

Promoting Internationalism

Chapter

13



Figure 13-1 ▲

- Who do you think is responsible for organizing, developing, and promoting international organizations?
- Do you think nations have a responsibility to promote internationalism?
- Do you think individuals have a global responsibility to address international concerns?
- Do you belong to an international organization?

Chapter Issue

To what extent do organizations promote internationalism?

In this chapter you will examine how organizations promote internationalism; why they do so; and the impact they have on communities, peoples, and nations throughout the world. You will be exposed to the range of organizations that work in the international arena and assess their effectiveness and perspectives. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- In what ways can organizations promote internationalism?
- How can the work of organizations affect the global community?

This chapter will also help you develop a foundation for addressing the Main Issue for Part 3 (chapters 11–15): *To what extent should internationalism be pursued?*

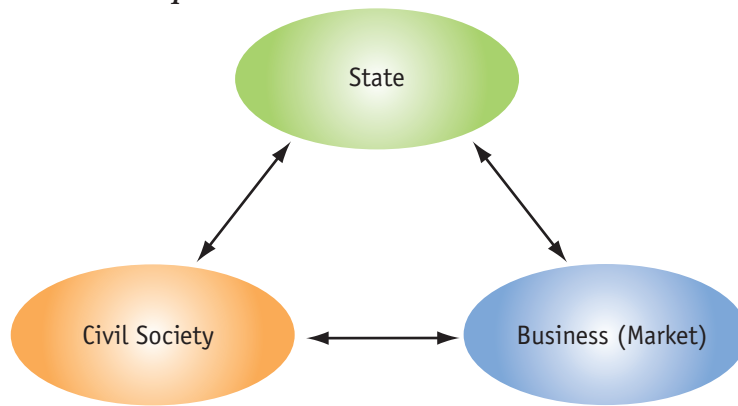


Figure 13-2

These three elements—state, civil society and business—influence our lives on national and international levels. The relationships among these elements need to be balanced so that one does not overpower the others. *Civil society* describes the collective actions of people based on shared interests. When people take collective action, they often choose to form organizations such as community groups, NGOs, trade unions, faith-based organizations, or advocacy groups.

Promoting Internationalism

Question for Inquiry

- In what ways can organizations promote internationalism?

In the previous chapter you looked at the idea that *internationalism* is a process that is generally considered to be *political*. In common use, *political* refers to the affairs and structure of government, but more fundamentally it refers to the social relationships involving authority or power: Who has the power to make decisions? Internationalism, then, can be seen as part of a social relationship involving different groups in the process of making decisions that go beyond the borders of nation-states and affect the relationships between and among countries. This concept of relationships between groups can be referred to as *global civil society*—a society of uncoerced collective action. Citizens, nations, or groups willingly contribute to the betterment of an international community or cause.

Web Link

Visit the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website and follow the links to the website of the World Bank, to learn about some of the ways that the World Bank promotes internationalism by connecting with civil society.

SKILL PATH

Solving a Problem Collaboratively

One question that must be asked about any international organization is: What problem, need, or issue caused this organization to exist? As you will see in this chapter, international organizations generally come into being to address a problem or issue. An organization's mandate may change over time, but there will always be a root problem to address and solutions to find, promote, and implement.

Your task in this Skill Path is to emulate the collaborative decision-making and problem-solving methods of these organizations. When you are presented with a problem, how do you work with others to solve it? Why would you choose to work with others? What kinds of solutions can you, as groups, identify? Developing this kind of thinking process will help you evaluate the Chapter Issue: **To what extent do organizations promote internationalism?**

Step 1 Identify the Problem

1 When you are presented with a problem or issue, write a clear description of it. Even if the issue seems impossible to solve, accept the challenge. Global warming and world poverty are problems that you know you cannot solve alone, but you might be able to make an impact by working with others. Even a small solution can have far-ranging impacts.

Step 2 Gather a Group Together

2 Any issue can be better addressed if there are many minds working together. The group you put together is more likely to be able to consider a range of responses to a problem if the participants are diverse in their backgrounds and perspectives. Do not look for individuals who think like you—seek those who see things differently than you. In this way, your solutions will have the potential to take into consideration a wider range of options and perspectives on the issue.

Step 3 Consider and Develop Your Skills

- 3**
- Develop effective listening skills. Learn to listen to others' comments without actively trying to develop an immediate response or argument. Absorb the intent of the comments, then evaluate them according to your ideas related to the issue.
 - Develop critical thinking skills. Consider all aspects of the issue or problem. Learn first to dig deeply into the source of the problem and analyze and evaluate options before trying to develop solutions.
 - Develop effective communication skills. Consider the possible ways to communicate your thoughts to the rest of your group in an effective manner. After you have considered the options, listened to other ideas, and employed critical and creative thinking skills to develop your ideas, present them in a way that both clearly communicates your meaning and allows your group members the opportunity to reflect on your thoughts and develop their own ideas.
 - Combine your thoughts. Make sure that whatever solution you come up with can fit with as many of the perspectives within the group as possible. This is a powerful skill. Generating group ideas usually considers a wider range of perspectives than any single thought process.

Step 4 Present Your Findings

4 You and your group must articulate the essence of your solutions in an informative and convincing manner. Other people should be able to understand your group's approach and proposal for addressing the issue, and should be able to assess your group's plan in the context of their understandings of the problem. Frame your findings to address potential solutions, and ask your audience to consider the effectiveness of your approach to solving the problem.

It is important to develop effective presentation skills. What media will you use? Will there be a range of approaches to communicate your ideas, for example, print, video, sound, colour, and art?

Practise It!

Identify and select an international issue or problem from the websites linked through the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website. Then, as a group, develop an analysis of the issue and potential solutions. Create a

plan to effectively communicate your ideas. Demonstrate your solution to the problem by creating a poster, a skit, a blog, or a digital slide show presentation.

What are International Organizations?

Nation-states are often preoccupied with issues that concern their nation, and generally act in their national interests. And as a result, they often enter into international agreements and act accordingly on the international stage.

