SUPRANATIONAL AUTHORITY:

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT IN THE EXPANSION OF

THE DEPARTMENTS OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND POLITICAL

AFFAIRS

by

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Abstract

Why do member states generously finance some departments within an International Organisation, while others are starved for resources? Why do funding allocations shift over time? What role do bureaucrats themselves play in processes that influence this variation? For the most part, for example, the UN regular budget varies only slightly from one biennium to the next, but occasionally, there are sudden increases in the resources of a particular department. This project seeks to explain why.

This thesis asserts that the UN Secretariat, and the Secretary-General in particular, can strategically utilise their expertise-based and principle-based authority in order to persuade member states to provide more resources to particular departments. I study the UN budget process to illustrate the avenues available for influence by the Secretary-General and other bureaucrats. I explore two in-depth case studies, drawing on extensive primary documents and sixteen expert interviews, to examine the actions of the Secretariat in the years leading up to the changes in both departments.

These two moments of dramatic change were the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) in 2000/2001, and the Department of Political Affairs (DPA) from 2005 to 2008. In both, the Secretariat was able to leverage its informal authority to increase its resources, but only when the arguments they put forward accorded both with their type of authority, and with the values held by the audience; this persuasion was also only possible when member state blocs were not entrenched in opposition to each other on a related issue. The Secretariat used three strategies to achieve this: i) agenda setting, ii) initiating and expanding operations, and iii) multiplying authority by creating like-minded expert panels.

Lay Summary

This project studies whether the bureaucracy of an international organisation, such as the United Nations, is able to persuade member states to increase the resources they give to that bureaucracy. I study this in two cases, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), and the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), in the early-mid 2000s. I argue that, despite the fact that they do not have the material power to influence member states, they do have forms of authority because they are viewed as being experts or because they are viewed as highly principled individuals. They can use those types of authority to persuade states to give them more resources.

Preface

The design, conduct, and analysis of the research in this project was conducted by myself, Mohamed Almehairbi, with advice from my advisor Katharina Coleman, and my committee members Richard Price and Brian Job. Ethics approval was given by the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board, certificate number: H14-01595. The project title was IO Secretariat Study.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Project outline

Every intergovernmental organisation has established procedures for discussing and enacting institutional change. Those procedures typically include proposals drafted by member states, reviews by intergovernmental committees, and some form of (at least partially) democratic process in which only member states hold the votes. It is thus easy to understand why outside observers may assume that all institutional changes in an organisation such as the UN are initiated, decided upon, and enacted by member states alone.

However, even when member states ostensibly pioneer those changes, they often do so only after being persuaded by non-state actors. This phenomenon has, in the past, been more commonly associated with NGOs. As Alex Neve, Secretary-General of Amnesty International, said in a speech in October 2016, non-state actors such as he can successfully "cajole", "embarrass", and "push governments into taking leadership".[1] His specific choice of words was revealing; at first glance, states often seem to be leading an issue, but that overlooks the prior influence of non-state actors. This project asserts that such influence also resides with key actors within IO Secretariats.

Within Political Science, one of the reasons for overlooking this influence stems from the underlying assumptions of some popular meta-theories. At the boundaries between opposing approaches to studying international relations lies an ontological question: which actors should be studied as the main political actors? Neorealism famously limits its scope to state actors, justifying that ontology with a focus on material wealth and military power, and the related

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[1] Neve 2016.

assumption that only actors with those sources of power can affect change. Neoliberal Institutionalism adopts a similarly state-centric approach, but with more nuanced explanations for international cooperation. However, over the last two decades in particular, several persuasive challenges to both sets of theories have broadened that focus to include other actors, which, it is claimed, are equally worthy of study for many reasons, one of which being that in some circumstances, they can exercise authority over states and influence their decisions.

One crucial arena of Secretariat influence that statist perspectives overlook is the budgetary process in which states ostensibly control the finances of that Secretariat. This research was motivated by a question in this area: *what explains the variation in the delegation of additional resources within existing international organization (IO) bureaucracies, and what role does the bureaucracy play in processes that influence that variation?*

Barnett and Finnemore (2004) identified several forms of authority in the Secretariats of international organisations, and as they conclude their work, they briefly suggest that the expansion of the mandate and capabilities of IO bureaucracies may be influenced, and even directed, by those bureaucracies,[2] but this is not the focus of their work and no evidence is provided to support it. This project explores this last claim, whether the Secretariat can strategically utilise their authority in order to strengthen two characteristics that enable them to act politically: their mandates and their material resources.

My proximate objective is to focus narrowly on a particular form of influence that IO Secretariats have: the ability to persuade member states to increase the resources given to a part of that Secretariat. This focus allows me to add a valuable factor to theories of IO institutional

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[2] Barnett and Finnemore 2004, 158-161.

change that frequently underestimate the role of the bureaucracy. A broader objective for this and further research is to develop a theoretical framework to explain the influence of Secretariat members, or indeed any individual imbued with informal authority over actors with substantially more material power and the ability to make decisions affecting the Secretariat's resources. Barnett and Finnemore (2004) and Avant et al. (2010) lay the groundwork for this broader objective, although I take the next step by parsing out informal from formal authority, and by studying the specific strategies through which informal authority is used to influence member states.

The exploration of the mechanisms of persuasion, the different forms of authority, how they are perceived, and how those with informal authority use strategies to magnify their influence, are used in this project to build such a theoretical framework. While I narrowly focus on the two UN cases here, I illustrate other valid applications of this framework in the concluding chapter.

I argue that *IO Secretariat actors can leverage their informal authority (both expertise-based and principle-based) to persuade member states to devote additional resources to a part of the Secretariat, using three strategies*:

i) *Agenda setting*, in which the Secretariat ensures that member states devote more time and energy to debating a particular issue. I detail the ability of the Secretariat to place issues before the Security Council and General Assembly, and to persuade the plenary assembly that a crisis point has been reached which demands immediate member state support for certain policy and budget changes.

ii) *Initiating or expanding operations*, in which the Secretariat can initiate activities that then provide the justification for additional resources. In peacekeeping, I consider a single key

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case, that of East Timor, to demonstrate that operations, considered to be the external stimuli that led to greater state confidence in UN peacekeeping, were rather created almost entirely as a result of actions by the Secretariat. In political missions, I review the origins of existing field missions, focusing on two forms that in particular lead to greater and more long-term resources for the Secretariat, which I term embryonic and embassy Special Political Missions (SPMs).

iii) *Multiplying authority*, in which the Secretariat establishes independent, yet similarly minded panels that then serve as additional expert authorities to influence member states. The process of multiplying authority then extends beyond the findings of those panels and includes strategies through which the Secretariat draws upon elements of the findings to construct arguments tailored to influence the relevant audiences.

The causality implied in the argument is to some extent necessarily over-simplified. The process I focus on is only one strand in a tapestry of relationships leading to budgetary changes. There are also conditions that constrain this process. For example, a relatively unified plenary assembly is necessary, because consensus-based UN budgetary institutional arrangements ensure that voting blocs, when entrenched in opposition to each other, obstruct almost any reforms on an issue.

I follow this particular strand of influence, originating with the Secretariat, in the context of the UN Departments of Peacekeeping and Political Affairs. In the late 1990s, member states were openly hostile to the idea of UN peacekeeping and political missions; this makes the puzzle of why those states reversed their position to support a strengthening of the DPKO in 2000, and the DPA half a decade later, all the more interesting.

Since the early 1990's, the UN secretariat staff were key actors encouraging a normative shift towards the concept of conditional sovereignty, a concept that was consciously and deeply

intertwined with a perceived need for UN intervention. There is a direct causal connection, albeit delayed, between the recognition of the need for UN intervention, and the need to devote resources to support that activity.

In 1992, Secretary-General (SG) Boutros Boutros-Ghali famously stated in the context of a demand for more robust peacekeeping efforts that, "the time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed".[3] Secretary-General Kofi Annan later voiced a plea at the 1999 General Assembly for a framework that would allow a swift response to incidents of genocide,[4] inspiring the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) to generate the 2001 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) framework.[5] Given that Secretaries-General seemed to be at the forefront of arguments suggesting that there were obligations to international peace and security that supersede state sovereignty, particularly over a period in which states increasingly accepted that proposition,[6] one must at least consider the possibility that their arguments were influential.

My project thus hopes to address a gap in both IR theory and empirical research, in that it investigates whether, when, and how, these informal forms of authority influence state decision-making over the issue of IO bureaucracy mandates and resources. The claim is not that IO bureaucratic actors act strategically against the preferences of states,[7] but that they are able to change the preferences of states in order to strengthen themselves.

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[3] Boutros-Ghali 1992, Para 17.
[4] Annan 1999a, para 9.
[5] ICISS 2001.
[6] Dijkstra 2012.
[7] See Alter 1998 for this claim applied to the ECJ.

1.2 Dag Hammarskjöld and the early years of peacekeeping

This section is an introductory narrative detailing the role of second UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld in UN peacekeeping. It illustrates that the Secretariat have played an active and influential role, initiating and shaping UN peace operations from their earliest beginnings. The UN Charter mentions neither peacekeeping nor Secretariat-managed diplomatic missions. The founders of the United Nations envisioned three mechanisms for resolving conflicts. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) can arbitrate disputes and issue binding decisions.[8] The Security Council can investigate any situation and then insist that the parties to a dispute engage in a particular resolution mechanism, such as judicial arbitration, Council mediation, or via regional institutions.[9] The Security Council can also impose sanctions, and "take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security".[10]

All of these mechanisms envisaged state governments to be both the parties to a dispute, and those attempting to resolve it. This follows from the bedrock principle of the Charter, being the sovereign equality of states, and the related principle of non-intervention. The document states that, "[n]othing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.".[11]

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[8] UN. UN Charter. Chapter XIV.
[9] UN. UN Charter. Pacific Settlement of Disputes. Chapter VI.
[10] UN. UN Charter. Chapter VI. Article 42.
[11] UN. UN Charter. Article 2:7.

Hammarskjöld has since been recognised as an influential, independent and effective political agent,[12] but this was not the role expected of him prior to his appointment. Sir Brian Urquhart, former Under-Secretary-General (USG) and leading member of the British delegation to the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations that designed the original formal institutions of the UN in 1945, observed that member states assumed that Secretary-General Hammarskjöld would play the role expected from a deferential Swedish career civil servant, little more than "a cautious, safe and non-political technocrat".[13] However, there is considerable evidence of Hammarskjöld's informal authority, primarily observed in the deference afforded him by materially far more powerful actors, including at times, even the world's two superpowers, despite the absence of any formal authority he had over them.

Hammarskjöld was explicitly aware of the potential of his informal authority. He argued with increasing frequency that his office was more an institution than a person,[14] and that he had, morally and legally, an "exclusively international obligation under the Charter" to address threats to international peace even when powerful members of the Security Council would rather he take no action,[15] a bold claim at the height of the Cold War. He often cited Article 99 of the Charter which he claimed not only required him to inform member states of threats to peace, but also "that this right carries with it, by necessary implication, a broad discretion to conduct inquiries and engage in informal diplomatic activity".[16] Hammarskjöld asserted that as Secretary-General,

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[12] For example, Rovine 1970; Meisler 1995; Chesterman 2007; Kille 2006.
[13] Urquart 1987, 124.
[14] Hammarskjöld 1960, 80-82.
[15] Ibid., 88-91.
[16] Hammarskjöld 1961, 96-99.

he was a "servant of the principles of the Charter, and its aims must ultimately determine for him what is right and wrong".[17]

Hammarskjöld frequently reminded the member states of "the responsibility of the United Nations to make all efforts to live up to the purpose and principles of the Charter",[18] and powerful states increasingly acknowledged Hammarskjöld's informal authority. In 1960, after he claimed that he had both an obligation and a right to engage in independent action that superseded any wishes of even the US and USSR, those countries and others on the Security Council conceded.[19]

Hammarskjöld's informal authority was also widely acknowledged by his colleagues. Brian Urquhart frequently reiterated the impression others around him had of Hammarskjöld. The Secretary-General was widely viewed as having "impressive energy and expertise", "relentless high intellectual and ethical standards", and as being "deeply committed" to the United Nations and "supremely qualified in a wide variety of disciplines-law, economics, diplomacy, and politics in particular".[20] While his broad political expertise was already clear before his appointment, his principle-based authority[21] grew rapidly afterwards, as he became associated with the UN as an institution, and, as Urquhart describes, "he identified himself more and more with the objectives and ideals of the Charter".[22]

Initially, many key states became irritated when Hammarskjöld adopted the role of a

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[17] Hammarskjöld, 1956, 120-121.
[18] UN Security Council. Report of the Security Council to the General Assembly. 16 July 1958 to 15 July 1959. (A/4190). Para 76.
[19] Ibid.; UN Security Council 1959.
[20] Urquhart 1987, 124-127.
[21] Avant et al. 2010. Principle-based authority is based upon the adherence of an actor to a set of rules, principles, values or morals considered legitimate by the particular audience.
[22] Ibid., 124-125.

"dynamic and charismatic world leader".[23] Their irritation subsided when he independently

initiated and managed a careful negotiation process that secured the release of seventeen US

airmen who had, in January 1953, during the Korean War, made a forced landing in China.[24]

The Secretary-General could have advocated one of the state-led conflict resolution mechanisms

that would have involved the Security Council, the General Assembly, or key powerful states,

but he chose to interpret the UN Charter in a way that suggested that he could act autonomously

to maintain international peace, a process that afterwards came to be known as the "Peking

formula".

He achieved this diplomatic feat despite the extremely obstructive political conditions of

the McCarthy era, in which the US Congress, steeped in anti-Communist rhetoric, was forcefully

trying to insist that President Eisenhower resort to overwhelming military retaliation.[25] While

the US Ambassador was composing a resolution to condemn China's decision to try the airmen

as spies, Hammarskjöld persuaded him to add two phrases: firstly, that the Secretary-General

should act "in the name of the United Nations" and secondly, that he should use "the means most

appropriate in his judgement".[26] When the resolution was passed, Hammarskjöld then

interpreted his own additions to the resolution as approval for him to adopt a mandate to act

independently.

His success in China demonstrated to many the value of an independent Secretary-

General. It led member states and UN staff to "strengthen the Office [of the Secretary-General]

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[23] Urquart 2007, 19.
[24] Ibid., 20.
[25] Rovine,1970, 279-282. See Meisler 1995, 86-87.
[26] Meisler 1995, 87.

and [it] led to many more significant grants of power to the Secretary-General".[27]

Hammarskjöld was permitted to add two new Under-Secretaries-General (USGs) for special political affairs, each with their own support staff.[28] The catchphrase "leave it to Dag" became a common refrain when crises arose, not only in the international press, but also even in the Security Council. This phenomenon contradicts the expectations of many Realist political theories of international organisations, in which states delegate authority to a Secretariat only for non-salient issues, or only when those states lack the expertise to achieve the goal themselves.

UN peacekeeping, both as a concept and practice, was born in 1956 during the Suez Crisis. The processes that led to the first mission illustrate member states' recognition of the expertise and principle-based authority of the Secretary-General. On 1 November, after discussing the idea with the initially reluctant Hammarskjöld, Canadian Foreign Minister Lester Pearson proposed to the General Assembly the inter-position of an impartial, "international police force" to separate Israel and Egypt.[29] After three days deliberation, the General Assembly agreed.

Remarkably, the General Assembly and Security Council then both agreed to pass all the responsibility for the planning and administering of this unprecedented international venture to the Secretary-General.[30] As academics at the time observed, this was "a very substantial increase in the Secretary-General's authority".[31] They gave him forty-eight hours to construct a plan, but Hammarskjöld immediately began working with Ralph Bunche and Sir Brian Urquhart, and they

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[27] Ibid., 282.
[28] Mackinlay and Chopra 1993, 134.
[29] UN General Assembly 1956a, 36. See also Harrelson 1989, 89. Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009, 172.
[30] UN General Assembly 1956c.
[31] Lentner 1965, 840.

completed the plan outline in a mere seven hours.[32] The Secretary-General returned to the

General Assembly emergency session to explain the plan later the same day, 4th November,[33] and

the detailed plan was approved three days later.[34]

The Secretary-General and his staff closely managed the mission, and in the short and

medium terms at least, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) achieved its objectives. It

deployed on the Egyptian side of the Suez Canal, allowing French, British, and later, Israeli

forces to withdraw. Throughout the complex negotiations between all of the interested parties,

the Secretary-General "was the focal point for the process of international bargaining that went

on through the period of crisis and was able to press particular positions and formulations not

altogether pleasing to any of the parties, but without at any time losing their confidence".[35] The

mission continued to stabilise the region for a decade until the Egyptian government ordered its

withdrawal in 1967, and Israel unfortunately refused to allow them to relocate to the other side of

the border.[36]

In 1958, Secretary-General Hammarskjöld published a comprehensive review of the

UNEF mission that would profoundly influence all later peacekeeping missions.[37] In it, he put

forward a set of principles that he and Bunche had applied to this mission, principles that he

claimed should be a guide for all similar missions in the future. Some recommendations were

practical responses to the political reality of the Cold War, such as that no member of the P5

should contribute troops, as they would usually be considered severely biased by at least one

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[32] Rovine 1970, 289.
[33] UN Secretary General 1956a. 1956b.
[34] UN General Assembly 1956b.
[35] Rovine 1970, 292.
[36] UN DPKO. UNEF I Background.
[37] UN Secretary General 1958.

other Security Council P5 member.[38] However, the more lasting legacy of that document lay with three principles in particular: the consent of member states, impartiality, and the use of force only in self-defence.[39] These became the foundations and parameters for traditional peacekeeping, and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations still affirms them today as the fundamental defining features of a peacekeeping operation.[40]

Earlier histories of peacekeeping tend to conflate all Cold War era operations as "first generation peacekeeping". However, Hatto (2013) demonstrates not only that this is misleading, as there were many changes and exceptions during that period, but also that it is an unhelpful oversimplification to conceive of peacekeeping as an evolutionary progression from one generation to the next.[41] For example, one of the most dramatic departures from the simple interposition of traditional peacekeepers, the 1960s United Nations Organisation in the Congo (UNOC), had a robust mandate that contradicted the principles of impartiality and the minimal use of force; it was explicitly permitted to use force to prevent the resource-wealthy Eastern province, Katanga, from seceding and becoming an independent state.[42] UNOC was also instrumental in designing and creating new domestic government institutions.

The origins of the UNOC mission provide additional evidence of the influence of the Secretariat. The request for UN intervention arose initially from private communication between the Secretary-General and the Congolese government. The latter was being advised by his Under-Secretary for Special Political Affairs, and Special Representative of the Secretary-

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[38] The decision to avoid direct involvement by the great powers was one originally made by the General Assembly in the debate that led up to the resolution adopted on 4 November 1956 (A/3276).
[39] Ibid., see in particular, paras 156, 157, 166, 167, 179.
[40] UN DPKO Principles of Peacekeeping Operations.
[41] Hatto 2013; Hatto draws on Wiseman 1983. See also Williams (with Stuart Griffin) 2010, 17.
[42] UN Security Council 1961.

General in the Congo, Ralph J. Bunche.[43] Bunche had overseen UNEF in the Suez crisis, and his

unique expertise in UN peacekeeping was greatly respected by member states. The Congolese

government originally intended only to appeal to either the US or USSR for great power

assistance, but Bunche persuaded them to also formally appeal to the UN Secretary-General.

Explicitly invoking Article 99, Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld convened an

emergency session of the Security Council.[44]   As the US delegation pointed out in that meeting,

he did so on his own authority, as the "Government of the Republic of the Congo has not asked

for a meeting of the Security Council".[45] The session almost immediately disintegrated into a

long, bickering debate between the US and the USSR, with each repeatedly criticising even the

simplest and briefest of statements made by the other. The USSR attempted to postpone the

debate on procedural grounds, insisting that a Congolese representative be present. This was

understandable, given that while Congo had not been invited, Belgium had been; Belgium, the

former colonial power, had triggered the crisis when it re-deployed its military to the recently

independent proto-state against the wishes of the Congolese government. This tied in to the

continued insistence of the USSR to jointly associate both the US and Belgium with "Western

Imperialism".   The US accused the USSR of lying after almost every Soviet statement.

However, despite this animosity, both the US and USSR agreed to allow a resolution after the

Secretary-General insisted that the Council side-line any procedural criticisms, given that they

were bound by a moral imperative to allow a UN military intervention to take place

immediately.[46]

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[43] UN Security Council 1960b, para 2-5.
[44] UN Secretary-General 1960b.
[45] UN Security Council. 1960a, para 10.
[46] UN Security Council. 1960a.

The text of the subsequent resolution authorising an intervention was extremely brief, and included no details beyond stating that the Secretary-General was authorised to independently create a force to provide the Congo government with military assistance to establish security.[47] With hindsight, this latitude can best be explained by what has since become a well-known phenomenon. Observers of the UN have seen numerous times that an inability of the Security Council or General Assembly to agree on specifics frequently leads to vague resolutions as a means to form some kind of consensus, on the assumption, perhaps, that any agreement is better than no agreement at all.

The Secretary-General drew upon the formal authority provided by the resolution, and using moral arguments emphasising the urgency of the situation, persuaded member states to provide troops with a speed that is truly remarkable in comparison to almost every UN mission since; less than four days after the Security Council Resolution there were over 3,500 UN troops on the ground in the Congo.[48] Even sooner than that, he had persuaded the US, UK, Canada and the USSR to provide airplanes to start airlifting in food and medical supplies.[49] The Secretary-General also persuaded his home country, Sweden, to send a Brigade, and to allow him to appoint Major-General Carl von Horn (Sweden) as Supreme Commander of the Force. [50] General von Horn had for three years commanded the UN Treaty Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) in Israel/Palestine, and as the Secretary-General reiterated, was widely recognized by member states as having "considerable experience as a senior military representative of the United Nations."[51] Until General von Horn was able to arrive, the Secretary-General unilaterally

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[47] UN Security Council 1960b.
[48] UN Secretary-General 1960a.
[49] Ibid., 11.
[50] Ibid., 9.
[51] Ibid., 9.

appointed Bunche as Commander *ad interim* of the Force.[52] Throughout the creation and early

days of UNOC, Hammarskjöld and Bunche almost exclusively managed both relations with the

Congolese government and the initial military operations of the Force.

The autonomy allowed the Secretariat could be at least partially explained by the views

member states had of the Secretary-General and USG Bunche. By 1960, in the estimation of

member states, Hammarskjöld had "become a world leader of outstanding distinction".[53] The

esteem in which he was held by almost all world leaders was reflected in the nature of his re-

election as Secretary-General in 1958. The Security Council debate on the issue of the choice of

the next Secretary-General was extremely brief, and support for him was unanimous.[54] The

General Assembly then confirmed his re-election with no debate at all and no need even to refer

the decision to a committee.[55]

Bunche had a similar reputation. During the Security Council meeting (13-14 July 1960)

that authorised UNOC, the US Ambassador described Bunche as "respected throughout the

world for his devotion to peace and to the goals of the United Nations".[56] In the same meeting,

the Ambassador from Italy praised, in his words, "the splendid work performed in the Republic

of the Congo by the Under-Secretary of the United Nations, Mr. Ralph Bunche, with great

sacrifice, endurance, intelligence and in full independence of action, for the pursuance of the

aims of our Organization in that territory." This helps to explain the flexibility afforded the

Secretariat in designing the peacekeeping mission then authorized under Resolution 143 (1960),

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[52] Ibid., 10.
[53] Rovine 1970, 283.
[54] UN Security Council 1958, Paras 464-465.
[55] UN General Assembly 1957.
[56] UN Security Council 1960a Para 114, page 22.

and the freedom USG Bunche and the Secretary-General were permitted to engage in extensive technical assistance in what amounted to an unprecedented state-building exercise. Despite later concerns over its inability to stabilise the region, UNOC initially laid the foundations for other politically ambitious UN missions. For example, in 1962, the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) was established in Western New Guinea, with a broad mandate that included, for the first time, UN executive authority over a region and the creation of a police force.[57]

This brief historical review serves to illustrate the historical role of the Secretariat. From 1956 until the late 1980's, peacekeeping remained a sporadic, ad hoc process, with several extended periods of inactivity when the superpowers were particularly mutually obstructive. While the initial impetus of state actors such as Lester Pearson was crucial to the development of UN peacekeeping as a practice, Cold War peacekeeping missions, when they did take place, were influenced by the Secretariat as much as by powerful states, and this expansion of UN peacekeeping activity led to a significant increase in resources for the Secretariat. As mentioned above, the Secretary-General's staff was expanded considerably on his request, with the creation of two additional USG posts and their corresponding staff, specifically mandated to support his efforts to independently create and manage political interventions into international conflicts.

This mini-case study into Hammarskjöld and the early days of peacekeeping illustrates the potential for exceptional informal authority on the part of the Secretary-General. However, there are arguably several conditions that persisted at the time that may have affected this, conditions no longer present. For example, the growing Cold War animosity and global

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[57] UN DPKO. Western Guinea – Mission Background. See also United Nations 1996, 625.

polarisation may have necessitated delegation to the Secretariat, as neither side would trust the other to manage an intervention. The uncertainty of a new international venture, the first peacekeeping efforts, may also have played a role. Thus, while this is a useful indicator of the mechanisms of influence by informal authority, I focus on two case studies that took place after the end of the Cold War, and after the Organisation's members had a wealth of experience to draw upon, to demonstrate that that Hammarskjöld's authority was not a unique event.

1.3 Methodology

This argument is fundamentally about persuasion of member states by a Secretariat. To substantiate this argument, I explored the various strategies used by the Secretariat to influence member state policies. In Chapter three, I examine the UN budgetary processes to clarify why different actors at different stages of the budgetary process respond in different ways to the particular arguments and strategies of persuasion. In this section I discuss the qualitative document and interview research necessary to elucidate both the strategies and the institutions through which they operate.

1.3.1 Choice of method

The study of political persuasion is rife with methodological challenges.   In any social environment, persuasion can operate simultaneously on multiple levels of analysis, from one-on-one interactions within small groups, to large-group persuasion though mass media and publications. Causal relationships can also be complex and multidirectional. They are also influenced by underlying power relationships and by the extent to which parties to a discussion may individually, or as a group, be sincerely willing to alter their views based on reasoned arguments. Persuasion is a dynamic process, and one in which all actors potentially persuade all

others, and in which even those who have been persuaded might be unaware of the source of their change in attitude towards a particular concept.

I use the case study method because my intention is to examine some of the *mechanisms* that lead to the delegation of additional formal authority or resources to IO bureaucracies, and this method is the most effective tool for doing so. Large-n quantitative studies are exceptionally useful for establishing the presence and strength of *correlations* between variables, but more in depth case studies are required to explore the complex chains of events between one variable and another.

In the last few decades of the 20th century, advocates for case study methods came under increasing pressure to justify and clarify their approach. Lijphart (1971) famously ranked three methodological approaches, with experiments as the most superior, statistics as a close second, and with case studies as the weakest tool.[58] Lieberson (1991) similarly claimed that comparative historical techniques, ostensibly based on Mill's methods of agreement and disagreement, are only applicable in small-n research where several highly unlikely assumptions hold: a deterministic relationship, no measurement error, a single cause, and no interaction effects.[59] The pressure peaked with King, Keohane and Verba's (KKV) (1994) text, in which they argued that the objective of social scientific research is to measure correlations in order to estimate the realised causal *effect*, the mean change in a dependent variable for a given change in the independent.[60]

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[58] Lijphart 1971.
[59] Lieberson 1991.
[60] King, Keohane, and Verba 1994.

KKV have since inspired over two decades of reflexive and rigorous clarification of the case study method, and those reactions persuasively indicate that a quantitative approach would be almost impossible to apply effectively to my theory. For one challenge, one would need to quantify the various forms of informal authority. It may be possible to identify some indicators, such as the number of times actors describe the person in question as being authoritative, but this would be highly problematic and inaccurate.

The case study method has an advantage in tracing causal *mechanisms* between variables through an approach that Peter Hall calls systematic process analysis,[61] or what others such as Jeffrey Checkel, Andrew Bennett and Alexander George call process tracing,[62] unlike correlational analysis which only seeks causal *effects*. As is now widely recognised in the social sciences, correlation does not equal causation, and authors such as George and Bennett claim that while statistical analysis can be effective at establishing *how much* a variable mattered, the case study method is far better at clarifying *whether* and *how* it mattered.[63] I would concur with the "how", although correlative studies can persuasively establish "whether" a factor mattered.

In order to clarify the mechanisms leading to the formal delegation of authority or increased resources, my method will centre on what Collier, Brady and Seawright (2004) call *causal process* observations (CPOs), which they contrast with *data-set* observations as understood by statisticians. They describe CPOs as incidences of an "insight or piece of data that provides information about context or mechanism" that provides inferential leverage for the

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[61] Hall 2003.
[62] Bennett 2010; George and Bennett 2005.
[63] George and Bennett 2005.

theory as a whole.[64] These observations "focus on ideas or priorities that must be held by actors

in order for the hypothesis associated with the data-set observations to be correct".[65]   Alan

Jacobs refers to these as the *observable implications* (OIs) of an argument, and I follow that

terminology. The process of seeking multiple OIs within a single case (a case being defined as a

spatiotemporally bounded instance of a phenomenon) overcomes what KKV considered to be a

degrees of freedom problem in case studies.[66]

One or two cases can generate many of these OIs, each of which provide additional tests

for a hypothesis. Each OI can include elements of one or more ideal types.[67]   For example,

many are straw-in-the-wind tests, which provide some evidence, but are not necessarily unique

to the theory being postulated; nor are they certain to be observed if the theory is correct.

Slightly more useful are hoop test OIs, which must be observed for the theory to be true, but

which could also have other explanatory factors. More valuable yet is the smoking-gun OI,

which is unique to the theory in question; it may not be observed, so while it's absence neither

confirms nor disconfirms the theory, it's presence firmly confirms the theory. Finally, the

perfect OI is double decisive, an incidence that, if viewed, confirms the theory, and if not

viewed, established the theory as false. I therefore formulated OIs with two objectives: first,

they are what I would expect to see if my argument is correct, second, they are phenomena that

alternative theories would not expect. While my intent is to build rather than test theory,

carefully constructed OIs can help to do both. As Van Evera (1997) suggests, I will consider

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[64] Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2004, 184-185; this collected text was intended explicitly as a response to the claims made in King, Keohane and Verba 1994.
[65] Collier, Brady, and Seawright 2004, 191.
[66] King, Keohane, and Verba 1994.
[67] Van Evera 1997.

both how unique each expected observation is to my argument vis-à-vis other theories and how

certain it is to be seen if my argument is correct.[68]

Naturally, any methodological decision involves trade-offs. The most conspicuous one

here is that between accuracy and generalisability. By examining in detail the mechanisms

involved, process tracing has the potential to significantly improve the accuracy of the findings;

however, given the small number of cases, the ability to generalise from our findings to a wider

population of potential cases is weakened.[69] I would like to strike a tentative balance by initially

choosing two cases to study in depth; in doing so, I hope to form a framework that I, or others,

can apply to other cases.

1.3.2 Case selection

For this dissertation, I focus on the UN for several reasons. The UN is the broadest

contemporary international organization, both in terms of scope and membership, and is arguably

the most complex and influential. It was therefore a logical forum in which to explore the

possibility of a previously unexamined mechanism between IO Secretariats and member states.

My specific case selection was informed by six considerations:

i) Number of cases: I focus on two cases to strike a balance between accuracy and

generalisability.   A clear picture of the mechanisms I have studied requires detail and accuracy

in each case, posing considerable time and resource constraints.   However, two cases are the

bare minimum. I look forward to the opportunity, after this dissertation, to develop this research

program and choose additional cases to either improve the generalisability of my argument or

determine the range of cases to which it is applicable. I intend to examine two more UN cases,

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Przeworski and Teune 1970, 17-30.

in the areas of development and climate change, before moving on to examine other international

organisations.

ii) Holding institutional factors constant: I chose two cases within the UN in order to

hold fairly constant many of the institutional factors commonly used to explain variation in

delegation (such as membership, scope, mandate, and power relations amongst states). By

holding these constant as potential causes of the moments of additional delegation, I can focus on

explanations based on ideational factors and related persuasion mechanisms. Of all the

alternative, realist or institutional explanations, power politics is the one factor that cannot be

held completely constant; while the relative power of each state may not vary over each case

study, the variation within each state's foreign policy priorities from year to year can depend on

the individual preferences of elected officials, and remains a plausible alternative explanation

that I try to consider.

iii) Likely source of informal authority: One of the reasons I narrowed the set of

potential cases to within UN institutions is that as the global organisation with the broadest

membership, and with greater visibility than other IOs in the same issue areas, it is reasonable to

assume that it at least *may* have centres of expertise-based/principle-based authority within its

bureaucracy. Despite the fact that global politics is replete with regime complexity, with multiple

centres of authority in each issue area, many specific global issues are commonly widely

associated with no more than one or two intergovernmental organisations. On the issue of IO

military intervention, only NATO potentially rivals the UN DPKO, and on the issue of IO

political intervention, the DPA is the dominant non-state actor, along with the inter-related

activities of the Office of the UN Secretary-General. However, while the UN may be viewed by

states as the dominant IO actor in both military and political intervention, the Secretariat itself

has very little formal authority, unlike IOs based almost purely on expertise, such as the IMF or the World Bank. This relative lack of formal authority makes influence by the UN Secretariat all the more intriguing.

iv) Variation on the DV: I also chose these cases, across a time period of several years each, because doing so allows for a range of values on the outcome of interest. The DPKO budget remained largely constant both before and after the sudden 2001/2 increase, despite changing external conditions typically cited as causes for institutional change. The DPA begins with slow growth, increases sharply in 2005 and 2008 following efforts by the UN bureaucracy, but stagnates from 2009 until the present, during which its economic autonomy is sharply curtailed with more detailed micromanagement of its budget by states.

I acknowledge that this selection approach is considerably at odds with selection advice based on correlational logic. For example, KKV recommend not just selecting a range of values of the DV, but also preferably selecting cases with a large variation on the IV, in which the researcher has no prior knowledge of the DV. As with their preference for large-n, this suggestion is less applicable to my project. Here, as in many of the most useful comparative studies, the objective is to understand the mechanisms leading to a particular outcome, not the correlations. With many of the most profoundly significant outcomes studied by social scientists, such as war, democracy, capitalism, or state formation, the outcome is usually apparent before the research has begun, but it is the origins and complex paths to those social and political outcomes which fascinate and often elude us. For this, it makes sense both to begin with selections based on the outcome, and then to use a process tracing method to work back to identify the influential variables.

v) Availability of data: Another reason I selected these cases was the availability of data. The UN makes some academic resources available, and processes for engagement with the public are in place, which makes the UN a practical and manageable first step into the exploration of my hypothesised relationship between different forms of IO Secretariat authority and member state behaviour. The UN keeps extensive records of debates, negotiations, speeches, decisions, and institutional changes, all of which are usually available, and in most if not all of the six UN languages.[70] This is not the case in some other IOs, particularly non-Western regional organisations, which can be opaque by comparison. I am conscious of the resultant selection bias. Nevertheless, this project establishes a framework which can be applied to all IOs, including those that at first glance require a different approach to gathering the internal data. I will investigate options for considering less accessible IOs in future research, in order to further clarify the applicable domain for the mechanisms being postulated here.

vi) Most influential case: Seawright and Gerring (2008) argue that there are seven categories of cases considered amenable to process tracing for varying reasons: typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, different , most similar, and most influential cases.[71] This is primarily an influential pair of cases. The United Nations system is the most comprehensive IO yet created, in terms of membership, institutional design, the ambition of its objectives, and the range and scope of the issues it attempts to address. With the exception of trade, it is the primary set of institutions for attempting to resolve almost any international challenge. While in some ways, this is because it has become an umbrella system for an expanding and inter-related set of

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[70] A notable UN exception is the ACABQ, which does not release any details of their deliberations.
[71] Seawright and Gerring 2008.

numerous international institutions, it is nonetheless the most influential IO in the context of this study.

vii) Comparing theories: As stated above, I do not seek to test competing theories. However, in order to strengthen my argument, I am sensitive to the contrary expectations of more materialist theories, such as those based upon neo-realist foundations. The DPA and DPKO are particularly useful cases for considering those alternative theories. Seminal scholars of small-n comparative politics, such as Harry Eckstein and George and Bennett, advocate examining the most likely and least likely cases.[72] My cases could fit into either, depending on one's theoretical standpoint.

Given my assumption that influence over member states is not solely due to material factors, and that non-state actors, without the ability to coerce or leverage material resources, can exert significant influence through the propagation of ideas, the UN Secretary-General and the heads of the DPA and DPKO could be likely sources of informal authority. The Secretary-General in particular should be associated with the ideals of the UN Charter, and the DPA and DPKO include some of the world's leading experts in international political and military intervention. Thus if you accept my claim that informal authority can alter the behaviour of states, then these seem like most-likely cases.

However, from Realist perspectives, that informal authority should be irrelevant. The mandates of the DPA and DPKO departments encompass activities traditionally considered the exclusive purview of powerful states. The DPA, and the Special Political Missions (SPMs) it manages, constitute a diplomatic network of staff instructed by the Secretary-General to interfere

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[72] Eckstein 1975; George and Bennett 2005.

in domestic issues with limited policy oversight by those powerful states (although current Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Jeffrey Feltman, is from the US). The DPKO, even more contentiously, recommends, plans, and manages military interventions within and across state borders. Thus, from a materialist, statist perspective, in which state power and authority, particularly on military issues, is an end sought by all states, these cases provide a hard case for my argument, in which additional delegation and resources for the bureaucracy would be unlikely.

An institutionalist perspective makes delegation more explicable, but it fails to explain why powerful states in my case studies decided that it was in their interests to give greater resources and control to a Secretariat over the management of political and military interventions, given that historically, all the military and political expertise and capacity has resided with states. One possible institutionalist answer is that delegating the activity to the UN was viewed as economically more efficient in the long term. Indeed, the Secretary-General did argue that investing in preventative measures such as political missions would be more cost-effective, saving member states from later expending far more resources on reactive measures such as peacekeeping missions. However, he provided no empirical evidence for the claim, and consistently increasing costs for both peacekeeping operations and special political missions over the last fifteen years, as yet, refute his claim.

1.3.3 Evidence and measurement

Evidence types 1: documents[73]

This study draws partly on secondary sources, defined as those authored by observers, rather than directly involved actors, including peer-reviewed articles and texts, magazine articles, histories, and commentaries. The majority of the data is drawn from primary sources, authored by directly involved actors in both official and unofficial documents. I define official documents as those that are published with the formal consent of the government or organisation in which the author is employed, including broad publications, internal documents, and speeches. Unofficial primary sources include manuscripts, diaries, letters, autobiographies, and interviews by/with those actors. This study assembled UN official documents using the United Nations Bibliographic Information System (www.unbisnet.un.org) and the United Nations Official Documents System (www.documents.un.org).

Each type of evidence had its own advantages and disadvantages. Throughout this research, I combined official and unofficial data to gain a more accurate picture. Booth and Glynn (1979) showed that official records such as government cabinet "minutes can be misleading, inaccurate, and an incomplete reflexion of Cabinet discussion", and that even dramatic or controversial dialogue can be excluded from the record, sometimes *because* it is dramatic and controversial; they also show the importance of the informal "chat in the corridor" in the taking of decisions, opinion formation, and the channelling of information.[74]

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[73] For a useful and concise discussion of document research, albeit in the context of historical studies, see Trachtenberg 2006,140-168.
[74] Booth and Glynn 1979.

Official documents produced at (or near) the heads of governments or IOs were typically the result of a process of multiple reviews and edits, and thus less prone to individual biases, although bias at the institutional level was a consideration. Another advantage of high level, official documents is that they tended to be supported by greater resources, and as such were capable of greater accuracy. However, these documents also had some disadvantages.

