The United Nations and Business

The United Nations and Business

A Partnership Recovered

Sandrine Tesner
with the Collaboration of
Georg Kell

© 2000 Sandrine Tesner. All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2000 978-0-312-23071-5

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 9HE.

Any person who does an unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claim for damages.

First published by
MACMILLAN PRESS LTD
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS
and London
Companies and representatives
throughout the world

ISBN 978-1-349-62814-8 ISBN 978-1-349-62812-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-62812-4

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library.

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
10	09	08	07	06	05	04	03	02	01

To Mitch Werner

Contents

<i>Map of the United Nations System</i>	x
<i>List of Acronyms and Websites</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
Introduction	xix
Chapter 1 Overcoming the Past	1
Back to the Future?	
At the UN's Creation	
From Partnership to Cold War	
The Age of Revolutions, All over Again	
Interdependence and the Return of Liberalism	
A Global World?	
Major Strides on the Terrain of UN Reform	
1997: A Turning Point	
Setting the Tone	
Getting Started	
Reviving the Dialogue	
Chapter 2 Creating the Future	41
<i>I. The View from the 38th Floor</i>	
A Conceptual Framework for Multilateralism	
in the Twenty-First Century	
Globalization and Its Effects	
NGOs and Multinationals: David and Goliath?	
The Diversity of the NGO World	
Corporate Responsibility: The New Imperative	
Fighting It Out over Trade	
The Global Compact: Rephrasing the "Compromise	
of Embedded Liberalism"	
Rules and Norms: Providing the Regulatory	
Infrastructure of the Global Economy	

The Opportunity Cost Argument: The Link to the Corporate Bottom Line

II. The View from the Corporate Ladder

Supporting the UN: Recovering the Spirit of 1945

Looking Good: The Rewards of Corporate Responsibility

The Profit Motive

Chapter 3 First Steps

69

I. Guidelines for Cooperation: The Test of Time

Definition of the "Private Sector"

What Is a Partnership?

The Objectives of Partnerships

Policy-Related Activities

Awareness and Advocacy

Fund-Raising

Operations

Selection Criteria

Use of the UN Name and Logo

The Recognition of Contributions

Conflict of Interest

II. UN-Business Partnerships: An Illustrative Review

Policymaking and Related Activities

Policymaking at UN Headquarters

The Follow-Up to the Global Compact

At UNCTAD

At UNDP

Fund-Raising

Traditional Fund-Raising Activities

Following Up on Ted Turner's Gift

Awareness and Advocacy

The Traditional Media

The Worldwide Web: The New Favorite Medium

Advocacy Statements and Awards

Operational Activities

Knowledge-Based Partnerships

Business Creation and Investment

Complex Partnership Approaches

1. *UNDP's Global Sustainable Development Facility (GSDF)*

2. *UNCTAD's Partners for Development*

3. *UNOPS's Aid & Trade 2000 and Other Private Sector Partnerships*

I. Lessons

Conceptual Lessons

The State Is Not Dead

History Has Not Ended

Lessons on Partnering

The Limits of Fund-Raising

Reputation Matters

New Guidelines for Collaboration

Operational Lessons

Committing the Resources

New Roles for UN Legal Departments

The Cultural Gap

II. Future Directions

Operationalizing the Global Compact

Advocating and Explaining the Global Compact

The Regulatory Challenge

Translating the Global Compact Into UN Partnerships

Creating a Favorable Environment

Organizational Change

Human Resources Management

From Partnership to Representation?

The Logic of Representation

The UN's Comparative Advantage

Proposals for Giving Business a UN Representative Status

1. *Business Advisory Boards*

2. *The Business Contribution to UN Reform*

3. *An Official Representative Status: Some Possibilities*

Conclusion: What Is at Stake?

143

The Argument

The Future of Development Assistance

Implications for the UN

The U.S.-UN Relationship

The United Nations: Pro and Con

If Not the United Nations, Then What?