Organizations that transcend international boundaries can empower and broaden the perspectives of people within numerous countries. These organizations play a significant role in creating a *global civil society*. A diverse array of perspectives and information allows people to make more informed choices and participate more effectively in a democracy, and can thereby hold business and government accountable. The main actors in global civil society are organizations.

Organizations come in many forms, have many different goals, and use many different names, so it is important to clarify different *types* of organizations. Generally, there are two kinds of international organizations:

- intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)
- international non-governmental organizations (INGOs)

There are thousands of IGOs, but the best known is the United Nations, which consists of over 190 nations whose representatives meet regularly to discuss and deal with global issues. IGOs are set up by formal agreements among nations, and they represent individual nations' interests and the collective interests of all nations. Often, as in the case of the UN, nations feel it is in their own best interests to co-operate and contribute to the interests of all nations. All nations benefit, for example, when they help avoid a war in a region or when a pandemic is contained through international co-operation.

INGOs are not established by governments but are set up by individuals and groups. Many international non-governmental organizations share similar qualities. They are

- non-profit (while they need money, their job is not to make money)

Fast Facts

There are nearly 30 000 INGOs. These organizations can be grouped into various categories according to their goals, such as humanitarian relief, peace and disarmament, human rights, development, or issues related to the environment.

- non-religious (while they may have a religious base, their activities are secular)
- pacifist (their concern is to try to have nations confront issues in a non-military fashion)

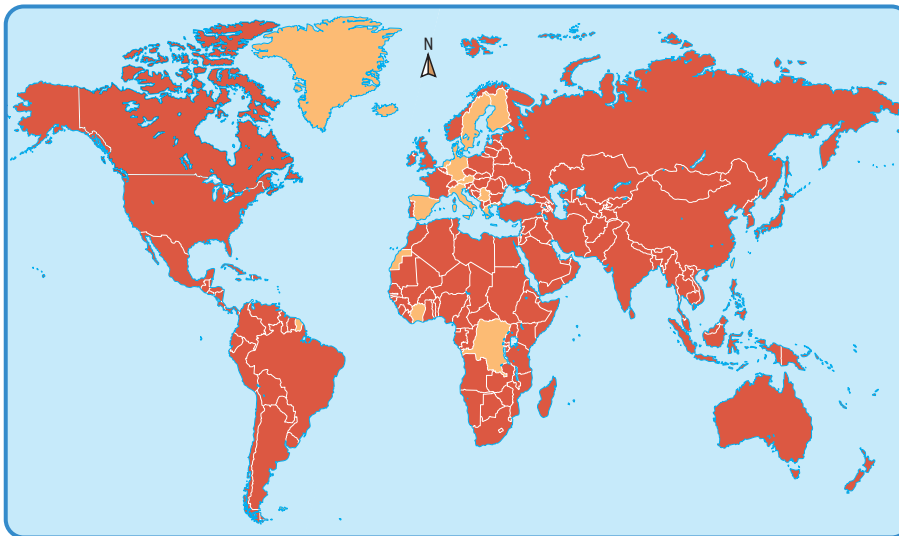
Major INGOs include Oxfam International, World Vision International, and CARE International. INGOs tend to have missions and are clearly limited to solving a specific problem. They are designed for a clear purpose. They generally consist of voluntary members with demographic qualities that span gender, nationality, religion, and class.

Fast Facts

The Canadian Red Cross is Canada's member of the ICRC. The ICRC is part of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, which is the world's largest humanitarian network.

Figure 13-3

In 2006, the ICRC fed more than 2.5 million people, provided emergency supplies for more than 4 million people, and provided water, sanitation, and construction projects for more than 16 million people worldwide.²



Promoting Liberal Internationalism

In previous chapters you saw that *liberal internationalism* has the optimistic belief that greater interaction and co-operation between societies and people will result in a better world. Typically, liberal internationalist organizations promote peace and prosperity through humanitarian actions. These organizations can be IGOs or INGOs.

One INGO that seeks to make the world a better place through humanitarian action is the Red Cross. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is a humanitarian-focused INGO that has been in existence for over 140 years. The mission of the ICRC is “to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war and internal violence and to provide them with assistance.” In addition, it seeks to “prevent suffering by promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and

universal humanitarian principles.”¹ The ICRC states that it is a neutral and impartial organization that receives the great majority of its funding from donations. How do the qualities of the ICRC relate to the qualities of INGOs described earlier? How do these qualities make the ICRC an organization that can effectively promote internationalism?

1 International Committee of the Red Cross, “The Mission.” <http://www.icrc.org/HOME.NSF/060a34982cae624ec12566fe00326312/125ffe2d4c7f68acc1256ae300394f6e?OpenDocument>.

2 International Committee of the Red Cross, “Discover the ICRC.” http://www.icrc.org/web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/section_discover_the_icrc?OpenDocument.

The Arctic Council is an IGO that illustrates the way these organizations combine the authority of governments to address the specific concerns of a group of people. The Council is made up of nation-states whose borders extend past the Arctic Circle. Member states include Canada, Russia, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and the United States. The Arctic Council also includes Indigenous peoples from these countries as *permanent participants*. These include the Inuit, Saami, Aleut Gwich'in, and the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples. These *permanent participant* organizations are INGOs.

Ideas and Opinions

“ In an Arctic setting, the key issues are: sustainable use of resources, climate change and environmental protection. It all amounts to securing safe and healthy living conditions for people in the region—not least by taking seriously the rights and needs of the Indigenous peoples.

*The significance of the Arctic is on the rise—from so many perspectives—regionally and globally. For the last ten years we have made the Arctic Council a setting for managing important parts of our cooperation. This Council is today the key institution for dealing with Arctic issues.*³ ”

— Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Jonas Gahr Støre,
speech at the Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting, 26 October 2006.

How might the Arctic Council be more effective as a collective organization than if each government looked after its own interests? Do the concerns the Arctic Council seeks to address affect all the people in the member countries or just a select group?