One disadvantage was that the processes of official document production, while often more transparent, can generate somewhat sterile documents, partly because, as Weber discussed, bureaucratic authority is based on a reputation of rational, dispassionate, and rule oriented behaviour.[75] Thus, while this made it easier to identify decisions and political outcomes, it also made it more difficult to ascertain the motives behind the claims in official documents. This difficulty was exacerbated by the processes of negotiation and political compromise that UN official document creation involves, between different parts of the secretariat as well as with states. Another disadvantage for official documents, unpacked by Barnett and Finnemore (1999, 2004), is that ostensibly rule-orientated behaviour can nonetheless produce quite dysfunctional and narrow-minded decision-making procedures.

Unofficial documents were more individually subjective, but they also illuminated the informal processes and power relations not discussed in official documents. The comparative politics literature on informal institutions implies that an analysis of authority in IOs should consider how informal norms, rules, and procedures interact with formal ones. These interactions may be complementary, accommodating, substituting, or competing, depending on whether the outcomes of formal and informal institutions converge or diverge, and whether the

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[75] Mowat 1971, 68. Mowat demonstrates that cabinet minutes do not help illuminate "motives or passions".

formal institutions are effective.[76] For Helmke and Levitsky, actors create informal institutions

when formal rules are incomplete, unattainable, or not publicly acceptable. These informal

institutions change not only when formal institutions change, but also as societal values evolve,

and as the status quo conditions that support them change. These ideas are only rarely applied to

IOs; Barnett and Finnemore's (2004) exploration of IO bureaucratic culture is an important

exception.

As with any piece of informal evidence, of course, one needs to consider the motives the

author may have to portray themselves or others in a flattering or derogatory light. With all

articulated claims and preferences, in documents as in speeches and interviews, I considered the

intended audience and the preferences of that audience, and the motives an author may have to

tailor claims in light of that audience. Those motives can, in some cases, be quite profound. For

example, in the months leading up to the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, Saddam Hussein

repeatedly turned down opportunities to reveal convincingly to international actors that he did

not have "WMD", because his regime stability depended upon both domestic (Shi'a) and

international (Iran, Israel) actors believing that there existed a credible threat that he would use

extreme measures to both repel external threats and to suppress domestic dissent.[77] Thus,

audience preferences must be broadly understood in order to identify the strategic motives an

actor may have to misrepresent their position.

Types of evidence 2: interviews

Interviews data began with interviews at UN Headquarters, New York, in June 2015, and

then with occasional phone interviews in the following two years. I interviewed sixteen

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[76] Lauth 2000; Helmke and Levitsky 2004; see also O'Donnell 1996; O'Donnell 1994.
[77] Tariq Aziz, former Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq, cited in Annan 2012, 344.

individuals. Of the ten state representatives, one was a former Ambassador, three were currently

Fifth Committee members, one was a current member of the ACABQ, two were assigned to the

Security Council, one to the CPC, and two were advisors on issues that included peace

operations. Of the six Secretariat staff, two were assigned to the ACABQ, two at the DPA, and

two to the Fifth Committee. All but one, the retired UN Ambassador, were currently working at

the UN when interviewed. I therefore interviewed both state and IO bureaucratic actors directly

involved in various stages of the budget process, both in order to better understand that process,

and to understand extent to which different actors are able to influence the budget. I also did so

to broadly investigate the informal as well as formal institutions and relationships amongst key

actors. For all the interviews, an underlying objective was to clarify the sequence of events in

each case, including the identities, roles and actions of the relevant actors, and any instance in

which changes in policy preferences took place.

Interviews did suffer from similar weaknesses to those found in informal documents, but

the validity was superior, as lines of inquiry in an interview were tailored specifically to address

the research question, rather than inferred indirectly from documents that may not have explicitly

or directly addressed the issues of interest. When, as is the case with this project, the objective

includes understanding the private attitudes and motives of actors, and how they interpret a

certain series of events, then interview data can be far more effective than document research.[78]

Preparing and conducting interviews

Interviewees were chosen on the basis of their proximity of each to the mechanisms

sought, and their level of access to the relevant information. Most interviewees held positions at

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[78] Aberbach and Rockman 2002.

or near the heads of their respective departments. Each signed, in advance, a consent form including a choice for the interviewee as to whether they would allow me to record the interview. The majority agreed to be recorded, but almost all selected one of the two most restrictive confidentiality preferences, preventing citation by name, and in some cases even prohibiting direct quotes that could lead them to be identified by any well-informed observer. Six interviewees permitted audio recordings of the interviews. All interviewees were offered the opportunity to review the relevant sections before final publication.

Interviews were semi-structured to allow the interviewee to introduce events, i.e. potentially omitted variables, that had not previously have occurred to me. I tried to remain focused on the line of questioning, however, acknowledging that the "valuable flexibility of open-ended questioning exacerbates the validity and reliability issues".[79] Almost all interviewees were willing to converse for at least an hour, even when the interview was scheduled for a far shorter time. I was sensitive to potential biases generated by the specific perspective of the interviewees, or the possibility that they might exaggerate their own role,[80] and these biases were mitigated through triangulation with other sources of evidence.

I transcribed each interview as soon as possible and triangulated that interview data with official and unofficial document data.[81] The nature of the interviews was such that there were no significant ethical issues; I adhered to the initial contact protocols, all requests for interviews were passed through official channels in writing, records were kept of all correspondence, and all interview data has been stored securely.

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[79] Berry 2002.
[80] Berry 2002, 681.
[81] Davies 2001.

1.4 Conclusion and roadmap

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the theoretical argument, sought to establish its plausibility with an early historical example, and provided an overview of the methodological choices made in the dissertation. Chapter 2 expands the theoretical account of the processes involved, with two objectives. One is to refute materialist views that persuasion using ideational arguments are ineffective, by discussing some social and psychological theories concerning the process of persuasion itself. The other objective is to explore the three strategies through which the Secretariat can persuade member states to alter their preferences.

Chapter 3 explores the UN budgetary process and outlines the relationships between all the key actors and voting blocs in the UN. This provides the necessary background to understand the case studies, but it also illustrates the institutional avenues for influence by the Secretariat, and the types of argument that are more effective at different veto points in the budget process. Chapters 4 and 5 are the case studies, examining changes to the budgets of the Departments of Peacekeeping Operations (2000-2001) and Political Missions (2005-2008) respectively. Chapter 6 will conclude the dissertation, summarising and further analysing the findings.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework - A Persuasive Secretariat

2.1 Summary of argument

This dissertation argues that members of the Secretariat of an international organisation can use their informal authority, rooted in the perceptions others have of their expertise or adherence to a set of principles, to persuade member states to increase resources for a part of that Secretariat. I do not discount the role of hard power politics or state actions based on material preferences; rather, I add to these factors an understudied, yet crucial factor in explaining these increases in IO bureaucracy resources. This chapter lays out the conceptual foundation for this claim.

International organisations are social environments, and as such, the behaviour and ideas of some actors can affect the behaviour and ideas of others, even without any change in the material conditions and incentives. Under such a social environment, the authority of particular actors can magnify their ability to persuade others. The efficacy of such efforts at persuasion is contingent upon several factors. There must be a reasonable degree of congruence between the speaker's authority type, the issue area, the content and form of the argument, and the values and beliefs of the audience. A second necessary precondition is a lack of entrenched veto groups within the audience in opposition to each other on the issue.

Given these conditions, group persuasion by the Secretariat is possible. I define IO large group persuasion as an activity in which an actor directs an argument towards the entire plenary assembly, or towards groups of influential members of the international community. These efforts take the form of both written and spoken arguments, which overlap given that speeches are regularly transcribed and published in written form. The complex decision-making processes of both individuals and groups allow for the preferences and beliefs of member states to be

influenced by an actor viewed as authoritative. These processes of persuasion and subsequent policy change can take several years for institutional reasons such as lengthy budget cycles, but also for individual and group cognitive obstacles as outlined in the section on persuasion below. The three strategies through which group persuasion is applied do not each correspond to stages, given that they often overlap and do not necessarily take place is a given order.

The first strategy is **agenda setting**. In order for changes to take place in the UN, the plenary assembly needs to come to believe that the issue under consideration has reached a crisis point, such that it needs to be earnestly and urgently debated. I refer to processes leading to this realisation, and the associated strategy of the Secretariat in encouraging that realisation, as agenda setting. Only after this commitment of member states is established can further strategic persuasive efforts be used to convince states that the successful resolution of that crisis requires the delegation of additional resources. However, this is not a stage to come before other strategies, as the two other strategies below can make agenda setting easier.

The second strategy is **operation initiation and/or expansion**, defined as the act of initiating activities that as a consequence will require that member states provide additional resources, to the Secretariat as well as to the specific mission. While the budgetary processes of international organisations are heavily influenced by the political relationships between blocs of states, they are also guided by the practical necessity of providing at least minimally sufficient funds to undertake the tasks previously assigned by member states. If a member of the Secretariat can begin by motivating states to endow the organisation with additional mandates, those mandates then provide the justification for additional resources, not just for the operations, but also for the Secretariat departments that managed those operations.

The third strategy is the **multiplication of informal authority**. In this strategy the Secretariat initiates the formation of autonomous actors whose tasks include firstly, analysing the activities that the Secretariat believes are under-resourced, and then secondly, providing recommendations for improving the efficacy of those activities. Members of these groups are specifically chosen because they are considered by member states to be authoritative in the relevant issue area. While the Secretariat may not directly control the outcome of such groups, they can take efforts to provide the group with all the data that may support the position of the Secretariat.

This theory chapter is structured along the lines of this argument. I discuss each core concept in turn: i) the social interaction of member states within international organisations, ii) informal authority, iii) the psychology of persuasion, iv) agenda setting, v) strategic persuasion, vi) operation initiation, and vii) multiplying authority. I then consider alternative explanations for delegation, rooted in neorealist and functionalist theories. I argue that statist ontological assumptions render these incomplete tools for studying the mechanisms leading to delegation of resources in international organisations.

For some, small aspects of this chapter, I intentionally delve into slightly more detail than that ostensibly justified by the evidence in the case studies. This is because the primary purpose of this project is not to test theories, but to build a theoretical framework that i) balances both accuracy and generalisability, and ii) could be applied additional case studies at any IO, on any issue, and at any level of analysis. This dissertation considers, as an audience, the entire plenary assembly of the United Nations, but additional research could apply this theoretical framework on a much smaller scale, even limiting a study to the gradual shift in preferences of an individual

key representative within that assembly. The depth of this theory chapter accounts for such additional projects.

As I work through the theory below, I draw attention to a series of observable implications [OIs] that I then seek, within the case studies, to provide evidence in support of or in opposition to that hypothesis. The ideal OI includes elements that are a) implied by my theory, and b) not expected by the alternative theories being considered. Conversely, I will also explicitly note some of the counter observable implications [COIs] expected by those opposing theoretical claims. I include these implications where relevant, and then provide a complete list at the end of this chapter.   The final chapter of the dissertation then includes a comprehensive table summarising the findings in both case studies for each OI.

2.2 Core concepts and theoretical framework

2.2.1 International organisations (IOs)

In this section, I define IOs, discuss the social nature of state behaviour within them, and the possibility of influential shaming. States are far more constrained by IO institutions than state-centric analyses acknowledge. This acknowledgement of the nature of the IO environment is essential for a more complete understanding of why the persuasion of states by non-state actors is possible.

For the purposes of this study, I use the term IO to refer to any formal intergovernmental organisation formed through a Charter between three or more states, with a physical headquarters, permanent staff, and regular meetings between member states.[82]   The terms Secretariat and IO bureaucracy will be used interchangeably to refer to the personnel throughout

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[82] Coleman 2007, 6-7.

an IO who are organisationally separate from the plenary assemblies, and whose primary formal role is to administer the organisation and to enact mandates set by member states. These international civil servants formally hold a professional allegiance to the IO, and to the departments in which they are employed, and not to their respective member states. Examples from the UN include employees of the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Office of the Secretary-General (OSG). My focus will be on the heads of departments, and on the Secretary-General, who is the focal point for the ideas and arguments intended to influence state behaviour. He is also the potential source of a great deal of informal authority, and thus is a conduit through which the influence of the Secretariat might be brought to bear on others. However, as is discussed in more detail in the case study chapters, the Secretary-General is both influenced, and supported in his persuasive efforts, by other actors within the UN. These other actors are primarily members of the Secretariat, but they also include some state actors.

IOs are social environments, as Johnston (2001) discussed. However, while Johnston predominantly focused on interactions amongst states, these social environments also include individuals from within the bureaucracy, from various related agencies and NGOs, and other permitted observers, who all engage with each other as well as with those representing member states. Often, these same individuals interact regularly for many years. Bureaucrats can be lifetime employees, and member state delegation staff are typically stationed at an IO for several years at least.

The design of an IO, in terms of their charter, rules of procedure, and membership, is to a considerable degree a reflection of the set of power relationships amongst founding member states. John Mearsheimer (1995) concisely restated the Realist position that "institutions are

basically a reflection of the distribution of power in the world. They are based on the self-interested calculation of the great powers".[83] I concur, and the design of the UN Security Council, with the veto power control of the Organisation by the victorious great powers of WWII, provides a supporting example. However, Mearsheimer immediately goes on to say that institutions therefore "have no independent effect on state behaviour".[84] This claim can only be asserted if one assumes an extremely narrow, statist ontology combined with assumptions of purely materialist motives and purely material sources of influence.

On the contrary, international organisations are constituted by sets of institutions that, even after created by power states, can constrain or limit the policy choices of even the most powerful actors. Douglass North (1990) famously defined institutions as "the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic, and social interaction", including "both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights)".[85] Key to this definition is the recognition that, institutions, once established, influence and sometimes rigidly restrict the range of permissible actions for those operating within, sometimes for decades afterwards. Within an IO, these constraining informal institutions manifest as sets of ideas, which can influence states and Secretariats as well as the perceptions of material concerns emphasised by neorealists.[86]

This understanding of institutions is relevant here because in an IO, the Secretary-General informally but explicitly adopts the role of guardian of those institutions. For example,

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[83] Mearsheimer 1995, 7.
[84] Ibid.
[85] North 1991; for more details and evidence, see North 1990.
[86] See, for example, Rueschemeyer 2006, 227-251; Price 2006, 252-265. Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Jervis 1976; Schmidt 2008; Howorth 2004.

the consideration in the case study chapters of how the Secretary-General's authority is perceived by others shows that a Secretary-General can be identified as the spokesman, not just for the administration of the Organisation, but also the principles upon which it was founded. Those principles, codified in the UN Charter and reaffirmed in numerous subsequent resolutions, include commitments by member states to "maintain international peace and security", promote "the economic and social advancement of all peoples", to support "fundamental human rights" and ensure "the equal rights of men and women".[87]

Some Secretaries-General often publicly identified and shamed states that did not adhere or aspire to those ideals, ideals to which member states have arguably committed themselves by virtue of membership in the United Nations, and as signatories to many resolutions that espouse those ideals. The concept of shaming is useful here for two reasons: one is to help counter materialist, rationalist assumptions that state preferences are derived exclusively from their material needs and their desire to improve their relative power; the other is to illustrate one of the mechanisms by which an actor with little or no material power can persuade more powerful actors to adjust their policies.

Shaming can motivate states to change their behaviour because, as emphasised by the English school, the state is a social as well as a political entity, operating in a wider community of states. Bull and Watson (1984) define international society as "a groups of states (or, more generally, a group of independent political communities) which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behaviour of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of others, but also have established by dialogue and consent common rules and institutions for the conduct of their

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[87] UN. UN Charter. Preamble.

relations, and recognize their common interest in maintaining these arrangements".[88] States that

commit transgressions of those rules can be subjected to chastisement both by other states and

the Secretariat.

Shaming by a non-state actor can incur costs however, if the target of shaming can

leverage political resources to retaliate. An example would be after 2003, when Kofi Annan

declared the US occupation of Iraq to be illegal under international law, and contrary to the

principles of the UN. However, shaming states with less material influence, and less influence

over UN institutions, such as with Indonesia in the DPKO chapter, can be effective in altering

state behaviour.

There is considerable theoretical and empirical evidence that shaming can be effective.

DeMeritt (2012) uses Principal-Agent (P-A) sub-theories to support the claim that by "calling

attention to abusive states, human rights NGOs and the United Nations can reduce both the

likelihood and severity of state-sponsored murder".[89] Franklin (2008) used a large-n study and

found similar results, that shaming reduced human rights violations, but with some

qualifications; effects typically lasted less than six months, and they were more pronounced

when there were stronger economic ties between the perpetrators and the actors or organisations

orchestrating the shaming.[90] Krain (2012) studied incidences of genocide from 1976-2008 to

show that naming and shaming significantly reduced the intensity of these occurrences.[91]

Lebovic and Voeten (2006) examined the efficacy of the UN Commission on Human Rights

shaming over a similar time period, 1977-2001, showing that it did have a significant effect, and

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[88] Bull and Watson 1984, 271-272.
[89] DeMeritt 2012.
[90] Franklin 2008.
[91] Krain 2012.

that, intriguingly, it became far more effective after the end of the Cold War, when its pronouncements ceased to appear as though entirely motivated by ideological bias.[92] States are thus both enabled and constrained by various formal and informal institutions that constitute their social community. I turn now to one more related issue, the extent to which states can be considered to be unitary actors.

For the sake of simplicity, I refer frequently to a state or bloc of states within that community as though it were a coherent unit. However, the foreign policy apparatus alone of any state will have numerous actors with varying sets of incentives. At the very least, a state will have an Ambassador at an IO, who would answer to a Foreign Minister (or an equivalent) and a Head of State. There can be significant differences between the perspectives and priorities of state representatives stationed in IOs and the governments they represent. Representatives, typically stationed at an IO for at least two to four years, develop more detailed knowledge of the inner workings of the IO than their superiors, and as a consequence develop stronger and more detailed opinions than their superiors as to how the organisation could be made more effective.

Pouliot (2016) argued that there are professional and academic reasons to treat Ambassadors, as professional spokesman, and their respective states, as coherent, unitary actors.[93] However, there are several interrelated reasons that lead me to suspect that in addition to advocating for policies that their respective governments support, Ambassadors may also seek reforms that they feel better enable the organisation to achieve its mandates. By virtue of their expertise relative to their superiors, and their physical distance from their home countries (making direct supervision of Ambassadors challenging) they can in theoretical terms be

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[92] Lebovic and Voeten 2006.
[93] Pouliot 2016.

considered to be an agent to the principal, their own government. Principal-Agent sub-theories expect a divergence of preferences between Ambassadors and their governments. There is also considerable empirical evidence that professionalism leads individuals not only to seek to improve their own work environment, but also to contribute more to their work environment than can be explained using a rationalist framework.[94]

This project found some evidence to support this claim. For example, three of the delegates to the UN Fifth Committee or the ACABQ interviewed by this author, at several points in our conversations, responded to a question by offering two responses. They first stated the formal position of those they represented, but then clarified that they personally believed that efficacy in the relevant issue area could be improved by responding differently.[95] More specifically, two of those interviewees privately expressed the opinion that, contrary to the official positions of their governments, they believed there would be considerable benefits to greater autonomy and/or resources for the Secretariat in specific issue areas. However, both saw the political debate in the Fifth Committee as a potentially insurmountable obstacle to realising those benefits. One identified a source of tension within democratic governments in that UN Fifth Committee delegates "are still in the situation whereby their governments are being forced by the taxpayers to conduct their business in a much leaner way and that logic should apply to the organisation, the United Nations, as well".[96]

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[94] DellaVigna 2009.
[95] Interviews with Fifth Committee delegates A, B, and C, and ACABQ member A, with this author, June 2015. This phenomenon was more complex with a delegate from an EU country, who indicated that his formal position was one agreed upon at the EU level, and that it was not only less effective than other possible policies in terms of efficiency at the UN, but that it was also not always the policy ideally preferred by his own country.
[96] Interview with Fifth Committee delegate A, with this author, June 2015.

This difference in preferences between ambassadors and their member states could be more pronounced with representatives from less wealthy countries. These states are typically unable to maintain a large diplomatic staff both at home and at the IO, leading to a condition where representatives are as likely to rely on information from the Secretariat as from as their superiors back in their home states.[97] The variance in staff numbers at UN Permanent Missions can be substantial. For example, the US Mission has 203 professional (excluding secretarial and custodial) staff, Russia 93, China 82, the UK 47, and France 46.[98] Each of those states is thus able to form teams to focus on each issue area. In contrast, Andorra has only two staff, and the majority of smaller states have between five and eight staff in total, with each individual typically fulfilling several roles.[99]

A final point on international organisations important in the context of changes to the budget of the Secretariat is that, when either formal or informal institutions change within IOs, they usually do so gradually, and are resistant to change in the short term for at least four reasons. In terms of the logic of consequences,[100] one reason is that actors acting within institutions will have invested time and resources in utility-seeking strategies that take those institutions into account. Any change in those institutions would then result in wasted resources and/or a need to invest additional time and effort to adapt; as a result, they resist efforts at change.[101] A second reason, in terms of the logic of appropriateness, is that formal institutions are reflections of prior social rules of behaviour that "are seen as natural, rightful, expected, and

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[97] Interviews with Fifth Committee delegates A and B with this author, June 2015. However, both were representatives of at least middle power states.
[98] UN. Protocol and Liaison Service: Permanent Missions.
[99] Ibid.
[100] March and Olsen 2006.
[101] North 1990; Hall and Taylor 1996; Pierson 2004.

legitimate", and those rules of behaviour are slow to change.[102] A third reason is procedural; IO

budget cycles can be lengthy, as discussed in Chapter 3, such that in the UN, there can be a gap

of two years or more between the General Assembly passing a resolution adding a mandate to a

department, and the corresponding change in the budget.   Finally, as discussed in the persuasion

section below, individuals and groups face cognitive obstacles and delays to changing their

beliefs and preferences, even in the face of accurate contrary information.

2.2.2 Authority

There are many sources of authority that over the last two decades have increasingly been

identified and studied amongst non-state actors. Utilising a sociological institutionalist (also

called organisational sociology) approach, Barnett and Finnemore (2004) provided persuasive

evidence for several arguments. Namely: i) IOs have a space for action that is autonomous from

member states; ii) applying Weber's thoughts on authority, IO actors use rational-legal authority,

moral authority, and/or a reputation for expertise, to independently influence state behaviour; and

iii) that IO bureaucracies can exhibit certain pathologies.[103] I build upon their work by arguing

more specifically that that informal authority, which is largely beyond the control of member

states, can be used to persuade member states to devote more resources to the bureaucracy.

I define authority as a socially accepted power or right to issue instructions, such that

authority induces deference in a particular audience within a particular bounded institutional and

issue context.[104] There are two broad categories of authority: formal and informal. Formal

authority is a hierarchical relationship codified in law. Informal authority is derived from

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[102] March and Olsen 2006, 2.
[103] Barnett and Finnemore 1999; 2004.
[104] This definition is composed from common knowledge, and from the general discussion of authority in Avant et al. 2010, 9-11.

subjective perceptions of the characteristics of the speaker, and is not codified through a formal hierarchy.

There are several forms of authority within each of these two categories. Avant et al. (2010), expanding upon Barnett and Finnemore (2004), posit a typology of five sources of authority: institutional, expertise-based, principle-based, delegated and capacity-based.[105] This is an excellent point of departure, although they do not parse formal from informal for analytical purposes as I do.

The last two of Avant et al.'s forms of authority, delegated and capacity-based, are externally controlled and formal, in that they are delineated in legal intergovernmental documents such as, in the UN case, the UN Charter and subsequent UN Resolutions, in particular those relating to the UN budget. At first glance, capacity-based authority, derived from the perception that the actor has the capacity required to effectively act to achieve a solution to a particular issue, is subjective in nature and potentially informal. However, if one parses from this category all of the other forms of authority Avant et al. list, one is left with the material, tangible resources available to the actor, spelled out in the IO budget and formally and legally delegated by member states; for this reason I identify it as a formal source of authority. In contrast, the first three forms of authority, institutional, expertise-based, and principle-based are

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[105] Avant et al. 2010. Their five categories of authority are:
Institutional authority is a consequence of holding a position in an organisation, and is limited by the rules and purposes of that organisation.
Expertise-based authority is based on experience and specialised knowledge.
Principle-based authority is based upon the adherence of an actor to a set of rules, principles, values or morals considered legitimate by the particular audience.
Formal delegated authority consists of rules agreed by organisation members concerning the mandate of an IO bureaucracy, over issues such as agenda setting, mediation, legal assistance, compliance monitoring, and information provision.
Capacity-based authority derives from the perception that the actor has the capacity required to effectively act to achieve (socially acceptable) solutions to a particular issue. For the audience, the focus is on the task, and who can best achieve it.

informal, to the extent that they are not delegated, but rather stem from the subjective perceptions others have of certain characteristics of the speaker that justify deference on certain issues.

Formal authority can always develop from informal. Just as any informal institution can become codified in law over time, powerful actors such as member states may choose to formally delegate authority to those they perceive to have the necessary characteristics. However, while informal can occasionally transition into formal, in the short-to-medium term, they can be differentiated from each other reasonably well.

Many UN resolutions over the years authorising the Secretariat to create, orchestrate or manage new activities only take place as a result of a concerted, prior effort by the Secretariat, utilising its informal authority, to claim that these changes need to take place. The formal authorities of the Secretariat, and of the Secretary-General in particular, are delineated by the UN Charter and the various Security Council and General Assembly Resolutions over the years. Resolutions are often preceded by Secretary-General reports drawing member states' attention to an issue, although the relative influence of the Secretary-General can only be elucidated through an in depth case study of each decision. It is my contention, at many points in this dissertation, that

It is the influence of these informal forms of authority that this project focuses upon. In addition to parsing formal from informal, I make one other significant departure from Avant et al.'s typology; I conflate institutional with principle-based authority. This is in large part due to the fact that both case studies used in this study are located within the United Nations. In the UN, the principle-based authority of the Secretary-General is closely intertwined with his institutional authority, because the principles perceived as adhered to by that actor form, and are

derived from, the formal objectives of the Organisation as a whole, namely furthering international peace, human rights, and the alleviation of suffering and poverty. In applications of this theory to other institutions, it may well be possible and/or necessary to consider institutional authority separately from principle-based, but in the UN, these two forms are too interdependent to do so.

I therefore consider there to be two forms, or categories of informal authority. *Expertise-based authority* is based on experience and specialised knowledge.[106] As P-A theorists highlight, the specialised knowledge of an agent provides one of the key motives for principals to delegate activities to them. On an individual level, perceptions of expertise depend on the speaker's professional history and qualifications, but also on their access to political information. The Secretary-General and key Secretariat actors are well placed at the nexus of world politics to directly access that information.

The UN Secretary-General can be perceived by many in the addressed audience to have a unique form of expertise authority, as an elected governor of the international community of states. Thus, even in addressing a large forum with conditions vastly different to those Johnston and Checkel envisioned as benefitting persuasion, a Secretary-General might be able to influence the attitudes of many states on one specific, but widely influential issue: the appropriate relationship between a state and the Organisation as a whole.

Principle-based authority is based upon the perception of adherence by an actor to a set of rules, principles, values or morals considered legitimate by the particular audience.[107] I

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[106] Barnett and Finnemore 2004, 24-25; Avant et al. 2010, 12-13.
[107] Avant et al. 2010, 13.

conceive of a slightly broader category than that discussed in Avant et al., such that I would also include Weber's rational-legal authority here as a form of authority derived from being perceived as adhering to bureaucratic and legal rules. Other examples of perceived principles could include humanity, globalism and political neutrality.

There are two kinds of evidence for identifying informal authority. Firstly, evidence is found in the manner in which listeners describe the attributes of the speaker. For example, if states (and other observers) perceive an IO bureaucrat to be endowed with expertise-based authority, they may make requests to that person for technical advice, and/or make references to the specialised knowledge of the actor as reason for deference to their instructions. If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with principle-based authority, states may describe the principles, values or morals held by that IO bureaucratic actor as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, and/or cite those principles and values as reason for deference.

Secondly, there is indirect evidence in the form of deference, which is only present if an IO actor actively and strategically choses to draw upon their authority in order to attempt to change the behaviour of others. This deference includes changes in the articulated preferences of member states to more closely accord with the expressed preferences of the Secretariat, but also an increasing tendency to repeat arguments previously articulated by the Secretariat actor viewed as authoritative.

These informal forms of authority relate closely to the concept of soft power, typically applied only to states. Soft power is the ability to change the behaviour of others by attraction or

co-optation in a way that excludes coercion or material incentives.[108] The process I postulate, between IO informal authority, argumentative and rhetorical persuasion, and the changes in state attitudes towards the IO, fits into this definition. While I rarely talk of the power of Secretariat, given how loaded the term "power" is, my argument could potentially be restated as a claim that a Secretariat can use their soft power as a means to increase their hard power. Similarly, the argument could be stated as an explanation of how informal authority could be used to increase one's formal authority.

The influence of informal authority depends not only on the characteristics of the speaker, but also on their diplomatic skill, and their conscious decision to strategically apply that skill to intervene in member state affairs. All Secretaries-General thus far, with the exception of Annan, had extensive foreign ministry experience, and Annan had many years experience in the UN at the nexus of international diplomacy. Of all the Secretaries-General, Hammarskjöld and Annan conspicuously stand out as intentionally and explicitly adopting a more diplomatically active role. Secretary-General Ban's approach was more directed towards backroom diplomacy than the bully pulpit, and his strategies focused on his formal rather than informal authority, but was no less active.

Studies of the authority of IO bureaucracies thus far have not explored the specific mechanism considered in this project. For example, Finnemore (1993), Barnett and Finnemore (2004), and Biermann and Siebenhüner (2009) are focused on the influence that authority can

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[108] Nye 1990, 2004 discusses the concept of soft power, commonly applied only to states, as the ability to change the behaviour of others by attraction or co-optation in a way that excludes coercion or material incentives. The process between IO informal authority, persuasion, and the changes in state attitudes towards the IO, fits into this definition. My argument could be restated as a claim that a Secretariat can use their soft power as a means to increase their hard power, but given how loaded the term "power" is, I chose avoid such a claim.

have on state *domestic* policies, specifically science, fiscal, and environmental policy respectively. For this project, it is the changes in states' foreign policy back *towards the IO*, and more specifically towards changes in the resources of the IO bureaucracy, which interest me.

OI 1: *If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with expertise-based authority, states may a) make requests for technical advice to the IO bureaucratic actor, and/or b) make references to the specialised knowledge of the IO bureaucratic actor as reason for deference to their instructions.*

OI 2: *If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with principle-based authority, states may a) describe the principles, values or morals held by the IO bureaucratic actor as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, and/ or b) cite those principles and values as reason for deference.*

2.2.3 Persuasion

In this section, I cover three sub-topics related to persuasion. First, I broadly define and describe the act of persuasion, particularly as it has been discussed by IR scholars. I then explore both the psychological and institutional reasons for the gradual nature of persuasion in an IO setting; this nature explains why the changes I study in both case studies take place over several years. Finally, I discuss the conditions under which persuasion is effective, both on an individual level, and when large groups are being addressed, in order to support my claims that the efficacy of persuasion is dependent upon the relationships between the character or authority of the speaker, the form of the argument, and the character or identity of the audience.

While the empirical parts of this dissertation do not delve into the individual psychological processes of persuasion, I explore them here for several reasons. One is that there is a fundamental, implicit assumption in much of the rationalist, materialist literature that the

causes of state preference changes within an IO must be due to exogenous factors that influence the benefits that each particular state will receive as a result of a particular policy change. In contrast, my project assumes that other ideational factors occasionally take precedence, and influence individual psychological responses to particular social problems, such that some member states can thus be persuaded to contribute resources to Secretariat activities that do not directly provide those states with any clear material benefits.

A second reason for laying the foundations of persuasion at the individual level is the consideration of further research after this dissertation. A valuable further study would be to identify key individuals in the audiences addressed by the Secretaries-General, and examine, in depth, their changes in attitudes towards issues surrounding greater resources for the Secretariat. Therefore, in order to lay the foundations, both for my theoretical assumptions that challenge the alternative materialist views, and in order to offer a framework that will allow the incorporation of individual-level analyses, I outline, in fairly simple terms, the psychological mechanisms of persuasion.

What is persuasion?

I define persuasion as the act of causing another to alter his or her attitude or behaviour towards an issue or concept through reasoning or argument, in the absence of overt material or mental coercion.[109] While my definition of persuasion cites both attitude change and behaviour as indicators, I focus my attention only on behaviour and not the underlying attitude changes. This is primarily for methodological reasons surrounding the difficulty of attitude measurements.

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[109] A similar formulation is used by Johnston 2001, 496. I am also influenced by the definition widely used in psychology, where persuasion is the use of symbols by one social actor for the purpose of changing or maintaining another social actor's opinion or behaviour; see, for example Dillard 2010, 203.

The experimental study of persuasion is plagued by what is termed the attitude-behaviour problem.[110] This is the phenomenon whereby a disjuncture exists between the change in a person's attitude towards a concept (often measured by questionnaire) and their observed behaviour on directly related issues. Debates ensue as to whether this disjuncture is the result of a failure to measure attitudes accurately (given that individuals may not be willing or able to honestly answer questions on the subject), or a lack of understanding as to how attitudes affect behaviour.[111] Even if there were accepted, reliable measures of attitude change, I would need to persuade Heads of State and Ambassadors to allow themselves to be subjected to in-depth psychological questionnaires, an unlikely if academically intriguing prospect. Therefore, while it is an implicit element of the mechanisms leading to the behaviour change of the member states in an IO, I do not seek to directly measure attitude change.

A common early framework in psychology posits three interacting cognitive elements from which a person develops or changes an attitude, defined as a cognitive/affective attraction or repulsion reaction towards any particular object/concept:[112] these are information, beliefs, and values. Information includes data claims, such as the number of dead/injured/displaced as a result of a particular conflict. Beliefs are convictions concerning the causal relationships in the social world, e.g. that military might is required to end conflicts, or conversely that diplomacy is more effective than military intervention, that deterrence is effective against aggressors, etc. Values are social concepts considered to be worthwhile ends, (e.g. equality, justice, order, state

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[110] Liska 1975; Miller 1980a, 1980b.
[111] Cushman 1980.
[112] Crasno and Prislin 2006, 347.

sovereignty, globalism, efficiency, human rights). Values inform broad sets of goals across a range of issues, influencing (or providing parameters for) both attitudes and beliefs.

It is through these tinted lenses of values and beliefs that states or their representatives interpret new information in order to form an attitude. The complex combinations of attitudes that every individual holds enable them to draw meaning from aspects of the world around them.[113] I believe that what Barnett and Finnemore (2004) would call bureaucratic or organisational culture can be discussed more systematically if one considers each given culture as embodying a particular set of values and beliefs, a set that can be inferred from the discourse generated by and within an organisation.

While there are three components to the formation of attitudes, there are two processes of attitude change. While there are many specific differences in the terminology used by various psychologists writing on the subject, there is widespread acceptance of some form of dual-process attitude change. The first process is an emotional response to a concept, based on innate,[114] cultural, or intuitive ideas.[115] This is rapid, requires little effort, but is more subject to systematic biases. The second process is a more active, effortful, and time-consuming deliberation, in which the actor is motivated to re-evaluate their prior understandings of the relevant information, causal connections, and, given time, even their values.

Persuasion includes both argumentation and rhetorical persuasion. In rhetorical persuasion, the speaker has fixed preferences and merely seeks to alter those of another. However, in argumentation, actors sincerely engage in truth seeking, and as such are open to

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[113] Rhodes and Ewoldsen 2013, 54.
[114] Marcus 2004.
[115] Graham et al. 2012.

changing their preferences, causal beliefs, and even, to a lesser extent, their principled

beliefs/values and shared understandings of norms and identities. Risse (2000) adds

argumentation to two other frequently articulated mechanisms for affecting behaviour change: i)

strategic bargaining, based on the logic of consequences, in which rational choice scholars

assume fixed preferences, and ii) rule-guided behaviour, based on the logic of appropriateness, in

which actions are guided by social norms.[116]   However, as Risse acknowledges, the logics of

consequences, appropriateness and argumentation are ideal types; any political interaction in

reality involves a combination thereof.

Persuasion is the mechanism by which the independent variable, informal authority,

influences the dependent variable, Secretariat resources. If one categorises persuasive

relationships by the number of speakers and listeners, there are several different scenarios. Each

can be considered separately as shown below.

	Small audience	Large audience
One or few speakers	Persuasion	Large Group persuasion
Large number of speakers	Social influence	

Table 1: Persuasion categorised by number of speakers and listeners

I parse out persuasion in this way to consider the different processes by which an entire

international community of states can shift position on an issue, and to draw attention to a

specific, less studied mechanism, large group persuasion.   This framework also allows one to

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[116] Risse 2000.

begin to consolidate the invaluable insights of two approaches: one the one hand, Checkel (2005)

and Johnston's (2001) studies of persuasion and social influence, and on the other hand, studies

of the efficacy of norm entrepreneurs, Finnemore and Sikkink (2005) in particular.

Checkel (2005) and Johnston (2001) have provided evidence of the link between

authority and persuasion. They divide the mechanisms of socialisation into two categories:

persuasion and social influence.[117] Each process is considered to be more likely under different

conditions. For Johnston, persuasion is more effective when some actors have a special authority

or special relationship to the audience, an observation that I build upon. He also notes that

persuasion is more likely when most actors involved are fairly autonomous agents, and when the

group is small and uses deliberative, consensus-based decision-making. Checkel focuses more

closely on actors than institutional conditions, considering the specific qualities of individuals

involved; he again cites the special authority of the persuader, but also the openness (lack of

ingrained beliefs) of the persuadee, the extent to which the latter is in a novel environment, and

whether the argument accords with what is considered to be socially appropriate behaviour. So

in terms of the table above, for both Checkel and Johnston, attitude change by persuasion is more

likely in a small audience, and change by social influence typically requires a large group

advocating conformity by a smaller subset of that group.

Johnston and Checkel's observations are extremely useful for this project, but there are

several explanatory factors and conditions relevant to my case studies that are not included in

these particular studies. For one, they primarily assume that the sources of persuasion and social

influence in international institutions originate with other states, where I contend that those

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[117] Checkel, 2005; Johnston 2001.

sources can also be found in the bureaucracy itself. Also, neither considers the relevance of the content of the message itself, and how that might interact with the characteristics of the audience.

Large group persuasion

Describing socialisation as including only one or both of the two categories used by Johnston and Checkel, persuasion and social influence, overlooks the ability of individual norm entrepreneurs in key institutional positions to shift mass attitudes in a large group.   In exploring that ability, my project is akin to a closer examination of the first stage in Finnemore and Sikkink's (2005) norm life cycle, that which takes place after the first efforts of norm entrepreneurs and before the subsequent norm cascade.[118] Therefore, I add a third category, building upon their work and the literature on rhetoric: large group persuasion, in which a single actor can, by virtue of special authority and/or institutional position, influence the policies of many individuals in a large group.

Successful persuasion at a forum such as the UN requires large group persuasion, the concurrent persuasion of a large audience by a small number of speakers. Some of the following literature on persuasion is based on individual-level psychological processes, and the application of these theories of persuasion to a large audience may seem problematic. However, two considerations make this translation across levels of analysis manageable. First, psychologists have increasingly come to recognise that individuals they must be studied almost as though they were a composite audience with numerous individuals. This is because, like a composite audience, individuals can have a range of partially conflicting beliefs and values that inform their attitudes towards a concept.[119]   This can be because some attitudes are context dependent, but

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[118] Finnemore and Sikkink 2005.
[119] Wood 2000, 548-551.

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others enduring.[120] Some attitudes are derived from social norms, and others from expectations

of personal benefits.[121] Even when thinking is dominated by the logic of consequences, one

attitude towards an object may be derived from short-term benefits, and another from the long-

term.[122]

The second reason is that the process of large group persuasion is, in the context of

Secretary-General speeches and written reports, an aggregation of many concurrent attempts at

persuasion. As the diagram below reflects, the Secretary-General can attempt to separately

persuade numerous actors, while they simultaneously engage in social influence amongst

themselves, as indicated by the horizontal arrows. Therefore, by influencing some, or even just

one key state, he indirectly influences others. The cumulative effect of group persuasion will

thus be to move the mean position of the audience in the desired direction.

