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The Making of the 20th Century

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The Rise of the International Organisation: A Short History

David Armstrong

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Preface

The proliferation of international organisations in this century has been accompanied by a mountain of documents and a vast array of secondary literature. The latter has been marked by a growing theoretical sophistication but also, in the case of general texts, by ever-increasing length as authors have tried to do justice to the diversity and complexity of international institutions. This has made the study of international organisation seem a somewhat daunting task to students new to the subject, and I offer this book as a modest effort in overcoming this problem. I have tried to provide a short historical overview of the subject which is more than just a long list of names, dates and functions, but which does not lose sight of the need in some cases for factual detail or analytical depth.

An inevitable problem with a work of this kind is that it must omit much and treat many important topics with a brevity they do not always deserve. In the end, like any other author, I have relied primarily on my own personal preferences and interests to guide me in the selection of material to include in this book. There is no single theme running through it, although there is an underlying assumption that international organisations are, first and foremost, the creatures and instruments of states. Hence, there is less in this study than in some others on the role of international secretariats and perhaps rather more on the varied motivations of states in their approach to international organisations. Similarly, certain events are considered in relatively more detail than others, such as the Abyssinian crisis of 1935 or the EEC's constitutional crisis of 1965. This, too, reflects the general emphasis on states, since both cases involved a fundamental collision between the larger aspirations of international organisations and the constraints imposed upon them by the imperatives of the state system within which they operate.

This book is based on the historical section of the international organisation course which I give at Birmingham University, and I should like to take this opportunity to thank past and present students for their many helpful comments. I am also indebted to my colleagues in Birmingham's School of International Studies, the Head of the School, David Wightman, and Jon Haslam and John Redmond, for freely

dispensing of their time and expertise, although I naturally accept full responsibility for any errors of fact or judgement. I am also grateful to my publishers, especially Sarah Mahaffy, and the general editor of the series, Geoffrey Warner, for their patience and support. Most of all my thanks go to Maggie, Celyn and Iain for more than I can express here.

3 November 1981
Birmingham

J. D. ARMSTRONG

Abbreviations

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific region
ASA	Association of South-east Asia
ASEAN	Association of South-east Asian Nations
CACM	Central American Common Market
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund
ECAFE	Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EMS	European Monetary System
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
IICI	International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAFTA	Latin American Free Trade Association
MLF	Multilateral Nuclear Force
NIEO	New International Economic Order
OAS	Organisation of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODECA	Organisation of Central American States
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	Organisation of European Economic Co-operation
ONUC	Operation des Nations Unies au Congo
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
SEATO	South-east Asia Treaty Organisation

x ABBREVIATIONS

SELA	Latin American Economic System
UNCLOS	United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
UNIFIL	United Nations Force in Lebanon
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan
UNOGIL	United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon
UNSCOB	United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
UNYOM	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission
WHO	World Health Organisation