³ From: www.dep.no/ud/english/news/speeches/minister_a/032191-090037/dok-bn.html.

Fast Facts

As an IGO, the Arctic Council seeks to address issues that are international in scope, such as global warming. A recent report notes that in Alaska, western Canada, and eastern Russia, average temperatures have increased by as much as 3 to 4 degrees Celsius in the past 50 years. The rise is nearly twice the global average. Since 1978, the area of the Arctic Sea covered by ice has shrunk by 9 per cent per decade. In addition, permafrost is thawing, which causes major problems for roads and other structures, as the ground they are built on is no longer stable. Some communities have even had to move from their traditional coastal locations. How can IGOs contribute to a solution, or is this a problem that individual governments should solve?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

In Canada, the Arctic Council has a great impact on Canada's foreign policy regarding the North. Should governments address issues such as global warming by co-operating internationally, even if such co-operation may not serve perceived national interests?

The Arctic Council was created when the member nations met to develop an Arctic environmental protection strategy. Several years after this agreement, the nations decided to create the Council to promote co-operation and to coordinate interaction between Arctic nation-states on common issues. This is accomplished through

- maintaining a current knowledge base
- establishing standards and guidelines to be used by member nations
- promoting regional economic development

To accomplish their goals and address common issues, the Arctic Council

- meets regularly
- has working groups
- establishes programs and action plans
- passes resolutions

Often, INGOs do not have the same financial resources that come with being an IGO, but they can establish *declarations*, or sets of principles, to guide the actions of governments and nation-based organizations. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP)—a group that has consultative status with the United Nations—is one example of an INGO that has established these types of guiding principles.

In 1985, the WCIP released its Declaration of Principles, which outlines the rights of Indigenous peoples. This document was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Why is it important for the WCIP to work with the United Nations? Would it have more or less power if it did its work apart from the United Nations?

Liberal internationalism is promoted through many different organizations. How do the strategies used by these organizations help them accomplish their goals? Are any strategies more effective than others? Which type of organization do you think is best able to promote liberal internationalism—INGOs, IGOs, or a combination of both?

The United Nations

Something to Think About: As there is no world government that can pass laws, how can global issues be addressed through IGOs?

An Example: The United Nations—the closest thing there is to a world government—has established a variety of mechanisms to address global concerns. An overview of the organization provided by the United Nations notes that:

The United Nations was established on 24 October 1945 by 51 countries committed to preserving peace through international cooperation and collective security. Today, nearly every nation in the world belongs to the UN: membership totals 192 countries.

When States become Members of the United Nations, they agree to accept the obligations of the UN Charter, an international treaty that sets out basic principles of international relations. According to the Charter, the UN has four purposes: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations

At the UN, all the Member States—large and small, rich and poor, with differing political views and social systems—have a voice and a vote in this process.⁴

Regarding the UN's Millennium Development Goals, the UN's website says the following:

The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)—which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015—form a blueprint agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest.

"We will have time to reach the Millennium Development Goals—worldwide and in most, or even all, individual countries—but only if we break with business as usual. We cannot win overnight. Success will require sustained action across the entire decade between now and the deadline. It takes time to train the teachers, nurses and engineers; to build the roads, schools and hospitals; to grow the small and large businesses able to create the jobs and income needed. So we must start now. And we must more than double global development assistance over the next few years. Nothing less will help to achieve the Goals."⁵

—United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan

4 United Nations, "Chapter 1: How the UN Works," *UN in Brief*. http://www.un.org/Overview/uninbrief/chapter1_intro.html.

5 United Nations, "UN Millennium Development Goals," 2005. http://www.un.org/Overview/uninbrief/chapter1_intro.html.

INVESTIGATION



Figure 13-4 ▲
UN Security Council

- 1 Visit the page on the UN's website, through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website, that lists ways the UN is working to make the world a better place. What role do you think the UN has in a rapidly globalizing world? What factors might stand in the way of an effective role for the UN? How might the effectiveness of the UN be increased? Should it be increased?
- 2 Can IGOs like the UN really give all members a voice in internationalism?
- 3 How realistic do you think a declaration of "Millennium Development Goals" is in solving global issues?

Promoting Hegemonic and Anti-Hegemonic Internationalism

Some global organizations can be seen to promote internationalism that can best be described as *hegemonic*.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) deals with the rules of trade between nations. The WTO's stated goal is "to improve the welfare of the peoples of its member countries", specifically by lowering trade barriers and providing a platform for negotiation of trade.⁶ To accomplish this, it tries to ensure that foreign markets are easily accessible to all businesses. This is an aspect of promoting free trade.

Made up of 150 members, the WTO seeks to lower trade barriers by negotiating and signing agreements between the member nations. These agreements grant member countries certain trade rights and require governments to restrict protectionist trade policies for the benefit of all members. The WTO works to establish legal ground rules for international trade and commerce.

Many of the WTO's agreements address


- tariffs
- subsidies
- competition policies
- investment rules

What makes the WTO hegemonic? What policy does it assume to be the right one—the best one for all nations? Do you agree with its belief that freer trade is the way things *ought* to be? Look back to the Investigation on the United Nations. What is the WTO able to do that the UN cannot do? How does this help it promote internationalism?

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is a second example of a hegemonic organization that promotes a type of internationalism. On its website, the IMF states that it

provides advice to its 184 member countries, encouraging them to adopt policies that foster economic stability, reduce their vulnerability to economic and financial crises, and raise living standards, and serves as a forum where they can discuss the national, regional, and global consequences of their policies.

and that



Visit the WTO's website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website. The WTO's website provides information on the ten benefits of the WTO trading system, and lists ten common misunderstandings regarding the WTO. Before you make your decision about whether or not the organization is hegemonic, you likely need more information. The website provides a good starting point, but be sure to read it with the understanding that it presents the WTO's position.