Secretary-General

State ⟷ State ⟷ State ⟷ State ⟷ State
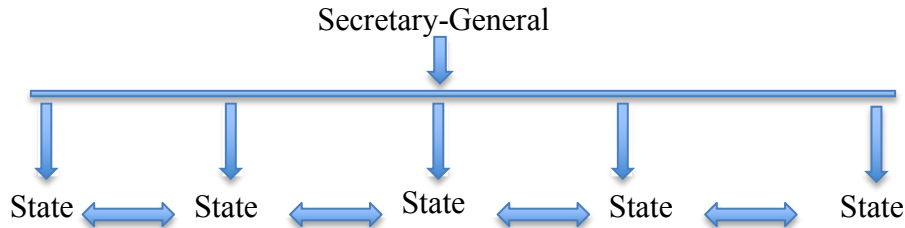
Figure 1: Persuasion and social influence

Periods of persuasion by norm entrepreneurs can thus be followed by, and intertwined

with, periods of social influence amongst states. When Bearce and Bondanella (2007) observed

state preference convergence amongst states that share memberships in multiple formal IOs, they

attributed that convergence to socialisation.[123] However, their large-n study did not consider

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[120] McConnell, Leibold and Sherman 1997.
[121] March and Olsen. 2006.
[122] Richard, Van der Pligt, and De Vries 1996.
[123] Bearce and Bondanella. 2007.

another possibility that would explain their observations, that IO bureaucracies influence that convergence.

Social influence assumes that the majority in a community already hold a particular set of normative values. If that is not the case, then norm entrepreneurs either have to persuade individuals and small groups, or attempt to engage in large group persuasion in order to influence many members of the international community simultaneously. Social influence may thus play a significant role in the later stages, but only after a norm has been successfully pioneered in a community.

Why is persuasion in IOs so slow?

The three elements that influence both individual and group attitudes towards a concept, information, beliefs and values, do change, but to varying extents and only gradually, for both psychological and institutional reasons. The classic conditioning model, common in rational choice theorising, assumes that preferences change only in response to new information, but that underlying beliefs and values, or fundamental desires, remain constant.[124] An opposing view is the generalised conditioning model of preference change, which also allows for changes in both values and beliefs. The middle ground, known as the Jeffrey conditioning model, allows for belief change, but not values.[125]

In the short term, values are relatively stable. However, beliefs and values do not need to alter dramatically in order for an attitude on a particular issue to change substantially; all that is necessary is a *reprioritisation* amongst existing beliefs and values. In any individual or group,

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[124] For this discussion on different approaches to decision-making, see Bradley 2009.
[125] Jeffrey 1992.

there are many competing values and potential inconsistencies between partially contradictory beliefs, even when considering the single precise concept or policy under consideration.[126] There is considerable empirical evidence showing that an individual can often hold multiple attitudes towards a particular object, in the same way that a composite audience is likely to do so.[127] This can be for several reasons. Some attitudes are context dependent, while others are more fundamental and endure regardless of context, often unreasonably.[128] Some attitudes are derived from social norms, and others from expectations of material benefits.[129] Even when thinking is dominated by the logic of material consequences, one attitude towards an object may be derived from short-term benefits, and a contrary attitude from the long-term.[130]

Given this multiplicity of internal influences on an entity's attitude, if a state holds two or more potentially conflicting values (e.g. justice and peace, sovereignty and human rights, or democracy and capitalism), and where neither is consistently dominant, then they might be persuaded, over time, that one is more appropriate than another in a given circumstance. Therefore, I consider beliefs, value prioritisation, and subsequent attitude changes to be subject to persuasion, but only gradually.

Another related complex set of reasons for the gradual nature of these changes is found in the empirically demonstrated inability of human beings to rationally and swiftly incorporate new information into their decision-making. There are many different ways in which individuals have been observed rigorously adhering to type 1 cognitive processes despite evidence that

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[126] See, for example, Jervis 2006, 646-650.
[127] Wood 2000, 548-551.
[128] McConnell, Leibold, and Sherman 1997.
[129] March and Olsen. 2006.
[130] Richard, Van der Pligt, De Vries 1996.

should motivate type 2 thinking and a change in attitude. For example, individuals often only accept evidence that is consistent with prior beliefs, and are sometimes reluctant to make a trade-off between competing values or goals.[131] As Alan Jacobs (2009) persuasively argues, even when actors are both able and willing to objectively analyse new data, "existing beliefs, ideologies, and worldviews" can "direct actors' *attention* in the course of decision making", especially when faced with "overwhelming causal and informational complexity".[132]

There are other cognitive mechanisms that inhibit the slower and more deliberative, considered, type 2 reasoning and attitude changes. Individuals typically exhibit a status quo bias, even when a change in policy would be materially beneficial; there are competing explanations as to why, from economics, psychology, and decision theory.[133] Individuals are also skewed in favour of the short-term,[134] and as prospect theory discusses, are affected by whether the issue is perceived as being in a domain of loss or gain.[135] Individuals also have limited attention, use a range of heuristics such as excessive diversification, exhibit preferences for the familiar or salient, and for avoiding choices altogether.[136]

However, while these cognitive failures slow attitude change, they do not entirely preclude the possibility of persuasion. In some cases, a speaker hoping to persuade can take advantage of them. For example, arguments that are strategically tailored to praise the values of the listener, or to use those values as justification for specific actions, are more effective.[137]

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[131] Jervis 1976.
[132] Jacobs 2009, 253.
[133] Samuelson and Zeckhauser 1988.
[134] Lowenstein and Prelec 1992.
[135] Kahneman and Tversky 1979; O'Keefe 2011. For underlying principles of this argument, see Mercer 2005.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Burke 1969, Billig 2003.

While this becomes more challenging with larger and more heterogeneous groups, such as the UN General Assembly, an actor skilled in persuasion can still use a combination of different messages to persuade a "composite audience".[138]

The process of persuasion in political arenas is thus a dynamic, gradual process, in which: i) an audience receives persuasive information, ii) there are then, in the short term, incremental changes in attitudes, behaviours, and norms, iii) these attitude, behaviour, and norm changes then feedback into the cognitive processes of audience members, along with additional persuasive information, such that, iv) in the long term, there is a larger shift in those aspects of the audience.[139]   While they did not discuss attitude change in these terms, Bearce and Bondanella (2007) similarly observed that the convergence of attitudes amongst member states in IOs was a gradual, long-term process.[140] These cognitive processes could help to explain why that is the case.

It is for these reasons, and for institutional delays discussed in Chapter 3, that my research takes a mid-to-long-range view. I did not expect to often (or ever) find that a particular member state, on listening to a specific message from the Secretariat, suddenly reverses their view on the topic being expounded. Rather, I expect a shift amongst all member states that is only apparent as a dramatic change if measured over a period of several years.

Successful persuasion at the UN: congruence between speaker, message, and audience

For Secretariat arguments to be successful, the speaker not only needs to be perceived as authoritative, but their authority and their specific message must accord with the values

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[138] Myers 1999, Billig 2003.
[139] Arpan, Rhodes, and Roskos-Ewoldsen. 2007; Rhodes and Ewoldsen 2013, 63-64.
[140] Bearce and Bondanella 2007.

previously articulated by states. Hullett (2002) demonstrated empirically that listeners are more likely to consider the possibility that their own attitudes should be changed in response to an argument if the argument accords with their prior values.[141] Audiences also seek to improve the perceptions of others that they do act in accordance with their expressed values.[142] Therefore, when a state is particularly concerned with their identity as a member of a group of states, then an argument specifying the appropriateness of a given value or end in that group might be more effective. If a state values effectiveness, or efficiency above the social appropriateness of an action, an argument emphasising those values would be more successful. In summary, arguments tailored to the motives, values and beliefs of a state are likely to be more successful.

The underlying principle to the necessity of congruity between an argument and the values of the audience is well established in antiquity. Using Socrates' voice, Plato argued this in 360BCE:

> Oratory is the art of enchanting the soul, and therefore he who would be an
> orator has to learn the differences of human souls-they are so many and of such
> a nature, and from them come the differences between man and man. Having
> proceeded thus far in his analysis, he will next divide speeches into their
> different classes: -"Such and such persons," he will say, "are affected by this or
> that kind of speech in this or that way," … when he understands what persons
> are persuaded by what arguments, and sees the person about whom he was
> speaking in the abstract actually before him, and knows that it is he, and can
> say to himself, "This is the man or this is the character who ought to have a

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141 Hullett 2002.
142 Wood 2000, 541.

certain argument applied to him in order to convince him of a certain opinion";
-he who knows all this, and knows also when he should speak and when he should refrain, and when he should use pithy sayings, pathetic appeals, sensational effects, and all the other modes of speech which he has learned;-when, I say, he knows the times and seasons of all these things, then, and not till then, he is a perfect master of his art".[143]

European studies of rhetoric and oratory began with observers of the sophists of Ancient Greece, and many of the ideas articulated then still underpin much of the modern theory on the subject. Aristotle suggested that the efficacy of persuasion depends on the three factors: i) *ethos,* the perceived character of the speaker, which I think of in terms of informal authority,[144] ii) *logos,* the actual argument, and iii) *pathos*, the emotional/cognitive state of the listener, which I think of in terms of the constellation of interrelated beliefs and values of the audience.[145]   I begin with this enduring framework because Aristotle was specifically focused on instances in which a single speaker addresses a large group, either through speeches or published documents.

		Ethos	*Logos*	*Pathos*
	Concept	Informal Authority of speaker	Argument / narrative characteristics	Audience identity
	Constituents	Perceived expertise and principles of speaker	Argument based on, e.g. self-interest, new information, efficiency, efficacy. Narrative based on previous events, social ideals, emotion.	Audience self-perception as upholding certain ideals, and sets of causal beliefs and values.

Table 2: Elements to large group persuasion

For psychologists, *ethos*, or credibility, is composed of perceptions of the expertise, trustworthiness, and goodwill of the speaker.[146]   As such, it can be closely equated with the informal authority of that speaker. The psychology theories discussed above posit that a person's attitude towards an object is a function of three factors: information, beliefs, and values. However, in the context of persuasion, this excludes another factor essential to understanding why attitudes change: the characteristics and strategies of the speaker. This factor has long been included in research into the efficacy of rhetorical speeches, and was re-introduced as a relevant factor in IOs by Johnston (2001).

Ethos is usually established gradually over time and through repeated interactions between speaker and audience; I thus usually expect perceptions of the principled authority of a member of the UN Secretariat to increase slowly. However, it can occasionally be sharply increased through strategic symbolic action. One such action might be to defy expectations of bias.

An example of this from the UN is from Secretary-General Kofi Annan's first year in office. As a career UN bureaucrat, some observers might have assumed, as P-A theorists would, that he would have consistent preferences to increase the manpower and resources of that bureaucracy. For example, as Barbara Crossette of the New York Times observed in an article that was otherwise notably positive and complimentary about the recently elected Kofi Annan, "Mr. Annan's talents as a reformer are not as well established, however. He spent much of his career in administration during years when the organization was growing in every direction and developing a reputation for waste and mismanagement".[147] However, Annan's first wave of

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[146] Discussed in Perloff (2003), examples of experimental psychological and sociological experiments supporting this are: Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz 1969; McCroskey and Young 1981.
[147] Crossette 1996.

reforms, begun in 1997, significantly reduced UN permanent staff. This may have been designed strategically to garner additional support from the US, which had been pushing for streamlining the bureaucracy, or perhaps under pressure from them, or perhaps simply because Annan believed that this was the most efficient allocation of resources. Regardless of his motives, this could have dramatically improved his credibility as an expert and impartial actor who prioritised efficacy, efficiency, and the needs of member states, above those of a bureaucracy assumed to seek self-aggrandisement. While steps can be thus be taken to improve the *ethos* of the speaker, the majority of the strategies available relate to the choice of audience, and the choice of argument deliberately tailored to appeal to each audience.

The *logos*, or argument itself, is constituted by three facets: structure, content, and language.[148] The structure can alter the efficacy of an argument in different ways; for example, a message that ostensibly considers both sides of an argument is more persuasive than one that only takes one side,[149] and one that specifies a clear conclusion and recommendation is more persuasive that one that allows an audience to draw their own conclusions.[150] Reynolds and Reynolds (2002) confirm that evidence, in the form of factual assertions, narrative reports or testimonials, is more persuasive when each piece of evidence originates with a source considered by the audience to be credible.[151] This claim is supported by the evidence in the case studies indicating the efficacy of the multiplication of authority strategy described in the following section.

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[148] Perloff 2003, 177.
[149] Allen 1998; O'Keefe 1999.
[150] O'Keefe 1997.
[151] This rather self-evident assertion has been confirmed by Reynolds and Reynolds 2002.

Language and tone can also influence the effectiveness of an argument. Some audiences may be more disposed to accept assertive and dominant arguments, but others, especially those who consider themselves to be in positions of power, might prefer requests from a position of deference. A Secretariat member addressing member states must walk a fine line in order to be persuasive; the argument must be put forward with confidence, but many member states prefer to hear the Secretariat acknowledge the need to defer to member states with whom the decision-making power ultimately lies.[152]

Logos can also include narratives rather than arguments. Where an argument is a series of related syllogisms, a narrative is a symbolic representation of events as they have occurred in the past.[153] In a narrative, intense language can be more persuasive, such as using the term genocide rather than killings, mass rape rather than sexual assaults, and so on.[154] These narratives are extremely common tools for nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) such as Amnesty International; examples within the UN include most publications by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and Secretary-General Annan's (1999) reports on Rwanda and Srebrenica.[155]

Pathos is constituted by the facets of an audience's cognitive processes that influence how they incorporate information (observed data, or in this case, the *logos*), as discussed. These facets are their beliefs (often named means-ends or causal beliefs), and their values (sometimes called principled beliefs or fundamental values).[156] As both the following chapter studying the

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[152] Hamilton and Hunter 1998.
[153] Abbott 2002.
[154] Hamilton and Hunter 1998.
[155] UN General Assembly 1999b; UN Secretary-General 1999c.
[156] Bradley 2009.

UN budget process, and the case studies show, different UN intergovernmental organs respond quite differently to particular types of arguments.

There are thus reasons to believe that successful arguments need to take into consideration the culture of a collective, as well as an individual audience.[157] For example, social norms within an audience, be that an individual, organisation or state, can dictate the parameters for acceptable behaviour.[158] Those parameters may limit policy choices to a narrow range, even if, as Barnett and Finnemore discussed in the context of the IMF, those policy choices have demonstrably led to repeated failures in the past.[159] Barnett and Finnemore's (2004) observations on this point are a more recent incarnation of the "groupthink" phenomenon observed by Irving Janis in 1972.[160] These tendencies are particularly pronounced if an organisation or department consistently attracts a particular kind of member, such that alternative potential courses of action are ignored, outside expert opinions are not sought, insiders exhibit a strong selective bias against the types of information they assimilate from others, and contingencies against possible failure are not formed.[161]

A complication arises where the pathos of a large audience is not coherent, such that any message cannot be tailored to the whole audience with a single message. The UN plenary assembly, as with any large group, will contain multiple attitudes on a single issue. Some variation in the audience need not inhibit persuasion, so long as the speaker's form of authority, and his or her message, can accord with some aspect of the pathos of the audience that is widely

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[157] I accept one of the Oxford Dictionary definitions of culture as the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society.
[158] March and Olsen 2006.
[159] Barnett and Finnemore 2004.
[160] Janis 1972; 1982.
[161] Ibid.

shared. However, if an audience is so divided on an issue that different sub-groups become entrenched in opposition to each other, a speaker may be unable to craft a message with sufficient congruence between the three factors to persuade the group as a whole.

OI 3: *A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is closely related to the ethos, the form of informal authority with which the audience perceives that Secretariat member to be endowed. i.e. information with relevant expertise, values with principles of the speaker.*

OI 4: *A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is in congruence with the pathos, the beliefs and values of the audience.*

OI 5: *A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.*

OI 6: *On issues where a plenary assembly is strongly divided in beliefs and values, and to the extent that the decision making process requires consensus by member states, the IO bureaucracy will be less able to successfully encourage institutional change.*

2.2.4 Strategies

Merely possessing authority, formal or informal, in any context, is insufficient to affect change; that authority must be applied through various strategies. The efficacy of persuasive efforts is dependent upon the choice of strategies taken by the IO bureaucratic actor. Over the last seventy years, different Secretaries-General have adopted very different strategies, motivated

by their personal characteristics as well as political necessity.[162] The Secretariat predominantly

uses three long-term, interrelated and overlapping strategies to influence states: *agenda setting,*

operational influence, and the multiplication of authority. Integral to each and all strategies, the

Secretariat targets specific audiences*,* which I briefly address first before discussing the

strategies.

Targeting specific audiences

A recurring theme in this dissertation is that it is the *relationships* between the three

factors, *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* that are vital, rather than the particular types of each. The form

of authority needs to be relevant to the context of the argument in order to be influential, and the

type of argument needs to match a certain audience's identity to be effective. In any IO, an

experienced member of the Secretariat attempting to affect institutional change will target

particular actors.

As George Tsebelis (1995) observed, many systems include veto players, the individual

or collective actors whose agreement is required for a policy decision.[163] A similar, equally

useful, prior formulation is Ellen Immergut's (1990) veto *points*, where each institutional design

offers particular avenues of access, though which outside actors may have the opportunity to

intervene to prevent change.[164] Each veto player audience will have specific attitudes, beliefs

and values. This is as true of collective audiences such as intergovernmental committees

mandated to deliberate on budget changes, as it is as of the individual representatives of powerful

member states.

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[162] Rovine 1970; Meisler 1995; Chesterman 2007; Kille 2006.
[163] Tsebelis 1995; 2002.
[164] Immergut 1990.

Each state or group will have its own starting preferences, some closer to, and some further from those of the Secretariat, and the efforts at persuasion will be more effective with some audiences than with others. Under consensus decision-making, it may often seem logical to directly target audiences whose positions are furthest from those of the Secretariat. However, targeting groups that already agree can also be useful. Gerald Miller (1980) demonstrated that when arguments continue to be directed towards those who already agree, that part of the audience could strengthen their attitudes.[165] In an IO context, targeting states who already concur with the Secretariat's claims could be a deliberate and effective strategy, especially if that state is then more likely to participate in mechanisms of social influence vis-à-vis states who disagree with the Secretariat's position. Given that the consensus-based budgetary processes in an organisation such as the UN require that large numbers of member states would need to be persuaded if a significant change in the budget were to take place, it is strategically wise to encourage other state actors to influence broader patterns of social influence.

When constructing arguments, the Secretariat is more likely to influence state or group attitudes if it takes into account the *pathos* of that audience. An audience such as the UN General Assembly is composed of representatives who view themselves as holding identities with a combination of several key objectives and values. These can include individual professional interests in improving the work environment, individual state national interests, voting bloc interests, and a range of global social, political and economic ideals such as sovereignty, equality, non-intervention, and/or liberalism. Smaller and more focused committees can emphasise different, specific values; for example, the ACABQ primarily emphasises

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[165] Miller 1980.

economic efficacy and efficiency, while balancing that with a strong, if implicit, ideal of political

pragmatism, given that they know that their recommendations are then passed on for debate at

the General Assembly.[166] The ACABQ also views its function as ensuring that the mandates set

for the Organisation are adequately funded. For this reason, the Secretariat is careful to include,

in its proposals to the ACABQ, numerous General Assembly resolutions or decisions by other

UN committees as justification for budget changes.

The Secretariat uses a specific strategy of sequenced targeted persuasion to increase the

number of resolutions that can be drawn upon in support of those justifications. As discussed in

the case studies, the Secretary-General will typically put an issue forward for consideration by

the General Assembly, the Commission on Human Rights, or the Security Council. The most

common response is a vague, non-binding declaration of support, in principle, for the issue. The

Secretary-General will then often cite a declaration of support in one forum when addressing

another, and then cite as many as possible when talking to the ACABQ, giving the impression of

a wealth of member state support for a particular change. There are thus numerous instances in

which the Secretary-General cites numerous vague or tangential expressions of support by

member states for one of his reports as evidence of a specific mandate for him or the Secretariat.

Citations such as this are necessary for the progress of any changes through many

intergovernmental or administrative UN bodies such as the ACABQ, which requires state

directed mandates for changes to the budget.

The likelihood that targeted persuasion will be successful is dependent upon the

congruity or harmony between the three factors discussed above: the informal authority of the

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[166] Mselle 2011.

speaker, the content of the argument, and self-identity of the audience. A speaker whose

informal authority is principle based, such as the Secretary-General, will be more likely to

persuade an audience if the argument used emphasises principles such as adherence to ideals and

responsibilities associated with his role, such as the UN Charter and GA Resolutions, and even

more so if the audience either identifies itself as guided by those ideals, or seeks to be viewed by

others as identifying with them. If, however, the audience views itself as primarily technocratic

and expertise-based, such as the ACABQ, then a speaker would have more success using

arguments that a) cite actors the audience recognises as having expertise in the relevant field, and

b) emphasise efficiency and efficacy, rather than ideals.

However, identifying the *pathos* of the audience becomes more complicated where the

audience is heterogeneous in terms of values and beliefs. The audience in a global IO such as

the UN, including representatives from every recognised state, is complicated by the existence of

at least several blocs, each with its own dominant beliefs and value priorities, as discussed in the

following chapter.   Aristotle, like Plato, described how different audiences would be more

amenable to different types of arguments, but he did not, to my knowledge, discuss how a

speaker might address such heterogeneity.[167]

There are several strategies that a speaker can use, when faced with a heterogeneous

audience, although each of these strategies has limits, and none can necessarily overcome deep

divisions in an audience.[168] A speaker can focus on the interests of a core group, or to

sequentially appeal to each bloc in turn, or interweave appeals to the different values prioritised

by different blocs. He or she could also emphasise a less specific, loosely related group of

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[167] Aristotle, *On Rhetoric* 1991, Book 2, Chapters 12-17, 164-72.
[168] Myers 1999.

values that are shared by the audience as a whole. Any two blocs might have different priorities

amongst that group, or intractable conflicts of interest on other issues, but if the debate is kept

within the context of that agreed group of values, there is a greater chance that the audience

could be encouraged to come to an agreement.[169]

Under different institutional contexts, a divided audience could provide either advantages

for, or obstacles to, influence by an external speaker such as an IO Secretariat member.   On the

one hand, when tensions exist between different values and beliefs, in both individuals and

groups, those tensions can open up more space for debate, and thus opportunities for successful

persuasion.[170] Therefore, the less coherent the value/belief sets of the audience, the more

opportunities there are for changes in preferences. However, in IOs, certain institutional

arrangements could cause the opposite effect. If, for example, a particular institutional change

required consensus in a particular committee, then tensions between different sets of values or

beliefs could render progress impossible. At certain times, and on certain specific issues, this

proved to be the case in both the DPKO and DPA case studies.

Agenda setting

I define agenda setting as the act of influencing the choice of topics discussed, their

relative importance (inferred from sequence and/or the relative amounts of space or time devoted

to them), how they are presented, and conversely, what issues are moved to the background or

excluded.[171]   In the social sciences, the term agenda setting is most commonly used to refer to

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[169] Ibid.
[170] Billig et al. 1988.
[171] Chandler and Munday.

the ability of the news media to focus the attention of their audiences on particular issues.[172] For example, all news media with an online presence categorise their articles; typical categories are Politics, Economy, Science, Health, Sport, and so on. However, when examined repeatedly over 2016, media network Fox News chose to consistently begin its list of US News categorises with Crime, Terrorism, Immigration, and Disasters,[173] both directing viewers' attention to those particular issues, and framing current affairs issues in terms of direct threats to the viewer. Fox News' format has changed since then, but their prioritisation of those issues at the forefront of their website and TV coverage has not. Agenda setting does not in itself tell listeners how to respond to an issue, but it does tell them what issues they should be responding to, amongst the many issues they may otherwise be interested in.

Any individual or group audience will have a range of issues they are prepared to discuss. Any speaker addressing that group can use selective arguments to take advantage of those multiple attitudes. By considering "interattitudinal relations and plac[ing] an issue or object in the context of other attitude issues, values and goals",[174] an audience can be persuaded not necessarily to respond in a particular way, but to decide that some issues require a more urgent response than others.

IO bureaucracies frequently engage in agenda setting and shaping the debates held by member states. For example, Derek Beach (2004) identifies the leadership resources and strategies of the EU Council Secretariat that enabled them to influence treaty negotiations, even

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[172] This idea was first developed by Lippmann 1922. Other key articles, among a vast range of related literature, include Funkhouser 1973; Brosius and Kepplinger 1990; Lang and Lang 1981; Gitlin 1980.
[173] Fox News. US News. NOTE: When this was confirmed on 23 February 2017, the category Economy had been inserted into this group.
[174] Wood 2000, 55.

when the states involved in those negotiations had strong preferences, and when member states ostensibly managed the process in detail.[175] Beach demonstrated that a bureaucracy could set the agenda, as well as other strategies to influence member states, such as brokering agreements, and taking advantage of an informational advantage vis-à-vis states, especially with complex issues.

Agenda setting can be accomplished through either formal or informal mechanisms. Formal agenda setting is the use of established procedural rules, such as the administrative role of the UN Secretariat as loosely defined under the Charter. In the UN, the Office of the Secretary-General has considerable influence on the list of topics to be discussed by member states during the plenary sessions. In both the UN and the EU, the Secretariat has the formal authority to both schedule debates on specific issues and organise larger conferences, which all members, and sometimes many Heads of State, attend. As a delegate to the Fifth Committee said in interview: "the same kinds of issues come up every year in the General Assembly, but at the start of each session, the Secretary-General puts some of those issues out front, and they tend to get more time".[176]

Informal agenda setting requires the strategic application of informal authority to draw the attention of member states to an issue. The interest of states can be aroused by stressing particular issues in speeches and published reports, or by direct contact with veto players within the IO or member state governments. Informal agenda setting commonly involves efforts to frame an issue through "conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action".[177]

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[175] Beach 2004.
[176] Delegate B to Fifth Committee in interview June 2015.
[177] McAdam, McCarthy, and. Zald, eds. 1996, 6.

These claims for collective action can involve the dissemination of information, such as data concerning numbers of civilians affected by conflict, but they are also commonly justified with assertions of urgent, moral necessity and an appeal to values often argued to be universal.

Agenda setting at the UN can be a powerful tool to influence the international community. As Risse and Sikkink (1999) argue, the UN "General Assembly's agenda has a "collective legitimization function." It defines what actions governments ought to engage in and what actions they ought to abstain from in the international arena".[178] Placing an issue for deliberation by the General Assembly often leads, at the very least, to a vague resolution in support of collective action to address an issue, if not to action itself. That resolution then provides a mandate for continued efforts by the Secretariat, and sometimes justification for expanding certain UN activities.

Agenda setting, especially informal agenda setting, can be a gradual process. Merely placing an issue on a list of topics for discussion does not ensure that truth-seeking argumentation takes place intended to resolve that issue. In order for many member states to overcome the material and political obstacles to change, particularly budgetary increases in an IO, they must be convinced that their beliefs and values demand that they resolve an issue. Establishing that conviction, that a crisis has been reached, can take time, and can require a lengthy process of informal agenda setting before it can be productive to formally place it on the agenda for debate.

OI 8: *IO bureaucratic actors can leverage their informal authority, in circumstances beyond and in addition to those formally mandated to them, to raise the profile of certain issues,*

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[178] Risse and Sikkink 1999, 88.

*and encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and
resolve those issues.*

Operational initiation and/or expansion

In the context of IO Secretariats, I define operational initiation as the act of instigating
new activities that as a consequence will require additional resources. This strategy always
requires consent by some key member states, but it is my contention that the Secretariat is able to
persuade member states, and in particular the Security Council, to approve the creation or
expansion of UN operations. As with agenda setting, this can stem from the formal authority to
do so, such as that defined by Article 99 of the UN Charter, in which the UN Secretary-General
can bring issues to the attention of the Security Council. In practice the Secretary-General not
only points out issues, but also typically advocates for, or at least suggests, specific courses of
action for consideration by the Council. The Secretariat can also use informal routes to create
operations, such as contact, by telephone or in person, with heads of state or other key actors
within the UN system, to persuade them to take action on an issue, or to formally request the
assistance of the UN. The case studies show that the Secretary-General frequently steps far
beyond his formal mandate, adopting a conscious and prominent role as an authoritative political
actor in encouraging the creation of new UN mandates.

This strategy is useful because while decision-making in intergovernmental areas of an
IO tend to be dominated by the political relationships amongst states, there are other veto points
in the institution which are more technocratic in nature. Those areas, such as the UN ACABQ,
require clearly specified arguments demonstrating an increase in mandates and activities before
they concur with a Secretariat request for more staff and financial resources. The most effective
technique to lay the foundations for a persuasive argument under those circumstances would be

to increase the operational activities of the department in question, regardless of its current resource capacity. I stress here that I do not suggest that the Secretariat would initiate or encourage operations purely to justify budget increases. I merely suggest that if the Secretariat believed that the Organisation was ethically and or legally obligated to engage in certain activities, they would seek to expand related operations even when their current material capacity to backstop additional actions was insufficient.

The ability to drive specific budgetary expansion by forming new activities was further enabled by a shift in the underlying philosophy of the UN budgetary process, led by the Secretary-General. In 1997, the recently elected Secretary-General Kofi Annan introduced his vision for widespread reform of the UN system, in which he suggested a shift in the general approach to planning and budgeting from input accounting, where states begin the process by deciding how many funds are to be given to each part of the budget, on the assumption that the various activities will then just have to do the best they can with the resources allocated, to results-based budgeting, in which the states are obliged first to estimate the requirements of each mandate previously assigned to the various departments, (with the assistance of the Secretariat) and then provide sufficient funds to achieve those objectives. The justification the Secretary-General gave for the change was that it would achieve greater "cooperation, transparency, and accountability".[179] These three features are traditional and frequent demands made of the Secretariat from all quarters of the General Assembly. This altered budget process would slightly constrain the tendency of member states to micromanage the Secretariat through the

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[179] UN Secretary-General 1997c, para 240-241.

budget, as the focus would be on matching funds to the outputs, rather than the processes used to achieve them.

In the years since Secretary-General Annan's 1997 reform proposal "Renewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform", there has been a gradual acceptance of results-based budgeting as the SG envisioned it. The General Assembly endorsed the concept in 2000,[180] and various departments such as the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) then began reflexively considering how the concept should be applied, offering broad and conceptual recommendations, such as to advocate that lines of accountability and the responsibilities of certain actors, be clarified.[181] The results-based budgeting concept has had an impact on budget processes, but those changes seem to be a work in progress. The Secretariat continually revises and clarifies the concept, but member states are not yet fully satisfied, and the ACABQ, for example, "has, on numerous occasions, pointed out the need for further development of results-based management and the tools to relate to results".[182] This shift in budget management is almost entirely unstudied, and both academic and media attention on this early period of reform in Annan's early years seems to focus on more politically dramatic changes, such as the shrinking of the staff, the creation of a cabinet-style organisation to assist the Secretary-General in governing the UN system, or the increase in funds for development. A worthwhile secondary study following this dissertation would be to take a closer look at the role of the Secretariat in the evolution of results-based management. Nonetheless, this approach to budgets has strengthened the ability of the

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[180] UN Secretary-General. 2002c, Para 154.
[181] UN Joint Inspection Unit 2002; 2004a 2004b.
[182] UN ACABQ 2006d, Para 7.

Secretariat to drive expansion by first increasing operational activities, and then insisting that sufficient funds be provided to enable those activities.

OI 9: *Where a particular reform, particularly increasing resources, would need to be justified by increased operational activity, an IO bureaucratic actor can a) persuade states whose approval is required that a particular operation must be created though the IO, and b) persuade the relevant states to accept operations on their sovereign soil.*

Multiplying authority

Observers have long described the Secretary-General strategy of gathering other actors to help pursue a particular issue. When these actors include a group of states that are motivated to engage the issue, they are termed a Group of Friends. Teresa Whitfield (2007) concisely summarises the impact such a group can have:

> Groups may reinforce or multiply the limited leverage that the Secretary-General or his or her representative brings to the table, with the involvement of interested states from the region and elsewhere increasing the international credibility of the effort. The can help coordinate action within the Security Council and provide the Secretary-General with assistance of all kinds. Friends may be able to provide information, expertise, and resources with a speed and flexibility that is difficult to achieve within the UN system.[183]

However, there is another similar strategy that does not include state actors.

The multiplication of authority, a concept I introduce here, is the ability of an IO Secretariat to form groups of individuals considered to be authoritative, direct them to address a

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[183] Whitfield 2007,101.

particular issue, contribute to their sources of information, and then draw upon the authority of those groups to pursue a given agenda. The intended audience of member states views those groups as authoritative and more impartial than the bureaucracy. The combination of the informal authority of both the Secretariat and these autonomous, secondary authority centres is then more persuasive than that of the Secretariat alone. Reynolds and Reynolds (2002) show that evidence from any source is considered more legitimate, and will be paid more attention, if it has been considered, analysed, and approved by a separate, trusted forum.[184] The multiplication of authority seeks to take advantage of this phenomenon.

This strategy can help counter obstacles to reforms that stem from perceptions that the Secretariat is inherently biased in favour of expansion, particularly when an IO bureaucracy is arguing that the most effective way to address an issue is to significantly increase the resources for part of that bureaucracy. Principal-agent theories suggest that member states delegate to Secretariats in order to reduce costs, but often also because the latter are viewed as relatively unbiased experts in particular fields,[185] but that overlooks this specific expected form of bias. I contend that the Secretariat can create additional authority centres considered to be both expert and unbiased. While not being able to fully control those new authority centres, because that control would create the impression that those centres are biased, key IO Secretariat actors can influence their outcomes by first establishing the parameters for these groups, and then ensuring that the Secretariat is the primary source of information on which the group will base its recommendations.

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[184] Reynolds and Reynolds 2002.
[185] Abbott and Snidal 1998; Hawkins, Lake, Nielson, and Tierney (Eds.) 2006.

Therefore, if the Secretary-General's informal authority is necessary, but not sufficient to change state behaviour, he/she appoints authoritative representatives or panels to study issues that he/she has placed on the agenda, and then asks them to make recommendations for reforms. The Secretary-General can set the objective of the panel as being to determine how to improve the efficacy of a particular activity. Individuals can be chosen for the panel can be those who are motivated by the intention to make a particular activity more effective, rather than those who might question the need for such activities as some states might. This ensures that when published, their results neatly set aside a question member states might have: whether it is worthwhile for the IO to be engaging in that activity at all. Therefore, by offering the report for deliberation by states, they are moved swiftly into a debate that has as its premise the need to improve the activity. There are several key examples of such panels in the case studies.

On a small scale, IO Secretariats have been known to appoint representatives with some form of authority or celebrity, typically in order to raise the profile either of the organisation as a whole, or of particular issues or activities. The UN Messengers of Peace program, begun in1997 by Kofi Annan, is a conspicuous example.[186] Other UN Agencies have since also independently appoint their own Goodwill Ambassadors; by 2006, there were more than four hundred such Ambassadors,[187] and at the time of writing, UNICEF alone has over three hundred.[188] However, while the proliferation of other Ambassadors, and their relative lack of activity, diluted their influence, Annan repeatedly supported and drew attention to the Messengers of Peace, hosting the first meeting of the Messengers, including 48 high-profile celebrities, in October 2000 at the UN Headquarters in New York, during the General Assembly debates on peacekeeping reforms

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[186] Lim 2014.
[187] Ibid., 191.
[188] UN UNICEF. Goodwill Ambassadors & Advocates.

addressed by the DPKO case study chapter. Annan encouraged the Messengers to publicly

explain what the UN does, and how important its work is.[189]

A Secretary-General can also influence key states by making strategic appointments to

leadership positions in the Secretariat. Certain positions are coveted, both by powerful states and

weak, which both seek to have more influence or control in the IO. A member of the Secretariat

typically has little in the way of rewards and punishments with which to leverage state

behaviour, but by appointing or recommending a citizen of a conspicuous veto player member

state to a key position, a Secretariat head can establish the political capital to help pursue other

reforms.   Some Secretaries-General, such as Kofi Annan, conspicuously appointed vocal and

bold individuals who were passionate about expanding and strengthening the role of the UN in

areas such as human rights and political intervention. One example is Annan's appointment of

Mary Robinson, then President of Ireland, as High Commissioner for Human Rights.[190] Another

could be the appointment of the former US diplomat Jeffrey Feltman as the head of the DPA in

2007. While I have no direct evidence of a causal link, in the budget following the appointment,

the US reversed its long-standing position on zero-growth budgets and agreed to the largest

expansion in the DPA's history. There are many other possible contributing factors to that

particular influence, however, including USG Feltman's diplomatic expertise, professionalism

and commitment, as well as his nationality. More conspicuous examples become clear in the

case study chapters.

OI 9: *An IO plenary assembly will be more likely to accept a request from the IO*

bureaucracy for additional resources if that request has been scrutinised and approved by a

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[189] UN Joint Inspection Unit 2006; Reuters 2000, UN Press Release Oct. 23, 2000.
[190] Williams 2000.

body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent panel. Given that knowledge, the Secretariat will seek to create such groups.

2.3 Alternative explanations

In this section I address the alternative expectations of several bodies of literature, neorealism, neoliberal institutionalism, and principal-agent theory (P-A). I detail the expectations of each, and then identify reasons why I believe they are insufficient to address my research question.

Neorealism

For many rationalist, materialist approaches to IR, transnational institutions are epiphenomenal to inter-state interactions, and thus when discussed, the features of IOs are usually treated as dependent variables. While there is considerable variation within those approaches in the extent to which non-state actors such as IO bureaucracies are accepted as influential actors, they commonly build on the analytical foundations laid by neorealism.

Neorealism presents the most academically conspicuous challenge to my argument. For neorealists, any international action by states, whether within IOs or elsewhere, is done in an attempt to maximise relative material power, given the uncertainty about the intentions of other states who all have some military power, and the anarchic nature of international relations.[191] For neorealists, international institutions reflect the interests of great powers,[192] and the interests of powerful domestic actors,[193] but themselves have no credible promises or threats with which to

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[191] Mearsheimer 1995, 9-12; Waltz 1979.
[192] Gilpin 1981; Mearsheimer 1994.
[193] Drezner 2007.

exert independent political leverage.[194] IOs are viewed as tools for states to share burdens, pool

resources (potentially in order to balance against external threats),[195] and reduce the political

costs of foreign policy decisions.[196]

In this framework, member states increase the resources of an IO bureaucracy only when

they believe that it is in their material interest to do so, if they consider the issue not to be

salient,[197] or if they believe that they can subsequently ensure that the Secretariat acts in their

interests. Weaker states might also advocate doing so if the costs of IO Secretariat activities

were borne predominantly by economically more powerful states. Conversely, neorealists would

expect states to oppose the delegation of resources and responsibilities to the Secretariat if they

believe that others would materially benefit more than they, so wealthier states might oppose

resources intended to help develop weaker states. Politically weaker states might oppose

delegation to a Secretariat if it was staffed, located within, and/or informally controlled by more

powerful states. To some extent, these expectations are found in the case studies following, but

there are many reasons to consider these explanations incomplete.

When studying authority in IOs, neorealism is analytically constrained by a statist

ontology and materialist focus. This simplification may have seemed analytically acceptable at

its origins during the superpower tensions and great power politics at the height of Cold War.

However, as Tallberg (2001) observes when specifically discussing delegation to supranational

institutions, the "growth of governance beyond the national state is one of the most pronounced

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[194] Touval 1994.
[195] Posen 2006 .
[196] Thompson 2006.
[197] Krasner 1983.

political trends in recent decades".[198] The proliferation and expansion of purposeful, (at least partially) autonomous, influential, non-state actors in recent decades, empowered as much by ideas as by material resources, has rendered neorealism an increasingly insufficient tool for studying IOs. [199]

Likewise, the neorealist assumption that anarchy is the ordering principle of the international system, makes it impossible for neorealists to study authority in IO Secretariats because they fundamentally assume that no authority exists above the nation state. Their conception is based implicitly upon the observation that there is no global government, modelled on the Weberian state, with formal authority over states.[200] However, while no global state such as this exists, global governance is characterised by *informally* authoritative actors throughout IOs, decentralised networks,[201] transnational advocacy networks,[202] epistemic communities,[203] transnational private corporations, NGOs, and global governors,[204] who create, monitor and sometimes enforce international rules. None of these actors require a Weberian monopoly on the legitimate use of coercive force in order to draw upon their principle-based or expertise authority to influence other actors.