Notes

163

Bibliography

185

Index

191

The UNITED NATIONS system

PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

- United Nations programmes and organs
- Specialized agencies and other autonomous organizations within the system
- Other committees, committees and ad hoc and related bodies

* Although not a specialized agency it cooperates with the United Nations.
Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information
DPI/1857/Rev.1—June 1998

List of Acronyms and Websites

United Nations System

UN website: www.un.org

UN business website: www.un.org/partners/business

Global Compact website: www.unglobalcompact.org

ACC	Administrative Committee on Coordination (www.acc.unsystem.org)
ACABQ	Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
CCPOQ	Consultative Committee on Program and Operational Questions
DPA	Department of Political Affairs (www.un.org/depts/dpa)
DPI	Department of Public Information (www.un.org/depts/dpi)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (www.un.org/depts/dpko)
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa (www.un.org/depts/eca)
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe (www.unece.org)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (www.eclac.cl/index1.html)
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (www.un.org/esa/coordination/ecosoc)
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (www.un.org/depts/escap)
ESCWA	Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (www.escwa.org)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (www.fao.org)
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency (www.iaea.org)

IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, also known as the World Bank (www.worldbank.org)
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization (www.icao.org)
ICJ	International Court of Justice (www.icj-cij.org)
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development (www.ifad.org)
IFC	International Finance Corporation (www.ifc.org)
ILO	International Labor Organization (www.ilo.org)
ILO/ITC	International Training Center of the ILO (www.itcilo.it)
IMF	International Monetary Fund (www.imf.org)
IMO	International Maritime Organization (www.imo.org)
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
ITC	International Trade Center (www.intracen.org)
ITU	International Telecommunications Union (www.itu.org)
JIU	Joint Inspection Unit
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (www.reliefweb.int/ocha_ol/index.html)
OLA	Office of Legal Affairs
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (www.unaids.org)
UNCHS	United Nations Center for Human Settlements or Habitat (www.unchs.org)
UNCSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (www.uncsd.org)
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (www.unctad.org)
UNDCP	United Nations International Drug Control Program (www.undcp.org)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program (www.undp.org)
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program (www.unep.org)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (www.unesco.org)
UNFIP	United Nations Fund for International Partnerships (www.unfip.org)
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund (www.unfpa.org)
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (www.unhchr.ch)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (www.unhcr.ch)
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund (www.unicef.org)

UNCITRAL	United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (www.uncitral.org)
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization (www.unido.org)
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women (www.unifem.org)
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research (www.unitar.org)
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services (www.unops.org and www.unops.org/partnerships)
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (www.unrwa.org)
UNSC	United Nations Staff College (www.itcilo.it/unscpl)
UNU	United Nations University (www.unu.org)
UNV	United Nations Volunteers (www.unv.org)
UPU	Universal Postal Union (www.upu.org)
WFP	World Food Program (www.wfp.org)
WHO	World Health Organization (www.who.org)
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization (www.wipo.org)
WMO	World Meteorological Organization (www.wmo.org)
WTO	World Tourism Organization (www.world-tourism.org)

Other International Organizations and Acronyms

AFDB	African Development Bank (www.afdb.org)
ASDB	Asian Development Bank (www.adb.org)
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (www.ebrd.org)
EU	European Union (www.eu.org)
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (www.wto.org/wto/legal/ursum_wp.htm)
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank (www.iadb.org)
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (www.miga.org)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (www.oecd.org)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (www.osce.org)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development (www.usaid.org)

WTO	World Trade Organization (www.wto.org) Business Associations, Think Tanks, and Other Relevant Sites
BCIU	Business Council for International Understanding (www.bciu.org)
BCUN	Business Council for the United Nations (www.unausa.org)
BSR	Business for Social Responsibility (www.bsr.org)
CEPAA	Center for Economic Priorities Accreditation Agency (www.cepaa.org)
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations (www.cfr.org)
Copenhagen Center	www.copenhagencentre.org
Global Public Policy	www.globalpublicpolicy.net
GRI	Global Reporting Initiative (www.globalreporting.org)
ICC	International Chamber of Commerce (www.iccwbo.org)
IOE	International Organization of Employers (www.ioe-emp.org)
Netaid	www.netaid.com
Sullivan Principles	www.sullivanprinciples.org
The Conference Board	www.conference-board.org
UNF	UN Foundation(www.unfoundation.org)
UN Business Wire	www.unfoundation.org/unwirebw
UN Wire	www.unfoundation.org/unwire
USCIB	U.S. Council for International Business (www.uscib.org)
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development (www.wbcd.org)
WEF	World Economic Forum (www.wef.org)