⁶ From: World Trade Organization, "The WTO in Brief", http://www.wto.int/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/inbrief_e/inbr00_e.htm

The IMF's primary purpose is to ensure the stability of the international monetary system—the system of exchange rates and international payments that enables countries (and their citizens) to buy goods and services from each other. This is essential for sustainable economic growth and rising living standards.⁷

The IMF arranges for loans to countries. When countries have difficulty paying these loans back, the IMF can impose conditions that, in many cases, create great hardships for citizens. What makes this hegemonic is that the changes generally reflect a particular way of dealing with problems. Usually, they require countries to privatize companies, eliminate government services, and adopt changes to make their countries more market-economy based. Who benefits from these policies? Who is hurt by these policies? Are the answers to these questions different if we consider the long-term effects or the short-term effects of these policies? The IMF has both critics and supporters.

Critics of the World Bank and the IMF are concerned about the [conditions] imposed on borrower countries. The World Bank and the IMF often attach loan [conditions] based on what is termed the 'Washington Consensus', focusing on liberalization—of trade, ... deregulation and privatization of nationalized industries. Often the [conditions] are attached without due regard for the borrower countries' individual circumstances and the ... recommendations ... fail to resolve the economic problems within the countries.

IMF [conditions] may additionally result in the loss of a state's authority to govern its own economy ... Issues of representation are raised as a consequence of the shift in the regulation of national economies from state governments to a Washington-based financial institution in which most developing countries hold little voting power.⁸

The WTO and the IMF can be seen as organizations that promote hegemonic internationalism, but there are also organizations that seek to limit the hegemony of such organizations or at least try to influence their policies. How do you think one could counter the hegemony of such large and powerful organizations?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

The WTO and the IMF see themselves as positive forces in making the world a better place. Who would disagree with this view?

Fast Facts

Many developing countries borrow money, which can create crippling debts. Debts—whether created by prior rulers and dictators, the legacy of colonialism, or mismanagement—force millions of people to live with poorer and poorer living standards. In fact, the developing world spends \$13 on debt repayment for every \$1 it receives in humanitarian and other grants. In the 60 poorest countries, \$550 billion has been paid over the last three decades on principal and interest, on \$540 billion in loans. However, there remains a \$523 billion debt burden. INGOs and IGOs have successfully urged many developed countries to take the first steps to eliminate the debt of the most heavily indebted countries.⁹

⁷ International Monetary Fund, "What Is the IMF?" 30 September 2006. <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/exrp/what.htm>.

⁸ From Bretton Woods Project, "What are the main concerns and criticism about the World Bank and IMF?", <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/item.shtml?x=320869>

⁹ From: <http://www.globalissues.org/TradeRelated/Debt.asp>.



The International Monetary Fund

Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel Prize winning economist and Columbia University professor, was Senior Vice-President and Chief Economist with the World Bank from 1997 to 2000. Stiglitz has openly criticized the effectiveness of the International Monetary Fund.

It is clear that the IMF has failed in its mission. Many of the policies that the IMF pushed have contributed to global instability.¹⁰

In an article in *The New Republic* in April 2000, he stated:

Next week's meeting of the International Monetary Fund will bring to Washington, D.C., many of the same demonstrators who trashed the World Trade Organization in Seattle last fall. They'll say the IMF is arrogant. They'll say the IMF doesn't really listen to the developing countries it is supposed to help. They'll say the IMF is secretive and insulated from democratic accountability. They'll say the IMF's economic 'remedies' often make things worse—turning slowdowns into recessions and recessions into depressions.

And they'll have a point. I was chief economist at the World Bank from 1996 until last November, during the gravest global economic crisis in a half-century. I saw how the IMF, in tandem with the U.S. Treasury Department, responded. And I was appalled.¹¹

Secretary of the US Treasury Larry Summers—accused by Stiglitz of creating the problem—disagrees, and notes the important role the IMF has played in the global economy:

Without the IMF, even countries committed to reform might face default, which could have a devastating effect on their own economies and raise the risks of contagion in other markets.

We cannot know what would have happened in Asia without the IMF. We cannot know what will happen in Asia in the months ahead. But we do know what happened in Europe in the early 1930s, when there was no IMF and no US leadership. Devaluation, deflation, contraction and widespread depression prepared the ground for the greatest conflict the world has ever seen ...

If we are to keep up with the pace of change in the new global economy, we must update and improve the IMF—just as we must work to improve the entire international financial architecture of which the IMF is a part ... But not to support the IMF at this critical time would be like cancelling one's life insurance when one has just gone down sick. This is not a risk we should take.¹²

- 1 Should hegemonic organizations like the WTO and the IMF be motivated by humanitarian interests as well as economic interests?
- 2 Should countries like Canada use their influence to help the IMF and the WTO make the world a better place?
- 3 Do these organizations have a legitimate role in promoting internationalism?

¹⁰ Joseph E. Stiglitz, quoted in Michael J. Mandel, "Where Global Markets are Going Wrong," *Business Week*, 17 June 2002. http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/02_24/b3787025.htm.

¹¹ Joseph Stiglitz, "What I Learned at the World Economic Crisis," *The New Republic*, 17 April 2000. <http://www.mindfully.org/WTO/Joseph-Stiglitz-IMF17apr00.htm>.

¹² Larry Summers, "Defending the IMF," *Prospect* 29, April 1998. http://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/article_details.php?id=4197.

Some organizations seek to counter hegemonic internationalism by encouraging people in their country to take action. One such group is the Council of Canadians, a financially independent organization:

*We work to protect Canadian independence by promoting progressive policies on fair trade, clean water, energy security, public health care, and other issues of social and economic concern to Canadians.*¹³

Ideas and Opinions

“ The protests of the WTO ministerial conference in Seattle in November 1999 showed the world that many people were unhappy with the WTO’s promotion of free trade and believed that the organization was only concerned with the best interests of its members.

*An American city [Seattle]—and one which prides itself on its liberal lifestyle—is under a state of ‘civil emergency,’ with a night curfew in the downtown area around the Convention Centre where the WTO delegates meet.*¹⁴ ”

—Paul Reynolds, “Eyewitness: The Battle of Seattle,”
BBC News, 2 December 1999.