Realist approaches thus typically dismiss the agency, authority, and persuasiveness of these non-state actors as a factor even before beginning any analysis; as such, their theories are not viable tools for analysing the potential for influence in IOs by non-state actors. Any

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[198] Tallberg 2002.
[199] Risse 2002; Haas1992.
[200] Milner 1991.
[201] For key early applications in international relations, see Keck and Sikkink 1998; Price 1998; for more recent application and review, see Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009.
[202] Keck and Sikkink 1998.
[203] Haas 1992.
[204] Avant et al., 2010.

persuasive explanation of state actions in recent years must at least account for the potential impact of these changing realities. For this reason, I find the "post-anarchy" strand of constructivist thought to be persuasive in this context, more so than the "conventional" stand, which still accepts and works within the Realist and Neoliberal assumption of global anarchy.[205]

There are also reasons to question more specific neorealist expectations such as that states will not delegate to IO Secretariats on salient issues.[206] One reason is that they do not consider the possibility that non-state actors can persuade states that some issues should be more salient than others, a central tenet of this dissertation. Another consideration is that common models of persuasion in psychology suggest a different reaction to salient issues. Dual-process attitude change, the dominant current model in psychology mentioned above, provides strong support for the claim that the more an issue is considered salient, the more an audience will be motivated to use the second more deliberative process, and to be open to arguments that are "well-reasoned, data-based, and logical".[207] Alternatively, this model finds, when the audience does not consider the issue salient, they are more likely to rely on heuristics or peripheral cues.

Intuitively, this seems logical, and there are two processes relevant to this study that draw upon this observation. The first is that member states can gradually come to consider a particular issue to be more salient. This ties directly into the processes of agenda setting, in which the Secretariat can persuade states that an issue is extremely salient, causing states to rely less on heuristics, and become more accepting of detailed, logical arguments, both by the Secretariat and by other authoritative bodies.

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[205] Hurd 2008, 309.
[206] Krasner 1983.
[207] Crasno and Prislin, 348.

A related process is that issues such as peacekeeping, the military and political intervention into the domestic affairs of member states, are already amongst the most salient at the UN. This was asserted by Realist scholar Stephen Krasner,[208] who had previously pioneered the argument that increased political salience inhibited delegation to outsiders. However, the case studies describe the increased delegation to the Secretariat of resources for peacekeeping and political missions, activities that necessarily and overtly intervene in the domestic affairs of other states. This is puzzling from a neorealist standpoint, and these instances constitute a useful, hard case to test to examine why states decide to empower an IO bureaucracy.

This consideration of neorealist expectations strongly suggests that a theoretically eclectic approach would have considerable benefits. Often, factors emphasised by neorealist explanations, such as the material motives and concerns over relative power, are important to understanding state motives, but a greater focus on ideas as well as material factors, and non-state actors as well as state actors, substantially improves the accuracy of any explanation of delegation to IO Secretariats. Social constructivist theories do so, and they also help us to unpack why states define certain material benefits as being more important than others, and how national interest is perceived in terms of ideals and identities as well as material benefits.[209] As Price and Tannewald identified in the context of the norm of non-use of nuclear weapons, "it is not that realist deterrence theory is entirely wrong as it is uninterested in the kinds of questions necessary for a full understanding of the phenomenon".[210] Risse and Sikkink similarly state that they "do not argue in terms of simple dichotomies such as "power versus norms" or "norms versus interests"", but rather that they "are interested in the interaction among these various

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[208] Krasner 1999, 20-25.
[209] Risse and Sikkink 1999, 7.
[210] Price, Tannenwald, and Katzenstein 1996, 115.

factors".[211]   This approach is necessary with the shifting patterns of state behaviour studied in this project. To reiterate, I do not discount the factors Realists emphasise, such as the relative material power of the various state actors, but I do view them as incomplete.

Institutionalism and P-A approaches

Neoliberal institutionalist scholars envisage a slightly broader range of motives for delegation than do Realists, although these are still incomplete, and they likewise fail to provide convincing explanations for IO Secretariat budget increases in the absence of material benefits for states. In the 1980s, institutionalists took a step away from the conclusions of neorealists, while retaining similar ontological assumptions. Building upon Coase's (1937) ideas in organisational economics,[212] Robert Keohane articulated a functionalist view of IOs, which in his view are designed by states to facilitate mutually beneficial cooperation by providing information and by monitoring compliance in order to reduce transaction costs and uncertainty.[213] Koremenos et al. (2001) and Martin (1992), amongst other, built upon this approach, explaining the variation in IO institutional design by the prior preferences of states and the intended functions and the type of cooperation problem states sought to address, in a framework in which states are assumed to be materialist, rational, utility maximisers.[214] They thus expect delegation of authority to a new institutional arrangement only when states expect to reap material gains as a consequence.

While these rational design approaches provide persuasive, if arguably over-simplified and ahistorical explanations for the initial creation of an IO, they are less persuasive when

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[211] Risse and Sikkink 1999.
[212] Coase 1937.
[213] Keohane 1982; Keohane 1984.
[214] Martin 1992; Koremenos, Lipson and Snidal. 2001.

attempting to explain later changes to existing IOs for several reasons. Institutionalist

frameworks build upon economic theories, and are implicitly intended to explain international

economic agreements. In order to use them to explain the delegation of resources one would

need to identify the material benefits to states of increasing the budget of a department such as

the UN Department of Political Affairs. Neoliberal institutionalism is useful when evaluating

states seeking to cooperate to achieve benefits for themselves, but less so when evaluating how a

group of powerful states reach an agreement that would ostensibly only materially benefit other,

less powerful states, many of whom are excluded from the debate. Any consideration of the

motives for reaching such an agreement must take into account the influence of intangible, yet

influential, ideational justifications for redistributing resources.

As Tallberg (2001) observes in studies of delegation to IOs, particularly the EU, which

dominates the field as an object of study, "existing literature shares a common anchoring in

rational choice institutionalism in general, and principal-agent (P-A) in particular".[215] The P-A

approach shares many features with neoliberal institutionalism.[216] It is assumed that agents

usually possess an informational advantage vis à vis their principals on certain issues, an idea

drawn from Weber's view of bureaucratic expertise.[217] Principals and agents are assumed to

have different preferences. Principals delegate authority to an agent in order to further their own

interests because they lack the time or specialised knowledge to satisfy their preferences; they

may also delegate in order to overcome collective action problems.[218] Agents are expected to

seek self-aggrandisement, and in response, principals use incentive mechanisms to ensure that

[215] Tallberg 2001, 24.
[216] For excellent review of P-A theory, see Miller 2005.
[217] Weber 1958.
[218] Kiewiet and McCubbins 1991.

the latter act in their interests. In general terms, the various measures used to do so are classed as i) contract design, including carefully delineated parameters and tasks, and rules or rewards for desired behaviour, ii) screening and selection mechanisms, iii) monitoring, accountability and reporting requirements, and iv) institutional checks, such as multiple agents.[219]

While most of this literature has focused on the domestic level, there have been several fruitful applications to IOs.[220] In that context, P-A approaches are adept at identifying some benefits to delegation, such as specialisation, facilitating collective decision-making, enhancing credibility, locking-in policies, and resolving disputes,[221] and they also persuasively explain why delegation tends to be gradual and closely monitored. There is some evidence for this in the UN cases; states prefer increasing temporary posts through the annual support account for peacekeeping, rather than more permanent posts though the regular budget of the DPKO, despite repeated claims by the DPKO and independent panels that increasing regular budget staff improves job security, staff experience, and productivity.

However, as with neorealists and neoliberal institutionalists, P-A approaches emphasise *state* preferences as the source of any institutional change, and as a consequence, the agency of the Secretariat is often understated or oversimplified. They also insufficiently unpack those state preferences, commonly assuming materialist motives for preference change.[222] On the contrary, states are influenced not just by hopes of material gain, but also by their norms, principles/values, and causal beliefs, all of which contribute towards their attitudes towards policies affecting IO Secretariat resources. While they may approach issues with a consideration

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[219] Kiewiet and McCubbins 1991, 27-34.
[220] Abbott and Snidal 1998; Hawkins et al. 2006; Tallberg 2002; Nielson and Tierney 2003.
[221] Hawkins et al. 2006, 3-38.
[222] With some exceptions, such as Goldstein and Keohane, eds. (1993).

of the actors and type of cooperation problem, they are also constrained or guided by these non-material factors, by their domestic social and political institutions (both formal and informal), and their shared history.[223]

The common institutionalist preference to not unpack state preferences also makes it almost impossible to study whether changes in those preferences are the result of non-state actors as well as non-material factors. As a result, they infer state delegation policies using *post hoc ergo propter hoc* arguments, in essence claiming that states chose to delegate to the IO because they have since valued the outcome.[224] An example is Hylke Dijkstra's (2012) explanation of variation in the delegation of authority to the UN Secretariat in peacekeeping. While a useful and concise general review of that variation over the prior two decades, the argument boils down to the claim that the variation was due to the fact that at one time, sovereignty was valued over efficiency, but that later, the reverse was true, allowing greater delegation.[225] Dijkstra does not unpack how or why those states chose to reprioritise their values, a central objective for my project.

Another weakness in applying P-A approaches to delegation to Secretariats is that P-A expectations under conditions of multiple principals are not borne out empirically in international organisations.   Terry Moe (1984, 1985) argues that multiple principles lead to a strengthened agent,[226] and seminal P-A theorists Kiewiet and McCubbins (1991) cite Moe when similarly suggesting that the presence of multiple principals gives an agent the ability to "strategically

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[223] Acharya and Johnston 2007.
[224] Duffield 2003.
[225] Dijkstra 2012.
[226] Moe 1984; 1985.

manipulate the decision-making process of the collective principal".[227] However, Moe's

observations are less applicable to IOs.   Moe was examining federal appointments to vacancies

in the US National Labour Relations Board (NLRB). In that case, Congress and the Presidency

are aware that they have to eventually agree on a candidate, so they compromise on a

technocratic and bureaucratic, rather than a political choice, thus benefitting their agents. In

contrast, in the case of budget changes in an IO such as the UN, the default compromise, if there

is no agreement on a reform, is simply to leave that budget section unchanged, an extremely

common occurrence. Contrary to Moe's observations, conflicting preferences in the UN

amongst principals in the UN tends to result in institutional deadlock that prevents anyone,

agents in the Secretariat included, from achieving any reforms. This phenomenon is also

particularly acute in the UN because the budget process includes several fora with consensus

decision-making processes.

This phenomenon has, however, been considered briefly in some P-A approaches, which

are more accurate in the IO context if they consider an intervening variable: the intensity of

opposing preferences in IO budgetary Committees. In a rigorous model based on P-A theories,

Shipan (2004) echoes Moe's findings about multiple principals, but takes care to note that it is

only when opposing principals' preferences are moderate that the bureaucracy has more

opportunities for exercising its own discretion.[228]

There is another significant amendment to P-A approaches that would need to be

employed in the analysis of delegation to IOs: the potential for cooperation between principal

and agent. John Scholz (1991) persuasively argues that this cooperation, a possibility almost

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[227] Kiewiet and McCubbins 1991, 27.
[228] Shipan 2004.

universally excluded amongst P-A theorists, can benefit both parties.[229] Likewise, Roy Radner (1985) had previously applied the logic of the Folk Theorem, demonstrating that if the shadow of the future is long enough, iterative P-A interactions move the outcome from sub-optimal strategic competition to more efficient and mutually beneficial arrangements.[230] These findings shift the underlying assumptions of the relationship between states, as the principals, and the Secretariat, as the agents, from a zero-sum game to one in which both recognise the mutual gains of cooperation.

There is another complication when applying P-A analytical principles to the relationships between IO member states and the Secretariat, in that there is a commonly overlooked principal other than states. Article 100 of the UN Charter states the following:

> In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

This can, without too much imagination, be interpreted as stating that the principal to whom the Secretariat is ultimately responsible is the UN Organisation and its founding principles, and that the short-term preferences of member states are only a secondary concern. In effect, the Charter suggests that the UN Secretary-General answers to a "higher authority" than even the most powerful of states, as Hammarskjöld explicitly claimed, and as discussed in

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[229] Scholz 1991.
[230] Radner 1985.

chapter one. That authority is the set of documents and mandates that member states have collectively agreed to in the past.

In summary, then, for my purposes, P-A theories are incomplete, and empirical studies of international organisations close to my field of study have confirmed this. For example, Biermann and Siebenhüner (2009) demonstrate that the variation in the influence exerted by international environmental bureaucracies over states cannot be explained by differing institutional characteristics or the configurations of member states, as P-A approaches typically assert,[231] but rather by the variation in the issue characteristics, institutional resources, staff qualities, and leadership.[232]

I concur with their findings; however, unlike Biermann and Siebenhüner who examine only environmental IOs, I consider security issues, a domain in which state actors are typically considered dominant, and thus a harder case for my argument. Also, they cover ten IOs, spending as little as ten to twelve pages on each; thus, while they are able to identify correlations that support their claims, and while their ability to generalise is greater, the lack of depth precludes any substantive examination of the *mechanisms* of influence, a focus of my project.

I also add to Biermann and Siebenhüner's discussion by parsing out and focussing one of their variables. The explanatory factors they posit essentially cover almost every aspect of an IO, from its resources, to the personnel, to the choices of its leadership, and even the issue being considered. In contrast, I consider how a narrow subset of those variables, in particular those related to Secretariat leadership and authority, can influence other variables, such as resources

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[231] For application of PA theory to IO delegation, see Hawkins et al. 2006.
[232] Biermann and Siebenhüner 2009.

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and staff.   Also, they claim to use the "autonomous influence" of the IO as the outcome of interest, but they use, as an indicator for that influence, the efficacy of the organisation, perhaps for normative reasons conflating the concept of an influential environmental IO with an effective one. I retain a narrow focus on the evolving capacity of the IO bureaucracies, in terms of its mandate and resources, regardless of the extent to which the organisation is effective.

However, while they are incomplete for my purposes, I do not reject P-A theories outright. Reinalda and Verbeek (2004) persuasively argue that they can be combined with sociological institutionalist approaches.[233] Reinalda and Verbeek suggest that the P-A relationship, (as with other rationalist tools), can analytically be treated as a baseline, an explanation of how institutional factors and the preferences of actors interact to influence the range of autonomous action of IO bureaucracies. Then, constructivist explorations of the preferences of both states and the bureaucracy can more accurately explain how that baseline moves, and why states alter their preferences of the balance between delegation and control. Goldstein and Keohane (1993) had previously used a similar blend of materialist rationalism and ideational factors, showing that changes in ideas at three levels - world views (rarely), principle beliefs (such as human rights) and specific causal beliefs - can alter the preferences of state actors without a corresponding change in material conditions.[234]   This introduction of ideas substantially improves the accuracy and explanatory power of the neoliberal institutionalist framework.

However, Goldstein and Keohane, and to a lesser extent, Reinalda and Verbeek, tend to analytically incorporate ideas only to fill in the gaps or remedy false expectations generated by

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[233] Reinalda and Verbeek 2004.
[234] Goldstein and Keohane, eds. 1993.

their primary explanatory variables, material interests. In contrast, I hold ideas to be logically, chronologically, and analytically prior to the formation of material preferences. With any material choice, trade-offs need to be made, and the values that influence decisions over those trade-offs are socially determined by the interaction of ideas within and between individuals and groups. Thus, while I will accept that individuals (boundedly) rationally pursue their interests, I choose to unpack those interests by studying the social, ideational processes of preference formation that define the parameters of that pursuit.

COI 1: Member states oppose the delegation of responsibility and resources to a part of the Secretariat when i) they consider the issue salient, ii) when they believe doing so would restrict their foreign policy options, and/or iii) if there are no means by which they can subsequently control the policies of that bureaucracy, either through formal or informal means.

COI 2: States will be more likely to advocate additional mandates and/or the delegation of additional resources to a part of the Secretariat when they expect to gain net material benefits from that change.

COI 3: Any instances studied in which member states give the Secretariat additional resources and/or an expanded mandate would be accompanied by institutional changes that restrict the autonomy of the corresponding Secretariat actors.

2.4 Observable implications

i) Informal authority

OI 1: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with expertise-based authority, states may a) make requests for technical advice to the IO bureaucratic actor, and/or b) make

references to the specialised knowledge of the IO bureaucratic actor as reason for deference to their instructions.

OI 2: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with principle-based authority, states may a) describe the principles, values or morals held by the IO bureaucratic actor as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, and/ or b) cite those principles and values as reason for deference.

ii) Persuasion

OI 3: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is closely related to the ethos, the form of informal authority with which the audience perceives that Secretariat member to be endowed. i.e. information with relevant expertise, values with principles of the speaker.

OI 4: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is in congruence with the pathos, the beliefs and values of the audience.

OI 5: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.

OI 6: On issues where a plenary assembly is strongly divided in beliefs and values, and to the extent that the decision making process requires consensus by member states, the IO bureaucracy will be less able to successfully encourage institutional change.

iv) Agenda setting

OI 7: IO bureaucratic actors can leverage their informal authority, in circumstances beyond and in addition to those formally mandated to them, to raise the profile of certain issues, and encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and resolve those issues.

v) Operational influence

OI 8: Where a particular reform, particularly increasing resources, would need to be justified by increased operational activity, an IO bureaucratic actor can a) persuade states whose approval is required that a particular operation must be created though the IO, and b) persuade the relevant states to accept operations on their sovereign soil.

vi) Multiplying authority

OI 9: An IO plenary assembly will be more likely to accept a request from the IO bureaucracy for additional resources if that request has been scrutinised and approved by a body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent expert panel. Given that knowledge, the Secretariat will seek to create such groups.

vii) Alternative explanations

COI 1: Member states oppose the delegation of responsibility and resources to a part of the Secretariat when i) they consider the issue salient, ii) when they believe doing so would restrict their foreign policy options, and/or iii) if there are no means by which they can subsequently control the policies of that bureaucracy, either through formal or informal means.

COI 2: States will be more likely to advocate additional mandates and/or the delegation of additional resources to a part of the Secretariat when they expect to gain net material benefits from that change.

COI 3: Any instances studied in which member states give the Secretariat additional resources and/or an expanded mandate would be accompanied by institutional changes that restrict the autonomy of the corresponding Secretariat actors.

Chapter 3: The UN, the Secretary-General, and the Budgetary Process

3.1 Introduction

At its core, Chapter two explored the idea that successful persuasion required that an actor, viewed as having a particular type of authority, offers a particular type of message to a particular type of audience. A speaker has to tailor their message to draw upon their own authority, and they have to tailor it to accord with the characteristics of their audience. This chapter thus begins the research portion of this dissertation by exploring the speakers, messages, and audiences in the United Nations. I have parsed this out from the case studies because the relationships elucidated here are applicable to both cases.

This chapter begins by discussing the key speaker in the case studies, the UN Secretary-General. I then work through the various stages of the UN budget process for two reasons: one is to clarify the various veto players and veto points; the second is to clarify the characteristics of each forum that render them more or less receptive to different types of argument, and different forms of authority.

3.2 The Secretary-General

Throughout this dissertation, I frequently emphasise the Secretary-General as the most politically conspicuous, and arguably the individual with the most informal authority within the Secretariat. This is in part because the Office of the Secretary-General is the channel for many of the ideas and preferences of others in the Secretariat. It is also the role of the Office of the Secretary-General (OSG) to author reports from the perspective of the Organisation as a whole, although many of those reports involve input and feedback gathered from various actors within the UN system. As such, the relative influence of different actors over a particular report can be

extraordinarily difficult to determine from an outside perspective. The focus on the Secretary-General is thus a useful and often necessary simplification.

There are many individuals who: a) provide support and ideas that enable, constrain and otherwise influence the Secretary-General, and b) are key actors that take up the Secretary-General's ideas and influence subsequent policy changes. The influence of the Secretariat is thus spread amongst many individuals. For example, in the context of the DPKO, the ideas propagated by the Secretary-General were both influenced and expounded by many others, particularly those with experience in the DPKO and in field missions in the early 1990s. Many of these individuals had migrated into the higher echelons of the UN staff, some of them brought by Kofi Annan to the Office of the Secretary-General in 1997. Key amongst them was Iqbal Riza, former Assistant Secretary-General (ASG) in the DPKO, whom Kofi Annan appointed as his Chef de Cabinet.[235]

Annan also hired likeminded speechwriters, and his relationship to them was commonly a mutually influential one. For example, in early 1998, he hired Edward Mortimer of the Financial Times as his chief speechwriter. Mortimer had recently written a paper on humanitarian intervention for the International Peace Academy.[236] In these and many other examples, Secretary-General Annan strategically, "used staff appointments throughout his tenure to bolster his potential influence".[237]

A key example of the influence other actors had on the formation of the Secretary-General's position is Francis M. Deng's (1993) understanding of sovereignty as responsibility,

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[235] Dallaire 2003, 48-50, and Traub 2006, 230-231 for the working relationship between Kofi Annan and Iqbal Riza.
[236] Eckhard, 105; Traub, 2006, 91.
[237] Kille 2006, 179-180.

an early example of the gradually shifting norm towards incorporating human rights into a concept of conditional sovereignty.[238] Deng regularly discussed these ideas with Annan while serving as Special Advisor on the prevention of genocide and as the Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons from 1992 to 2004.[239] Another example of a (related) set of influential ideas taken up by the Secretary-General was the concept of human security, first articulated in the United Nations Development Project's (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report.[240] This focus on prioritising the needs of individuals over those of governments became a dominant theme throughout Annan's subsequent publications and speeches.

The identification of the Secretary-General as the key agent of change on the part of the Secretariat is complicated by the fact that his network of like-minded supporters include those who at different stages in their careers also worked as representatives of states. In particular, there have been many state actors with previous experience working with the DPKO or DPA who harboured a passionate desire to remedy the failures of UN peace operations in Rwanda, Somalia, and Bosnia.[241] For example, Jordanian diplomat Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al Hussein joined his country's Permanent Mission as Deputy Permanent Representative in 1996, after spending years as a Political Officer in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia. His passionate intent to address the failures he had seen, particularly in Srebrenica, led him to persuade the Secretary-General not only to initiate a review of that incident, but also to

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[238] Deng. 1993; 1996; 2008; 2009,191-213.
[239] For further brief discussion, see Weiss. 2010, 270-271.
[240] UNDP 1994.
[241] Benner, Mergenthaler, & Rotmann 2011, 26; 33.

ensure that the report include open self-criticism, and then to ensure that it be widely published.[242] Al Hussein has since risen to become UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Thus, the Secretary-General did not create the key ideas relevant to the case studies, those of the moral imperative and potential efficacy of UN political and military intervention, in a vacuum. They were formed by interactions amongst individuals, and also by interactions between those individuals and more structural factors such as changing geopolitical conditions, and by the institutions and norms through which they act. While for this project, my focus is on particular agents such as the Secretary-General, and the influence those agents can have on political institutions, I recognise the existence of a pre-existing network of ideas that contributed to the ideas the Secretary-General was articulating. Despite this, it is useful and accurate to discuss the Secretary-General in particular because individual authority, both formal and informal, is a critical factor in determining whether a person's ideas influence others; even though ideas may have originated elsewhere, it is the authority of key individuals such as the Secretary-General that enable the Secretariat to convince others to adopt those ideas.

3.3 The UN regular budget

Any reforms the Secretary-General may hope to enact in the UN, driven by ideas he or she attempts to promulgate, involve changes to the budget. Therefore, I work through the budget process here in order to clarify opportunities and obstacles for reform in departments such as the DPKO and DPA, and in particular to highlight potential points of influence by the Secretary-General and his staff.

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[242] Ibid., 33; Traub 2006, 112. For the final report, see: US Secretary-General 1999b.

There are two sections to the UN budget. The UN Regular budget covers almost all UN activities, and is funded by contributions by all member states, using a scale of assessments largely determined by the economic strength of each state. The US pays the greatest share at 22%, Japan 9.7%, China 7.9%, and Germany at 6.3%. Most countries of the world pay less than 0.1% each.[243] The one most significant area not covered by the regular budget is the peacekeeping budget. Unlike the regular budget, which is agreed to every two years and begins at the start of each calendar year, the peacekeeping budget is entirely separate, and is assessed annually starting on 1 July. Crucially, the scale of assessments is different for the peacekeeping budget, such that level A states, a category that includes only the P5, pay a higher percentage, and other wealthier states in level B pay a slightly higher percentage. The US, for example, pays 28%, Japan 10.8%, China 10.2%, and so on.[244] Aside from these two budgets, various UN agencies do attract extrabudgetary resources by soliciting donations from member states, with social and developmental agencies typically attracting the largest funds.

In the words of former Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the UN budget "process is seriously flawed: it is complex, protracted, disjointed, time-consuming, and rigid".[245] Independent studies of the budget process,[246] and interviewed Secretariat staff and delegates involved in the budget process, all agreed. The development of the biennial regular budget is a lengthy process, with four stages that take place over several years. It involves General Assembly Resolutions, the Committee for Programme and Coordination (CPC), the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), and the Fifth Committee in

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[243] UN Secretary-General 2017.
[244] UN Secretary-General 2015.
[245] UN Secretary-General 2002a, para157. Interviews with this author in June 2015, ACABQ Secretariat staff, ACABQ members, and Fifth Committee delegates agreed with this diagnosis.
[246] Independent expert panel report 2014.

the General Assembly. The complexity of the budget is such that, from an academic perspective, collecting and aggregating budget totals from different parts of the organisation is a challenging process, because any given item, for example, travel expenses, will be defined differently in many different parts of the organisation, and then defined differently from year to year.[247] Parts of a budget item also move from one part of the budget to another without explanation. A single item can thus appear to half from one budget to the next, then double to return to the original level the year after, not because there are actually any changes in resources, but only because part of that item has been temporarily assigned to a different department.

Nonetheless, the budget is one of the few areas in this project in which measurements are quantifiable, while other measurements, such as perceptions of authority, can only be assessed using qualitative means. The monetary value of the budget of a particular Secretariat sub-unit, and its changes over time, is an effective, tangible, and credible measurement of the member states' commitment to the capacity-based authority of that part of an IO bureaucracy. The regular UN budget also often provides details of changes of formal delegated authority, when new mandates/IO sub-units/processes are added or deleted from one budget to the next.

The budget also provides evidence of IO bureaucracy autonomy, or the lack thereof. When funding is allotted to broad categories with the details left to the bureaucracy, it suggests a more autonomous agent, but when the budget is broken down into detailed sub-categories, each with its own restricted budget and prohibitions against redistributing resources, it implies the opposite. Similarly, the movement of specific budget items can be moved from one budget section to another can indicate shifting desires on the part of member states to micromanage

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[247] ACABQ Senior staff in interview, June 2015.

those items, as some sections formally require detailed management by states, while others do not.

In the early days of the United Nations, the budget was, by today's standards, far simpler. Its relative brevity, and a UN membership less than a quarter of its current size, made detailed control of the budget by all member states a more manageable prospect. It was assumed that member states could rapidly respond to changing circumstances if need be, such that in November 1947, it seemed unproblematic that General Assembly resolution 166 severely restricted the Secretary-General's ability to transfer funds from one section to another.[248] As the membership, budget, mandates and structure of the UN has grown over the years, it has been increasingly challenging for (now 193) states to rapidly agree on urgent changes. In response, beginning in 2002, the Secretary-General began requesting greater flexibility, and the ability at least to move up to 10% of a budget section to another section within the same part of the budget.[249]

This has not been approved. The response of the ACABQ to this request, as it is on many subjects raised by the Secretary-General, is that it had "studied the proposals of the Secretary-General", but that it was, "of the opinion that the current proposals of the Secretary-General lack sufficient clarity and detail to be ripe for consideration at the present stage".[250] The ACABQ also stated that, "additional flexibility must be accompanied by a comprehensive and effective system of accountability… This includes the accountability of the Secretary-General to Member

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[248] UN General Assembly 1947.
[249] UN Secretary-General 2002., para 167; UN Secretary-General 2006a, paras 9-19.
[250] ACABQ 2006c, paras 29-31.

States, bearing in mind that it is the General Assembly which continues to exercise overall authority over the finances of the Organization."

Ten days after this particular response, the Secretary-General published a framework for accountability, with a hierarchy from the General Assembly at the top (accountable to the UN Charter), then the Secretary-General, then Department Heads, then Directors, then Supervisors, and finally other staff. For each level he concisely indicated responsibilities and authority, as well as the matters on which each was accountable to the level above. The Secretary-General conceived of the General Assembly's role as somewhat akin to that of a CEO, confirming or commenting on the Secretary-General's strategic framework, and providing: "mandates and overall policy guidance to the Secretary-General for the execution of these mandates as well as those given to the Secretary-General directly by the Charter of the United Nations".[251] The document clearly assigns no authority to the General Assembly for management of financial details, unlike the Secretary-General, who it states should not only attend to the "management of department, and the effective management of human and financial resources", but even has the authority to delegate the management of financial resources to subordinates such as the Under-Secretary for Management.[252] This framework was acknowledged, but not approved.

The complexity of the UN budget process allows for multiple points of influence by the Secretariat. To illustrate this, I summarise the salient points of each of the four stages of the budget, and then I briefly discuss several political facets of the process that influence the

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[251] UN Secretary-General 2006a, 15.
[252] Ibid.

strategies that the Secretariat can use in attempting to alter member state positions on budgetary issues.

3.4 The four stages of the budget

In a general sense, the evolution of the regular budget reflects the long history of General Assembly resolutions that assign tasks to the Organisation. In a more proximate sense, however, the Secretary-General spends six months preparing documents for the Committee for Programme and Coordination (CPC), which confirms the various mandates of different parts of the UN. The CPC then spends six months working through those with the Secretariat to produce the budget outline. The Secretariat then spends another six months turning that outline into a detailed proposed budget, and then the ACABQ spends four months debating that before passing it on to the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly, who spend the last two months of the year in an intense series of meetings making numerous relatively small changes to the budget before the biennium begins in January, when the Secretary-General immediately begins the two-year process again. This section provides evidence for OI – 4, whereby different audiences can be seen to react differently to different types of arguments.

Note that at the time of writing, this process may be shortened considerably. At the end of the General Assembly session in December 2017, the Assembly agreed to one of Secretary-General António Guterres's recommendations, and beginning in 2020, for a trial period, the budget will be shortened from a biennial to an annual process. This will condense all of the processes described below.

3.4.1 Stage 1: General Assembly resolutions and the Strategic Framework

In a very long-term view, the budget begins with General Assembly resolutions, which, while non-binding on members, do establish mandates for the various parts of the organisation.

The Assembly now typically passes over three hundred resolutions each session. While there are some issues on which there are sharp divisions between voting blocs, such as human rights, or the Israel-Palestine conflict, many resolutions are passed fairly easily and unanimously. One of the reasons for this is that the language in the resolutions is typically designed specifically to elicit the maximum breadth of support. Unfortunately, this often means crafting resolutions that are deliberately vague or ambiguous.[253] Another reason, as mentioned, is that the resolutions are non-binding, so even if the details of a resolution contradict the perceived self-interest of particular states, they might still choose not to publicly oppose it. While many of these resolutions do not directly address budget changes, they provide the basis for subsequent budget recommendations on the basis that they alter the mandates assigned to the Organisation by member states.

The Secretariat has three key roles in the formation of General Assembly resolutions. The first is purely administrative; the Secretariat is responsible for translations, transcriptions, and other similar supporting tasks for all the intergovernmental bodies in the UN, including the General Assembly. The second is information; the Secretariat provides data and background information on any issue, sometimes in response to specific requests by member states, and sometimes independently. The final role is to set the broader agenda; the Secretary-General addresses the beginning of each General Assembly session in a speech that typically establishes several key issues to be prioritised by the Assembly. The Secretary-General also, on a continuous basis, notifies both the General Assembly and Security Council of any global events

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[253] High ranking Secretariat staff in interviews, 23-26 June 2015.

that the Secretary-General considers to be a threat to global peace and security, sometimes forming global conferences to address an issue.

The biennial budgetary cycle begins when the Office of the Secretary-General spends six months creating a Strategic Framework outlining the programs and objectives of the UN system. In doing so, each Framework builds upon the decades of General Assembly Resolutions, on the Framework for the previous year, on programmes that were under financial strain in the previous budget, and on any particular issues that the Secretary-General and other members of the Secretariat choose to bring to the fore. This Framework is then passed on to the CPC.

3.4.2 Stage 2: Committee for Programme and Coordination (CPC)

The various Resolutions passed by the General Assembly and Security Council over the years are then taken into consideration during the next stage. More than two years before the beginning of a biennium, the Secretary-General drafts a Strategic Framework detailing the mandates assigned by member states to the various parts of the UN.[254] The Secretary-General then provides that, along with supporting documents such as relevant reports by various intergovernmental bodies and Secretariat departments, to the CPC,[255] a body with 34 member state representatives.[256] A dialogue between the CPC and the Secretariat then ensues, with the

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[254] From 1974 until 2003, the SG produced the Medium Term Plan, which offered a four-year outline for the activities of the Organisation. In 2003, GA Resolution 58/269 changed this to the Strategic Framework, Part One of which outlines the long-term objectives of the UN, and Part Two of which involves a plan to cover the next two years. Part One has yet to be agreed upon by the GA.

[255] GA Resolution 31/93 established the three related roles of the CPC:
1) Review in depth, on a selective basis, the major programmes of the medium-term plan and to recommend any necessary amendments to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly.
2) To determine which programmes, sub-programmes or programme elements are obsolete, or marginal usefulness or ineffective and to recommend, as appropriate, their curtailment or termination.
3) To assess the degree of substantive co-ordination of selected programme within the United Nations system and to recommend the appropriate action thereon.

[256] Since 1988, the 34 member states in the CPC have been elected for three-year terms on a geographically equitable basis: 9 African States; 7 Asia-Pacific States; 7 Latin American and Caribbean States; 7 Western European and other States, 4 Eastern European States.

objective of the process being the outlining of all the current mandates and programmes within the UN, and all changes mandated by decisions of the intergovernmental committees, so that following budgetary processes can then consider what activities there are that require funding. The various intergovernmental bodies that provided the supporting documents often do not have the time and/or inclination to substantively review the sections given to them. Rather, they receive and concur with the recommendations of the Secretary-General, and then often provide only editorial comments.[257] Oversight is thus relatively weak. Once the process is complete, the CPC makes revisions it deems necessary, and the Strategic Framework is passed to the General Assembly.

Almost all individuals interviewed by this author at the United Nations, including one who had previously served as a member of the CPC, believe that the CPC should be abolished, and that it achieves nothing more than significant delays for the budget process.[258] A 2002 review of the budgetary process led by Deputy Secretary-General Louise Frechette had come to that same conclusion.[259] Those who were willing to speculate as to why it had not been dissolved, claim that resistance came from the G77, who view the CPC as one of the few veto points at which they can exert influence over the course of the Organisation.[260] When asked why budgetary process reforms, including the CPC, never seemed to take place, a senior member of the Secretariat told this author that, "the budget process is like this because member states want it like this. If they wanted it simpler, it would be simpler".[261]

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[257] Interview with Senior Secretariat staff, Fifth Committee delegate, and former member of CPC, June 2015.
[258] Ibid.
[259] ACABQ member A in interview, June 2015.
[260] Ibid. Note that I do not have a comment from a member of the G77 on this question.
[261] Interview with senior ACABQ Secretariat member, June 2015.

3.4.3 Stage 3: Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ)

The Secretary-General then draws upon the outcomes of the CPC discussions and creates a Programme Budget Proposal, which he offers, along with supporting documents, to the ACABQ, a geographically representative body of sixteen member state representatives, elected by the General Assembly. Officially, ACABQ members are independent from their respective states. Their nameplates show only their names, and not their countries, and their debates are not overtly political. However, each member is influenced by the economic and political culture of his or her home state, and many of them have previously served in the Fifth Committee, so a political subtext is inevitable; as a current ACABQ member discussed, "maybe 12 or 13 of the 16 members have come straight from the fifth committee, and they have brought all of their working practices, and their allegiances and the group politics from there. And so that's why, more than ever, we are reflecting the fifth committee".[262] The ACABQ Secretariat explains that ACABQ members "are elected by the General Assembly. The General Assembly is a purely political body. So the people who are elected by the General Assembly to the ACABQ are in the political world".[263]

The Proposed Budget uses the previous budget as a starting point, and is then amended based on the Secretary-General's interpretation of subsequent General Assembly Resolutions and changing global circumstances. The ACABQ scrutinises the budget proposal, demanding further details and justifications from the Secretary-General, particularly on any differences between the current proposal and the previous budget. Representatives of the Secretary-General, and of

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[262] ACABQ Secretariat staff and ACABQ members in interviews conducted on 24-25 June 2015.
[263] ACABQ Senior Secretariat Staff in interview, June 2015.

various UN departments, are frequently summoned to explain parts of the proposal to the Committee.   During these interviews, and in the proposed budget, the Office of the Secretary-General commonly cites, as evidence of new mandates for him or the Secretariat, parts of General Assembly Resolutions that, on close analysis, offer only vague support for Secretariat activities such as conflict resolution.

Finally, the ACABQ sends a revised proposal, designed to maximise agreement, to the Fifth Committee, the General Assembly budgetary subcommittee with representatives from all member states. The ACABQ attempts to be politically sensitive to the climate and debates in the General Assembly, to reduce the likelihood that the budget proposal be rejected by the General Assembly, delaying the process, creating more work, and diminishing the apparent authority of the ACABQ.[264]

From 1974 to 2003, the ACABQ had a single chairman, Ambassador Conrad S. M. Mselle (Tanzania). Under his stewardship, the ACABQ came to be perceived by member states as authoritative, impartial experts on financial management, and ACABQ recommendations were afforded considerable respect by the General Assembly.[265] Since 2003, however, the ACABQ has come to be perceived as less authoritative, and as a consequence, the Fifth Committee has spent more and more time scrutinising and altering their recommendations. Having said that, some Fifth Committee delegates, including one interviewed, say that many member states rely heavily on the ACABQ reports because they take complicated, technical issues and give them to the Fifth Committee in "a more digestible form".[266] From the perspective of the General

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[264] Ibid., ACABQ member A in interview, June 2015.
[265] Interviews with this author: Senior Secretariat staff and current ACABQ member, June 2015. See also Mselle 2011.
[266] Delegate B to Fifth Committee in interview with this author, June 2015.