Acknowledgements

This book is dedicated to Mitch Werner, a dear friend and former colleague whose untimely passing in December 1999 shocked all those who knew him. I had the privilege of meeting Mitch while still a student at Columbia. As my advisor under the school's alumni program, he helped me to sort out my new career options, which included the United Nations. A few years later, I worked with him on UN programs for corporate executives at the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. Unfortunately for me, our collaboration was interrupted when Secretary-General Kofi Annan, seeking people of talent and great achievements, invited Mitch to join his cabinet shortly after taking office. Mitch remained a mentor and a friend, however, and when I joined the UN in 1999 we were able to collaborate again, albeit remotely. Mitch was a pioneer in the effort to reconnect the UN and the business community, and he understood the need for a strong relationship between them earlier than anyone I know. The ideas contained herein are in part his, and I know that he would have supported the overall argument of this book. He certainly encouraged me to write it and he should have been around to help implement its vision. His counsel, genuine concern, and equal respect for all those who worked with him were unique, and they are sorely missed.

This book owes much to the work of John Ruggie, who as former dean of Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs has influenced my thinking since my school days. Now senior advisor to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, John Ruggie is along with Georg Kell the author of the UN's policy of rapprochement with the business community. The Global Compact owes a large debt to his earlier writings, as I do. He supported this project since I first mentioned it to him in March 1999, and I only hope that the student has not irremediably misrepresented the ideas of the master. Whatever conclusions I have drawn from the policy he has designed are my own, and I take full responsibility for them.

At UNOPS, I want to thank Michael Dudley for his timely advice and support. Now back in his native Belgium, my friend and predecessor at UNOPS, Dominique Michel, made himself available by E-mail and tele-

phone and provided guidance and generous encouragement. My associate, Elise Colomer, was an able research assistant and an authority on websites. Our executive director, Reinhart Helmke, was the first reader and editor of this book. His comments enabled me to correct a number of historical and other errors. With over 30 years of professional experience in the service of developing countries, six languages, ten international moves around the world, and a scholar's knowledge of fifteenth-century public-private partnerships in the Duchy of Burgundy, Reinhart Helmke is the quintessential global citizen. His knowledge, wisdom, and unbounded kindness are a gift to his entire staff. I am deeply grateful for his support and his understanding, as I rushed to meet my publisher's deadline.

Working as UNOPS interns during the fall of 1999 in addition to carrying a full load of courses, two Columbia students, Gina Dario and David Zehner, read several books and carried out excellent research on a number of economic issues that bear on the argument of this book. Their collaboration in the less rewarding tasks of proofreading and bibliographical compilation is equally appreciated. I wish them well in the pursuit of their degrees and have no doubt that they will thrive as professionals of international affairs.

I am grateful to Maria Cattai, secretary-general of the ICC, and Richard McCormick, former CEO of US West and ICC president-elect—two globe-trotting business leaders who continue to play paramount roles in redefining UN-business relations—for taking the time to reply to my survey of business attitudes toward the UN. I thank also my friends, Stephen Halloway, a former UN official, and Lew Cramer, adviser to Richard McCormick, for expressing their interest in this project and always extending a hand when I needed it. At the U.S. Council for International Business (USCIB), William Stibravy supplied numerous and precious pieces of evidence on the early phase of the UN-business relationship. Bill's oral history of the ICC and its role in supporting multilateralism from the start is unmatched, and I am grateful for his openness to sharing his knowledge and materials. Equally committed to the cause of UN-business relations, USCIB Senior Vice President Ronnie Goldberg facilitated access to sources and executives.