“ The people won the Battle of Seattle the way revolutionaries have always won when they dared to challenge arrogant power: They showed up in the tens of thousands, they knew what they were there for, and they stood their ground in the rain against the tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets, concussion grenades and billy clubs of the Seattle police. The people kept the World Trade Organization delegates and their corporate sponsors from getting to the convention center. They delayed the opening of the ministerial session for at least one day, handing a colossal embarrassment to the lords of free trade.”¹⁵ ”

—Jim Cullen, “The Shot Heard ‘Round the World,”
The Progressive Populist 6, no. 1 (1–15 January 2000).

“ ‘This is what democracy looks like,’ chanted protesters as they confronted armies of police firing tear gas canisters and plastic bullets.
‘Shame, shame, shame on you,’ chanted the protesters beyond the lines of Darth Vader-style police, the armoured cars, the horsemen, the National Guard and the dogs. The tear gas was heavy on the air, the police were now firing plastic bullets into the weeping crowd and the Ministerial Round of the Seattle world trade talks was in crisis.”¹⁶ ”

—John Vidal, “Real Battle for Seattle,” *The Observer*, 5 December 1999.

13 From: <http://www.canadians.org/about/index.html>.

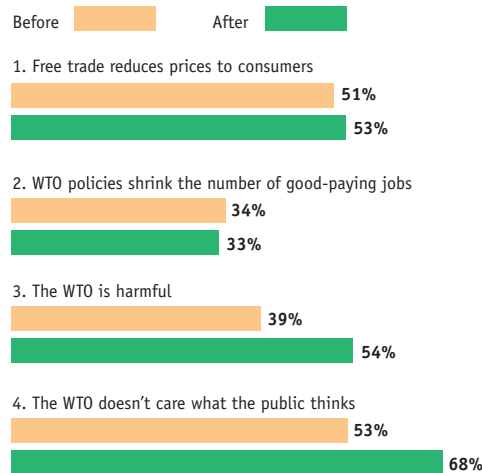
14 From: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/547581.stm>.

15 From: <http://www.populist.com/00.1.edit.html>.

16 From: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/1999/dec/05/wto.globalisation>.

Before and after the WTO

What Seattle thinks:



Answers have a margin of error of plus or minus 5%

Figure 13-5 ▲

Conflict over the Seattle meetings of the WTO suggests differences in perspectives regarding internationalism. What are these perspectives? What different values and beliefs are involved? Which perspective most reflects your own values and beliefs?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Based on what you have read about INGOs and IGOs, to what extent do you think organizations promote internationalism?

Ideas and Opinions

“For most people in the world, the Seattle protests—and, even more, the unleashing of forces of repression which broadcasted an image of “fortress America”—demonstrated what had perhaps been long-forgotten: that there are forces of resistance and international solidarity in the United States. The protests exposed as a lie the carefully cultivated, widely projected image of the United States as a hegemonic power lacking internal social contradictions. Hope suddenly dawned of a new internationalism—the struggle for an alternative future—emerging along with the new millennium.”¹⁷

—The Editors, “Toward a New Internationalism,”
Monthly Review 52, no. 3, July–August 2000.

This quotation again raises the question: In whose interest is internationalism pursued? If there were agreement on this question, would the Seattle protests have occurred? If democracy means “having your say but not necessarily your way,” why do people resort to violence to have their say? What does this say about hegemonic power?

What beliefs and values motivate organizations that try to reduce the hegemonic power of groups like the WTO and the IMF? How might their vision of internationalism differ from that of the hegemonic internationalists?

In 2001, student organizations across central and eastern Canada arranged for buses to take thousands of students to Québec City to protest a meeting to establish the Free Trade of the Americas Agreement (FTAA). That same year, tens of thousands of individuals and organizations protested at the meeting of the G8 nations in Genoa, Italy. One protester was killed. These protests were organized by many organizations that try to counter hegemonic internationalism. Some of the organizations that have been actively protesting are the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), a pro-labour organization; the Peoples' Global Action (PGA), an organization that seeks to coordinate the actions of a variety of social movements; environmental groups; feminist organizations; and many others. Besides protests, there is an annual World Social Forum to coordinate international campaigns, share and refine organizing strategies, and promote education on international issues.

¹⁷ From: <http://www.monthlyreview.org/700editr.htm>.

Promoting Revolutionary Internationalism

The word *revolution* usually suggests a radical turnaround, often a violent one. Under what conditions is revolution acceptable in the world today? If people live under an unresponsive government that does not protect them or respect their rights, do they have the right to revolt? If people in foreign countries disagree with the way a group of people in another country are governed, do they have the right to encourage or support a revolution in that country? Is this a legitimate obligation of internationalism and the concept of *global civil society*?

The *Orange Revolution* was a series of events using civil disobedience, general strikes, and protests in Ukraine during 2004 and 2005. The Orange Revolution began after a presidential election where there were accusations of massive corruption, voter fraud, and intimidation. A re-election, monitored by foreign observers, saw the election of Viktor Yushchenko. Various outside organizations, including both INGOs and IGOs such as US AID, National Democratic Institute, Freedom House, Open Society Institute, and the National Endowment for Democracy, played a role in supporting the revolution.

Other revolutions supported by international organizations include

- The Rose Revolution, in Georgia
- The Blue Revolution, in Kuwait
- The Purple Revolution, in Iraq
- The Bulldozer Revolution, in Serbia
- The Cedar Revolution, in Lebanon

Should INGOs and IGOs interfere in the political affairs of another country? What determines if one form of interference in the affairs of a country is seen as acceptable, while another form of interference is seen as unacceptable?

Web Link

Visit the World Social Forum's website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website. Investigate this site to see one way that organizations can promote an alternative internationalism.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Is the 21st century's "war on terror" an example of an international effort directed against organizations that seek revolution through violence? What does the expression, "One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter" mean?