Assembly, especially those countries who do not have citizens serving in the ACABQ, ACABQ deliberations can be opaque. The meetings are always closed-door, even to other related parts of the organisation. As one Fifth Committee delegate said in interview: "the ACABQ is for us, for me, it's a bit invisible actually, what happens there".[267]

In discussions with the Secretariat, the ACABQ responds more positively to precise and detailed technical arguments that argue that specific mandates assigned by the General Assembly or Security Council require more resources. The ACABQ members reject, and indeed get openly irritated by, arguments that focus on the ideals of the UN Charter, or the suggestion that a particular department should be given a particular new role, especially if there is no resolution to show that states had assigned a new mandate.[268] Despite the obvious programmatic implications of their deliberations, the ACABQ sees programmatic changes as outside their purview, as a technical accounting, and not (overtly) political body.[269]

3.4.4 Stage 4: The Fifth Committee

The fourth stage is the debate in the General Assembly's Fifth Committee. Over the last ten years, that debate has become more protracted and intense, as the authority of the ACABQ has waned. Since 2003, the ACABQ has had five Chairs, and rather than accepting ACABQ recommendations as authoritative, the Fifth Committee tends to duplicate much of the technical review process that used to be the exclusive purview of the ACABQ.[270] Despite this, the

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[267] Delegate B to Fifth Committee in interview with this author, June 2015.
[268] Current ACABQ member, in interview with this author, June 2015. Senior ACABQ Secretariat member, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[269] Current ACABQ member, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[270] Because Process Matters. Para 146

ACABQ recommendations are still typically viewed as the default position, such that 80-90% of the Fifth Committee's final decisions reflect the ACABQ's position.[271]

The debate in the Fifth Committee is further complicated by the fact that many member states will argue passionately and at length over individual posts, rather than discussing the budget at a more strategic level.[272] As a delegate to the Fifth Committee put it in interview, "[t]hat's the main problem in terms of UN financing. Everything is a priority for somebody".[273] The process is simplified, however, by voting blocs, who agree on a joint position. As one delegate to the Fifth Committee explained it: "the informal consultations are in theory between all the member states but in practice the blocs are in fact the most important way to negotiate; I think it would be impossible to negotiate with 193 countries so actually it is EU, the G 77, Russia, CANZ, and the US of course, Japan, Switzerland".[274]

While blocs are the primary negotiating units, influence within them varies considerably, and the level of influence is not necessarily a reflection of the power of their home state. Influence also depends, to a great extent, on the perceived qualities of the individual delegate. One delegate described this in the context of his first impressions of the Fifth Committee, in terms that resonated with my interest in informal authority:

> I was a bit surprised, at the beginning, that some quite small countries were very
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> important in the whole debate, simply because they're just good delegates. It's not very
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> important if you're from Nigeria or from Togo, but if the delegates from those countries

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[271] Current ACABQ member, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[272] Because Process Matters. Para 104. Fifth Committee members A and B in interview with this author, June 2015.
[273] Delegate A to Fifth Committee, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[274] Delegate B to Fifth Committee in interview with this author, June 2015.

are really talented and well-informed then they are powerful. So influence depends more

on the particular delegate than the country within the block.[275]

Senior Secretariat staff made similar comments in interviews about the ACABQ, the Fifth

Committee, and the organisation as a whole: "At the end of the day it very much depends on who

is strongest, who can convince, who has a handle on the data, who's got the stamina, who knows

how to negotiate".[276]

Within the Fifth Committee there are several hidden layers of negotiations.[277] If

agreement is not reached in formal negotiations, the "formal informal" processes begin; a

Coordinator is chosen by the Chairperson to accept suggestions by interested states, and then

propose a compromise solution. If this fails, the "informal, informal" negotiations begin, where

small groups break off to try to resolve particular issues before returning to the Coordinator.

Where this too is unable to generate consensus, the "least formal" negotiations take place,

anywhere from the various offices of the UN Headquarters to the Vienna Café in the UN North

Lawn building. Finally, if deadlocks remain, "political meetings" take place between

Ambassadors. Even back in 2001, when, in comparison with today, the Fifth Committee was

more likely to accept ACABQ recommendations with little argument, the Fifth Committee

required a total of 401 meetings to reach agreement on the budget for 2002-2003. The costs of

the administrative support alone for those meetings exceeded US$10.3 million.[278]

Of all of these levels, published records are available *only for the first, formal

negotiations*. For the other levels, constituting the vast majority of the debates, the Secretariat

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[275] Delegate B to Fifth Committee in interview with this author, June 2015.
[276] Senior ACABQ Secretariat staff A, interview in June 2015.
[277] Schlesinger 2002.
[278] Ibid.

only retains incomplete, unpublished memos and notes written by the staff assigned to provide legal and administrative support to negotiators. Thomas Schlesinger, former Fifth Committee member representing Austria, and Coordinator of the many informal meetings in 2001, stated that if, "scholars or academics want to find out how decisions are taken in the Fifth Committee, they clearly are at a disadvantage, because what they see from summary records - first, there is a formal meeting where delegations have opposing views and no consent, but miraculously, after one, two, three months, a decision is reached again in a formal meeting [sic]".[279] The Fifth Committee forms the final stage of the budgetary process, but this section also introduces one of several other key aspects to the process, that of voting blocs and the relationships between them.

3.5 Voting blocs

In any international organisation in which at least some decisions are agreed by voting, blocs of states develop on any given set of issues. The UN is no exception. There are many groupings, such as the US (often a bloc unto itself), the EU, CANZ (Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), Japan, the G77, China, the Rio group (Latin America and some Caribbean states), and the Africa Group. Engagement via blocs requires some sacrifice on the part of individual states, but there can be substantial benefits. One delegate to the Fifth Committee explained: "Of course we have our own national priorities, but we negotiate about our national priorities within the [bloc] context and we think it's important that we are part of an entity of countries. That's especially true for smaller countries; we're not so small, but we are quite small. It's a good way to bring your priorities forward to make a difference".[280]

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[279] Ibid.
[280] Delegate B to Fifth Committee in interview with this author, June 2015.

On many issues, particularly with the budget, the most basic divide in the General Assembly is between developed and developing states, with the various smaller blocs aligning with one or the other with reasonable consistency. Developed states, and the US in particular, have historically expressed a preference for a zero-growth budget that emphasises fiscal discipline and efficiency. Over recent years, the financial circumstances in Europe have led EU countries to articulate this position even more frequently than the US.[281] As a means to achieve these efficiencies, developed states are potentially more willing to advocate or allow selective delegation of authority to the Secretariat, if it seems that a greater flexibility and autonomy for the Secretary-General will lower costs overall.

In contrast, developing nations, routinely using one state as a spokesperson for the G77, consistently emphasise the inadequacy of funds for development, and the disproportionate control over some UN institutions by developed states. They therefore often advocate increasing resources for much of the UN, but they are less willing to delegate authority to it, preferring to assign fine-grained decision-making to the General Assembly.[282]

These bloc divisions are most pronounced in the General Assembly Fifth Committee. There, highly technical arguments tend not to be scrutinised in detail, and successful arguments are rather those that carefully take into account political realities and the possibility of compromise.[283] Arguments based on the principles of the UN Charter are superficially well received, but are ineffective if they do not take into account the fact that, for example, many G77 states like to see reforms that result in more (regionally distributed) posts, and thus will reject the

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[281] Interview with Fifth Committee delegate A, June 2015 (member of the EU).
[282] Ibid.
[283] Fifth Committee delegate A and Fifth Committee delegate B, in interview with this author, June 2015.

consolidation of different departments because that would reduce the number of veto points to which less powerful states have access.[284]   Meanwhile, the US, UK, and CANZ, while in principle opposing increased costs, will support additional posts and corresponding costs, if it means that HQ in New York can exercise greater oversight and control over peacekeeping and political missions around the world, many of whom are primarily staffed by G77 civilians and troops.[285]

When voting blocs become entrenched on an issue, particularly along the ideological divide between the Global North and South, the ability of the Secretariat or a bloc of states to push through reforms is extremely limited. As Coleman (2017) discusses, a critical factor in the likelihood that peacekeeping reforms will be successful is the "extent to which the proposal avoids inflaming the divisions among member states".[286]   An underlying reason for this is that so many of the UN budgetary stages work in principle by consensus. On the most contentious issues, therefore, there are several veto points where those firmly opposed to reform can easily obstruct its passage. An example from the DPKO chapter is the issue of the creation of a strategic planning and analysis unit close to the Secretary-General. The G77 have always expressed concerns that such a unit would enable Western states to essentially establish a global military intelligence cell that could conduct what they view as espionage.[287]

Conversely, when that divide does not exist, and even if almost all states are initially against strengthening a part of the Secretariat, the SG can more easily shift the preferences of the

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[284] Senior member of UN Secretariat, in interview with this author; ACABQ member, in interview with this author; Fifth Committee delegate A, in interview with this author.
[285] ACABQ member, in interview with this author.
[286] Coleman 2017.
[287] Interviews with Fifth Committee delegates A and B, DPA staff B, June 2015.

entire community of member states in favour of the provision of significant additional resources. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is counterintuitive from the perspective of principal-agent theory, which might suggest that there would be more room for manoeuvre on the part of the Secretariat when states are divided, and less so when states are united against a part of that bureaucracy.

3.6 The US-UN relationship

The relationship between the largest financial contributor to the UN and the Fifth Committee has historically been an antagonistic one, particularly since the global wave of decolonisation swelled the ranks of UN membership with less developed states that had different priorities for the Organisation. Beginning in 1980, the US began withholding contributions for specific programs it disapproved of, such as the Special Unit on Palestinian Rights, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Addis Ababa conference centre, the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the implementation of General Assembly Resolution 3379 (Zionism equals racism), and the Preparatory Commission for the Law of the Sea.

In the mid-1980's, the US Congress became increasingly frustrated that despite paying a quarter of the UN budget, it's attempts to guide the evolution of the Organisation were frequently frustrated by the G77, which opposed and outvoted the US in the General Assembly, and in the Fifth committee in particular. In response, the US withheld even more of its contributions. Then in 1995 it unilaterally limited its peacekeeping contribution to 25% of the budget (from a UN assessment of 26.7%), and in a deal with the other UN member states in 1999, limited its contribution to the regular budget to 22%.

In an attempt to reduce conflict in the Fifth Committee, and in order to further avoid

being outvoted by the G77, the US began advocating consensus decision-making as a principle

for debates on budgetary matters. This was a compromise position. In 1986 US Congress

refused to approve payments of more than 20% of the UN regular budget unless budget decisions

be weighted by the size of assessment; this would have given the US more voting power than the

poorest one hundred countries combined. The G77 were furious,[288] but were willing to accept a

compromise put forward by the Reagan administration, in which budgetary decisions in the

future would be made by consensus.

With few exceptions, budgets since the mid/late-1990's have been politically successful

in that they have (eventually) been agreed by consensus; however, consensus decision-making

presents two obvious challenges: it has made deliberations slower and more complex, and the

resultant status quo bias has significantly decreased the likelihood that radical changes can make

it through the committee. The budget is thus typically slow to change from one biennium to the

next. Gradual increases over the years seem primarily to reflect inflationary changes and the

path-dependent tendencies of institutions that, once created, resist efforts made to remove them.

3.7 Conclusion

The UN budget is slow to change. Any changes that do occur require the consent of

several intergovernmental and technical bodies in which voting blocs can clash, preventing

reforms when consensus is required. The General Assembly requires that any changes take into

account political realities, the ACABQ demands that changes are justified by mandates

established by the General Assembly and/or Security Council. The strategies employed by a

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[288] UN General Assembly 1986.

Secretary-General to change the budget, require influence at several different points. Issues must be raised higher on the agenda throughout the UN system, from the CPC to the General Assembly. The Assembly and Security Council must be persuaded to adopt resolutions that establish new or expanded mandates for parts of the Organisation. The ACABQ, and then the Fifth Committee, must also be persuaded that achieving those mandates requires greater resources. The case studies now explore those processes, in the cases of UN peacekeeping and political missions.

Chapter 4: UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations

4.1 Introduction

By 1997, member states of the United Nations (UN) had come to overtly reject the practice of UN peacekeeping. Their opposition to providing more resources to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) seemed intractable. However, three years later, states chose to greatly strengthen that department's manpower and resources.[289] From 2001 to 2003, the number of regular posts in the DPKO rose from 310 to 528.[290] Prior to this change, from 1995 until 2001, and afterwards, from the end of 2003 until today, the number of regular posts in the DPKO has been almost static.[291]

In 2001, states also delegated additional control to the DPKO, such as the authority to select and hire peacekeeping staff without the delays incurred by member state oversight.[292] Over Secretary-General Kofi Annan's ten years in office another seventeen peace operations would be launched.[293]   No global geopolitical change explains this, as is the case with the surge in peacekeeping after the end of the Cold War. This is the puzzle I explore in this chapter.

This shift is not problematized in recent peacekeeping literature, which tends to focus on the controversy surrounding peace enforcement and a shift towards including the protection of civilians as a core mission mandate. This body of literature overlooks the far more fundamental, prior change in member state attitudes: the shift to reconsidering the UN as the most legitimate and effective venue through which to organise and supervise peacekeeping operations. It was as

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[289] UN Secretary-General 2004a, paras 6-8.
[290] Data for annual changes to DPKO staff numbers compiled from annual Composition of the Secretariat reports prepared by the Office of the Secretary-General.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Jonah. 2007, 165.
[293] Meisler 2007, 316.

a consequence of these mediating conditions that states came to believe that it was not only worthwhile to redirect their efforts through the UN, but that they should devote more resources to the Secretariat in doing so.

I argue that the Secretary-General and his staff were able to significantly influence this change in the preferences of member states. Secretary-General Kofi Annan leveraged his informal authority to influence the opinions of key member states, and also of the international community of states as a whole. The Secretariat was able to apply his informal authority through three strategies to influence UN member states' policies towards peacekeeping. The first was agenda setting, which led states to reprioritise issues for debate within UN forums, and more specifically to increasingly adopt the idea that UN intervention in domestic security crises was a moral imperative if a state was unable or unwilling to protect its own citizens. The second was the initiation or expansion of UN operations necessary to justify greater resources for support at the DPKO. The third was the multiplication of authority by the Secretariat, in which the Secretariat formed expert panels to assist with agenda setting and to shift states' policies closer towards the preferences of the Secretary-General.

I begin this chapter with a brief discussion of some key definitions, and then I offer some observations that demonstrate how challenging any peace operations reforms are in the UN, in order to illustrate the magnitude of the achieved budgetary changes. I also demonstrate that the conditions facing the Secretariat at the beginning of this case's time period were particularly hostile to the idea of DPKO expansion, making the subsequent reversal of member state attitudes towards UN peacekeeping all the more worthy of study.

I then describe how Secretary-General Kofi Annan and others perceived his informal authority in the context of UN peacekeeping, before moving on to details of his influence. With

the case study, I describe evidence for the pattern of persuasion by the Secretariat. The pattern, as described in chapter two, consists of strategic persuasion through three inter-related, overlapping, and non-sequential strategies: agenda setting, initiating operations, and the multiplication of authority.

4.2 Definitions: peacekeeping and peace operations

Any academic discussion of UN-mandated interventions in conflicts around the world is complicated by a lack of consensus on definitions of even the most common terms, such as peacekeeping and peace operations. Following the 2015 High Level Panel on Peace Operations, I consider peace operations to include both military and diplomatic efforts to prevent or resolve conflict. For the panel, the term peace operations "denote[s] the full spectrum of United Nations peace and security missions and initiatives… as well as more flexible tools and instruments, such as the use of small teams of experts and peace and development advisers."[294]

This inclusive definition of peace operations is a logical one, given that both peacekeeping operations and Special Political Missions (SPMs) have a great deal in common, despite the conspicuous lack of a military component in the latter. For one, they share a similar objective: peace and political stability. Also, both are initiated and designed using similar political processes by the same set of key actors, and they operate in similar (often the same) environments. There has thus been a great deal of overlap between the two over the last twenty years, both practically and conceptually, to the extent that it has sometimes been difficult for the UN Secretariat to clearly explain the criteria used to decide whether to allocate a particular mission to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations or to the Department of Political

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[294] High Level International Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO), 2015, 28.

Affairs.[295] Therefore, while some eminent scholars still limit the term "peace operations" to

military actions, such as Paul Diehl's (2008) *Peace Operations*, in which there is no mention at

all of either non-military methods of conflict resolution or of the UN Department of Political

Affairs,[296] I do include those additional strategies for achieving peace.

I use the term peacekeeping, as is now widely accepted, as an umbrella term to describe

all UN peace operations with a military component, "designed to preserve the peace, however

fragile, where fighting has been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the

peacemakers".[297] This includes, at its core, elements of traditional peacekeeping, the inter-

position of troops wearing UN insignia between hostile militaries belonging to different states,

after a ceasefire has been arranged, in order to allow the political space for dialogue with the

hope that a more lasting agreement can be reached.[298] However, second generation

peacekeeping has increasingly included other peace operation strategies, such as conflict

prevention,[299] peace-making,[300] peace enforcement,[301] and peacebuilding.[302] The DPKO

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[295] UN Office of Internal Oversight Services 2006, paras 9-15.

[296] Diehl 2008.

[297] DPKO 2008 *UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*. 7-8. Also initially known as the Capstone Doctrine.

[298] I derived this definition from common knowledge, and from descriptions of traditional peacekeeping, such as: UN DPKO. What is Peacekeeping? http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml. Accessed 7 April 2016. Also considered was a broad description of traditional peacekeeping in Diehl 2008, 4-5, and a definition in Bellamy and Williams 2010, 8.

[299] Structural or diplomatic measures to keep intra-state or inter-state tensions and disputes from escalating into violent conflict, building on early warning, information gathering, conflict analysis, the use of the Secretary-General's "good offices," preventive deployment and confidence-building measures. Definition from DPKO 2008, 7-8.

[300] Diplomatic measures to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement, including the exercise of the Secretary-General's "good offices". Peacemakers may also be envoys, governments, groups of states, regional organizations, and/or the United Nations, and may also involve unofficial and non-governmental groups, or a prominent personality. Definition from DPKO 2008, 7-8.

[301] The application, with the authorization of the Security Council, of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force by the UN or regional organizations and agencies, to restore international peace and security. Definition from DPKO 2008, 7-8.

[302] Complex, long-term measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening the state's capacities at all levels for its core functions, most notably conflict management and

includes in their definition of peacekeeping, extensive lists of the various diplomatic,

developmental and governance tasks that have been assigned to peacekeepers and those working

alongside them in complex, multidimensional operations, particularly those of the last twenty

years.[303]

4.3 The challenge of peacekeeping operations reform

4.3.1 Divisions at the UN

Before discussing the authority of the Secretary-General and his attempts to reform the

DPKO after assuming the post in 1997, it is important to understand the institutional barriers to

achieving any peacekeeping reforms within the UN, such that the full magnitude of the

accomplishment be recognised. As Dijkstra suggests in a broader context, these barriers are

primarily due to the divergence of interests between the different blocs of states and the different

parts of the Secretariat.[304] There are several key divisions within the UN that make agreement

on peacekeeping reform extremely challenging, particularly in budgetary committees that require

consensus decision-making.

First, the North-South divide, common on so many issues debated in the UN, is

particularly prominent in peacekeeping.[305] Powerful Western states are ostensibly inspired by

liberal ideas of the value of promoting democracy and liberalism around the world, but the G77

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development, and comprehensively addressing underlying, structural causes of violent conflict. Definition from DPKO. 2008, 7-8.

[303] DPKO 2003. *Handbook,* 2-3. Modern complex peacekeeping missions have been categorised by the various elements of their mandates; for example, see: Durch and Berkman 2006, 5-9. See also Diehl, Druckman and Wall 1998; Diehl 2008, 12-17. Their mandates are: i) Traditional peacekeeping, ii) observation, iii) election supervision, iv) arms control verification, v) humanitarian assistance during conflict, vi) preventive deployment, vii) state/nation building, viii) pacification, ix) protective services, x) intervention in support of democracy, xi) sanctions enforcement, and xii) collective enforcement.

[304] Dijkstra 2015, 26. The following several points above are taken from this useful summary.

[305] For an excellent summary of the North-South divide, and the distrust between the UN voting blocs, see Swart and Lund 2010, 121-148.

states, motivated by a history of colonialism, supported by China and Russia in the Security Council, are more strongly opposed to the idea of robust mandates and the failure to prioritise state sovereignty.[306] The G77 also objects to the fact that the most powerful and some of the wealthiest states, in the Security Council, can initiate peace operations without the consent of the vast majority of member states.[307]

Secondly, there is a division within the Security Council. Even after the end of the Cold War, there often remained a lack of consensus on security issues within the Security Council, and Council members "have found it much easier to agree on a more limited set of objectives than on an overall political strategy aimed at addressing underlying causes and drivers of conflict". [308] Any possibility of negotiated compromise is further inhibited by the fact that most, if not all, states are reluctant to formalise a peacekeeping doctrine that might later reduce their political room for manoeuvre.[309] Indeed the attempt made by the DPKO to outline such a set of ideas in 2008 had to be renamed, from *The Capstone Doctrine*, the title of the document up until its third draft, to *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines*, in the face of opposition by many member states simply to the word "doctrine".[310] As the drafts were revised in response to feedback from member states, the tone of the document tempered considerably from one of proscriptive requirements and instructions for member states to a descriptive summary of contemporary peacekeeping.[311]

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[306] Lipson 2010; Benner, Mergenthaler and Rotmann 2011, 18-21; Dijkstra 2015, 26. Annan 2012, 63-64.
[307] Senior UN Official in interview with this author June 2015; UN mission advisor on Security Council issues in interview with this author June 2015.
[308] Berdal and. Ucko 2014.
[309] Senior UN Official in interview with this author June 2015; Fifth Committee member in interview with this author June 2015; UN mission advisor on Security Council issues in interview with this author June 2015.
[310] Bellamy and Williams 2010, 141-142.
[311] Ibid.

Thirdly, there is also a divide in operational preferences between those who can control whether or not to initiate a mission (the Security Council, and the P5 in particular), and the troop contributing countries (TCCs). TCCs understandably prefer not to insert their troops into situations where they are likely to incur many casualties, and when they do insert, they wish to have all the backstopping support from UN HQ and other related agencies required to ensure their safety.[312] Developed states, which bear the economic burden of funding missions, have different priorities. While they feel political pressure from the Secretary-General and the international community to respond to crises, they prefer smaller, less expensive missions, particularly in regions where they have no particular national interest in resolving a conflict.[313] This creates a situation where the Secretariat can find it very difficult to find sufficient troops, even after the Security Council has authorised an urgent mission. Overall, despite the fact that all the risk lies with the TCCs, the Security Council, which can initiate peace operations without their consent, or that of the rest of the member states, has yet to institutionalise any consultation mechanism between the Security Council and TCCs; this is a source of tension between the two groups.[314] This situation despite calls from the Secretariat for such mechanisms for nearly two decades.

And finally, parts of the Secretariat have their own preferences that can conflict with those of member states. DPKO staff, for example, may have several inter-related motives underlying the reforms they support: i) they may wish to demonstrate their status as experts in their field by achieving success in their operations, ii) they can exhibit an altruistic desire to

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[312] Breakley and Dekker 2014, 313; Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) 2014; Dijkstra 2015, 26; Cunliffe 2009.

[313] Allen and Yuen 2014, 623-624.

[314] Senior UN Official in interview with this author June 2015; UN Permanent Mission advisor on Security Council issues in interview with this author June 2015.

achieve peace and alleviate suffering,[315] and iii) they, along with other parts of the Secretariat and the TCCs, seek "clear, credible and achievable mandates".[316] The Secretariat, and the Secretary-General and DPKO in particular, have a strong professional interest in the success of UN peacekeeping operations. These preferences can clash with the Security Council, where sharp divisions in preferences between different members of the Council on specific issues combine with the social pressure to do something rather than nothing, typically lead them to create vague resolutions.[317]

The institutional features of the UN peacekeeping operations planning and execution processes accentuate these various divisions, further obstructing the passage of reforms through the UN. These dominant feature is the large number of veto players, each of which are able to independently limit operations to the principles of more traditional peacekeeping.[318] The veto players include the Security Council (P5 in particular), the Secretariat (including the DPKO, DFS and the SG), the force command, the troop contributor countries (TCCs), and individual troops.[319] Each and any of these can independently either obstruct the creation of a mission or, after it has been created, ensure that the mission becomes more conservative and risk-averse mission (risk averse for peacekeepers, not civilians) than envisioned. These actors often have incentives to do so. For the P5, more traditional peacekeeping is less expensive than more complex operations; for the DPKO, traditional peacekeeping is more likely to succeed than operations in areas where not all combatant groups agree to UN intervention; for the TCCs and

[315] Allen and Yuen 2014, 58; 621–632. Allen and Yuen build upon Gould 2006.
[316] Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations 2000, paras 56-64. Useful discussion of the background to this issue in Durch et al. 2004, 17-19.
[317] Allen and Yuen 2014, 624.
[318] Breakey and Dekker 2014. For discussion of veto players, see Tsebelis 2002 .
[319] Ibid.

commanders, traditional peacekeeping reduces the likelihood of casualties, and individual

soldiers know that they are less likely to risk their own lives and those of their colleagues if they

adopt a more neutral, passive tactical response to any given scenario.

Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams (2004) observed the limits to UN peace operations

reform in the context of the developments that followed the Brahimi Report:

> The political, decision-making and operational aspects of the Brahimi Report have been
>
> sidelined from the agenda. The implementation reports make no mention of proposed
>
> reforms to the way that the Security Council mandates operations. Nor has there been
>
> significant progress towards institutionalizing coordination between troop contributors,
>
> the DPKO and the Security Council, despite Annan identifying this as a priority.[320]

These divisions with the UN thus make successful moments of peacekeeping reform particularly

puzzling and worthy of study.

4.3.2 Disillusionment and failures

The end of the Cold war, as a global systemic change, opened the political space for more

frequent military and political intervention via the UN system. However, the initial optimism

was followed by a series of dramatic failures that convinced many member states that the UN

should not engage in peacekeeping missions. Understanding the extent of the hostility of

member states to the mere idea of UN peacekeeping in 1997 makes the puzzle of why those

states decided to reverse their position and support a strengthening of the DPKO in 2000 all the

more interesting.

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[320] Bellamy and Williams 2004, 185; Gray 2001.

On 7 December 1988, President Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the General Assembly, announcing the withdrawal of many Soviet forces from outside Russia, and a massive reduction in the total manpower of the Soviet military.[321] In the same speech, Gorbachev expressed a hope that the UN would become a more coherent and proactive actor in resolving international conflicts. To some extent, this had already begun to take place. A few months earlier the Nobel Peace Prize had been awarded to all contemporaneous and previous peacekeeping troops.[322] Two peacekeeping missions had already been established in 1988,[323] to be followed by three more the following year, [324] and then another fifteen from 1991 to 1993.[325] Throughout the first forty-two years of the existence of the United Nations, an average of one mission had been launched every three years. From 1987 to 1993, the rate was an average of one every three months.[326]

These new missions also became more complex than most of their predecessors. For example, the mandate for the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG) in 1989 included electoral supervision and managing legal reforms for the newly independent country.[327] The optimism and enthusiasm for UN peacekeeping reached unprecedented heights, and in 1990 US President George H.W. Bush announced the arrival of a "New World Order", in which the UN would not hesitate to successfully intervene to end conflicts within as well as between states.[328]

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[321] UN Security Council 1988, 27-28.
[322] The Nobel Peace Prize Committee 1988.
[323] UN DPA. The Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan.
[324] UN DPA. The UN Angola Verification Mission I; UN DPA. UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG); UN DPA UN Observer Group in Central America.
[325] UN DPKO. List of Peacekeeping Missions.
[326] Sidhu 2007, 220.
[327] UN DPKO. UNTAG.
[328] Bush, Address to Joint Session of Congress, 11 September 1990.

However, the global geopolitical changes that led to more permissive conditions in the UN Security Council also changed the nature of the threats to peace and security around the world. The financial, political and military withdrawal of the US and USSR from much of the "third" or non-aligned world allowed previously supported, weak, post-colonial regimes to fail, and while inter-state war remained rare, there was a significant increase in the number and complexity of civil conflicts.[329]

These new conflicts were very different from those being considered when Hammarskjöld first articulated the three principles of peacekeeping. In these recent civil conflicts, combatant groups were often led by sub-state actors, the number of factions was typically greater, consent was fractured and precarious, and there were often no clear battle lines along which an interposition of troops could be made. Civilians were also more commonly deliberately targeted, such that peacekeepers felt a tension between the minimal use of force and their ethical obligations to protect those civilians.[330] It made little moral sense to claim to be impartial when one or more groups were openly committing large-scale atrocities against unarmed civilians.

In 1992, several months after the establishment of the DPKO, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali published *Agenda for Peace*,[331] a broad strokes strategy for conflict prevention and resolution. Imbued with the aforementioned sense of post-Cold War optimism that had gripped the Organisation, it suggested a stronger role for peacekeeping as the primary means for the UN to fulfil its core mandate. It famously included a single word that implied that the principle of

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[329] Hannay 2008; Kaplan 1993.
[330] Chojnacki 2006; UN DPKO. History of Peacekeeping: Post Cold War surge.
[331] UN Secretary-General 1992a.

consent was no longer inviolable. He stated that, "[p]eace-keeping is the deployment of a United

Nations presence in the field, *hitherto* with the consent of all the parties concerned [emphasis

added]".[332]

In case this wasn't explicit enough, Boutros-Ghali stated that the "time of absolute

sovereignty and exclusive sovereignty…has passed; its theory was never matched by reality".[333]

While he did not further develop this thought, or try to clarify the conditions under which

sovereignty could or should be set aside, his proposals were bold, including the formation of

standing UN peace enforcement units ready to intervene if peacekeeping troops were unable to

maintain or establish peace.[334] This was an example of the shift towards the idea of conditional

sovereignty that Secretary-General Annan would take up in more specific terms later to persuade

states to reengage with UN peacekeeping.

However, the following three years saw several tragedies. While somewhat reluctant to

deviate from the principles of traditional peacekeeping, member states were willing, in the early

1990's, to send what have been termed "second generation multinational operations" into

increasingly challenging environments.[335] For the first time since peacekeeping began, the

Security Council achieved a consensus that interventions could include elements of what is now

called peace enforcement, where peacekeepers can use greater force than that solely needed for

self-defence.[336] However, an incongruity between the challenging environments into which new

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[332] Ibid., para 20.
[333] Ibid., 4.
[334] Ibid., para 44.
[335] Mackinlay and Chopra 1993, 9-10.
[336] Rikhye 2000, 10.

missions were being inserted, and the restrictive principles of traditional peacekeeping, led to

significant failings in Somalia, Rwanda, and Former Yugoslavia.

The "Blackhawk down" event in Somalia led the US legislature to obstruct any US

support for UN peacekeeping. During the Cold War, both the US and the USSR had seen

Somalia as strategically significant, and both sporadically invested resources there. When over

1989-1991 both sides withdrew, Somalia began to collapse as a state. In April 1992, the UN set

up a small observation mission to protect UN staff and assist humanitarian efforts.[337] President

George H.W. Bush offered a substantial US force to work alongside, but not subordinate to, that

mission. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali foresaw problems with a dual command, but he felt

obliged to pass on the offer to the UNSC, which accepted.[338] The US troops were extremely

effective at first, helping to rapidly stabilise the country, but in October 1993, US Special Forces

attempted, without the knowledge of the UN, to capture a prominent warlord, General

Mohammad Farrah Aidid. During the operation, two US helicopters were shot down and 18 US

soldiers killed, with public broadcasts in the US showing the body of one of them being dragged

and carried through the streets by a jubilant crowd.[339] The recently elected President Clinton,

faced with a horrified electorate and a populist Congress, pulled out the US troops, effectively

ending the mission.[340] The withdrawal of the military with the greatest global logistical capacity,

most substantial resources, and amongst the most advanced military technologies, weakened UN

peacekeeping.

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[337] UN DPKO. Somalia UNOSOM I: Mandate.
[338] Eckhard, 47.
[339] PBS Frontline. Ambush in Mogadishu: Synopsis.
[340] Clinton. Address on Somalia 7 October 1993; White House Press Briefing by Secretary of State
Christopher, 7 October 1993.

From April to June 1994, an estimated 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed in Rwanda. Almost four months before it began, the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) Commander, General Roméo Dallaire (Canada), had reported to ASG Iqbal Riza at the DPKO that an informant had evidence that militias were arming themselves with the intent of beginning widespread attacks.[341] Dallaire asserted that with UN approval, he could raid at least one arms cache, and with increased support, he could reduce the likelihood of future attacks.[342] However, the Office of the Secretary-General and staff at the DPKO were convinced that only three months after "Blackhawk Down", the P5, and the US in particular, would strongly object to any proposal for another mission.[343] They therefore did not initially recommend strengthening UNAMIR or extending their mandate.

During the genocide, the few UN troops were directed to focus almost exclusively on evacuating foreign nationals. In one instance, they were instructed to abandon efforts to protect a large group of Rwandans in the Ecole Technique Officielle; when they did so, all two thousand were subsequently slaughtered.[344] Only after the genocide was almost complete in June did more UN troops begin arriving, although their mandate was still fairly limited.[345] The failure of the UN to prevent the atrocity, or to respond in a timely manner, contributed to a great deal of passionate introspection over the coming years.[346] The sentiment being articulated with increasing frequency was that the international community was incapable of addressing complex crises such as these through the UN Security Council.

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[341] Dallaire. Code Cable to DPKO. Although dated 11 January1994, this fax was received on the evening of the 12th in New York.

[342] Ibid., paragraphs 8-11.

[343] Meisler, 94.

[344] Melvern 2004.

[345] Grunfeld and Huijboom 2007); Dallaire and Dupuis 2007.

[346] See for example UN Security Council 1999b.

In 1995 a similar tragedy took place in Bosnia, albeit on a smaller scale. In 1992, the year after the former Yugoslavia began to fracture, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina had declared independence in a referendum rejected by the Serbian minority. Bosnian Serb militias, supported by the Serbian government under President Slobodan Milosevic, attempted to seize control and engaged in ethnic cleansing within areas under their control. In 1993, in accordance with established traditional peacekeeping practices, UNPROFOR declared the town of Srebrenica to be one of three safe zones; Srebrenica would be a haven within which Bosniaks could shelter unharmed. In previous interventions where all combatant leaders had consented to a UN role, these safe havens had always been sacrosanct. However, in June 1995, the Serbian militias that had been besieging the town were directed to attack. The 400 Dutch peacekeepers were unable to repel them or protect the Bosniaks, and over 8,000 civilians were massacred.[347] Again, observers were left with the impression that UN peacekeepers were ineffectual, leading states to be further disinclined to support those efforts.

These incidents radically altered the perspectives of both states and Secretariat. In early 1995, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali published his *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace*, a document with a far more cautious tone than in *Agenda for Peace*.[348] *Supplement* articulated observations about changing global conflict conditions, now widely taken for granted, that orbited the recognition that "many of today's conflicts are within States rather than between States".[349] *Supplement* also explicitly identified the incongruity between the political and military premises of traditional peacekeeping and those of peace enforcement.[350] The tools and

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[347] Rohde 1998; UN General Assembly 1999b.
[348] UN Secretary-General 1995a.
[349] Ibid., para 10.
[350] Ibid., para 35.

principles of the former had, he argued, been inappropriately applied to environments that demanded elements of the latter. He argued for greater clarity, a more conservative approach, and for UN troops to be given the resources and mandates appropriate to the mission objectives and conditions. *Supplement* signalled the beginning of a conviction by the international community that the United Nations was unable to use peacekeeping tools to resolve many threats to international peace.

Thereafter followed a lull in peacekeeping for several years, as shown by Graph 1 below. In 1995, the UN had 64,000 peacekeepers in action around the world. By 1998, this had dropped to less than 14,000.[351] In an article Kofi Annan published in 1998, he admitted that now the "conventional wisdom, arising primarily from the difficulties encountered by two operations (in Bosnia and Somalia), is that the organization should do less peacekeeping, either by not getting involved at all in certain conflicts or by working only at their margins".[352] The following year Edward Luttwak published an article expressing that sentiment, entitled "Give War a Chance", arguing that UN interventions prolong, rather than resolve conflicts.[353]

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[351] UN DPKO. Monthly summary of military and civilan police contributions; UN DPKO. Surge in Uniformed UN Peacekeeping Personnel from 1991- Present.
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/chart.pdf. Last accessed 9 November 2015.
[352] Annan 1998,169.
[353] Luttwak 1999.

UN Peacekeeping Troop numbers
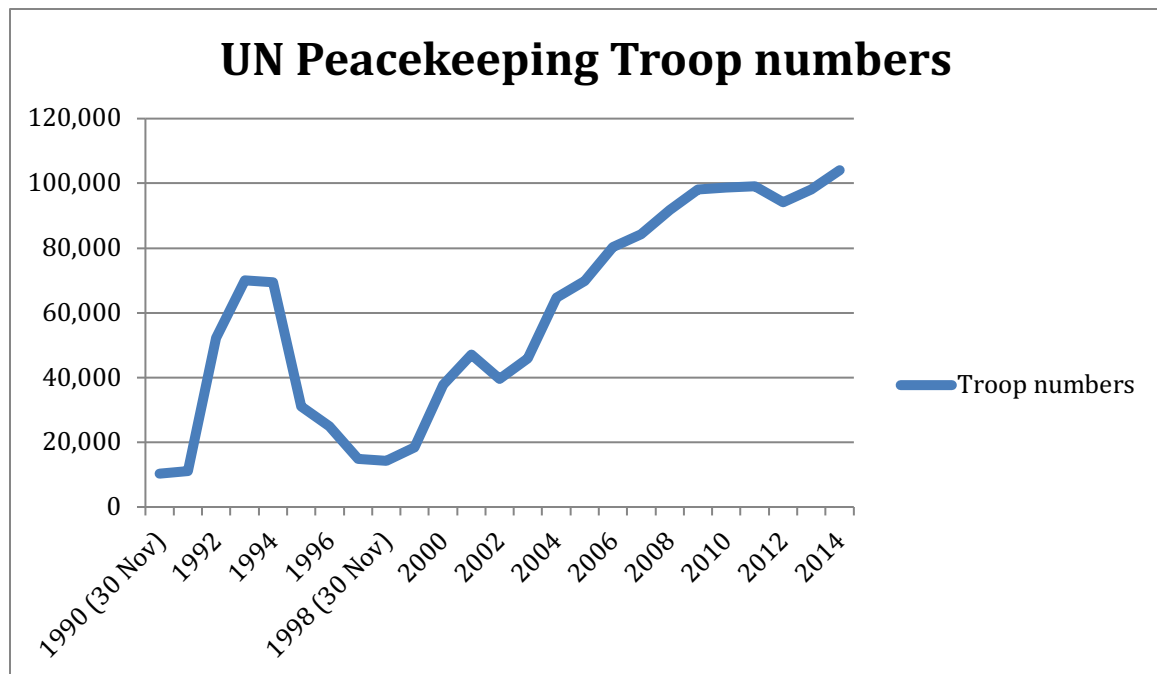
Figure 2: UN Peacekeepers: Total troop count by year[354]

These were the conditions facing Kofi Annan as he became Secretary-General. By 1997,

the Financial Times (UK) observed that no-one, "dares propose a new UN peacekeeping force

anywhere, since the US administration would rather use its veto than have to justify such an

operation before Congress"; the same article pointed out that the "policing role has largely been

taken over by regional organisations with one powerful state in control: Nigeria in West Africa,

Russia in the former Soviet Union, the US from Bosnia to Haiti".[355] It was even suggested that

the UN no longer needed a separate department to oversee peacekeeping operations.[356] As

Martin Barber, veteran UN Humanitarian Coordinator and Special Representative of the

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[354] Data from 31 December each year unless indicated otherwise; compiled by author from 25 annual documents, beginning with:
UN DPKO. Summary of Peacekeeping forces by country as at 30 November 1990. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/1990/1990.zip, and ending with:
UN DPKO. Summary of Peacekeeping forces by country as at 31 December 2014. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2014/country.zip

[355] Lambert, and Mortimer 1997.

[356] Brahimi 2001. Speech at the Berliner Colloquium; this speech is cited in Mahn 2007, 40. However, I have as yet been unable to access the text of the speech to confirm this citation.

Secretary-General (SRSG) stated, the "most immediate challenge facing Mr Annan in 1997 was to rescue the reputation of the UN's peacekeeping arm from the horrors of the previous four years".[357]

Between 1997 and 2001, member states of the United Nations gradually reversed their views on UN peace operations. The inviolability of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of member states, enshrined in Article 2(7) of the UN Charter,[358] was increasingly being challenged by the idea that sovereignty should be conditional on the human rights of the population.[359] Not only were states increasingly prepared to allow new, larger and more complex UN missions to take place, but they also came to consider UN peacekeeping reforms to be one of the most pressing issues of the time.

This was not due to a global geopolitical change, as can be argued with the expansion at the end of the Cold War. The increase in missions from 1989-1995 can in part be explained by the more cooperative attitude demonstrated by both superpowers in the Security Council. However, using the number of Security Council vetoes each year as an indicator for obstructionism in the Council, it is clear that no such change took place soon before or during my case time period.[360] From 1992-2017, there has been a consistent rate of 1-2 vetoes per year (with three vetoes in 1997 and 2004 only), with almost all limited to US vetoes of resolutions concerning Israel, and Russian vetoes of resolutions concerning former Yugoslavia or Syria.