At St. Martin's Press, my editor, Karen Wolny, deserves full credit and admiration for believing in a "UN book" after multilateralism has been under consistent attack in the United States for a decade. Her trust honors me and I hope that the debate generated by this book will vindicate her early conviction.

Last but not least, I owe my deepest gratitude to my parents, Michèle and Michel, also known as M&M. The gift of freedom is the greatest of all, and on that account alone their generosity can never be matched. But it is their love and involvement in my daily life that, despite the thousands of miles

separating us, enable me to succeed in all my undertakings. As I prepare to usher in a new millennium, I only wish they lived closer by.

Sandrine Tesner
December 31, 1999

Introduction

In 1945, 51 nations and hundreds of civil society organizations from around the world gathered in San Francisco to witness the birth of the first universal multilateral organization in human history. The State Department had worked assiduously during the war years to contribute to the text of the United Nations Charter. Having borrowed its heading from the American constitution, the Charter's liberal value framework placed on "We the Peoples" the responsibility of crafting a peaceful future.¹ Fulfilling President Roosevelt's savvy political plans, the American delegation to the San Francisco conference included numerous religious, civic, labor, and business groups. Representatives of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, still today America's largest business organization, joined a delegation of the Paris-based International Chamber of Commerce, of which the American Chamber was a member. In July 1945, as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee pondered whether to ratify the UN Charter, Philip D. Reed, then chairman of General Electric and one of America's senior business leaders, sent a telegram to the committee's chairman expressing the "earnest and enthusiastic support" of the U.S. Chamber to the Charter and urging unanimous ratification by the Senate. Yet in the 55 years since the UN's creation, business and UN leaders have exhibited at best a mutual disdain toward each other—when they did not engage in a virulent war of words. This book seeks to explain what kept the United Nations and the private sector apart for five decades, why they have renewed their ties since 1997, and why the future of multilateral institutions hinges on the latter's ability to integrate the private sector in the entire spectrum of activities.

The international business community has long been favorable to the concept of multilateralism. The history of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), whose establishment was decided at a meeting held in Atlantic City in 1919, demonstrates that cosmopolitan business leaders understood the need for multilateral solutions to international problems well before governments. Had their support for the League of Nations been heeded during the 1930s, the protectionism and autarkism that fueled the already disastrous effects of the Great Depression might have been avoided,

thereby stalling the ineluctable march toward a global war. It is not surprising therefore that both the ICC and its powerful American cousin, the U.S. Chamber, wary of the isolationist sentiments that might derail once again the creation of a multilateral body, made their views known to their national leaders by urging ratification of the UN Charter. What is more interesting yet is that the UN Charter presupposed a governmental role in regulating the economy, favoring employment, and providing safety nets to the hardest-hit social groups during recessions. Based on the work of British economist J. M. Keynes, this “compromise of embedded liberalism”² had been formulated in response to the Great Depression. The idea that a degree of intervention was necessary to maintain openness, while protecting the most disfavored from utter poverty and its inherent destabilizing effects, was not seen as “anti-business.” Indeed, the creation of the UN system on the one hand, and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund—the so-called Bretton Woods institutions—on the other, was premised on macroeconomic management. In 1945 international business was not only pro-UN; it was also pro-regulation.

The relationship between the UN and the private sector began to unravel during the 1950s as the former colonies of Asia and Africa gained independence and joined the ranks of the UN General Assembly as equal members with equal rights. The ensuing debates over the objectives and methods of development policy consumed the rupture. The choice of infant-industry policies, accompanied by attempts to regulate the prices of commodities for the benefit of the newly formed “South,” seemed to undermine the compromise of 1945, predicated as it was upon the maintenance of open trade. The estrangement reached its nadir with the call for a New International Economic Order in 1974, and the contemporaneous attempt by the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC) to accrue wealth and power through a commodity threat backed by high oil prices. The hardened political context of the Cold War fueled poor policy choices: it is only because they served ideological purposes in the war-by-other-means imposed by nuclear weapons that such bad economics prevailed for almost four decades.