Ideas and Opinions

“The Orange Revolution was a very important moment in the history of Ukraine and can be seen as a first step in the democratization process. At the same time the Orange Revolution is just a starting point. Internally as well as in foreign relations challenges lay ahead.”¹⁸

—“Report Conference ‘Ukraine after the Orange Revolution,’”
Venue: Kiev, 18–19 June 2005.

“Viktor Yushchenko . . . has given himself a new chance to end his country’s political turmoil. It could be his last opportunity to deal with the uncertainty which has dogged Ukraine since he was swept to power in the Orange Revolution nine months ago. If he now fails to take charge of Ukraine’s political stage, the revolution could run out of steam amid bitter recriminations. The next weeks will show whether Mr. Yushchenko can salvage hopes of stabilising democracy, promoting development and opening Ukraine more to the west.”¹⁹

—Tom Warner and Stefan Wagstyl, “Orange Revolution’s Bitter Aftertaste Worries Business,”
FT.com, 13 September 2005.

After reading the comments above, do you think the involvement of INGOs and NGOs was worth the effort? If their goal was the birth of democracy, do these organizations have a further responsibility to help the fledgling democracy grow? If these organizations cannot do that, then should they have interfered in the first place?

Explore the Issues

- 1 Investigate the current state of affairs in Ukraine. What developments have occurred since the Orange Revolution? Create a newspaper article that includes the 5 Ws to show how the birth of democracy, brought about by international intervention, has fared.
- 2 Develop criteria for what you consider to be acceptable revolutionary activities. Visit the Center for Defense Information’s (CDI) website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website, and determine if any of the groups the CDI has labelled *international terrorist organizations* might be considered legitimate revolutionary groups. Select one organization that you think legitimately promotes revolutionary internationalism and research it in greater detail. In paragraph form, develop a defence or a condemnation of this organization.
- 3 Suppose a nation were facing an economic crisis that resulted from a civil war that destroyed much of the food production capabilities as well as the factories that produced goods for trade. To solve part of the problem, the government created new factories that provided jobs for thousands. However, the country still faces poverty, food shortages, shortages of medicine, and needs to borrow money to pay workers. In a small group, and using the examples of INGOs and IGOs discussed in this chapter, make suggestions about who should help this country in the short and long term. As well, discuss the possible positive and negative consequences of involving these organizations. Present your ideas to the class.

¹⁸ From: <http://www.europeanforum.net/report/5>.

¹⁹ From: <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/8cd3da36-2493-11da-a5d0-00000e2511c8.html>.

Affecting the Global Community

Question for Inquiry

- How can the work of organizations affect the global community?

Have you ever wondered what happens to the financial support you have given to a cause? Do you know how much of your contribution actually goes to help others by developing some necessary cure or providing sustenance to a poverty-stricken village? It might surprise you to find out that, sometimes, virtually all of your donation goes to that support, while at other times virtually none of it does. How do we know, then, when we are making a difference?

Have you ever considered the inadvertent effects of actions? Perhaps you buy the last carton of milk in a store and the next family goes without. Perhaps your donation to fund a cure for cancer causes a scientist to win a Nobel Prize. Perhaps your efforts to feed a village help to stop a war. We can never fully discern what the effects of our actions will be. The same happens when nations try to make a difference. Global organizations are designed to act within the global village and try to make a difference. What we can never predict, though, is how those actions will play out. How do INGOs and IGOs affect the global community?

The European Union (EU)

In May 1950, French Foreign Minister Robert Schumann proposed that European countries share resources in a bid to eliminate friction and build co-operative and peaceful relationships in Europe. In his declaration, he stated:

World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it.

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations ...

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity. The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries ...

Fast Facts

Most reputable organizations report the breakdown of administrative costs and what percentage is received by recipients in need.



Figure 13-6 ▲

Robert Schumann (1866–1963), called the *Father of Europe*, was born in Luxembourg and raised as a German. Following the First World War, he became a citizen of France, and later fought with the French resistance in the Second World War. Despite spending time as a prisoner of the Nazis, he never lost his desire to see a peaceful union of Europe’s two giants, France and Germany. He believed that a small start—an economic treaty based on uniting the coal and steel industries of the two nations—would lead to an eventual union of all of Europe. His overall plan was designed to create peace and prosperity for Europe and the world. This initial step provided the basis for the eventual formation of the European Union, one of the world’s most powerful trading blocs.

*[The French Government] proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.*²⁰

Sometimes, international organizations evolve to suit their own needs. The European Union (EU) has evolved over a number of years in an effort to achieve a range of objectives. After the tragedy of the Second World War, nations in Europe sought to find a way to prevent a future European war, build an economic structure that would aid in the reconstruction of the continent, and bring formerly opposing sides together.

By 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was a reality. In it, six European nations—including France and West Germany—pooled their coal and steel resources and began the process of uniting Europe. Robert Schumann believed that, since coal and steel were the backbone of military arms development, if the two strongest nations on the continent were forced to work together they could not fall into a war. Since the establishment of the ECSC, Europe has not seen a continental war, something that had occurred frequently in the 100 years prior to 1951.

Over time, the success of the ECSC led to the creation of other organizations. By 1957, the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community were established. This was followed by the 1967 creation of the European Community, which led to the strengthening of the common market among the member nations. A European parliament was established in 1952, marking the beginning of a common government. New nations joined the community and initiated greater co-operation in foreign and defence policy. Judicial and internal affairs were combined, and a stronger economic and monetary union evolved, including the issue of a common currency, the Euro. By 2008, the EU consisted of 27 nations, each of which has relinquished aspects of its individual sovereignty to reap the benefits of membership in this organization. Now, as a single economic force, the EU can negotiate with other parts of the world from a position of strength.

What might the impacts of the EU be for the rest of the world? Does the EU’s promotion of internationalism make sense? To what extent should nations be encouraged to give up aspects of their individual sovereignty to create a more stable international community? What are some of the drawbacks for a nation in giving up some aspects of its sovereignty?

²⁰ “The Schumanplan Declaration,” EU History: History of European Integration Site. <http://www.eu-history.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?c=29>.