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[357] Barber 2009, 388.
[358] UN. United Nations Charter. Article 2(7): Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.
[359] This idea is now associated with the ICISS's Responsibility to Protect Report. However, as discussed below, the core ideas underlying that report evolved over the 1990's, with actors at the UN being key proponents.
[360] UN Dag Hammarskjöld Library Research Guides. UN Security Council Vetoes.

This contrasts sharply with Cold War era patterns; for example, in 1982 and 1986, there were eight vetoes throughout each year, and the annual variation from 1960 to 1986, with only a few exceptions, was 2-8 per year.

4.4 The authority of Secretary-General Kofi Annan in UN peacekeeping

4.4.1 Formal authority

In the context of UN peacekeeping, the Secretary-General of the United Nations enjoys both formal and informal authority. As noted in chapter 2, through Article 99, the "Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security".[361] While Article 99 is rarely explicitly invoked, the Secretary-General routinely and frequently informs the Security Council of worsening security situations such as widespread human rights violations. He does so both in informal settings and in official letters, typically including specific proposals for a UN response when raising a new issue.

The brevity of the relevant Charter articles has left the actual political duties of the Secretary-General somewhat open to interpretation. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld argued that Article 99 grants the Secretary-General, "a broad discretion to conduct inquiries and engage in informal diplomatic activity".[362] Likewise, former Under-Secretary-General (USG) Ramesh Thakur states that, "article 99 confers on the SG both a broad reservoir of authority and a wide margin of discretion".[363] Members of the UN Secretariat and some external observers have further argued that Article 99 implies that the Secretary-General should have the

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[361] UN. UN Charter, Article 99.
[362] Hammarskjöld 1961, 335. Tharoor 2007, 34.
[363] Thakur 2003.

information gathering and analysis capability necessary to make informed and timely recommendations to the Council. While this discretion is argued by some to be implied by the Charter as the source of his formal authority, the ability of a Secretary-General to apply that discretion, and the response of member states when he is doing so, can be indications that his/her informal authority is recognised and influential. However, not all member states would agree that this discretion exists at all, and both the US and Russia have typically expressed a strong preference for a Secretary-General that is more Secretary than General.[364]

4.4.2 Informal authority

This section focuses on evidence for OI -1[365] and OI -2,[366] in which the Secretary-General is viewed by various audiences as being endowed with expertise-based or principle-based authority. To illustrate informal authority, I identify key groups that acknowledged Annan's expertise, and who increasingly described Annan as a principle-based authority during his tenure. These groups include his colleagues, member state representatives at the UN, and then finally outside observers. The subjective perceptions others had provide significant evidence of his informal authority. Annan's expertise authority was widely acknowledged before his appointment, but his principle-based authority more conspicuously grew over time.

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[364] See, for example, Cockayne and Malone 2006; Chesterman and Franck 2006, 233-234; Chesterman 2015, 508.

[365] OI 1: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with expertise-based authority, states may a) make requests for technical advice to the IO bureaucratic actor, and/or b) make references to the specialised knowledge of the IO bureaucratic actor as reason for deference to their instructions.

[366] OI 2: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with principle-based authority, states may a) describe the principles, values or morals held by the IO bureaucratic actor as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, and/ or b) cite those principles and values as reason for deference.

4.4.2.1 Expertise-based authority[367]

Like Hammarskjöld, Annan was agreed upon by member states because, amongst other reasons, he seemed at first to be inoffensive. The US "fought for Annan because he appeared suited to effecting a low-profile stewardship of the UN organisation; someone, above all, who would work better as a manager of the institution and not a maker of diplomatic waves".[368] He was initially seen as apolitical, and someone who did not offend any of the P5 enough for them to veto. France initially and briefly opposed his appointment, but it was widely assumed that this was only a diplomatic retaliation for the US having vetoed Boutros-Ghali's reappointment.[369]

While Secretary-General Annan was considered to be a quiet, inoffensive choice, he was perceived to embody expertise-based authority, particularly as the former head of the DPKO and as a lifelong employee of the United Nations. By 1997, he had spent thirty-five years working within the United Nations, rising to lead the Department of Peacekeeping Operations from 1992-1995 during its unprecedented burst of activity. As the New York Times stated shortly after he took office, "Mr. Annan, an experienced man of proven managerial ability, is up to the job. He has the executive and diplomatic skills to reform the U.N.".[370] Annan initially focused narrowly on this particular area in which he was considered an expert. His first wide-ranging and extensive reform proposals, *Renewing the United Nations*, was almost exclusively a programme of managerial and administrative reforms, with no suggestions for strengthening or altering the

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[367] OI 1: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with expertise-based authority, states may a) make requests for technical advice to the IO bureaucratic actor, and/or b) make references to the specialised knowledge of the IO bureaucratic actor as reason for deference to their instructions.
[368] Usborne 1998.
[369] Crossette 1996.
[370] New York Times 1997.

DPKO.[371] Those reforms, which included drastic cuts to Secretariat staff, strongly suggested that Annan prioritised efficiency above strengthening the bureaucracy.

Sergei Lavrov, Permanent Representative to the UN for Russia from 1994-2004, later acknowledged the expertise of the Secretary-General, stating that one of his greatest achievements was his, "sweeping reform of UN peacekeeping, a subject he knew well from his years at the head of the peacekeeping department".[372] John Hume, former member of both Westminster (UK) and European parliaments, and the only person to have been awarded the three global peace awards, the Nobel Peace prize, the Gandhi peace prize, and the Martin Luther King award, spoke of Annan's, "unquestionable expertise" in the field of peacekeeping.[373]

Anecdotal evidence abounds for Secretary-General Annan's ability to leverage the different aspects of informal authority, such as his expertise in UN management, to persuade others to shift their views. For example, Annan's numerous visits to the veto players in Washington D.C. during his first year were instrumental in softening the positions of hardliner anti-UN legislators such as North Carolina Senator (R) and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Jesse Helms, allowing a deal that ensured that the US would begin paying more of its arrears to the UN.[374]

There is some evidence that Senator Helms was more influenced by the expertise-based rather than the principle-based authority of the Secretary-General. For example, Helms was well known as a long-time critic of the UN as a whole, so when he addressed the Security Council in

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[371] UN Secretary-General 1997c. Paras 63-67 are the only comments on peace and security, and they contain no specific proposals.
[372] Eckhard, 248.
[373] Hume 2013.
[374] Mouat, 310; she cites as evidence Lambert and Mortimer, 1997, although they are less clear on whether the SG was instrumental in the change in Senate policy. See also Meisler 2007, 149; Eckhard 73.

January 2000, he was predictably critical of the Organisation, describing it as ineffectual and as an unnecessary strain on the US taxpayer.[375] This suggests that Helms was either not impressed by the principles underlying the UN system, or saw those principles as currently absent in the Organisation. However, in the same speech, he specifically praised Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Helms lauded the Secretary-General's arguments at the opening of the General Assembly "in which he challenged all of us to grapple with issues on humanitarian intervention or risk rendering this organization irrelevant", and in which the Secretary-General "launched a much-needed debate on our fundamental peace and security mandate".[376]   There is thus some, albeit extremely tentative evidence that he afforded the Secretary-General forms of authority that he did not see in the Organisation as a whole.

4.4.2.2 Principle-based authority[377]

Annan exhibited principle-based authority, based in perceptions that he served, "widely accepted set of principles, morals or values"[378] that broadly related to United Nations ideals, and specifically related to United Nations military and diplomatic intervention.   Those perceptions increased over time. As with Secretary-General Hammarskjöld, Annan increasingly self-identified as the representative not only of an organisation designed to mediate and facilitate state action, but also as a representative of and advocate for the set of ideals embraced in the UN Charter. Both Secretaries-General were primarily considered experts when first appointed, one in diplomacy, and the other in UN administration, but it was after they consciously and vocally

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[375] Senator Jesse Helms address to Security Council January 20-21 2000.
[376] Ibid.
[377] OI 2: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with principle-based authority, states may a) describe the principles, values or morals held by the IO bureaucratic actor as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, and/ or b) cite those principles and values as reason for deference.
[378] Avant et al. 2010, 13.

chose to identify with the Charter that member states increasingly acknowledged their principle-based authority. The perception that Kofi Annan was motivated principally by the principles of the UN Charter enabled him to exert influence over others. This role was one Annan vocally embraced, and one that is reflected in the descriptions others had of him.

Kofi Annan frequently and increasingly emphasised his moral authority as the Secretary-General, claiming that, "a Secretary-General must be judged by his fidelity to the principles of the Charter, and his advancement of the ideals they embody".[379] He also claimed that "the end of the cold war transformed the moral promise of the role of the Secretary-General", allowing "him to place the United Nations at the service of the universal values of the Charter, without the constraints of ideology or particular interests".[380] Secretary-General Annan described his role as a moral authority as having been, "entrusted to him by the Charter",[381] and he stated that his authority and views are based on his "own conscience and convictions, and on [his] understanding of the Charter of the United Nations whose principles and purposes it is [his] duty to promote".[382] Secretary-General Annan also asserted that the "UN's influence derives not from power but from the values it represents, its role in helping to set and sustain global norms, its ability to stimulate global concern and action, and the trust inspired by its practical work to improve people's lives".[383]

His colleagues increasingly came to acknowledge and emphasise the Secretary-General's principle-based authority. Former ASG and renowned academic John Ruggie described Kofi

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[379] UN Press Release 1999. Secretary-General address to Council on Foreign Relations; Johnstone 2007, 123.
[380] UN Press Release 1999.
[381] Ibid.
[382] UN Secretary-General 2005b, para 4.
[383] Williams 2000.

Annan as a norm entrepreneur, saying that, "he realized that the UN in and of itself doesn't have power and it doesn't have major resources, but what it does have is the ability to shape thinking and to give voice to aspirations and to legitimize certain norms or help delegitimize certain other norms or practices".[384] Former ASG Ramesh Thakur described the Secretary-General as being "the personification of the international interest and the custodian of the world conscience",[385] and that the, "single most important political role of the SG is to provide leadership: the elusive ability to make others connect emotionally and intellectually to a larger cause that transcends their immediate self interest…Annan reminds the world often that the UN is a unique font of international legitimacy. No person is in a better position to reflect that international legitimacy in his public statements than the SG".[386] Thakur claims that any "SG can interpret the dignity so conferred on his office to claim a responsibility to uphold the principles and purposes of the Charter independently of the UNSC and the UNGA".[387]   Sir Brian Urquhart said of Kofi Annan that he "has taken seriously the idea of being a conscience for the international community. He has used the office to push some very important ideas".[388]

Member states also increasingly concurred with this image of the Secretary-General as someone who spoke for the ideals of the UN Charter. Richard Holbrook, US Ambassador to the UN, 1999-2001, observed that Kofi Annan, "understood the bully pulpit aspect of the UN", and that he, "inspired and still inspires millions of people around the world, who think he's a beacon of moral authority".[389] He also explicitly stated that "Annan has tested the limits of the job,

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[384] Eckhard, 68.
[385] Thakur 2003.
[386] Thakur 2006, 333.
[387] Thakur. 2003.
[388] Williams 2000, 20.
[389] Eckhard, 234.

accumulating more authority--one cannot use the word power, given the constraints the U.N. system places on him--than any of his predecessors".[390] In 2006, U.S. President G.W. Bush, in a brief statement of only a few paragraphs, immediately after an informal conversation, referred repeatedly to the leadership of the Secretary-General, on specific issues such as Darfur, but also on "U.N. reform, structural reform, management reform, as well as the reform of the Human Rights Commission".[391] While these references do not definitively indicate a recognition of authority, they offer additional evidence, particularly when juxtaposed with concurrent agreement by states such as the US to devote more resources to parts of the Secretariat responsible for managing political intervention.

Sergei Lavrov, having left the post of UN Ambassador to become Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2004, believes that Kofi Annan's "greatest accomplishment as Secretary-General was his aspiration to strictly abide by the principles of international law, respect for the UN Charter, and implementation of UN organ's decisions".[392] Brigadier General Romeo Dallaire wrote in his haunting memoirs of his experiences in Rwanda, that, "Annan projected a humanism and dedication to the plight of others that I have rarely experienced", and that Annan was "genuinely, even religiously, dedicated to the founding principles of the UN".[393]

External students and observers of the UN express similar views. William Shawcross, Times journalist, author, and member of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Informal Advisory Group from 1995 to 2000, describes how the Secretary-General could leverage his moral authority to influence others, saying that he had "an unusual "presence" and a way of

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[390] Holbrooke 2004, 50.
[391] Bush 2006, 234-235.
[392] Eckhard, 247.
[393] Dallaire, 2003, 50, 92; Meisler, 91.

dealing with people in a familiar but persuasive way",[394] and that the Secretary-General was in many ways equated with, "the United Nations and its ideas, which Kofi Annan has come to personify".[395] Biographer Stanley Meisler described how, "[in] his understated way, he struck many as a man of consistency, reason, integrity, and peace",[396] and that, "he has a deep sense of moral integrity, of duty to the United Nations and its Charter".[397]

Journalist, biographer, and member of the Council on Foreign Relations, James Traub, says that the Secretary-General, "believed devoutly in what he took to be the universal principles of human rights and humanitarianism and in the use of force against evil, so long as the force was mustered collectively and in conformity with international law".[398] Traub also describes the influence this had, writing that "because Annan's dedication to principle was so sincere, and so selfless, people wanted to help him succeed, to vindicate his faith in them and the world".[399] Jim Goodale, lawyer and Vice Chairman of the New York Times similarly stated that Annan, " never wavered in his belief in the principles on which the UN was founded and never wavered in telling the world why he thought so".[400] In summary, indirect evidence abounds for the widespread perception that Secretary-General Kofi Annan not only possessed expertise in UN management, but also principled authority associated with the ideals of the UN Charter.

Annan leveraged his authority to attempt to persuade states to enhance DPKO resources. In doing so, he employed several of the mechanisms discussed in Chapter 2: agenda setting, operation initiation or expansion, and the multiplication of authority. Before addressing those

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[394] Mouat, 309. Shawcross 2000, 217.
[395] Shawcross, 2000, 26.
[396] Meisler, 180.
[397] Meisler, 241.
[398] Traub, 2006, 145.
[399] Traub 2006, 233.
[400] Eckhard, 234.

mechanisms, I consider some of the strategic ways in which those efforts were directed at specific actors using targeted persuasion.

4.5 Targeted persuasion[401]

Kofi Annan explained that he had quickly learned that, "a secretary-general's effectiveness comes from his ability to convince others of the justice and urgency of his cause".[402] He knew that acts of persuasion had to be carefully strategic, and that in his words, he, "learned how to ask, what buttons to push, and, importantly, how to listen and judge [his] response", and also, "*whom* to ask, because sometimes it is a bureaucrat rather than the minister or even the head of state who can get resources moving".[403] He could take advantage of his location at the, "nerve centre of a sensitive communications network", in which he, "can and generally does speak directly to governments, civil society representatives and business leaders".[404] Annan took every opportunity to engage with key international actors and to continually articulate his views.

The UN Charter states that the Secretary-General is officially responsible only to the UN, and not to individual states, no matter how powerful.[405] However, early Secretaries-General struggled with the narrow space afforded them, on issues that were not considered the core interests of one or both of the Cold War superpowers. The experiences of the last four Secretaries-General and the parameters of their autonomy have similarly been defined by their relationships to the remaining superpower. Throughout this period of reform, Kofi Annan was

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[401] OI 4: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is in congruence with the pathos, the beliefs and values of the audience.
[402] Annan 2012, 139.
[403] Annan 2012, 140.
[404] Thakur 2003.
[405] UN. UN Charter, Article 100.

always careful to give the permanent members of the Security Council, in particular the US, the time and attention they felt they deserved. Indeed, other non-permanent members of the Security Council frequently became irritated because it was often clear in Council sessions that the Secretary-General had previously given the P5 more information and time than he had the other members.[406]

Kofi Annan visited each of the heads of state of the P5 at least once a year, often scheduling additional stops at London, Beijing, Moscow or Paris while en route to another task.[407] He frequently travelled from the UN HQ in New York to Washington, D.C., spending at least as much time with the legislators who control the funds the US devotes to IOs such as the UN, as he did with the President or the State Department. Annan also spread his influence far and wide; as he says: "from my very first month in the job, I began reaching out to other players on the international scene. The first of these lay in international civil society: charities and other non-governmental organisations," because, "it is from people, not governments, that all power is ultimately derived".[408]

Annan also believed that he could influence the most intractable and belligerent of leaders. When discussing leaders such as Saddam Hussein, he described how the "French have a word, you have to get them *engagé* and persuade them that it's in their self-interest to do what you want them to do. Self-interest propels them, so you need to find out what is important for them and then place it in the broader picture of what you're trying to do".[409] While the

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[406] Interview with Paul Heinbeker, former Canadian Ambassador to the UN and representative on the Security Council in 2000. 3 December 2015. This relationship changed with Kofi Annan's reaction to US foreign policy in 2003, but that is beyond the scope of this chapter.
[407] Eckhard, 65.
[408] Annan 2012, 216.
[409] Shawcross 2000, 278.

agreement with Iraq later failed, key US actors including President Clinton, Secretary Albright, and Senator Jesse Helms acknowledged how remarkable it was that Annan persuaded Saddam Hussein to make the concessions that he did.[410]

While the relationship with the US is almost certainly the most significant in the sense that the US has a considerable ability to prevent any changes in the Council and the budget, there are many other relationships that the Secretary-General attended to. As USG Ramesh Thakur details, if he/she seeks, "to maximise his influence and expand his role, the SG must also be attentive and sensitive to five key constituencies": i) the corps of international civil servants who make up the Secretariat, ii) the GA majority (G77), iii) those who provide most of the resources (such as the US and Japan), iv) the P5, and v) global civil society.[411] If the Secretary-General is perceived as prioritising one group, as he very often is, he risks alienating others. Prior to his appointment, Annan was supported by many African states, who believed that he would represent their interests. However, he was also supported by the US, who viewed his approach to UN management as one that concurred with their interests. Given the frequent clashes in preferences between these two groups, Kofi Annan was acutely aware of this balance.

The Secretary-General actively sought a range of avenues of influence amongst member states. He requested and accepted invitations to numerous international events, such as at the annual World Economic Forum in Davos, or the Organization of African Unity (OAU), (now African Union) summit. At each, he would spend as much time as possible talking to heads of state and other key actors, as he says, "especially in private sessions, to learn more about the

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[410] Traub 1998.
[411] Thakur 2003.

leaders, listen to their problems, and nudge them in the right directions".[412] In New York, he and

his wife Nane accepted countless invitations to social events, despite their personal inclinations

towards a quieter social life, and despite his challenging work schedule.[413] In summary, then,

Secretary-General Annan took every opportunity to engage with the veto players in the UN

system. I now move on to discuss the three strategies Annan used to persuade member states on

the issue of UN peacekeeping.

4.6 Strategies

4.6.1 Agenda setting[414]

Agenda setting by the Secretary-General can involve gradual processes that are often

overlooked by many observers who are inclined to focus on more dramatic events. Some of the

most conspicuous political moments of Secretary-General Annan's tenure are those in conflict

with powerful states. Commentaries on those moments, such as with the Secretary-General's

failure to dissuade the US from invading Iraq in 2003, typically emphasise the limits to the

extent to which a Secretary-General can use his principle-based and expertise-based authority to

influence state behaviour. However, this obscures the incremental ways in which a Secretary-

General and his staff can influence states in momentous, if gradual, ways over time. If one

draws back from the dramatic brief moments of conflict, and takes a longer view, one can

identify the ability of the Secretary-General to shape the global discourse or steer the course of

debate in a way that shifts the preferences of many member states over time.[415]

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[412] Meisler 2007, 225.
[413] Eckhard, 60-64.
[414] OI 7: IO bureaucratic actors can leverage their informal authority, in circumstances beyond and in addition to those formally mandated to them, to raise the profile of certain issues, and encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and resolve those issues.
[415] Trinh, 2007, 105; 11.

Critical to this ability to shape global discourse was the Secretary-General's power to set the international agenda at UN intergovernmental forums. For example, he typically opens any new debate at the Security Council and the beginning of every General Assembly session, setting the tone, and expressing his opinions as to the issues that should be prioritised.[416] Secretary-General Annan very deliberately set the agenda over the period of this case study. When SG Kofi Annan felt that member states were approaching an issue, such as civil conflicts, in an unproductive way, he could, in his words, "use [his] position to change the debate".[417]

In the context of UN peacekeeping, Annan used formal documents, independent publications, and speeches, to identify and articulate the problems to be prioritised and addressed by the international community, and thereby to set the agenda for the UN. I discuss these in turn, drawing attention to the explicit manner in which Annan drew on the informal authority that he derived primarily from perceptions of his adherence to the principles of the UN Charter.

Annan's use of formal UN documents was very effective in directing the debate. As Ramesh Thakur argues, "the annual report on the work of the organisation and the many special reports have been important instruments in the progressive universalisation of the human rights norm and the construction of national and international human rights machinery".[418] Despite being faced with the depths of the lull in peacekeeping, in September 1997 Annan used the annual report to argue that it was "crucial to maintain and improve the Organization's ability to plan, manage and conduct peacekeeping missions", and to detail many forms which those improvements might take.[419] The following year Annan moved peacekeeping from the last item

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[416] UN Permanent Mission Advisor on Security Council matters in interview, June 2015.
[417] Annan 2012, 178.
[418] Thakur, 2003.
[419] UN Secretary-General 1997e; UN General Assembly 1997, para 117.

of the Annual report to the first, and doubled the length of the section, despite the fact that there were no more peacekeepers in the field than the previous two years.[420]

Secretary-General Annan published numerous other documents that helped to push peacekeeping to the top of the agenda. In April 1998, while international confidence in the idea of UN conflict resolution was at a historical low point, the Secretary-General released the first of series of documents entitled "The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa".[421] This document emphasised a gross failure of the international community to prevent increasingly common incidents where combatants deliberately targeted civilians, including women and children.[422] The document also asserted that member states had explicit obligations to prevent such acts, and that the concepts of peacekeeping and human rights should be integrated. These reports, and others with a similar theme, were acknowledged and cited by the Security Council in the following years with increasing frequency.[423]

The Secretary-General also used speeches to set the agenda, arguing that the UN should re-engage in peacekeeping, and that it should have the resources to do so. In June 1998, in Ditchley Park, Oxford, Kofi Annan gave a landmark speech to the foreign policy elite of the UK. This speech was reprinted in numerous UN documents. The theme was the role of the UN, the international community, and the urgent need to intervene to prevent harm to civilians. He presented an argument that, as he admitted, seemed at odds both with his personal origins as a citizen in a former colony, which might encourage a preference for non-intervention, and his

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[420] UN Secretary-General 1998c.
[421] UN Secretary-General 1998a.
[422] Ibid., para 49-50.
[423] Johnstone. 2007, 134-135.

position as Secretary-General of the United Nations. He had recently chosen Edward Mortimer to be his speechwriter, partly because Mortimer had previously written on the need for the international community to adopt some framework on which to base humanitarian intervention. Mortimer based initial drafts of the speech on statements Annan had made during the NATO handover in Sarajevo in 1995.[424]

Evidence for the influence of that speech can be seen in its echoes in later intergovernmental publications that at first glance are assumed to be separate from the UN Secretariat. For example, in the Ditchley speech Annan articulated arguably all of the fundamental ideas that underpinned the later Responsibility to Protect Report: i) governments must protect their own civilians, but when they are unable or unwilling to do so, intervention was not only justified but morally obligated, ii) that preventative measures, including diplomacy, should be attempted where possible, and that force, while a last resort, should be applied swiftly if there is a possibility that a genocide or serious crime against humanity could take place, and iii) the UN Security Council was the sole legal mechanism for the coordination of these interventions.

In the Ditchley Park speech, Annan applied Frances M. Deng's framing of sovereignty as responsibility, albeit with a stronger emphasis on the role of the UN system as the primary mechanism for enforcement. He asserted that the UN "Charter protects the sovereignty of peoples. It was never meant as a licence for governments to trample on human rights and human dignity. Sovereignty implies responsibility, not just power".[425]   [OI – 3: relationship between

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[424] Eckhard 2012, 105.
[425] Ibid.

authority and argument]

He argued that UN member states were obligated to intervene, politically and/or militarily, only with UN Security Council agreement, when widespread human rights violations were taking place. He claimed that the United Nations', "job is to intervene: to prevent conflict where we can, to put a stop to it when it has broken out, or-when neither of these things is possible-at least to contain it and prevent it from spreading".[426] Sovereignty was of course important, but "national sovereignty can be set aside if it stands in the way of the Security Council's overriding duty to preserve international peace and security", and "state frontiers…should never be seen as a watertight protection for war criminals and mass murderers".[427] [OI – 4: relationship between argument and audience values]

In these arguments and emotive narratives in the Ditchley speech, Annan explicitly drew upon the UN Charter as the basis for his moral authority. He continued to draw on this authority in other instances, even where the Security Council failed to agree on the need for intervention. In 1999, days after the NATO bombing of Kosovo began, he argued that, "if we allow the United Nations to become the refuge of an 'ethnic cleanser' or mass murderer, we will betray the very ideals that inspired the founding of the United Nations".[428] In accord with the arguments Annan and others in the UN Secretariat had put forward, the NATO intervention came to be seen as legitimate, despite being illegal under international law,[429] although Russia continued to voice disagreement. Annan argued that it was extremely urgent that, as the only legitimate forum for authorising military intervention, the UN Security Council changes its practices in order to allow

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[426] Annan 1998. Ditchley; See also, Meisler 173-4 for discussion. Also in UN Secretary-General. 1999b.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Weiss 2010, 297-308.
[429] Coleman 2007, 214-237; especially 222-223.

for more interventions. In 1998 he had stated that "it will only be a matter of time before a great

power comes to the Security Council seeking official blessing for its intervention, is denied this

blessing, and takes unilateral action".[430]

The Secretary-General continued to imbue his reports on a range of issues with a sense of

moral urgency for states to revive and reform UN peacekeeping. In 1999, the SG published two

self-critical reports that drew this issue of peacekeeping reforms further up the agenda of

member states, one on UN operations in Rwanda,[431] and the other on Srebrenica.[432] Amongst the

many criticisms of both member states and the Secretariat, the reports expressed three recurring

themes: i) peacekeepers must have the resources and equipment required to achieve their

mandates, and member states must provide the political will to ensure that a peacekeeping

mission has those resources, ii) the protection of civilians was paramount, and iii) with certain

reforms, member states could ensure that these horrific incidents never be repeated.

The Secretary-General sustained continuous efforts to raise the issue of UN peacekeeping

reforms.   In other 1999 speeches in Geneva, New York, and Washington D.C. to influential

policy actors within both member states and the Secretariat, he reiterated and further developed

the argument not just that member states were obliged to formulate some new mechanisms for

intervention, but also that the UN system was, for moral and practical reasons, the ideal

institution for managing that intervention. He asserted that member states were morally and

legally obligated to intervene when human rights are being violated, saying that, "unless the

Security Council can unite around the aim of confronting massive human rights violations on the

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[430] Annan 1998a, 170.
[431] UN Secretary-General 1999h.
[432] UN Secretary-General 1999e.

scale of Kosovo, then we will betray the very ideals that inspired the founding of the UN Charter".[433]   [OI – 5: relationship between authority, argument and audience values – although this shows the attempt, not the degree of success]

Annan and his appointees and colleagues strongly emphasised the moral and legal obligations, of the Security Council in particular, to use the UN to engage in humanitarian intervention. For example, in 1998, Annan appointed Brazilian UN diplomat Sérgio Vieira de Mello, widely admired and respected during his long career in the UN, to the position of USG for Humanitarian Affairs. Vieira de Mello's initial role, similar to that of the Secretary-General under Article 99, was only to brief the Security Council on specific crises as they arose. However, after discussion with Annan and his colleagues, on 21 January 1999, Vieira de Mello addressed the Security Council on the broader subject of the moral imperative of the UN to intervene when civilians were being harmed in conflict zones. He also pointed specifically to the reluctance of the Security Council to entrust the UN with new operations after incidents such as Somalia outlined above.[434] There was a considerable element of shaming in his address to the Council.

This meeting sparked a more inclusive debate in the Security Council a few weeks later on the same subject. On 12 February 1999, with Lloyd Axworthy, Foreign Minister of Canada, presiding over the Council, Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) Olara Otunnu, with support and impassioned pleas from Cornelio Sommaruga, President of the ICRC, and Carol Bellamy of UNICEF, challenged the Security Council, in the strongest terms, to justify inaction when civilians, and children in particular, suffered horrific conditions in combat zones.

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[433] UN Secretary-General 1999i.
[434] Barber 2009, 387-409; 395-396.

As a result of this meeting, the Security Council turned to the Secretary-General and asked him

to provide recommendations for a framework for protecting civilians caught in armed conflict

[OI – 5].[435] They asked for these recommendations to be given by September 1999, a deadline

Annan then used in his address to the General Assembly to argue for greater support for UN

intervention. In the months preceding the deadline, Annan and Vieira de Mello, (with the United

Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) worked with all the relevant

departments, DPA, DPKO, UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP, and UNIFEM, to develop a coherent set of

proposals for UN humanitarian intervention.[436] While this may not have been the intention at the

time, these proposals for when and how the UN could and should intervene were later available

for independent panels such as the Brahimi Panel and ICISS panels discussed below. Those

panels, as we shall see, in many respects simply repeated the conclusions of the Secretariat.

Throughout this process, the Secretary-General and his staff not only argued for more

intervention in general, but specifically that it should be conducted by the UN. In his own

words, Kofi Annan "sought to match the unique authority of the United Nations as the sole, truly

universal organization of states with the credibility of seeing that rights were defended, suffering

alleviated, and lives saved".[437] He also expounded the claim that the UN would have to "respond

to the needs of individuals, and stand for the principle that national sovereignty could never be

used as a shield for genocide or gross violations of human rights".[438] The famous 1999 speech to

the UN General Assembly, in which the Secretary-General repeated all these assertions,

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[435] OI 5: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.
[436] Barber 2009; Otunnu 1999. UN Security Council, 1999a; UN General Assembly 1999a.
[437] Annan 2012, 12.
[438] Ibid., 13.

referenced the UN Charter ten times as the source of a moral and legal obligation for member states to prioritise the human rights of all peoples over state sovereignty.[439] As Shashi Thuroor and Sam Daws described soon afterwards, "a debate has been raging in international circles ever since Kofi Annan spoke those words".[440] By the end of the 1999 General Assembly session, peacekeeping had been firmly raised to the top of the UN General Assembly agenda, and in the words of a current member of the ACABQ who was in the General Assembly at the time, "everyone now bought the idea that there was a problem which had to be fixed".[441] [OI – 5;[442] OI – 7].[443]

4.6.2 Initiating or expanding operations[444]

Secretary-General Annan not only set the agenda for UN debates; he also directly influenced the creation of new missions, even when powerful member states were reluctant to allow UN intervention. I focus on mission creation in this section in order to respond to a common perception that while the "SG can unquestionably use the office as an international pulpit to shape policy and shift norms", "the latitude and impact will usually depend as much on exogenous forces beyond the SG's control".[445] In exploring what are considered exogenous forces, many attribute the increase in peacekeeping to increased demand, in the form two non-

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[439] UN Secretary-General 1999a.
[440] Tharoor and Daws 2001, 21–30.
[441] ACABQ member and former Fifth committee delegate in interview, June 2015.
[442] OI 5: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.
[443] OI 7: IO bureaucratic actors can leverage their informal authority, in circumstances beyond and in addition to those formally mandated to them, to raise the profile of certain issues, and encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and resolve those issues.
[444] OI 8: Where a particular reform, particularly increasing resources, would need to be justified by increased operational activity, an IO bureaucratic actor can a) persuade states whose approval is required that a particular operation must be created though the IO, and b) persuade the relevant states to accept operations on their sovereign soil.
[445] Thakur 2006, 341.

UN interventions, Australia in East Timor (later Timor Leste),[446] and NATO in Kosovo.[447] Bellamy and Williams (2010), for example, claim that these state-led "operations created a demand for two new UN peace operations",[448] as though there was little or no agency on the part of the UN Secretariat.

It is certainly correct that one of the most persuasive factors that led to the recognition that the DPKO was under-funded was the struggles they had achieving their mandates in those missions with their limited resources; however, the idea that these crises can be identified as the primary cause for the resurgence in UN operations is deeply flawed. Evidence for one transparent weakness in that argument is that there had been many equally dramatic developments in preceding years that elicited no response from member states via the UN. In the preceding few years, from 1995-1999, there had been numerous civil wars in locations such as Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Burundi, Chechnya, Iraq (Kurdish territory), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cambodia, Nepal, Albania, and Guinea-Bissau. However, none of these caused member states to significantly redirect peacekeeping efforts through the UN. It is also important to note that between 1996 and 1999, there had been no lull in peacekeeping or the demand for it around the world; indeed there was a slight rise in global peacekeeping troops over that time.[449] However, these missions were almost all created and managed by individual states, regional organisations, or coalitions of states, and not by the UN.[450] The widespread conviction held by member states was not against intervention, although for some, particularly within the G77, that

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[446] United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor established on 25 October 1999.
[447] United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo established 10 June 1999.
[448] Bellamy and Williams 2010, 121-122.
[449] Daniel, Taft, and Wiharta 2008,17.
[450] Ibid.

was also the case, but more specifically it was against that idea that the United Nations was the appropriate mechanism through which intervention should be organised.

Of the two developments, Kosovo and Timor Leste, only the latter offered any latitude for the Secretary-General; as discussed in Chapter 2, the authority of the Secretary-General has very little influence if voting blocs are entrenched in opposition, and particularly when an intergovernmental forum requires consensus for certain decisions. Given Russia's historic ethnic and political ties to the Serbian regime, there was no possibility that they would agree to intervention. Despite this, Annan did try to persuade members of the Council that the UN should intervene. For example, in the Ditchley speech, four months before the NATO intervention began without Security Council approval, Annan made a powerful, moral argument for intervention:

> A great deal is at stake in Kosovo today -- for the people of Kosovo themselves; for the overall stability of the Balkans; and for the credibility and legitimacy of all our words and deeds in pursuit of collective security. All our professions of regret; all our expressions of determination to never again permit another Bosnia; all our hopes for a peaceful future for the Balkans will be cruelly mocked if we allow Kosovo to become another killing field…
>
> When people are in danger, everyone has a duty to speak out. No one has a right to pass by on the other side. If we are tempted to do so, we should call to mind the unforgettable warning of Martin Niemoller, the German Protestant theologian who lived through the Nazi persecution:
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> "In Germany they came first for the Communists. And I did not speak up because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews. And I did not speak up, because I

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was not a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists. And I did not speak up, because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics. And I did not speak up, because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me. And by that time there was no one left to speak up".[451]

This speech drew on powerfully persuasive narratives surrounding the Holocaust, and regret over more recent incidents in Rwanda and Bosnia, to insist that member states had a moral obligation to engage more in UN peacekeeping in general, and in Kosovo in particular.[452]

There are thus preliminary indications that Annan may have played a part in encouraging intervention in Kosovo, but ultimately only NATO partners concurred with his view. I have seen no evidence that Annan directly sought to influence Russia on this issue, but given the extent of the entrenchment, it is unlikely that he could have persuaded them to allow a UN peacekeeping mission.

I therefore chose Timor Leste as a case study to argue that by keeping Timor Leste on the agenda, and by persuading states to conduct or allow the intervention, Annan helped to revive the concept of humanitarian intervention, and to re-establish the UN as the dominant actor in that field, and thereby worthy of additional resources. As with agenda setting, the emphasis is not the mission or change itself, but rather on the processes in the preceding months and even years before the mission, during which the Secretary-General and his colleagues worked to encourage the idea of intervention in East Timor. This is an important case because the mission provided a

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[451] Annan, Kofi. 1998b. Ditchley.
[452] OI 3: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is closely related to the ethos, the form of informal authority with which the audience perceives that Secretariat member to be endowed. i.e. information with relevant expertise, values with principles of the speaker.

convincing argument for more resources for the DPKO. While Australian forces initially controlled the insertion of the International Force for East Timor (INTERFET) mission, this was only the case for a few months from September 1999 to February 2000, after which the DPKO took over and henceforth managed the most complex and comprehensive multidimensional peace operation yet created.[453] The mission was later to provide an influential justification for additional resources for the DPKO for mission support.

The Secretary-General applied both his formal and informal authority in several ways in order to create and influence this UN operation. The first approach was though direct conversations with heads of state or other policy-makers. The second was via the bully pulpit, in which the SG used his position to bring attention to a particular issue, and/or to name-and-shame.[454] The third was the use of special envoys and representatives, and the fourth was the formation of Groups of Friends, to harness the power of states in order to affect change in the international community. As these approaches often coincide or overlap, I do not address them individually, but work through the use of these strategies chronologically.

A narrow focus on state interests might suggest that proximate causes to the intervention were the national interests of Australia, which eventually provided the troops for the intervention,[455] and the pressure of the international community, and the P5 in particular, for Indonesia to respect the human rights of its citizens and to allow military intervention. However, a closer look at the political processes preceding the intervention shows that the influence of the Secretariat was significant, and possibly the most crucial determining factor in the intervention.

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[453] UN DPKO. East Timor News 23 February 2000.
[454] Trinh 2007, 102-120.
[455] Leaver 2001; Coleman 2007, 242.

In the preceding months and years, the vast majority of the international community, including the powerful states involved, had prioritised Indonesia's sovereignty over the rights of the East Timorese. Every state that advocated intervention did so only after the Secretary-General and key members of his staff intensely and consistently encourage them to do so.

Secretary-General Annan made consistent efforts to raise the issue of East Timor on the international agenda. This is one of many instances of overlap between the different mechanisms of influence, in this case operational initiation and agenda setting. Sir Kieran Prendergast, USG for Political Affairs from 1997-2005, recalls that after taking office in 1997, Secretary-General Annan selected several long-term conflicts around the globe on which to focus his efforts, one of which was East Timor.[456] This region had been occupied by Indonesia since the former colonial power, Portugal, withdrew in 1975. A month after taking office, Secretary-General Annan asked his friend, former colleague, and skilled negotiator, Ambassador Jamsheed Marker (Pakistan), to act as his Special Representative for East Timor. He instructed Marker to revive a peace process that, in the absence of interest by the international community, in Marker's words, had been reduced to "proceeding in a somewhat desultory fashion over a series of inconclusive biannual meetings between the Secretary-General and the two foreign ministers" of Indonesia and Portugal.[457] Marker, who was then involved in every step of the negotiations from February 1997 until East Timor's independence, insists that, "Kofi Annan's role in the East Timor negotiations was absolutely crucial, and its importance cannot be emphasized enough".[458] The Secretary-General frequently met with both foreign ministers,[459] and in his own words, he

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[456] Marker, 10; Eckhard 109.
[457] Marker 2003, 10.
[458] Ibid., 11.
[459] Meisler 2007, 181.

established himself as the "central node of communication between the various parties to the conflict".[460]

The issue was re-introduced into the agenda of UN member states only by a concerted effort on the part of the Secretary-General. Less than two weeks after appointing Jamsheed Marker, he sent a report to the Commission on Human Rights, stressing the rights violations and escalating violence in East Timor.[461] Three months later, on 21 May 1997, he sent a more detailed report to the General Assembly, citing the support of the Commission for his previous report.[462] Annan then invited the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal for a series of personal meetings with him, which began on 19 and 20 June 1997. From then on, he sent reports to the Commission on Human Rights or the General Assembly at least once a month, detailing evidence from Portugal and Indonesia, as well as reports from NGOs such as Amnesty International that the Secretary-General had previously requested.[463] In May 1998, Suharto resigned and Vice-President B. J. Habibie became President. The following month, the Secretary-General announced to the press that he was calling on President Habibie to sincerely re-engage with him to resolve the tensions in East Timor.[464]

During another round of negotiations on 4-5 August, closely managed by the Secretary-General, Foreign Minister Jaime Gama of Portugal described the influence of the Secretary-General, stating that both sides, "have moved from the principal positions [they] keep to a common ground for negotiating those particular matters under the leadership of the Secretary-

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[460] Annan 2012, 106. See Traub 2006, 102-109 for concise summary of SG's involvement in East Timor.
[461] UN Secretary-General 1997d.
[462] UN Secretary-General. 1997a, para 49; UN Secretary-General 1997f.
[463] See, for example, UN Secretary-General. 1997b; UN Secretary-General. 1998b.
[464] UN Press Release 1998a.

