDIX 2: Popular Usages of “International Community”** - Extract from Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez’ “International Community” after Iraq

In *International Affairs* 81 (2005). P.32

These usages range from “universal to particular, from amorphous to concrete, and from positive to negative”

- ‘The community of international opinion generated by modern communications’; ANDREW GOWERS
- ‘Important and valid primarily as a moral concept that in turn can shape institutions and inform policy choices’; J. BRYAN HEHIR
- ‘A shared vision of a better world for all people’ and the expression of that in international law, international institutions, selfless humanitarian acts of disaster relief and peacekeeping, and social movements for bettering the human condition; KOFI ANNAN
- ‘A virtual community ... as a potential source of power, to promote common cause or legitimize common action’; SADAKO OGATA
- ‘Today less a social fact and more a way to remind nation-states of the common humanity of their citizens and of the essential decencies that must guide relations between nations’; ARJUN APPADURAI
- ‘For most of the world ... less a community than a club for the world’s wealthiest nations, notably those in North America and Europe’;
- ‘Essentially, the United States and Europe’; ANDREW GOWERS
- ‘The false community composed of an inchoate global majority and organized ruling elites’—the real global community being the resistance to the excesses of capitalist globalization; WALDEN BELLO
- ‘A dangerous reference point for the naïve ... The concept amounts to a moral hazard, inspiring imprudent behavior by leaders who expect that someone else will pull their fat out of the fire’; RUTH WEDGWOOD
- ‘Regularly used in a technical sense to describe the United States joined by some allies and clients’, on which basis it is ‘a logical impossibility for the United States to defy the international community’ NOAM CHOMSKY

“Several observations can be drawn from this set of understandings. The most basic is the division between those who see the international community as some form of moral collectivity of humankind which exists as an ethical referent even if not organized in any way, and those who see it as some kind of agent possessing the capacity for action. In the first view, echoing natural law, international community is a universalist concept. In the second view it is a particularistic concept, usually referring to the West, or a bit more broadly to the set of liberal democratic states.”

\* \* \* \* \*

### **Appendix 3: Going Further – Extended Bibliography on the International System**

In my opinion, there are a couple of concepts, articles, reviews and books that are worth being read when it comes to the International System. They can prove to be useful in trying to understand International Politics in general. I list them below because I do not refer to them in my work, hence they do not appear in my Bibliography.

BLAIR, TONY. Speech: Doctrine of the International Community, 1999.

BULL, HEDLEY. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.

BULL, HEDLEY AND ADAM WATSON. *The expansion of international society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.

BUZAN, BARRY. *From international to world society?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

BUZAN, BARRY. *The United States and the great powers: world politics in the twenty-first century*. Cambridge: Polity, 2004

CARR, E.H. *Public Opinion as a Safeguard of Peace*. International Affairs, 1936

DUPUY, R.J. *La Communauté internationale entre le mythe et l'histoire*. Unesco, 1986

HOBBS, THOMAS. *Leviathan*, 1651

The Theory of Natural Law exposed by Hobbes, the concept of Perpetual Peace introduced by Kant and the Theory of Just War developed by Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas deserve to be taken into account when doing some research as they provide a better understanding of the International System. For more information on the Just War Theory, see also Francisco Vitoria and Michael Walzer contributions on the matter.

#### **Appendix 4: List of Foreign Terrorist Organizations** (as of March 2013)

Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) are foreign organizations that are designated by the Secretary of State in accordance with section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), as amended. FTO designations play a critical role in our fight against terrorism and are an effective means of curtailing support for terrorist activities and pressuring groups to get out of the terrorism business.

<b>Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations</b>	
<b>Date Designated</b>	<b>Name</b>
10/8/1997	Abu Nidal Organization (ANO)
10/8/1997	Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)
10/8/1997	Aum Shinrikyo (AUM)
10/8/1997	Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA)
10/8/1997	Gama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group) (IG)
10/8/1997	HAMAS
10/8/1997	Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM)
10/8/1997	Hizballah
10/8/1997	Kahane Chai (Kach)
10/8/1997	Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) (Kongra-Gel)
10/8/1997	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)
10/8/1997	National Liberation Army (ELN)
10/8/1997	Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)
10/8/1997	Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)
10/8/1997	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