The EU functions as a supranational entity, and it is actively involved in international issues. The number of treaties and agreements the EU has entered into have major effects beyond the borders of Europe.

*The EU's development assistance program is the third largest in the world. Taking into account its member states' bilateral aid programs, Europe is by far the world's largest aid provider. Moreover, the EU is a key trading partner to the developing world, and has deep historical, political, and economic ties with many developing countries, especially its immediate neighbors to the south and east.*²¹

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is an organization that finances projects in most sectors, including agribusiness, energy efficiency, financial institutions, manufacturing, municipal and environmental infrastructure, natural resources, power and energy, property and tourism, telecommunications, information technology and media, and transport.²²

The EU acts in many ways like a united sovereign nation and, in time, may well become one. Its impact on the world can be seen in the good works it does through international agencies. Internally, it has the task of finding ways to generate levels of equality—economic, educational, and political—among its member nations.

With a range of industrial capacities and a need to lead the world in terms of global warming initiatives, the European Union's leadership in the Kyoto Protocol is critical:

The 27-nation EU set unilateral goals for raising the share of renewable energies, such as hydro or wind power, to 20 per cent of energy use by 2020 from below 7 now. The deal came in exchange for flexibility on national contributions.

Leaders at a Brussels summit also agreed to slash greenhouse gas emissions, mainly from burning fossil fuels, to 20 per cent below 1990 levels by 2020, or 30 per cent if other developed nations follow suit.

"The decision re-establishes Europe's legitimacy and credibility to play a key role facilitating and catalyzing a global agreement on climate change," Achim Steiner, head of the UN Environment Program, told Reuters.

*"It shifts the focus onto the G8 summit and to some extent the United States."*²³



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Have the US and Canada helped or hampered progress on slashing greenhouse gas emissions?

21 The World Bank and the European Union, "Our Mission," 2008. <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/PARTNERS/WBEU/0,,contentMDK:20188287~menuPK:64136918~pagePK:64137114~piPK:64136911~theSitePK:380823,00.html>.

22 From: <http://www.ebrd.com/projects/psd/psd2007/index.htm>.

23 Reuters, "EU Climate Pact Puts Pressure on US, China," *Thanh Nien News*, 10 March 2007. <http://www.thanhniennews.com/worlds/?catid=9&newsid=25927>.

International Organization of La Francophonie (OIF)

La Francophonie “is a cultural and linguistic community of more than 175 million people who use French to varying degrees in their daily lives”.²⁴ As of 2007, La Francophonie has 55 member states in its organization, including Canada, Québec, and New Brunswick. French is one of Canada’s two official languages, and it is the official language of Québec and one of the official languages of New Brunswick. Other members of La Francophonie are located around the world.

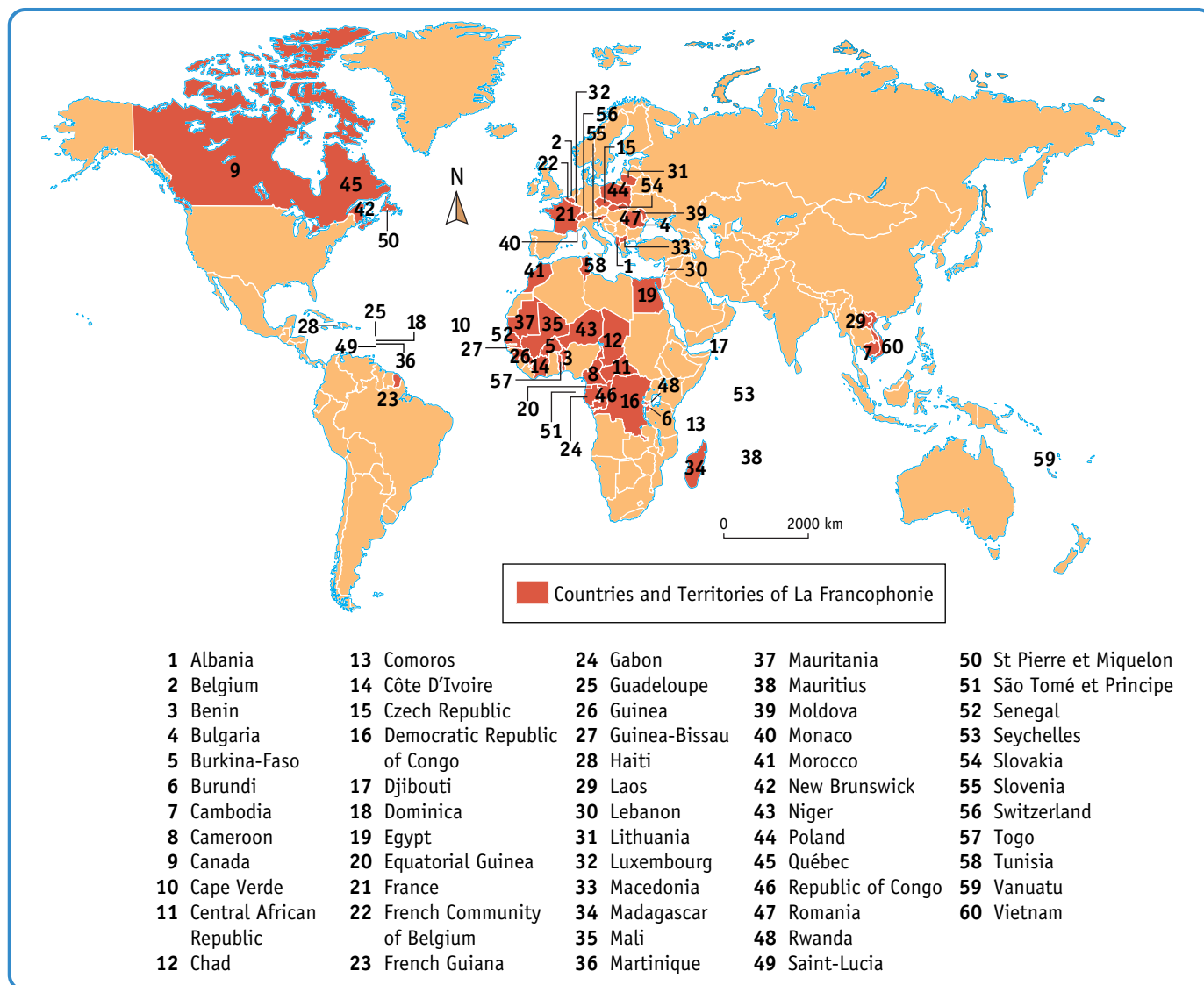


Figure 13-7 ▲

Member countries and territories of La Francophonie

²⁴ From: Canadian International Development Agency, "La Francophonie: Overview", <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/En/JUD-1211133416-PSG>