During the 1970s, the successes of export-led growth in Asia, the return to a level of interdependence that had eroded ever since 1913, and the liberal reaction that began with the elections of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan signaled the beginning of the end of the UN-business chasm. When the Berlin Wall came tumbling down, discrediting irremediably the techniques of central command economies, the UN faced the challenge of fashioning for itself a relevant role in the transition of socialist countries to market economies. The end of the Cold War also meant that governments would no longer look at development policies as instruments of their political positioning in the East-West rivalry, but rather as ends in themselves in

the expansion of world markets. As some spoke of the “end of history,” a rapprochement between the UN and the business community could not be far away.³

The process of globalization that began when bipolarity ended has dramatically altered the premise of the “compromise of embedded liberalism.” Not only have the failures of central command economies undermined support for government intervention in the economy, but were a consensus in favor of such a role to emerge anew, the conditions of globalization would prevent governments from exercising their traditional regulatory functions. While nation-states retain authority over their territory, population, and an array of symbolic and real capacities, they have lost control over a large portion of economic activities now taking place in a metanational space above borders, nations, and cultures.⁴ Because it limits the state’s capacity to tax the product of economic activity, this loss of control undermines the provision of safety nets and national public goods. The international community has therefore entered a transitory phase where large-scale openness and free circulation of goods, money, and ideas coincide with a limitation of governmental power not seen since the fifteenth century.

Two factors make this state of affairs necessarily temporary. Firstly, this regulatory gap is fraught with dangers. The uncontrolled penetration of goods and ideas that accompanies and characterizes globalization has resulted in increased inequality and social dislocations, on the one hand, and the perception of threats to national and ethnic identities, on the other. Poverty and cultural insecurity, added to the spread of such metanational problems as environmental degradation and the AIDS pandemic, constitute potent ingredients for social explosions and a general backlash against globalization. These conditions require solutions, lest the promise of openness turns into a nightmare of exclusion and national introversion, whose consequences in the context of a global world would far surpass the closure of the 1930s. Secondly, and more optimistically, man being a cultural creature whose survival depends on the construction of ideas and values, and the institutions in which to embed them, the international community is bound to fashion and build the institutional mechanisms that will ensure its survival and well-being in the twenty-first century.⁵ As unexpected as it may seem, the ongoing rapprochement between the United Nations and the business community is crucial to the construction of this new world order.

Understanding the meaning of these systemic changes, shortly after his appointment on January 1, 1997, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan announced that strengthening relations between the United Nations and the private sector would constitute a priority of his mandate. His commitment rang loud and clear when, addressing the World Economic Forum in Davos

four weeks after taking office, Kofi Annan stated that: "Today, market capitalism has no rival. . . . In today's world, the private sector is the dominant engine of growth; the principal creator of value and wealth. . . . This is why I call today for a new partnership among governments, the private sector, and the international community."⁶ The Davos speech signaled the beginning of a consistent outreach to business leaders of goodwill. Since 1997 the secretary-general has issued unprecedented policy statements with the ICC and other business organizations, calling for a partnership between the United Nations and business in constructing the rules that will sustain globalization by cushioning its blows on some of its victims—real or perceived. His vision came full circle in 1999 when, speaking again at Davos, he challenged the international private sector to adopt a "Global Compact of shared values and principles" focusing on three negative externalities of globalization: attacks on human rights, labor rights, and the environment.⁷

The rationale for this recovered partnership is simple, yet strong and visionary. Three global actors have emerged as key participants and shapers of the new global reality. Multinational corporations, multinational civil society groups, and the United Nations all share a metanational dimension in that their allegiance is not tied to any state or nation but reaches above them. Of the three, business and civil society are clearly the most global, having established networks above borders and deriving their legitimacy from their shareholders and members, respectively. The United Nations, of course, is an intergovernmental organization in which member states wield ultimate power. But the UN Charter already acknowledged the role of civil society in international affairs by providing under Article 71 an accreditation mechanism for NGOs, business, and labor groups. The ICC obtained accreditation to the UN in 1946, and over 1,500 NGOs currently enjoy consultative status to the world body. In the context of globalization, the United Nations will fight the battle of its relevance on its capacity to integrate nonstate actors in its work.