10/8/1997	PFLP-General Command (PFLP-GC)
10/8/1997	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)
10/8/1997	Revolutionary Organization 17 November (17N)
10/8/1997	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C)
10/8/1997	Shining Path (SL)
10/8/1999	al-Qa'ida (AQ)
9/25/2000	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)
5/16/2001	Real Irish Republican Army (RIRA)
9/10/2001	United Self Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC)
12/26/2001	Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM)
12/26/2001	Lashkar-e Tayyiba (LeT)
3/27/2002	Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (AAMB)
3/27/2002	Asbat al-Ansar (AAA)
3/27/2002	al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)
8/9/2002	Communist Party of the Philippines/New People's Army (CPP/NPA)
10/23/2002	Jemaah Islamiya (JI)
1/30/2003	Lashkar i Jhangvi (LJ)
3/22/2004	Ansar al-Islam (AAI)
7/13/2004	Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA)
12/17/2004	Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG)
12/17/2004	al-Qaida in Iraq (AQI)
6/17/2005	Islamic Jihad Union (IJU)
10/11/2005	Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (GICM)
3/5/2008	Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami/Bangladesh (HUJI-B)
3/18/2008	al-Shabaab
5/18/2009	Revolutionary Struggle (RS)

7/2/2009	Kata'ib Hizballah (KH)
1/19/2010	al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)
8/6/2010	Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami (HUJI)
9/1/2010	Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP)
11/4/2010	Jundallah
5/23/2011	Army of Islam (AOI)
9/19/2011	Indian Mujahedeen (IM)
3/13/2012	Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT)
5/30/2012	Abdallah Azzam Brigades (AAB)
9/19/2012	Haqqani Network (HQN)
3/22/2013	Ansar al-Dine (AAD)

**Delisted Foreign Terrorist Organizations**

<b>Date Removed</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Date Orginally Designated</b>
10/8/1999	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine - Hawatmeh Faction	10/8/1997
10/8/1999	Khmer Rouge	10/8/1997
10/8/1999	Manuel Modriguez Patriotic Front Dissidents	10/8/1997
10/8/2001	Japanese Red Army	10/8/1997
10/8/2001	Tupac Amaru Revolution Movement	10/8/1997
5/18/2009	Revolutionary Nuclei	10/8/1997
10/15/2010	Armed Islamic Group (GIA)	10/8/1997
9/28/2012	Mujahedin-e Khalq Organization (MEK)	10/8/1997

Source: US Department of State, Bureau of Counterterrorism.

<http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm> (Retrieved 3.10.2013)



## **Appendix 5: The United Nations and Counter-terrorism After September 11**

NORMAN, PAUL (Dr.) “*The United Nations and Counter-terrorism After September 11: towards an assessment of the impact and prospects of counter-terror ‘spill-over’ into international criminal justice cooperation*”.

Paper to British Society of Criminology Conference, 6-9th July 2004.  
Center for European Studies University of Portsmouth -  
<http://www.britisoccrim.org/volume7/004.pdf> (3. 5. 2012). Abstract

“ The role of the United Nations (UN) after the attacks of 11 September 2001 in improving the effectiveness and commitment of states to counter- terrorism through the development of domestic legislation, policy and practice. The post- Cold War context provided a facilitative environment for the UN Security Council enabling *ad hoc* or case-by-case responses to acts of terrorism during the 1990s. However (...) the intervention of the Security Council in the aftermath of ‘9/11’ has proved to be a decisive break-point to a comprehensive regime that binds states to international legal norms against acts of terrorism and increases the obligations to undertake ‘executive action’ against all forms of terrorism. Realization is contingent on a substantive improvement to international criminal justice cooperation in general, raising the prospect of ‘spill over’ effects into other areas of criminal police and judicial policy and practice.”

## **Appendix 6: The UN Charter – Chapter V**

*UN Charter*. - <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml> (15. 4. 2012) -

See Chapter V on the Security Council

### **COMPOSITION**

#### **Article 23**

- The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.
- The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members after the increase of the membership of the Security Council from eleven to fifteen, two of the four additional members shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.
- Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

### **FUNCTIONS and POWERS**

#### **Article 24**

- . In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.
- . In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.
- . The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

## Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

## Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

## VOTING

## Article 27

- . Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
- . Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.
- . Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

## PROCEDURE

## Article 28

- . The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.
- . The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.
- . The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

## Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

#### Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

#### Article 31

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

#### Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

## **Appendix 7: The UN Charter – Chapter VII**

*UN Charter*. - <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml> (15. 4. 2012) -

See Chapter VII on Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression

### Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

### Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

### Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

### Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

#### Article 43

- All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.
- Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.
- The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

#### Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfillment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

#### Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

#### Article 48

- The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.
- Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

#### Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

#### Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

#### Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

## **Appendix 8: The UN Charter – Chapter VIII**

*UN Charter*. - <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml> (15. 4. 2012) -

See Chapter VIII on Regional Arrangements

### **Article 52**

- Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.
- The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.
- The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.
- This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

### **Article 53**

- The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.
- The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

### **Article 54**

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.