What might be considered unusual about La Francophonie is that it comprises both highly industrialized and significantly impoverished nations. There are four major components to this organization:

- **University Agency of La Francophonie (AUF)**
This organization has its headquarters in Montréal, with 616 member institutions in 70 countries, 33 of which are in Canada. These universities are focused on promoting higher education for Francophone students and the development of scientific research in the French community, and are designed to provide interconnected support for French universities around the world.
- **Senghor University, Alexandria**
This university, established in 1990, was designed to promote health and nutrition, and develop management and administration skills in French-speaking people to support development in Africa. This university was started by Canadians, and is funded almost completely by member states of La Francophonie.
- **TV5**
As an international French-language television network, TV5 reaches over 200 nations and 24.5 million French-speaking people around the world each day. It provides a full range of programming, and is an excellent way for Canada's French culture to be expressed worldwide. In addition, programming for other Francophone nations serves to enhance the range of understandings for Canadian and other Francophone communities.
- **International Association of Francophone Mayors (AIMF)**
Established in 1979 by the mayors of Paris and Québec City, this organization's programs are designed to support Francophone communities around the world in dealing with management issues, municipal infrastructure, promoting culture and heritage, health issues, and emergency situations.

Can a worldwide organization based primarily on a common language meet the needs of so many diverse cultures? Is it possible that this organization creates a division between French and non-French nations? Should Québec be considered a separate nation from Canada by this organization? To what extent does La Francophonie promote internationalism?

Explore the Issues

- 1 In a small group of four or five students, examine the website of the World Water Council through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

*There is a water crisis today. But the crisis is not about having too little water to satisfy our needs. It is a crisis of managing water so badly that billions of people—and the environment—suffer badly.*²⁵

—World Water Vision Report

In your group, develop a plan to address water issues in Alberta. In your plan, consider the following questions:

- Should water resources from Alberta be partially diverted to the arid regions of the western United States?
- Should water be treated as a commodity for sale or is it a basic right of all humans?
- Is the massive water requirement of the oil sands operation in northern Alberta sustainable? Who pays? Who benefits?
- Should water resources and usage be international concerns or should they be left to the discretion of individual governments and markets?

For information on Alberta's water resources, refer to the Council of Canadians' website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

- 2 Visit the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development's (EBRD) website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website and examine the previous year's list of projects supported by this organization. Create a graphic organizer to categorize all the projects listed for that year.

Write a statement commenting on the range and variety of supported projects, and the role that an organization such as the EBRD might play in supporting them all.

- 3 In a small group, research and select the top five news stories on humanitarian relief from the past year and write a brief summary of each one, including:
 - the location
 - how many people it affected
 - the cause of the problem
 - the international response

Visit the Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) website through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website and compare your list with their list of the top ten most *underreported* humanitarian stories of the year.

- 4 Considering the issues discussed in this chapter, do you feel a world government is desirable? Discuss the various positions nations may take on this question.

²⁵ World Water Council, "Water Crisis." <http://www.worldwatercouncil.org/index.php?id=25>.

Reflect and Analyze

In chapters 11 and 12 you developed an understanding of the different types of internationalism, and you looked at how internationalism can be promoted. In this chapter you explored how INGOs and IGOs attempt to deal with international concerns to make the world a better place. By reflecting on the viewpoints and examples in this chapter, you should be working toward formulating a response to the Main Issue for Part 3: ***To what extent should internationalism be pursued?***

Respond to Ideas

- 1 As a class, research and create a directory of INGOs active in your community. Make a poster that explains their activities to inform people in your school about how they might become active in international issues.

Respond to Issues

- 2 Using the examples in this chapter and your own research, develop and communicate a position on the Chapter Issue: ***To what extent do organizations promote internationalism?***

Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- 3 Examine these excerpts from the 1984 Declaration of Principles of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples:
 2. *All Indigenous Peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of this right they can freely determine their political, economic, social, religious, and cultural development in agreement with the principles stated in this declaration.*

3. *Every nation-state within which Indigenous Peoples live shall recognize the population, territory, and institutions belonging to said peoples.*
7. *Indigenous Peoples have the right to determine which person(s) or group(s) is (are) included in its population.*
10. *Indigenous Peoples have inalienable rights over their traditional lands and over the use of their natural resources which have been usurped, or taken away without the free and knowledgeable consent of Indian [sic] peoples, shall be restored to them.*
11. *The rights of the Indigenous Peoples to their lands includes: the soil, the subsoil, coastal territorial waters in the interior, and coastal economic zones all within the limits specified by international legislation.*
13. *No action or process shall be implemented which directly and/or indirectly would result in the destruction of land, air, water, glaciers, animal life, environment, or natural resources, without the free and well-informed consent of the affected Indigenous Peoples.*
14. *Indigenous Peoples will reassume original rights over their material culture, including archaeological zones, artifacts, designs, and other artistic expressions.*²⁶

Indigenous peoples, often a nation within a nation-state, demand the rights of self-determination. Based on the points above, how might some of the demands made in this declaration affect Canada? Make a list of changes that might occur in Canadian society if Canadian governments honoured these principles. To what extent are these changes desirable?

²⁶ International Development Research Centre, "Appendix 3. Declaration of Principles of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples." http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-30138-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html.