General".[465] His counterpart Foreign Minister Ali Alatas of Indonesia expressed similar

sentiments, saying, "Mr. Secretary-General I, too, would like to join my colleague in first of all

thanking you, Sir, for the role that you have played in making this progress possible".[466] Amid

rising tensions in East Timor, the Secretary-General arranged another round of negotiations from

6-8 October.

In early 1999, Annan convinced Indonesia's President Habibie to allow a UN-managed

referendum (Indonesia required the term "popular consultation", rather than referendum), in East

Timor. Most observers explain this by assuming that Habibie had a misconceived preconception

that he could easily win such a referendum. Throughout the year, between that decision and the

referendum, Annan's phone calls to Habibie became more and more frequent, and by August,

they spoke every day.[467] On September 4, the results were announced. 98.6% of the electorate

voted, with 78.5% rejecting the offer of partial autonomy in favour of independence.

Pro-Indonesia militias immediately launched a campaign of unrestrained violence against

the East Timorese and their property, and the Secretary-General then, "saw his task as coaxing

Habibie toward accepting intervention, by means of both private persuasion and public

exhortation".[468] Habibie had come to trust Annan's advice and believed Annan's claims that

Habibie's own forces were complicit in human rights violations, even over the contrary denials

from his own security staff.[469] The day after the election, Annan used his long nightly phone

call to try to persuade Habibie that a military intervention was necessary to restore order.[470]

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[465] UN Press Release 1998b.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Annan 2012, 103.
[468] Shawcross 2000, 392.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Annan 2012, 108.

This was not an easy argument to make.

Throughout the Indonesian government and military, there was still an absolute rejection of the idea of outside intervention, UN or otherwise. As late as 7 September, after a representative of the Secretary-General suggested that military intervention might be necessary if Indonesia was unable to restore order, Foreign Minister Alatas announced that any peacekeeping force would have to "shoot its way into East Timor".[471] That night, Kofi Annan spoke at length with President Habibie, and felt that the latter's position was softening. Thereafter followed night after night of long phone conversations between the two men.[472] As Annan's spokesman Frederick Eckhard says of Kofi Annan, he, "didn't invent telephone diplomacy, but he turned it into a fine art".[473] Between 3-15th September, the Secretary-General made 111 calls regarding East Timor, a quarter of which were to Habibie.[474] [This and other examples of the interactions between Annan and Habibie speak to OI – 2, the influence of principle-based authority, and OI – 3, the relationship between the authority of the speaker and the content of the message; it would also provide partial evidence for OI – 5, the relationships between speaker's authority, message content and audience values, but only if Habibie either a) identified with values prioritising human rights over national or security interests, or b) wished to be viewed by others as identifying with those values].

Without the Secretary-General's influence over Habibie, the intervention would almost certainly never have taken place. President Habibie's consent was essential, because while almost all key states expressed the need for the Indonesian government to improve the human

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[471] Marker 2003, 198.
[472] The calls took place at night only due to the time difference between New York and Indonesia.
[473] Eckhard, 11; 110.
[474] Pour 1999. Jago 2010, 377-394. 381.

rights situation, they, without exception, demonstrated far more support for the sovereignty of Indonesia than for the self-determination of the East Timorese. The US was still opposed to any mission that lacked the consent of all parties, including Indonesia,[475] and as a US diplomat told the Financial Times at the time, "the dilemma is that Indonesia matters and East Timor doesn't".[476] As late as 3rd September, the US was still rejecting the idea of a UN peacekeeping mission, calling on Indonesia to address its own security issues in the region.[477]

Many other influential states also felt the same way;[478] China and Russia had made it clear that they were prepared to veto any intervention without Indonesia's consent.[479] Other ASEAN states were unwilling to criticise Indonesia, as ASEAN's most powerful member, and up until, "the United Nations-sponsored ballot in August 1999, ASEAN adhered to its long-standing position that East Timor was purely an Indonesian domestic matter".[480] Japan, another regional power, held a similar position.

While Australian Prime Minister John Howard had told Secretary-General Annan that he might be prepared to supply troops for an intervention, Australian foreign policy was influenced by several factors that ensured that they would help only with Indonesia's explicit permission. Australia had a close relationship with Indonesia; indeed they were the only Western state to have recognized *de jure* that East Timor was a part of Indonesia, and not merely under occupation.[481] As Coleman (2007) illustrates, Australia also felt a powerful need for any intervention to be considered legitimate by the international community, and in this context, UN

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[475] Meisler 2007, 183.
[476] Shawcross, 2000, 394.
[477] Kahn 2015.
[478] Meisler 2007, 182.
[479] Eckhard, 110.
[480] Dupont 2000, 163. Weinlich 2014, 94.
[481] Cotton 1999, 237-46. Weinlich 2014, 95.

Security Council authorisation was the necessary source of legitimacy.[482] As Marianne Jago

(2010) summarises, "without Habibie's consent to the operation the Security Council would not

have authorized it and East Timor would almost certainly have been left to the continuing wrath

of a vengeful Indonesian military and its hired thugs".[483]

When some member states began putting more pressure on Indonesia in early 1999, they

did so only after specific strategic efforts at organization and persuasion by the UN Secretariat,

and the prior creation, by that Secretariat, of a Group of Friends. Kofi Annan, Kieran

Prendergast, and the Asia/Pacific regional director in Political Affairs, Francesc Vendrell, had

previously met in 1998 to strategize how best to mobilise the international community on the

issue. Vendrell had been at least as passionate as Annan about trying to get states to pay more

attention to East Timor.[484]   They decided to form two Groups of Friends to pressure Habibie.

They formed one larger, gradually expanding group, that initially included over twenty states, to

help to set the agenda at the UN, and a smaller, less public, but more active core group of

Australia, Japan, New Zealand, the US and the UK, to directly influence the relevant actors.[485]

The Secretary-General and Prendergast also decided to raise the profile of the issue at the

Security Council, which only became involved after the Secretary-General sent them a

compelling report on human rights abuses in East Timor in May 1999.[486] The fact-finding

mission the Council then sent to East Timor drew additional international attention to the

impending crisis. The Secretary-General also made an impassioned call to President Clinton for

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[482] Coleman 2007, 240-277.
[483] Jago 2010, 377.
[484] Whitfield 2007, 97.
[485] Whitfield 2007, 200. Weinlich 2014, 103.
[486] UN Secretary-General 1999b.

the US to intervene using other means; immediately afterwards, the US decided to use the threat of a *de facto* veto at the IMF as leverage to persuade Indonesia.[487] Also, while Australia may have had motives of its own to support an intervention, they too expressed a willingness to supply troops only after a concerted effort by the Secretary-General to persuade them to do so, long before the elections took place.[488]

Kofi Annan (1998) had previously argued that, "inducing consent", using both positive and coercive measures, may be necessary to encourage states to allow intervention in their domestic affairs,[489] and this was an example of that principle playing out in international politics. Stanley Meisler described how "[p]ersuading Habibie to hold the referendum and then to invite foreign troops to quell the disorders was an extraordinary feat of diplomacy. Galvanizing the Security Council into action in only a few days astounded UN-watchers….Persuading the Security Council to intervene with force is an extraordinarily difficult task. Persuading a government to accept the intervention without resistance is just as difficult. Annan managed to do both with skill and patience".[490] Sir Kieran Prendergast, having a lifetime of experience within the UN since its creation, similarly said that this act of persuasion "was a fantastic feat, and I still don't know how he managed to do it".[491]

In addition to the persistent telephone diplomacy, on 11 September, Annan used the bully pulpit to publicly suggest that any refusal on the part of Habibie's to refuse entry to a UN mission would amount to a war crime, and that the Indonesian state government's identity as a

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[487] Shawcross 2000, 395. Direct causation between Annan's phone call and the US change in policy has not been definitively established. President Clinton and his former Chief of Staff have thus far declined to be interviewed.

[488] Jago 2010, 380.

[489] Annan 1998, 172-177.

[490] Meisler, 185.

[491] Eckhard, 110.

legitimate member of the international community of states was at risk if they did not allow an intervention.[492] [OI – 2].[493] The following day, Habibie publicly agreed to a UN force, telling the Secretary-General later that day that it felt good that he, and Indonesia, had Kofi Annan as a friend.[494] On the 20th, the Australian led force began arriving.

Secretary-General Annan swiftly capitalised on the attention the international community was now paying to East Timor in order to push the issue of UN peacekeeping even higher on the agenda. He published an article in *The Economist* on 16 September 1999, just days after the UNSC Resolution, and a month before the NATO intervention in Kosovo began, stating that he, "believe[d] it is essential that the international community reach consensus—not only on the principle that massive and systematic violations of human rights must be checked, wherever they take place, but also on ways of deciding what action is necessary, and when, and by whom".[495] He concluded:

> This developing international norm in favour of intervention to protect civilians from wholesale slaughter will no doubt continue to pose profound challenges to the international community. In some quarters it will arouse distrust, scepticism, even hostility. But I believe on balance we should welcome it. Why? Because, despite all the difficulties of putting it into practice, it does show that humankind today is less willing than in the past to tolerate suffering in its midst, and more willing to do something about it.[496]

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[492] Jago 2010, 383; Annan 2012, 111.
[493] OI 2: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with principle-based authority, states may a) describe the principles, values or morals held by the IO bureaucratic actor as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, and/ or b) cite those principles and values as reason for deference.
[494] Shawcross 2000, 396.
[495] Annan 1999. Two Concepts of Sovereignty.
[496] Ibid.

The combination of agenda setting and initiating operations influenced the growth of a new climate in the international community, one in which there was less opposition to the creation of new UN missions, and greater acknowledgement that an expansion of the DPKO was necessary. One key example is the transformation of the UN operation in Sierra Leone. Days after the Kosovo operation began, an expanded mission to Sierra Leone was established (UNAMSIL) on 22 October 1999, a mission that would eventually demonstrate that with substantive support from member states, UN peace operations could be extremely effective.[497] While its resources were initially limited, UNAMSIL was a landmark event in that it was the first time that the mandate "to afford protection to civilians under imminent threat of physical violence" was explicitly included.[498] In 1997, the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) had launched an intervention into Sierra Leone to try to remove the military *junta* formed by an alliance between the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and former Sierra Leone soldiers. In June 1998, a small UN mission joined them, the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL).

In July 1999, the Secretary-General visited Sierra Leone during a regional visit to several West African states. He later described memorable encounters with an 86-year old woman and a two-year old girl, both of whom had had limbs crudely amputated by machete.[499] He became personally invested in the UN mission, not just because of those experiences, but also because many viewed Sierra Leone as a critical test of the broader viability of UN peacekeeping in Africa. This test was close to failure in early 2000, when it became clear that the UN military

[497] UN DPKO. United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), established on 22 October 1999.
[498] UN DPKO. UNAMSIL: Mandate.
[499] Shawcross 2000, 388-389.

observer force was insufficient; in May of that year, hundreds of peacekeepers were easily captured by the RUF in a humiliating incident.[500]

Kofi Annan immediately called Prime Minister Tony Blair in the UK and persuaded him to devote troops and resources to stabilizing Sierra Leone.[501] In addition to the historic ties between the UK and Sierra Leone, Annan found fertile ground for the argument in Blair.   The Prime Minister had previously asserted that the international community needed, "to enter a new millennium where dictators know that they cannot get away with ethnic cleansing or repress their peoples with impunity", and that in, "this conflict we are fighting not for territory but for values".[502]   Blair used expressions almost identical to those used by Annan at Ditchley Park and in other speeches, likewise stating that there was a moral imperative to ensure that, "the brutal repression of whole ethnic groups will no longer be tolerated", in order to realize, "a world where those responsible for such crimes have nowhere to hide".[503] In the previous UK national elections, Blair had campaigned on a platform that included a more active foreign policy, particularly when a moral imperative existed to respond to humanitarian crises. In May, and again, on the urging of the Secretary-General, in October, the UK sent troops to Sierra Leone, and with logistical support from the US, swiftly began to stabilize the country and disarm rebel groups.[504] The more secure conditions they created then enabled other UN civilian personnel to achieve other, more complex, social, legal and political changes.[505]

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[500] UN DPKO. "Sierra Leone – UNAMSIL – Background."
[501] Eckhard, 102.
[502] Blair 1999.
[503] Ibid.
[504] Dobbins et al 2004, 247.
[505] OI 5: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.

As the international community started to rebuild confidence in the idea of UN peace operations in African countries, the Secretary-General continued to advocate for more interventions, successfully pressing the Security Council to intervene in Liberia, and later in Côte d'Ivoire, despite the initial opposition by the US.[506]   Alongside all these missions, and the rapidly expanding peacekeeping budget, the Secretary-General began arguing for greater capacity and resources at the DPKO.[507]   He also argued that the Secretariat "must have the capacity to manage the noncoercive aspects of inducement".[508]

The Secretary-General explicitly drew upon the operations he had instigated as justification for DPKO expansion. In December 1999, citing the complexity of the operation in East Timor, the expansion of the operation in Sierra Leone, and the mandates for those operations established in UN resolutions, he published a request for 67 additional support staff for the DPKO.[509] The ACABQ quickly concurred, and the additional staff were approved.[510]

In the case of Timor-Leste, and to some extent, in Sierra Leone, the combination of Secretariat strategies led to the creation of an unprecedentedly challenging and complex, yet ultimately successful UN peace operations. These missions in turn provided additional evidence for member states that i) UN-managed interventions, with state support, could be both necessary and successful, and ii) the DPKO faced an increasing workload.

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[506] Eckhard, 102.
[507] Annan 1998a, 177-185.
[508] Ibid., 185.
[509] UN Secretary-General 1999f.
[510] ACABQ 1999.

4.6.3 Multiplying authority[511]

Chapter 2 explained how a Secretariat can create additional authoritative actors in order to influence member states. These groups can be viewed as relatively unbiased experts, when compared to the Secretariat that might be assumed to seek aggrandisement. Multiplying authority involves not only the creation of additional centres of authority, but also subsequent strategies that draw upon the findings of those centres after they have been published. Kofi Annan explained in an interview that sometimes this strategy is necessary to affect change:

> There are certain issues that are better done outside and there are certain issues that can only be done inside. But take a look at the intervention issue. I couldn't have done it inside. It would have been very divisive. And the member states were very uncomfortable because, as an organization, sovereignty is our bedrock and bible – here is someone coming with ideas which are almost challenging it. So I had to sow the seed and let them digest it,[512] but take the study outside and then bring in the results for them to look at it. I find that when you are dealing with issues where the member states are very divided and have very strong views, if you do the work inside, the discussions become so acrimonious that however good a document is, sometimes you have problems… But if you bring it from outside…they accept it.[513]

As Ramesh Thakur later observed, these were useful tools for Annan to influence states:

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[511] OI 9: An IO plenary assembly will be more likely to accept a request from the IO bureaucracy for additional resources if that request has been scrutinised and approved by a body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent expert panel. Given that knowledge, the Secretariat will seek to create such groups.

[512] OI 7: IO bureaucratic actors can leverage their informal authority, in circumstances beyond and in addition to those formally mandated to them, to raise the profile of certain issues, and encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and resolve those issues.

[513] Weiss, Carayannis, Emmerij, and Jolly 2005, 378. Jolly, Emmerij, and Weiss 2009, 175-176.

Annan has also been uniquely skilled in norm generation and entrepreneurship. One technique for the transmission of ideas into international policy is by means of blue-ribbon international commissions. Annan has used this technique to record changed ideas about familiar institutions and practices, as with the Brahimi Panel on Peace Operations.[514]

This Brahimi Panel has become the most influential single document on UN peacekeeping.

In March 2000, Secretary-General Annan formed the Panel on Peace Operations to comprehensively, frankly, and realistically assess UN efforts at conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and peace-building, and to consider whether the resources available for those efforts were sufficient. He appointed as chairman, the veteran Algerian diplomat and UN trouble-shooter, Lakhdar Brahimi. Member states widely recognised Brahimi's expertise-based authority in peacekeeping for several reasons. Brahimi had been the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative (SRSG) in South Africa during the 1994 elections in which Nelson Mandela was first elected. Immediately afterwards, until 1996, Brahimi was the SRSG to Haiti, and then to Afghanistan from 1997 to 1999. Brahimi had also conducted research for the UN in Zaire, Liberia, Nigeria, and Yemen.[515] As a current member of the ACABQ, and former member of the Fifth Committee when the Brahimi Panel was working, said in interview, the "Brahimi report was a perfect example of how to get things done. Brahimi was a highly respected guy".[516]

As the US was traditionally opposed to UN budgetary expansion, it was important to appoint a Panel chairperson that they would respect, and Brahimi satisfied that. Indeed, he had

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[514] Thakur, 2006, 334.
[515] UN News Centre. Lakhdar Brahimi: Special Advisor to the Secretary-General. Bio.
[516] ACABQ member in interview, June 2015.

been one of the top three candidates proposed by the US to replace Boutros-Ghali as Secretary-General. The only reason he was dropped from consideration was because many African states had been disappointed that not only had the first African Secretary-General been from North Africa (Egypt), but that he had also only served one term; there was a strong consensus amongst them that any replacement should be from south of the Sahara.[517]

Each of the other panellists also offered authority recognised by one or more of the voting blocs; this facilitated agreement with the final report. J. Brian Atwood, career US diplomat, had just earned the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award after running USAID for six years.   Ambassador Colin Granderson of Trinidad and Tobago had the confidence of South American states, having held senior positions in the OAS, particularly in roles with a strong professional focus on human rights and humanitarian missions.   Former Ambassador Dame Ann Hercus (New Zealand) had moved into the Secretariat as a Special Advisor and then as the SRSG responsible for the political mission in Cyprus. Richard Monk (UK), a veteran police officer, had specialised in working with international organisations to help rebuild national police forces, notably in former Soviet states and Bosnia.   General Klaus Naumann (retd.) was Germany's most decorated officer since WWII; he had chaired the NATO military committee. Ms. Hisako Shimura (Japan), a skilled UN peace negotiator, had argued in academic papers that Japan could (constitutionally), and should, contribute to UN peacekeeping.[518] Ambassador Vladimir Shustov (Russia), veteran U.S.S.R./Russia diplomat, had specialised in the potential need for peacekeeping in former Soviet states and peace operation coordination between NATO and former Warsaw Pact states. General Philip Sibanda

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[517] Meisler 2007, 132.
[518] Shimura 1996.

(Zimbabwe) had commanded the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) and MONUA (Mission d'Observation des Nations Unies à l'Angola) missions. Finally, Cornelio Sommaruga (Switzerland) was widely respected as the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) from 1987-1999, and like many of the panellists, was a reservoir of both expertise and principle-based authority. The design of the Panel thus afforded every UN bloc the idea that their perspective was being included by an authoritative representative with their beliefs, values, and interests.

The Secretary-General and the DPKO heavily influenced the Brahimi Panel. The Panel had only a few months to address an issue that was extremely complex, both in technical and political terms. They accepted input from any interested member states, but the vast majority of their information came from over two hundred confidential interviews throughout the Secretariat and from reports solicited from DPKO staff in missions that were currently in the field.[519] As an ACABQ member said in interview, Brahimi "was an inside man. He was doing it for the secretary general. I imagine there was a lot of collaboration".[520]

The standing intergovernmental body established to consider the same issues, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (C34), was consulted, but as they later complained, their priorities were not reflected in the Report.[521] The C34, in March 2000, had already published a lengthy report on their recommended reforms *before* Secretary-General Annan initiated the Brahimi report. This report continuously reiterated a preference only for traditional peacekeeping, "respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States, and non-intervention in matters that are essentially within the domestic

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[519] Durch 2004.
[520] ACABQ member in interview with this author, June 2015.
[521] Ibid., 2.

jurisdiction of any State".[522] At no point did the report suggest that the DPKO requires more resources.

The Secretary-General had thus been deeply involved in the Panel's work, working closely with Brahimi and his team,[523] and the resulting report reflected ideas that were considered to be common wisdom within the DPKO and Office of the Secretary-General, rather than the views of many interested member states.[524] Indeed, the Brahimi Report frequently indicated that the failures of the past were primarily the result of member state action or inaction:

> The failures of the United Nations are not those of the Secretariat alone, or troop commanders or the leaders of field missions. Most occurred because the Security Council and the Member States crafted and supported ambiguous, inconsistent and under-funded mandates and then stood back and watched as they failed, sometimes even adding critical public commentary as the credibility of the United Nations underwent its severest tests.[525]

The Secretary-General released the report on 12th August 2000. He had deliberately timed the deadline such that the report would be a fresh, key topic to set the agenda for world leaders during Millennium Summit the following month.[526] Secretary-General Annan had first proposed the Summit soon after taking office in 1997, and he had since then frequently lobbied global leaders to take part.[527] In an overt rejection of established protocols, the Report was sent

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[522] UN Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations 2000, para 51.
[523] Interview with Paul Heinbeker, former Canadian Ambassador to the UN and representative on the Security Council, 2000. 3 December 2015. ACABQ member, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[524] Ibid.
[525] Brahimi Report, para 266.
[526] Annan 2012, 74.
[527] Mouat, 343.

directly to Heads of State and Government, bypassing various diplomatic steps in both New York and state Foreign Ministries.[528]

The Secretary-General structured the Summit debates as to maximise the potential for persuasion. He had, for example, recognised that persuading an individual can be far easier than persuading an entire state; saying that "when you got them on their own, I always found even the most intransigent leaders would typically prove far more reasonable and responsive".[529] He therefore, when establishing the three main roundtables at the Millennium Summit, enforced a rule that only the heads of state would be allowed to attend, and that all aides and advisors would be prohibited from even entering the room.[530] Annan's Summit design accords neatly with the expectations of Johnston (2001), who envisioned persuasion as more likely under smaller, deliberative settings such as these.

The Brahimi report proposed a range of reforms intended to remedy problems in, "strategic direction, decision-making, rapid deployment, operational planning and support, and the use of modern information technology".[531] The recommendations included changes to every part of the peace operation process, from early decision-making, through planning and procurement, to implementation.   There were some issues that were not addressed, for which the report was criticised, such as the relations between the UN and regional organisations, but largely speaking, it comprehensively addressed a range of challenges, both within the Secretariat and in the intergovernmental bodies.

Both the Brahimi Report and later, R2P, drew most of their ideas on how to frame the

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[528] Durch, 2004, 4.
[529] Annan 2012, 225.
[530] Ibid.
[531] A/55/305, viii.

types of changes needed, and the underlying principles, from the Ditchley Park speech and subsequent Secretary-General speeches and publications.   For example, Annan had stated at Ditchley Park that the UN Charter protects the sovereignty of *peoples,* and not governments, and that swift and robust intervention is justified to protect those peoples.[532]   He also stated both that any intervention should always consider political solutions before military ones, and that the principal organisation through which military intervention could legitimately take place was the United Nations.

Of the plethora of Brahimi recommendations, there were, of course, many proposals that would not substantively add to the resources or delegated authority of the Secretariat, but they currently lie outside the scope of this project.[533]   However, two proposals stand out as strengthening the capacity and formal authority of the Secretariat; they are thus of particular interest to this project. The first is the insistence on far greater staff and resources for the DPKO, for planning, backstopping,[534] travel,[535] and training.[536]   Both the Secretary-General and the

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[532] Annan 1998b. See also, Meisler 173-4 for discussion. Also in UN Secretary-General Annan 1999g.

[533] Other key Brahimi reform proposals included:

More robust rules of engagement, including the mandate to respond, with force if necessary, to attacks on civilians.

UNSC resolutions that ensure that peace operations forces are strong enough to deter attacks or at least forcefully respond to them.

Flexibility for peace operations commanders to fund quick impact projects.

Streamline procedures to allow for more rapid deployment. (A/51/950: 112-113)

Closer communication and institutionalised cooperation between UNSC and TCCs.

At least five mission start-up kits in Brindisi, including rapidly deployable communications equipment, to be routinely replenished with funding from the assessed contributions to the operations that drew on them (A/55/305: 84)

The Secretariat should prepare a global logistics support strategy

The Secretariat should increase the level of procurement authority delegated to the field missions (from $200,000 to as high as $1 million, depending on mission size and needs) for all goods and services that are available locally and are not covered under systems contracts or standing commercial services contracts (A/55/305: 84).

Reduce vacancies (a/55/874: 32; 37).

[534] Panel on United Nations Peace Operations [Brahimi Report] 2000, paras 170-197.

[535] UN ACABQ 2001, 40.

[536] UN Secretary-General 1992a, 52; UN ACABQ. 2001, 57

Brahimi Panel asserted that resources and new posts should be part of the regular budget, and not through the use of the, "support Account, which is renewed each year and funds only temporary posts", because that "approach to funding and staff seems to confuse the temporary nature of specific operations with the evident permanence of peacekeeping and other peace operations activities as core functions of the United Nations, which is obviously an untenable state of affairs".[537]

The second Secretariat-strengthening proposal was the creation of an intelligence cell. Annan had formed the Executive Committee on Peace and Security (ECPS) as one of his earliest reforms.[538] The proposal was to create an ECPS Information and Strategic Analysis Secretariat (EISAS). The EISAS would create and maintain integrated databases on peace and security issues, distribute that knowledge within the United Nations system, generate policy analyses, formulate long-term strategies for the ECPS and bring imminent crises to the attention of the ECPS leadership. It would also have proposed and managed the agenda of the ECPS itself, helping to transform it into the cabinet-style decision-making body envisioned by the Secretary-General in his initial reforms in 1997. The Panel proposed that EISAS be created by consolidating the existing Situation Centre of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) with a number of small, scattered policy planning offices, and adding a small team of

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[537] Panel on United Nations Peace Operations [Brahimi Report] 2000, xiii; 170-197; XIV. This had previously been argued by the Secretary-General in UN Secretary-General 1997c, 114.
[538] The ECPS, a Cabinet-style committee formed by SG Annan in 1997, included the heads of the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the Department for Disarmament Affairs (DDA), the Office of Legal Affairs (OLA), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict (SRSG/CAAC), and the United Nations Security Coordinator (UNSECOORD).

military analysts, experts in international criminal networks and information systems specialists.[539]

The second stage of the multiplication of authority involves utilising and incorporating the expressed preferences of the secondary source of authority to influence others. When the Brahimi report was released, the Secretary-General took immediate efforts to maintain the momentum for DPKO reform and strengthening, drawing on both the expert authority of the panel and his own principle-based authority. At the beginning of the Millennium Summit on 7 September 2000, he addressed the Security Council Summit.[540] His impassioned plea stated that the eyes of the world, and of the millions "suffering daily from the ravages of war" were upon them, and that their credibility, as the only body legally and morally responsible for maintaining international peace and security, was at risk if they did not give peacekeepers the resources and tools they required. In informal settings, he focused his energy almost exclusively on the P5, to the extent that other members of the Council felt neglected.[541] [OI – 3-5].[542]

During that Millennium Summit, in Resolution 1318, the Security Council, and the P5 in particular, welcomed the Brahimi Report in general, although there were substantial differences

[539] Panel on United Nations Peace Operations [Brahimi Report] 2000, xi.
[540] UN Press release 7 September 2000.
[541] Paul Heinbeker in interview with this author, former Canadian Ambassador to the UN and representative on the Security Council, 2000.
[542] OI 3: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is closely related to the ethos, the form of informal authority with which the audience perceives that Secretariat member to be endowed. i.e. information with relevant expertise, values with principles of the speaker.

OI 4: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is in congruence with the pathos, the beliefs and values of the audience.

OI 5: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.

in their individual responses.[543] The UK and France were the most enthusiastic; the US wanted to emphasise its own national interests over international interests; Russia emphasised the need for Security Council control over mission details, and China expressed a preference for limiting missions to traditional peacekeeping.[544] As one of the non-permanent members, India was the only Council member who opposed the report, comparing it to Agenda for Peace (1992) and the "misty evangelism which caused havoc in several peacekeeping operations" in the early 1990s by moving away from the strict tenets of traditional peacekeeping.[545] While there were some other specific criticisms of the Report in the year or two following its publication,[546] one factor Security Council members could all agree on was the lack of resources in the DPKO, and, "that the problem of the commitment gap with regard to personnel and equipment for peacekeeping operations requires the assumption by all Member States of the shared responsibility to support United Nations peacekeeping".[547] While the principle-based authority of the Secretary-General was effective in setting the agenda, the expertise authority of the Panel was more effective at resolving technical issues of resources and staff in a way that would be considered less biased. This suggests that expertise-based authority is influential only to the extent that its origin is considered to be impartial.

On 20 October 2000, while member states were still debating peacekeeping reforms, the Secretary-General published his response to the Brahimi Report.[548] In this document, and in every subsequent request for resources, he cited the general support of the Security Council for

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[543] Gray 2001.
[544] Ibid.
[545] UN Security Council 2000, 23.
[546] For example, there was nothing said about mission command and control, or the financial aspects of peace operations, and little about civil-military relations, the use of local staff, and the relationships between the UN and regional IOs, as discussed in White 2001,136–7. See also, Bell and Tousignant 2001, 44.
[547] UN Security Council 2000, 3.
[548] UN Secretary-General 2000e.

the Brahimi report as direct evidence for a state-directed mandate for making the recommended changes to the DPKO. He made no reference to any of the concerns of individual states mentioned above. He concurred with almost every recommendation in the report, although he expressed concern that some passages of the Report might be interpreted as advocating an offensive peace enforcement role for peacekeepers.[549] He emphasised that all the proposed reforms were essential if the UN were to successfully achieve the complex mandates that member states were already assigning to peacekeeping missions in operations such as that in Timor Leste.[550] For those changes under state and not Secretariat control, the Secretary-General asserted that, "[p]eacekeeping is the responsibility of all Member States",[551] and that all member states were legally obliged to ensure that UN peacekeeping missions were effective.

A week later, the Secretary-General published the resource requirements for the changes for review by the ACABQ.[552] In this document, the Secretary-General addressed only two of the more than fifty recommendations in the Brahimi Report: i) EISAS, and, ii) additional resources for the Secretariat, in particular the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and the Department of Public Information (DPI).[553] As mentioned above, these were the only two recommendations from the Report that would directly increase Secretariat resources. Several other less dramatic recommendations were briefly mentioned, but he did not include any resource analysis for them.

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[549] Ibid., para 7e.
[550] Ibid., para 7c-7d.
[551] Ibid., para 7c.
[552] UN Secretary-General 2000f.
[553] Ibid., para 9.

Citing the Brahimi Report and the support member states voiced of the report, the report of the Secretary-General had more than an element of *fait accompli*, as though the programmatic debate was complete, leaving only the technical, financial details to be resolved. The immediate additional funds he requested included $7,527,300 (an increase of 35 posts) in the remainder of the 2000-2001 regular biennial budget, rising to $12 million in the following regular budget, and an increase of $14,675,600 (214 posts) in the remainder of the 1 July 2000 to 30 June 2001 annual peacekeeping support account, rising to $59.4 million in the following support account.[554] In the brief summary, the Secretary-General put this in the context of the whole budget, stating that the, "proposed additional ongoing requirements for the biennium 2002-2003 for the regular budget are equivalent to 0.47 per cent of current regular budget appropriations and for the support account they are equivalent to 1.43 per cent of current levels of peacekeeping costs".[555] He also asserted that the additional posts and resources he was requesting for the DPKO were the bare minimum required to fulfil the changes mandated my member states, and not some ideal envisaged by the Secretariat.[556]

The Secretary-General then built upon the additional authority centre by emphasising those beliefs and values that concurred with those of the next critical audience, the ACABQ.[557] The Secretary-General and his staff had often been chastised for including, in requests for budget changes, arguments drawing upon non-technical claims. As both a serving member of the ACABQ and a lead member of the ACABQ Secretariat confirmed in interviews, the ACABQ openly takes offense to arguments based on the principles of the Charter, or the moral obligations

[554] UN ACABQ 2000, para 6.
[555] UN Secretary-General 2000f, 2.
[556] UN Secretary-General 2000e, para 120.
[557] See UN ACABQ 2000 for the final result of that review.

of member states.[558] Perhaps influenced by this knowledge, the reports to the ACABQ following

the Brahimi report were devoid of those types of claims that had been consistent features of

every previous speech and report on the subject of UN intervention.[559]

Most of the Secretary-General's analysis and specific requests for resources were

apolitical, in the sense that they did not raise issues that were contentious points of friction

between the voting blocs. However, there was one notable exception: the creation of EISAS.

The G77 has always explicitly been concerned about the idea of a UN endowed with intelligence

capabilities, especially as its activities could be controlled by the powerful states at the Security

Council.[560] One state delegate to the Fifth Committee expressed this in interview:

> The notion that the UN should extend its intelligence gathering or any analytical capacity
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> is often problematic, simply because member states to varying degrees are jealous of their
>
> prerogatives in providing the UN with information on situations. To say that an
>
> organisation independent of states is going to start making determinations about what's
>
> going on in our country or our region, then you are ceding a degree of control over the
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> outcome; potentially many member states would be uncomfortable.[561]

The ACABQ concurred on all the strengthening reforms for the DPKO, approving all the

new posts and resources there, but the discussion of the creation of EISAS was brief and

dismissive. By 2001, the ACABQ was less the technical analysis body it had been in previous

decades, and had become more a direct reflection of the voting blocs in the General Assembly's

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[558] Current ACABQ member, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[559] OI 5: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.
[560] Swart and Lund 2010, 121-148.
[561] Delegate A to Fifth Committee, in interview with this author, June 2015.

Fifth Committee, in which many of the ACABQ members had previously represented their respective member states.[562] Concerns held, by the G77 in particular, that UN HQ in New York not be given a stronger intelligence gathering capacity, prevented any debate as to the potential utility or fiscal efficiency of such a change.[563] This is a prominent example of a specific limit to the ability of a Secretary-General to influence budgetary decisions; as OI – 6 expects, if voting blocs are entrenched in opposition on a particular issue, reforms can be impossible, by the Secretariat or by member states.

In practice, however, despite the concerns of the G77, the additional manpower in the DPKO allowed that department to engage in many of the tasks that the EISAS was intended to undertake. The regional departments were expanded, and for the first time, the DPKO was able to dedicate more resources and staff to regularly evaluating existing practices, and to begin proposing doctrinal frameworks for UN peace operations.[564] The DPKO was also now more able to keep the Secretary-General, and in turn, then, the Council, more informed as to impending crises. In recent years, the G77 have slightly softened their position on the development of an information gathering and analysis capability in the UN, as they have become more supportive of, and involved in, the activities of the peacebuilding support office.

Throughout the discussion of the Brahimi Report implementation requirements, there was a positive relationship between Kofi Annan and his staff and the ACABQ. In 2001, the relationship between the Office of the Secretary-General and the ACABQ members was less

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[562] Mselle 2011. The politicization of the ACABQ is a prominent and recurrent theme throughout the book. Confirmed in interviews with a current ACABQ member and senior Secretariat staff, June 2015.
[563] Current ACABQ member, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[564] The first such document was DPKO. 2003. *Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations*.

adversarial than it is today.[565] Despite the gradual politicisation of the ACABQ in previous

years, both sides typically acted as though they were working together to achieve an efficient

implementation of the mandates assigned by the intergovernmental bodies.[566]

It has been widely observed that the reforms that required changes to the Secretariat were

implemented to a far greater degree than those that required changes in the behaviour of member

states.   This was for at least three reasons. One is that the reforms entrusted to the Secretariat

were often the least contentious changes, being typically more administrative than political.

Another is that those issues that were assigned to intergovernmental committees and the plenary

assembly would be necessarily subject to more lengthy debates in those fora. A third

contributing factor, however, was that the Secretary-General provided significant impetus to the

project. He assigned the task of implementation to his Deputy Secretary-General (DSG) Louise

Frechette, and on 1 October 2000, he appointed Jean-Marie Guéhenno to the post of USG for

Peacekeeping Operations. Guéhenno was passionate about change and reform in the DPKO,[567]

and began hiring like-minded reformers for his team who, "gathered under the banner of the

Brahimi Report and made its analysis and the spirit of its recommendations their guiding

paradigm",[568] even before the General Assembly had finished deliberating on the Report. Thus,

while member states would continue to have control over further reforms to DPKO finances, the

Secretary-General could be assured that all reports and advice viewed as expert that emanated

from the DPKO would be motivated by hopes for reform and strengthening, rather than

managing the status-quo.

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[565] Current ACABQ member, in interview with this author, June 2015.
[566] Ibid.
[567] Durch 2004, 5.
[568] Benner, Mergenthaler, and Rotmann. 2011, 26.

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4.7 Conclusion

The revival of UN peace operations at the turn of the millennium evolved during a conscious campaign by the Office of the Secretary General (SG) not only to rethink the limits of state sovereignty, but also to reposition the UN as the most appropriate mechanism for addressing international and domestic threats to the security of peoples. This was achieved, with some success: by 2001, when Kofi Annan and the UN were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the Nobel Committee announced that, "the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations".[569]

Agenda setting took place primarily in the General Assembly, and secondly in the Security Council, and it was assisted by the multiplication of authority through the Brahimi Report. The initiation of additional, resource-intensive tasks in Timor Leste provided greater justification for DPKO expansion, particularly during the technocratic messages directed towards the ACABQ. The Secretary-General was instrumental in each of these processes, and these three strategies were all crucial factors in the decision of UN member states to significantly increase the manpower and resources of the parts of the Secretariat relating to UN peace operations.

Annan's informal authority, predominantly and increasingly principle-based, but also expertise-based, was sufficient to motivate states to re-engage with the concept that the UN could and should engage in more peace operations when conditions allowed. After setting the agenda and directly influencing the creation of new missions, the Secretary-General needed to create additional centres of authority in order to magnify his authority. In doing so, the SG and his colleagues were able to take all member states, who collectively had little or no faith in UN

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[569] UN. *UN Chronicle* 3 (2003), 46.

peace operations in 1997, to a place in December 2000 where they were all able to agree that these operations were a vital and ethically necessary endeavour, and that it was necessary to devote far more resources to the DPKO.[570]

Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and a transition to Chapter 5

Before concluding this chapter, it is important to consider a parallel effort by the Secretary-General to raise the international profile of both UN peacekeeping and UN preventative diplomatic efforts: The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept.[571] The R2P concept links those two UN activities, providing an empirical and conceptual link between the two case studies. While R2P is commonly associated with humanitarian intervention by UN peacekeepers, the involvement of the Secretary-General in its inception also provides evidence of both the magnification of authority, and then agenda setting, in the context of preventative diplomacy, the purview of the DPA in the following case study.

In the September 1999 speech to the General Assembly, Kofi Annan had reiterated his views on the relationships between sovereignty, intervention and the protection of individual human rights, challenging the international community to form some consensus on a formula that would allow more UN intervention.[572] All scholarly or journalistic work on humanitarian intervention then implies that the Canadian government took it upon itself to create the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) that would later produce the R2P framework. However, this misses an important step.

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[570] I have placed a table identifying the extent to which each observable implication has been identified in this case, and a closer analysis of the findings, at the Concluding chapter, in order to compare the findings here with those at the DPA.

[571] ICISS 2001. [R2P]

[572] UN Secretary-General 1999a. See also Traub 2006, 100-102.

Before the ICISS was formed, Kofi Annan telephoned David Malone, then President of the International Peace Academy (IPA),[573] and personally persuaded him to take up the task.[574] Malone, who described Kofi Annan as, "a true norm entrepreneur, as a genuine champion of the humanitarian imperative and of human rights", agreed to do so.[575] Malone then enlisted the assistance of the Canadian government. However, this first IPA panel was unable to reach a consensus, and the deadlock led the Canadian government to restructure the panel, gathering a more broad, international panel of experts, to form the ICISS.