## **Appendix 9: Project for the New American Century – Statement of Principles**

Source: <http://www.newamericancentury.org/statementofprinciples.htm>

June 3, 1997

American foreign and defense policy is adrift. Conservatives have criticized the incoherent policies of the Clinton Administration. They have also resisted isolationist impulses from within their own ranks. But conservatives have not confidently advanced a strategic vision of America's role in the world. They have not set forth guiding principles for American foreign policy. They have allowed differences over tactics to obscure potential agreement on strategic objectives. And they have not fought for a defense budget that would maintain American security and advance American interests in the new century.

We aim to change this. We aim to make the case and rally support for American global leadership.

As the 20th century draws to a close, the United States stands as the world's preeminent power. Having led the West to victory in the Cold War, America faces an opportunity and a challenge: Does the United States have the vision to build upon the achievements of past decades? Does the United States have the resolve to shape a new century favorable to American principles and interests?

We are in danger of squandering the opportunity and failing the challenge. We are living off the capital -- both the military investments and the foreign policy achievements -- built up by past administrations. Cuts in foreign affairs and defense spending, inattention to the tools of statecraft, and inconstant leadership are making it increasingly difficult to sustain American influence around the world. And the promise of short-term commercial benefits threatens to override strategic considerations. As a consequence, we are jeopardizing the nation's ability to meet present threats and to deal with potentially greater challenges that lie ahead. We seem to have forgotten the essential elements of the Reagan Administration's success: a military that is strong and ready to meet both present and future challenges; a foreign policy that boldly and purposefully promotes American principles abroad; and national leadership that accepts the United States' global responsibilities.

Of course, the United States must be prudent in how it exercises its power. But we cannot safely avoid the responsibilities of global leadership or the costs that are associated with its exercise. America has a vital role in maintaining peace and security in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. If we shirk our responsibilities, we invite challenges to our fundamental interests. The history of the 20th century should have taught us that it is important to shape

circumstances before crises emerge, and to meet threats before they become dire. The history of this century should have taught us to embrace the cause of American leadership.

Our aim is to remind Americans of these lessons and to draw their consequences for today. Here are four consequences:

- we need to increase defense spending significantly if we are to carry out our global responsibilities today and modernize our armed forces for the future;
- we need to strengthen our ties to democratic allies and to challenge regimes hostile to our interests and values;
- we need to promote the cause of political and economic freedom abroad;
- we need to accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and our principles.

Such a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity may not be fashionable today. But it is necessary if the United States is to build on the successes of this past century and to ensure our security and our greatness in the next.

Signed by,

Elliott Abrams, Gary Bauer, William J. Bennett, Jeb Bush, **Dick Cheney**, Eliot A. Cohen, Midge Decter, Paula Dobriansky, Steve Forbes, Aaron Friedberg, Francis Fukuyama, Frank Gaffney, Fred C. Ikle, Donald Kagan, Zalmay Khalilzad, I. Lewis Libby, Norman Podhoretz, Dan Quayle, Peter W. Rodman, Stephen P. Rosen, Henry S. Rowen, **Donald Rumsfeld**, Vin Weber, George Weigel, Paul Wolfowitz

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## **Synopsis**

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## **Abstract**

**The “International Community” is a concept that evolves constantly depending on the issues, the context or the situation it is referred to.**

**Today’s “International Community” is not comparable to what was perceived as the “International Community” in the years that followed the Second World War. It will probably not be comparable to the “International Community” of the future because of the constant changes of our world due to globalization, interests of States and threats on peace and international security such as terrorism and conflicts.**

**When you ask different people a definition of the “International Community”, you get different answers. However, one common reference constantly appears: International Organizations and Institutions and more precisely the United Nations. The United Nations is the largest organization worldwide that deals with global issues (security, environment, development). The operating ways of that structure creates the illusion that an “International Community” as a unitary actor exists. There is currently no such community that could be considered as a unitary actor. The United States of America rule the world and we all belong to an International Society at best. Not a community. Not yet...**