Globalization is not solely an economic phenomenon. Its cultural, political, and social dimensions may play as influential a role in reshaping the world order as economic exchanges. But the former are more elusive and harder to quantify than the latter. Furthermore, globalization was first visible in the economic sphere and it remains to this day a business-led process. This fact alone argues in favor of a UN-business alliance in the construction of global rules. More importantly, corporations are in a unique position to act on behalf of the three negative externalities outlined by the Global Compact. As employers, they can decide to eliminate child labor and other human rights abuses. As investors, they can pressure their partners to respect fundamental values. As manufacturers, they can exercise responsibility toward the global commons of air, sea, and land. In the creation of a norma-

tive framework to accompany globalization, the private sector is the necessary and privileged partner of the United Nations.

Having set the stage in chapters 1 and 2 for a recovered partnership between the UN and the business community, this book provides the first comprehensive account of the objectives, modalities, accomplishments, and challenges of these partnerships to date. Chapter 3 describes the formats of partnerships in the four main areas of policy, fund-raising, advocacy and awareness, and operations. The cases presented below demonstrate that corporations and UN agencies work together more often than is generally assumed, in a myriad of ways, and with diverse objectives. Successful partnerships are predicated on so-called win-win situations based on mutual benefits and common objectives. No UN body has failed to increase its outreach to the private sector in recent years and, contrary to commonly held clichés, filling the UN's coffers with corporate funds does not constitute the primary motivation for partnering. The UN looks to business to provide technical expertise, expert staff, policy guidance, management skills, goods and services, and general support for the UN's mandates. Crucial to the sustainability of globalization is a corporate commitment to investing in and extending the benefits of open trade to the poorest nations, many of which are in Africa. Poverty and war have never formed the basis of wealth and business expansion, giving the UN and the private sector a common interest in their elimination.

Chapter 4 takes stock of the short history of renewed cooperation and looks to the future. Many obstacles remain in the path of sustained partnership. Firstly, the new approach to UN-business relations is too recent to have become embedded in UN and corporate structures. It is therefore fragile and easily damageable. If corporations have developed a stake in this renewed relationship, as I believe they have, they will have to defend it and use their influence to prevent a reversal of the course. At the UN too, those officials and staff members who believe in the approach will have to make a constant case for it and counter critics of all stripes—internal and external, governmental and nongovernmental, domestic and international. The battle of ideas over the UN's future is far from over. Operational and legal challenges also stand in the way of increasing the opportunities for and the formulation of UN-business partnerships. These hurdles, however, are manageable, and assuming that the political will remains intact, there is good hope that modernized guidelines for private sector collaboration can be put in place in 2000.

One last and sizeable question mark deserves mention in this introduction. As has been stated, the UN Charter already envisaged the participation of nonstate actors in its deliberations. If the UN cannot hope to accomplish its work in the twenty-first century without the contribution and support of civil society and business, these nonstate actors can be expected to request

an official representative status within UN debates and forums. The private sector has remained discreet on the matter, but civil society organizations have been clamoring for a more influential and official role in UN international conferences, and by extension, in those UN bodies charged with implementing their recommendations. Were the support of business for a renewed and relevant United Nations to increase and broaden internationally, business associations may follow the lead of NGOs in asking for stepped-up representation. Such a development ought not to be surprising, nor should it be dismissed as politically infeasible. If the international system of the past four centuries relied on the capacities of the nation-state, the global order of the next hundred years will have to depend on those of non-state actors. What format their representation might take within the United Nations is open for debate, but it is doubtful that the only universal multilateral body available to the global community can achieve its ends in the future without reinterpreting the foundations of its legitimacy, and therefore of its membership. Were the United Nations to fail in enacting this transformation, a novel multipartite governance mechanism would likely arise to take its place.