The R2P framework reiterated, almost verbatim, Deng's and Annan's claims that if a state is unable or unwilling to live up to its responsibility to provide basic political goods such as individual physical security to the citizens, then it becomes the responsibility of the international community to assist or intervene.[576] R2P emphasises prevention, with military intervention reserved as a last resort, as Annan had done in the Ditchley speech. The report advocated that a high threshold be set for such a last resort, either "large scale loss of life… which is the product either of deliberate state action, or state neglect or inability to act, or a failed state situation", or "large scale "ethnic cleansing"".[577] Again, these were conditions emphasised by Annan in the Causes of Conflict documents and all his speeches cited above.

As he had done with the Brahimi Report, Annan then drew upon the additional expertise authority of the ICISS to further his argument. When R2P was being released, Annan stated that it was "an important step in the difficult process of building a new global consensus on

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[573] Since 2008, the IPA has been named the International Peace Institute. It was originally formed in 1970 by people working within the UN, to focus on studying peacekeeping and developing peacekeeping doctrine.
[574] Eckhard, 219.
[575] Eckhard, 235.
[576] Ibid., 13.
[577] Ibid., 32.

intervention for human protection".[578] At the same time, he quietly observed that the details of

the report conformed neatly to the message he had already been articulating for several years,

and that it was primarily the title "Responsibility to Protect", and the way the ICISS had framed

the issue, that was the major innovation of the project, and not the substance therein.[579] Annan

has then repeatedly referred to and praised the R2P report in the years since.

Over the years, support for the R2P concept has waxed and waned with the tidal changes

in global geopolitics, but it has increasingly gained traction. It faced an initially set back because

R2P was published very shortly after the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York, in

2001, and world events pushed it further down the agenda as UN-approved, vengeful military

intervention, that contravened the principles of R2P, took centre stage. Despite this, in the

following few years the Secretary-General and many other international actors affirmed its

central tenets, particularly after the beginning of the US-led military intervention in Iraq in 2003.

This widespread lobbying led the UN General Assembly to express support for it in the 2005

World Summit.[580] In recent years, the need, in the R2P framework, for agreement in the UN

Security Council, has posed challenges in regions where members of the P5 find their national

interests to be in opposition, such as in the Middle East. As former Canadian Ambassador to the

UN, Paul Heinbeker, said in interview, "the R2P concept ran out of gas in Syria. The R2P norm

will only work if powerful states want it to work".[581] Despite this understandable concern, the

R2P framework has considerable widespread support amongst most member states at the UN.

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[578] UN Press Release 2002 [Annan address to IPA]. See also Weiss 2010, 230.
[579] Ibid.
[580] UN General Assembly 2005. World Summit Outcome Document, paras 138-139.
[581] Paul Heinbeker, interview with this author. 3 December 2015.

Chapter 5: UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA)

5.1 Introduction

Since the formation of the United Nations, Secretaries-General have engaged in preventive diplomacy in one form or another, the earliest being the (subsequently tragic) deployment of Count Folke Bernadotte to Israel/Palestine in 1948. Up until the 1960s these political missions were fairly common, but generally small, short-term, and with a limited mandate, such as to help mediate an agreement or gather information for the Security Council. From the 1960s to the mid-1980s, however, there was a conspicuous lull, a consequence of the antagonism in the Security Council between the two superpowers, and perhaps to some degree of the management styles of the Secretaries-General U Thant and Kurt Waldheim who followed Hammarskjöld.

However, in the late 1980s this activity was revived, and shifted from being an almost purely *ad hoc* one, to one with established institutional support, and with resources managed by the Secretariat. In 1992, amongst the UN's burst of productivity made possible by the end of the Cold War, the DPA was established to provide expertise and contextual knowledge for those engaging in peacemaking and preventive diplomacy.[582] It had four divisions, each of which was to specialise in a particular region: Africa I, Africa II, Asia, and Europe/Americas, although the latter two were each later split in two, such that there are six divisions today. The DPA brought together various units that were previously tasked with providing political advice and

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[582] UN Secretary-General 1992b.

information to various intergovernmental UN arenas, such as the Security Council, General Assembly and Trusteeship Council.[583]

The DPA's role has since gradually expanded; it is now the UN focal point for addressing conflict resolution, democratisation, global terrorism, and post-conflict peacebuilding. In order to address these broadening mandates, the DPA manages a growing number of special political missions (SPMs). Approximately half of these are field missions primarily in regions of political instability across the world. The other missions also address specific global crises, but are based in UN Headquarters in New York, and tend to be much smaller, some consisting of only one Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) and two or three supporting staff. Note that the responsibilities of the DPA may change soon. The current Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, has proposed a partial integration of the DPA and DPKO, such that the DPKO, restructured as a Department of Peace Operations (DPO), would take over management of larger SPMs, while the DPA would be restructured as the Department of Peacebuilding and Political Affairs (DPPA). The DPPA and DPO would be co-located and integrate some areas such as their respective regional units.

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[583] Amalgamated departments were the Office for Political and General Assembly Affairs and Secretariat Services; Office for Research and the Collection of Information; Department of Political and Security Council Affairs; Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship and the Department for Disarmament Affairs.

Figure 3: Current SPM locations, as of March 2017[584]

Since the formation of the DPA, there has only been one period of rapid expansion, which took place in two bursts between the end of 2005 and 2008. From its formation in 1992 until 2004, the DPA budget remained relatively static, despite gradually broadening mandates and the increase in the number and size of the SPMs managed by the DPA. SPM budgets, still within the regular budget but individually managed and kept separate from the budget of the DPA itself, rose gradually over the 1990's, and more rapidly after 2000, but the DPA itself did not experience any corresponding growth. As such, its ability to provide support for SPMs became strained. Despite this, and while the Secretariat and other non-state actors occasionally called for more conflict prevention through diplomatic means, there were no specific demands from the Secretary-General for more funds for DPA.

The period of change of particular interest for this project took place between the end of 2004 and the end of 2008. Leading up to, and during this time, the Secretariat engaged in the

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[584] UN DPA. Overview of Field Missions.

three strategies of persuasion. The multiplication of authority can be seen in the reports

generated by the office of the Secretary-General, independent panels, by inspection teams and

internal oversight departments tasked by the Secretary-General, and particularly by the late 2004

High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, initiated by the Secretary-General.

Agenda setting was particularly prevalent prior to the 2005 UN Summit. Operational initiation

and expansion continued throughout the period.

The arguments used by Secretary-General Kofi Annan that led to the strengthening of the

DPA had three parts. The first, drawing on his principled authority, argued that UN member

states were legally and ethically obligated under the principles of the UN Charter to support

conflict prevention by the UN. The second, drawing on the expert authority of the various panels

and internal reports, was that the DPA was the UN focal point for conflict prevention, but its

resources were currently grossly insufficient to meet its mandate, especially given the growing

SPMs. The third, drawing on the formal authority of the Secretary-General to implement the

demands of member states, was that the prior resolutions of member states implied agreement for

a strengthening of the DPA, or at least a vague expression of support for conflict prevention by

the UN.   After this period of persuasion, the DPA experienced unprecedented bursts of growth

in December 2005 and December 2008, in a period still referred to by DPA staff as "the

strengthening".[585] Over this time, the DPA headquarters was permitted an additional 41 new

permanent staff, and its budget leapt from $70 million to $110 million.

After this strengthening, from December 2008, DPA growth ceased. Member states

expressed a greater interest in SPMs, but a new debate emerged. This debate included

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[585] DPA staff A and B, in interview with this author, June 2015.

contentious issues such as the budgetary processes for SPMs, and the processes for beginning and ending SPMs. On these issues, the preferences of developed states become diametrically opposed to those of developing states, and the mutual entrenchment presented overwhelming obstacles to further reforms. The Secretary-General Ban, having taken the post in January 2007, relied far more on his formal authority than informal authority. He continued to argue that previous changes to the DPA were insufficient (the 2008 reform allocated only half the additional posts requested by the Secretary-General), and continued to make the same arguments as before with continued frequency and urgency. However, the DPA itself has experienced no further significant growth, despite a continually expanding workload.

I begin this chapter by considering each strategy in turn in the context of the DPA. I first look at the first wave of agenda setting during the decade leading up to the period of interest, in which minor, but gradually increasing attempts were made by the Secretariat to place conflict prevention by non-military UN intervention on the agenda. I then review the processes that led to the creation of many of the Special Political Missions (SPMs), to illustrate the influence of the Secretariat in their creation and/or expansion. I then discuss the multiplication of authority, primarily with the High-Level Panel (HLP) report, but also with internal UN reviews of the DPA. This is followed by further evidence of agenda setting, primarily in the context of the In Larger Freedom report and parallel efforts leading up to the 2005 UN Summit.   While I begin by introducing each strategy separately, they evolved together, and built upon each other. Finally, I discuss the entrenchment of the member state voting blocs on contentious reform issues, beginning after December 2008, that has since prevented any meaningful reform or expansion of the DPA.

5.2 Strategies

5.2.1 Agenda setting: The narrative of prevention 1992-2003

The underlying narrative emphasising UN preventative measures began with the creation

of the DPA in 1992. Throughout the 1990s, there were occasional efforts to place preventative

diplomacy on the General Assembly and Security Council agendas, but these efforts were not

accompanied by any requests for additional resources for the DPA. Secretary-General Boutros-

Ghali's *Agenda for Peace*, published four months after the creation of the DPA, echoed the

general interest expressed by the Council for preventive, as well as reactive efforts to resolve

conflicts.[586] In 1997, Secretary-General Annan mentioned the need for a strengthened early

warning system, and for the DPA to undertake post-conflict peacebuilding,[587] but the details

were sparse, and there were no formal requests for additional resources. In an ambitious, yet

concise 1998 report identifying the, "causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and

sustainable development in Africa", the Secretary-General, despite emphasising the need for

post-conflict peacebuilding, mediation, and the development of local institutions, and democracy

in particular, does not mention the DPA at all; the USG for Political Affairs (the head of the

DPA) is mentioned only once, in the context of the Executive Committee on Peace and

Security.[588]

After the turn of the millennium, there were increasingly frequent references to the

prevention of conflict, but initially still only in broad, rather general terms. For example, in Kofi

Annan's "We, the Peoples" review of the UN in August 2000, the prevention of conflicts was

approached in holistic terms, considering addressing underlying causes of conflict such as

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[586] UN Secretary-General 1992a.
[587] Office of the Secretary-General 1997c, paras 63-66.
[588] Office of the Secretary-General 1998a.

poverty and human rights abuses, not on reactions such as political intervention.[589]

The 2000 report of the UN Panel on UN Peace Operations (Brahimi Report) echoed the Secretary-General's holistic view, but it added a discussion of political intervention, making some administrative recommendations, such as establishing a roster of potential mediators, and both civilian and military personnel. It also observed a "gap between verbal postures and financial and political support for prevention".[590] The report also stated that building peace in politically unstable regions required more accurate information, the use of fact-finding missions, greater attention to engaging "free and fair" elections, and a focus on peacebuilding, each of which should be managed not by peacekeeping forces, but rather by the DPA.[591]

These agenda setting efforts became more frequent over 2001-2004. Member states needed to be persuaded that that a crisis point had been reached, and that the DPA was a more appropriate actor than unilateral or multilateral intervention by states. As discussed in Chapter 2, PA explanations are useful, but incomplete, when considering this particular delegation of resources; those approaches might expect delegation to the DPA only if that department was viewed as possessing expertise or capacity that states do not, or where member states believe they would materially benefit from delegation. However, many of the arguments in favour of DPA growth stressed that the department did not have the resources and permanent staff to develop the needed expertise. Also, I argue that the strategy of multiplying authority can magnify perceptions of expertise.

The Secretary-General increasingly argued that member states were *obliged* to engage in

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[589] UN Secretary-General 2000b, 44-45.
[590] Panel on UN Peace Operations 2000, para 29; Report of the High Level Panel 2004, para 102.
[591] Panel on UN Peace Operations 2000, paras 32, 36-38, 44-45.

UN conflict prevention. In a June 2001 report entitled the "Prevention of armed conflict", he argues that Article 1 of the Charter obliges all member states to do all they can to *prevent* conflict, as well as resolving it after it breaks out; prevention, he frequently reiterated, is cheaper and more efficient in the long run than merely reacting to conflict.[592] However, in the early 2000's, any mention of political missions still discussed them as though they were small, isolated, ad hoc, and somewhat secondary to the primary conflict resolution tool of the UN peacekeeping.

There were also few, if any, calls for a strengthened DPA. For example, the detailed descriptions of conflict prevention and peacemaking by the Secretary-General in his annual *Report on the work of the Organization* in 2002 and 2003,[593] and in his 2004 follow-up report on "the causes of conflict and promotion of durable peace",[594] did not mention the DPA at all. When tasks managed by the DPA were discussed, the emphasis lay on inter-state relations, such as by stating that, "while special mediators and special commissions continue to offer a medium for the peaceful resolution of conflicts, the primary responsibility lies in the hands of Member States".[595] This background narrative, without an accompanying demand for resources, was to change at the end of 2004 with the publication of the conclusions of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (HLP). I discuss that panel in the context of the strategy of the multiplication of authority, but before that can be addressed, I discuss the initiation and expansion of SPMs that also contributed to placing the idea of DPA reform higher on the agenda of UN member states.

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[592] UN Secretary-General 2001c.
[593] UN Secretary-General. 2002b; UN Secretary-General 2003a.
[594] UN Secretary-General. 2004c, para 13.
[595] Ibid.

5.2.2 Initiating and expanding SPMs[596]

The vast majority of the Political Affairs section of the budget is now devoted to Special Political Missions (SPMs). SPMs report to the DPA and are each directly managed by an appointee of the Secretary-General. While a few SPMs have been initiated at the request of the General Assembly, the majority are initiated by Security Council resolutions, and more often than not, those resolutions are preceded by a formal request by the Secretary-General to create a new mission. As the table below shows, there was an initial significant increase in the number of SPMs in the first two years of Annan's tenure (1997-1999), but this could be attributed in part to the continuation of the prior trend.

Year	Number of field SPMs
1993	3
1994	5
1995	7
1996	7
1997	8
1998	9
1999	13
2000	13
2001	14
2002	14
2003	15
2004	14
2005	13
2006	13
2007	15
2008	13
2009	13
2010	14
2011	15
2012	15
2013	15

Table 3: Number of Field-based Special Political Missions by year.[597]

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[596] OI 8: Where a particular reform, particularly increasing resources, would need to be justified by increased operational activity, an IO bureaucratic actor can a) persuade states whose approval is required that a particular operation must be created though the IO, and b) persuade the relevant states to accept operations on their sovereign soil.

[597] Data compiled from UN biennial budgets 1992-2014 and DPA mission reviews.

Annan and Ban did, however, independently initiate many SPMs during their tenures. Acting in their role as defined by Article 99 of the UN Charter, inform the Security Council of a threat to international peace; this notification usually includes a recommendation for a particular form of intervention. The Council is then required to fulfil its role under the Charter, in which the member states there have "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security".[598] While the assumption in the Charter, and in the speeches of the Secretary-General, is that the Council has a legal and ethical obligation to act to resolve conflicts, the realities of great power politics typically intercede, and the veto holding Permanent five members can prevent a response if any of them believe that their core interests would be threatened by allowing an intervention.

If that Security Council response is a military one, it is managed by the DPKO, and if predominantly diplomatic, by the DPA, although inevitable overlaps mean that they often work alongside together. These formal, public Secretary-General requests for action by the Security Council tend often to be approved, although this is partly because those formal requests are preceded by a series of informal consultations between the Secretary-General and key Security Council states, through which the Secretary-General can determine what kinds of requests might be approved.[599] As with the Fifth Committee formal outcomes, the summary documents of the Secretary-General and Security Council are carefully crafted so as to be inoffensive to the P5 and to achieve the broadest agreement amongst the remaining Council members. The final documents themselves obscure layers of informal negotiations.

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[598] UN Charter. Article 24:1.
[599] Member of staff of Permanent Mission to the UN assigned to Security Council, in interview June 2015. Interview with Paul Heinbeker, former Canadian Ambassador to the UN and representative on the Security Council in 2000. 3 December 2015.

The Secretary-General closely manages changes to SPMs. Secretary-General Annan positioned the Under Secretary-General (USG) for Political Affairs as the chairperson for the Executive Committee for Peace and Security (ECPS), a cabinet-style body that advises the Secretary-General.   Observers liken the relationships between Secretary-General, ECPS, DPA, and SPMs to those between a Prime Minister, Cabinet, Foreign Ministry, and Embassies.[600] Through these networks, the Secretariat not only mediates peace agreements, but also coordinates the efforts of multifarious UN actors (e.g. security, humanitarian, and development-orientated) across the globe, as those various actors are coordinated by the SRSG in the local SPM.   Of the many SPMs created primarily as a result of the actions of the Secretary-General and his staff, two types of are particular interest to this project. One type is the *embryonic* SPM, and the other is the *embassy* SPM.

Embryonic SPMs

Embryonic SPMs begin as a single Special Envoy or Special Representative, usually with a handful of support staff at most. It is usually a simple process for the Secretary-General to appoint someone to this position, and the ACABQ will concur with additional small funds for the appointment. However, there are many incremental opportunities for the Secretary-General to expand the mission with each passing year.

Funding for existing missions is debated between the Secretary-General and the ACABQ each year, and the latter then passes on its recommendations to the General Assembly for approval. Every two years, the budgets for SPMs are agreed in the biennial regular budget, but within each biennium, the Secretary-General intermittently provides updates as to the budget

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[600] Gowan 2012.

performances of the various missions. It is not uncommon for those updates to reveal that a mission has used, or is expected to use, 70-90% of the two-year resources by the end of the first year. For example, for 2004-2005, $185,165,700 was later added to the originally agreed budget for SPMs, $242,461,500, almost doubling the budget.[601] In 2006-2007, the SPM budget ballooned during the biennium from $355,949,300, to $686,871,000,[602] and during the 2008–2009 budget, from $527,240,800 to $962,582,700.[603] This kind of dramatic increase for a budget section within the budget period is unique in the regular budget. To put this in the context of the regular budget as a whole, the additional $235 million for the SPMs constituted 69% of the total increase to the 2006-2007 budget during the cycle.[604] [OI – 8].[605]

Prior to each off-schedule increase, the Secretary-General presents his justifications to the ACABQ. These justifications usually include a) additional missions, b) increased security needs for existing missions, and c) Security Council or General Assembly resolutions assigning, or more usually just implying, additional roles to existing missions.[606] With the last of these, the Secretary-General frequently cites General Assembly resolutions as though they obligated the ACABQ and the Fifth Committee to agree to his proposals. However, if one actually reads the passages he refers to, one sees that they typically involve only brief, general support for the activities of the Secretary-General, such as preventative diplomacy and the use of good offices.

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[601] UN Fifth Committee 2004.

[602] UN General Assembly 2004, following UN ACABQ 2004b.

[603] UN Fifth Committee 2009, 3.

[604] UN Fifth Committee. 2006b.

[605] OI 8: Where a particular reform, particularly increasing resources, would need to be justified by increased operational activity, an IO bureaucratic actor can a) persuade states whose approval is required that a particular operation must be created though the IO, and b) persuade the relevant states to accept operations on their sovereign soil.

[606] Determined from a review of all relevant publications from the Secretary-General, from 1999 until 2008. The documents are entitled Estimates in respect of special political missions, good offices and other political initiatives authorized by the General Assembly and/or the Security Council. They are all periodically offered by the Secretary-General to the ACABQ for every SPM at least once each year.

Specific examples for this tendency are offered in following sections on agenda setting before the 2005 UN Summit, and in documents to the ACABQ after the Summit.

The relationship between the Secretary-General's staff and the ACABQ became strained over these ballooning SPM budgets from 2004-2008,[607] with the ACABQ and Fifth Committee increasingly and repeatedly demanding more precise explanations for the increases.[608] While the impetus for some of the largest SPMs that began in the early 2000s came from member states, many of the smaller, constantly expanding SPMs were initiated and expanded by the Secretariat, as the survey of SPMs below indicates. The oft-repeated explanation of the Secretariat was that member states habitually assign additional mandates without allocating sufficient additional resources,[609] a habit accentuated by the fact that SPMs, which are "established outside regular or peacekeeping budgetary processes are often serviced from within existing resources, placing an additional strain on the limited available capacity".[610] The former claim that states drove expanding mandates is difficult to evaluate because, as explained, Security Council and General Assembly resolutions tend to be vague as a means to achieve consensus; as a consequence, there is a certain amount of latitude on the part of the Secretary-General and DPA, who can choose to interpret some mandates as modest or ambitious.

When addressing the ACABQ, Secretary-General Annan also often emphasised that all efforts were being made to minimise budget increases, and to ensure "complementarities and synergies" between different SPMs and between SPMs and other parts of the UN system, in

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[607] ACABQ member in interview, June 2015.
[608] UN ACABQ. 2006b, para 10.
[609] UN Secretary-General. 2006c, paras 24-26.
[610] Ibid., para 60.

order to improve the efficiency of those missions and reduce costs.[611] The Secretary-General

asserted, for example, that efforts were being undertaken to share assets such as aircraft, key

advisors, administrative and logistical management groups, and even office space.[612] The

ACABQ responded positively to these arguments, but requested more details, stating that

"information on actual and potential synergies and complementarities should be given for each

individual mission", and that reports should detail any "financial, administrative and other gains,

including cost and resource sharing, resulting from synergies and complementarities".[613]

There are numerous examples of embryonic SPMs and their expansion. I offer three

examples here, in Lebanon, Yemen, and Somalia. In July 2000, Secretary-General Annan

independently created a post for a Representative to Lebanon. He informed the Security

Council, and they concurred.[614] This was initially just a single Special Envoy, but with each

budget cycle, the Secretary-General requested an increase in the budget for the position. The

Special Envoy became a Personal Representative, and then in February 2007, Special

Coordinator for Lebanon, with additional resources and staff; today the office has over eighty

staff.

Another example is the Special Envoy for Yemen. The DPA cites a 2011 Security

Council Resolution as providing the initial mandate for the political mission in Yemen.[615]

However, that resolution only "[r]equest[ed] the Secretary-General to continue his Good Offices,

including through visits by the Special Adviser".[616] That Adviser was the Special Envoy for

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[611] UN Secretary-General 2004b.
[612] See, for example, UN Secretary-General 2005d, paras 6-8.
[613] UN ACABQ 2004a, para 10.
[614] UN Secretary-General 2000c.
[615] UN DPA. UN Missions: Special Envoy for Yemen.
[616] UN Security Council 2011b.

Yemen, a post previously established autonomously by the Secretary-General, originally with very little budgeted material support. The Secretary-General interpreted this vague support in the Security Council resolution as a mandate for him to create a large, complex integrated special political mission.

Initially, both the ACABQ and Fifth Committee heavily diluted this ambitious interpretation, and the outcome of their whittling-down was a small five-person team, including the existing Special Envoy, based out of the DPA in New York.[617] Nonetheless, as discussed, the budgetary processes allow continuous opportunities for the Secretary-General to adjust a mission. With each budgetary review, the Secretary-General requested considerably more resources than the ACABQ had previously, explicitly specified as the absolute maximum he might request. Over the last budget (2016-2017), for example, the Secretary-General decided to further restructure the mission, moving its base from New York to Yemen. This more than doubled the staff and resource requirements. The ACABQ did object in principle to the fact that the Secretary-General had ignored their previously articulated limits, but both they and the Fifth Committee have since agreed to almost all of those increases.[618] The mission now approaches, in design and scope, the integrated political mission first envisioned by Secretary-General Ban.

The third example is the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM). This mission began as an *ad hoc* Special Representative with almost no resources, and grew each year, finally becoming, with Security Council approval, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) in June 2013.[619] This transformed what had been originally been an

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[617] UN Secretary-General 2012a.
[618] UN ACABQ 2016.
[619] UN Security Council 2013.

individual role into a formal political mission with a fixed headquarters in Mogadishu and liaison teams across Somalia.

Embassy SPMs

An *embassy* SPM is one in which the mandate of the mission, worded by the Office of the Secretary-General and the DPA, is so ambitious, or is attached to a region or regional organisation, in such a way as to render the mission essentially permanent.

The first example is the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region. In 2004, Secretary-General Annan independently established the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region, based in Nairobi, Kenya, with a small liaison team in Kinshasa. The mission has, as with the embryonic SPMs above, expanded over the years, although some of the expansion has been driven by events on the ground, such as the February 2013 Peace, Security and Cooperation (PSC) Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), an intergovernmental agreement amongst eleven member states in the region.

The mandate in this case was to "address the root causes of conflict and put an end to recurring cycles of violence" in eastern DRC and the Great Lakes Region.[620] The implications of the wording are remarkable, in that the task is arguably indefinite, given that the broad consensus is that the structural causes of conflict in the DRC include, amongst other factors, under-development, corruption, and a weak state with a divided military. When wording in the mandate of an SPM includes such ambitious and fundamental goals, it can be almost impossible for any member state committee to claim that their objectives have been completed.

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[620] UN DPA. Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region: Mandate

The second example of an *embassy* SPM is the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA). This was the first ever *regional* conflict prevention and peacebuilding office of the United Nations. It was created in 2002 purely on the initiative of Secretary-General Kofi Annan.[621] The Security Council agreed to his request to establish a small office with one new Under-Secretary-General as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and seven supporting staff members. The last budget was over US $9.5m. UNOWA has just been merged with the Special Envoy for the Sahel (OSES) to become UNOWAS, United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel. The combined mandate for UNOWAS includes "the responsibility for preventive diplomacy, good offices and political mediation and facilitation efforts in West Africa and the Sahel" and "to consolidate peace and democratic governance in countries emerging from conflict or political crises", and to support good governance, the rule of law, and human rights in all the countries of the region,[622] from Sierra Leone, Liberia and Cote D'Ivoire in the West, to Nigeria and Chad in the East.

A third, and similar example is the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA). UNOCA was created in March 2011 in Libreville, Gabon, and now has an SRSG overseeing twenty-seven staff. Its creation was due not only to the Secretary-General, but also significantly through dialogue with the Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Republic of South Sudan, other nearby states, the African Union (AU), and humanitarian donor states and groups such as the EU.[623] Its mandate is similar to that of UNOWAS in its breadth.

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[621] UN Secretary-General 2001b.
[622] UN DPA. UNOWAS, United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel. Background.
[623] UN Security Council 2011c. See also UN DPA. The United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA): Mandate and Missions.

A fourth example of an embassy SPM is the United Nations Office to the African Union (UNOAU). Secretary-General Kofi Annan had frequently articulated the position that the UN needed to have a closer, formally institutionalised relationship with regional organisations, and with the AU in particular. With the support of the High-Level Panel (2004),[624] and its ideas echoed in the 2005 Summit outcome, the Secretary-General persuaded the General Assembly to establish the UNOAU in Resolution 64/288 in 2010.   He had independently worked out an agreement with Mr. Alpha Oumar Konaré, the Chairperson of the African Union Commission,[625] for the establishment of the UNOAU, so the discussion with the General Assembly amounted to no more than a confirmation that the Secretary-General could continue doing what he had already established.[626]

A fifth example of an *embassy* mission is the United Nations Support Mission for Libya (UNSMIL). UNAMSIL was officially established in September 2011.[627]   The motivation for initiating some form of support or intervention in Libya lies transparently with the NATO intervention. However, what is significant is the extent to which the Secretary-General was able to create an extremely broad, complex, and ambitious mission. Immediately after the NATO mission began, he expressed his preferences for a mission that "will consist of substantive and mission support personnel with a broad range of political, electoral, constitutional, human rights, transitional justice, public security, rule of law, coordination, gender and other technical skills".[628] After extensive informal deliberations between the Secretary-General and Council

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[624] High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change 2004, para 94.
[625] UN Secretary-General 2006b.
[626] UN Secretary-General 2008a; UN General Assembly 2009; UN Secretary-General. 2010c. For the General Assembly's approval of the budget, see UN General Assembly 2010.
[627] UN Security Council 2011a.
[628] UN Secretary-General 2011b.

members, the mandate then authorised by the Security Council very closely duplicated his request, repeating his mandates to "restore public security and order and promote the rule of law", "undertake inclusive political dialogue, promote national reconciliation, and embark upon the constitution-making and electoral process", "extend state authority [by] strengthening emerging accountable institutions and the restoration of public services", "promote and protect human rights", "initiate economic recovery" ; and coordinate with all other multilateral and bilateral actors.[629] This is one of many examples where the influence of the Secretariat can be seen in the close similarity between the language of the final resolution and the prior arguments put forward by the Secretary-General.

*** Embryonic and embassy SPMs: summary***

A consequence of these expanding embryonic missions and the establishment of complex embassy missions is that the total number of mandates that need to be managed by the DPA increase each year, placing greater strain on that department and providing more justification for resources there, particularly in discussions between the Office of the Secretary-General and the ACABQ. The graph below, published by the Secretary-General in 2011, illustrates this trend. Even though the number of field missions stayed relatively constant after 2000, the total number of mandates, shown by the blue line, began increasing after Annan took office, and has continued to rise ever since.
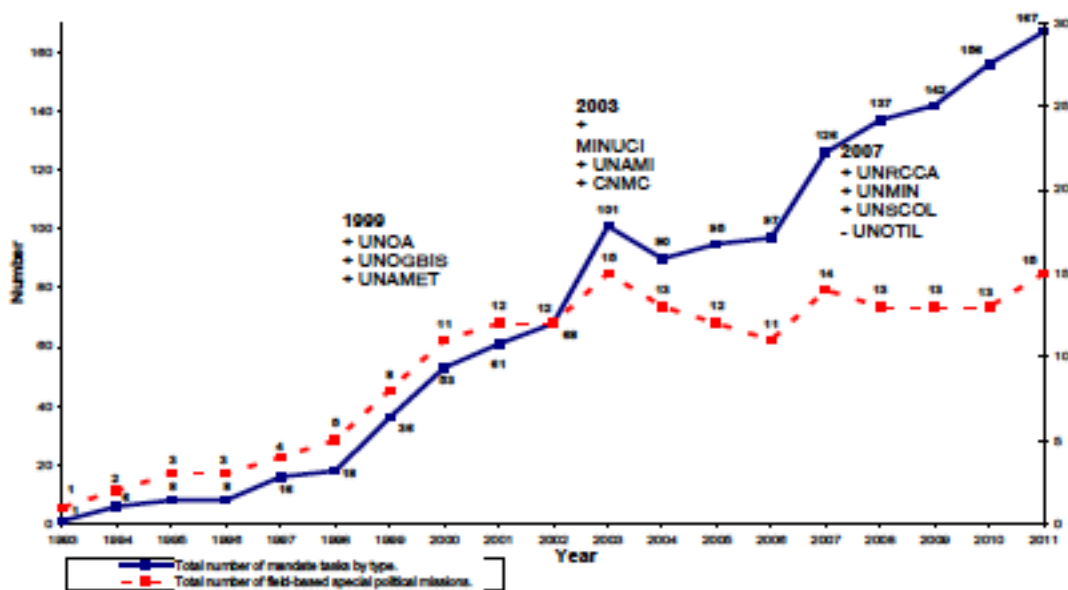
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[629] UN Security Council 2011a.

Figure 4: Total number of Field Special Political Missions, and total number of mandates assigned to Field Special Political Missions, 1993-2011.[630]

I do not claim that a specific change in the number of mandates at a particular time caused the DPA strengthening, but the constant pressure on the department provided the necessary conditions which enabled the Secretary-General to set the agenda, and to focus the strategy of multiplying authority to trigger agreement amongst member states.

5.2.3 Multiplying authority:[631] High-Level Panel and the 2005 summit

This section examines OI – 9. In a September 2003 speech to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General announced his intention to form what became the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (HLP).[632] This panel of eminent experts from around the world was given the ambitious task of comprehensively recommending strategies to address all major

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[630] UN Secretary-General 2011c. Graph copied directly from text; permission or data reproduction required before publication.

[631] OI 9: An IO plenary assembly will be more likely to accept a request from the IO bureaucracy for additional resources if that request has been scrutinised and approved by a body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent expert panel. Given that knowledge, the Secretariat will seek to create such groups.

[632] UN Secretary-General 2003b.

threats to international peace and security. The results of the Panel, published in December 2004, covered a broad spectrum of threats, such as poverty and disease, conflict within and between states, nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, terrorism and transnational crime. Throughout all discussions of violent conflict, the report reiterated Annan's now familiar emphasis on prevention and mediation, suggesting that the Secretary-General employ more envoys and mediators, that a centre be established to train mediators, and that the "Department of Political Affairs should be given additional resources and should be restructured to provide more consistent and professional mediation support".[633] The HLP argued that, "the details of the restructuring should be left to the Secretary-General".[634] As detailed below, the Secretary-General would then repeatedly cite those, and similar, parts of the HLP Report.

5.2.4 Agenda setting:[635] preparing for the 2005 world summit

After the publication of the HLP, the Secretary-General re-engaged in agenda setting strategies prior to the 2005 UN Summit. In early 2005, Secretary-General Annan began more frequently to explicitly argue for increased resources for the DPA, and the rhetoric of "prevention" became more frequent and more widespread than ever before. Prior to the 2005 Summit, the Secretary-General published "*In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all*", a document that provided the framework for many of the Summit discussions. In it, he stated the following:

106. No task is more fundamental to the United Nations than the prevention and

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[633] UN Secretary-General 2004d, paras 100-102.
[634] Ibid., para 103.
[635] OI 7: IO bureaucratic actors can leverage their informal authority, in circumstances beyond and in addition to those formally mandated to them, to raise the profile of certain issues, and encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and resolve those issues.

resolution of deadly conflict. Prevention, in particular, must be central to all our efforts,…, such as the use of good offices, Security Council missions and preventive deployments.

107. Member States must ensure that the United Nations has the right structure and sufficient resources to perform these vital tasks.

108. Although it is difficult to demonstrate, the United Nations has almost certainly prevented many wars by using the Secretary-General's "good offices" to help resolve conflicts peacefully. And over the past 15 years, more civil wars have ended through mediation than in the previous two centuries, in large part because the United Nations provided leadership, opportunities for negotiation, strategic coordination and the resources to implement peace agreements. But we could undoubtedly save many more lives if we had the capacity and personnel to do so. **I urge Member States to allocate additional resources to the Secretary-General for his good offices function.** [636]

Echoing another recommendation of the HLP, and institutionalising his agenda setting strategy, the Secretary-General advocated for the creation of an intergovernmental Peacebuilding Commission, as well as a Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) within the DPA.[637] The central argument for doing so was that an emphasis on peacebuilding, a task explicitly within the mandate of the DPA, would prevent many post-conflict environments from descending back into violence. While peacebuilding activities were already being conducted by the DPA, an explicit goal of the Peacebuilding Commission was to focus and maintain the attention of the Security

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[636] UN Secretary-General 2005b. *In Larger Freedom,* paras 106-108.
[637] Ibid, para 114.

Council on the development and institution efforts necessary for recovery after a conflict.[638] The

Commission itself would be directed by member states, but the PBSO, which would inform and

support the Commission, would be part of the Office of the Secretary-General and the DPA,

increasing the budget and staff of both.[639] In terms of the strategies outlined in this dissertation,

the Secretary-General was creating a part of the institution whose primary purpose was to set the

agenda for the Security Council on a policy which the Secretary-General was trying to advocate.

The details of the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document were debated at length by

member states,[640] but as discussed, the Secretary-General had already set the agenda for the

summit in "In Larger Freedom".[641]   The Summit Outcome Document included many unspecific

expressions of support for activities mentioned in "In Larger Freedom", including those that fall

within the mandate of the DPA, such as the promotion of democracy,[642] or mediation,[643] but

these were largely vague statements, with little or no specific reforms agreed and no references

made to the DPA when discussing them.   The Outcome document was even more vague than

might have been expected, due to one single actor. Very recently appointed US Ambassador the

UN, John Bolton, famed for his dislike of the Organisation, after two months of negotiations

amongst all other states on the wording of the text, insisted on hundreds of deletions and

amendments that served to render the document as noncommittal as possible.[644] However,

Bolton's focus was on removing commitments to reducing global poverty and to combating

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[638] Ibid., Paras 9, 10, 14.
[639] UN Secretary-General 2005c. In Larger Freedom Addendum: Peacebuilding Commission.
[640] UN General Assembly. 2005. 2005 Summit Outcome.
[641] UN Secretary-General 2005b.
[642] Ibid., para 135-6.
[643] Ibid., para 76.
[644] Lim 2014, 193. Borger 2005.

climate change, rather than on political intervention, and the Secretary-General would still be able to use the document to justify budgetary changes.

5.2.4 Post 2005 summit: formal authority

In the years immediately after the 2005 Summit, the Secretary-General emphasised his formal authority, typically citing parts of the Summit agreement as providing a formal mandate for a particular change. Almost immediately after the Summit, the Office of the Secretary-General published a wide range of revisions to the previously agreed 2006-7 budget. Ostensibly, each change was justified by citing an idea or expression in the Summit Outcome, as though the mandate for each change was derived directly from the will of the General Assembly. For example, the Secretary-General cited "paragraphs 88, 97 to 105, and 136 of the 2005 World Summit Outcome",[645] as justification for "[s]trengthening the policy analysis capacity within the Department of Political Affairs with regard to building capacities to combat terrorism, peacebuilding, and supporting democracy, as well as the establishment of a mediation support unit".[646] The document cites the Summit outcome paragraph 76 in particular, in which the General Assembly supports the good offices and mediation role of the Secretariat. His recommendations initially included an additional 18 posts and US$3.5 million,[647] but these estimates escalated over two months of informal discussions, and the ACABQ later agreed that an additional 39 posts and US$7.6 million be approved.[648]

As mentioned above, a parallel proposal of the Secretary-General was to create the PBSO, a sub-unit that would increase the regular budget and staff of the DPA. The General

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[645] UN Secretary-General 2005a. World Summit Outcome: Revised estimates to the budget.
[646] Ibid., para 3 (d); expanded on in para 30.
[647] Ibid., Table 12: Requirements by component and source of funds,15.
[648] UN ACABQ 2005b, paras 30-34. World Summit Outcome: Response to revised estimates to the budget.

Assembly vehemently insisted that the Support Office be funded only from resources in the existing budget.[649] Despite this explicit demand, the Secretary-General began requesting additional posts and funds, asserting repeatedly that, "in view of the novel functions of the envisaged support office, it is not possible to utilize existing Secretariat capabilities to staff it".[650] The ACABQ was initially not convinced by this explanation. The Secretary-General also expressed a sense of urgency, stating that the General Assembly-approved mandate for the new organisation, and the moral imperative under the principles of the Organisation, and its fundamental purpose as a tool for peaceful resolution and prevention of conflicts, demanded that the PBSO be set up immediately, using additional resources.

There is considerable evidence that the General Assembly increasingly prioritised the advice of the Secretariat over that of the ACABQ. It was over this period that ACABQ members claimed that the General Assembly Fifth Committee was increasingly less willing to accept ACABQ recommendations, and more likely to conduct their inquiries, with the Secretariat providing support and information. Over the next couple of months, the ACABQ continued to refuse those requests, repeatedly citing the General Assembly resolution and the phrase "from within existing resources".[651] However, as the parallel debate progressed in the Fifth Committee, more and more states drifted towards supporting the Secretary-General. The G77 had always mostly supported the Secretary-General on this issue, but other states that commonly support the US in these contexts, such as the UK, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the

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[649] UN Fifth Committee. 2005a, para 5. The Peacebuilding Commission; see also UN General Assembly 2005. Summit Outcome Document.
[650] UN ACABQ 2005c, para 7.
[651] For example, see UN ACABQ 2005c; UN ACABQ 2006a 2005 World Summit Outcome: Peacebuilding Support Office; UN Fifth Committee 2005a. The Peacebuilding Commission; UN Fifth Committee 2006a.

Netherlands, all changed their position one by one to allow additional resources be added to the budget for the PBSO.[652]

Eventually, every member state, with the sole exception of the US, supported the provision of additional funds and staff for the new unit. Even those PBSO posts to be funded "from existing resources" were then financed from the SPM budget.[653] As explained above, this budget is fluid, such that drawing funds from the existing SPM budget simply amounts to adding new costs to the regular budget at the end of the year.

The Secretary-General then reiterated the same demand for more DPA resources, time and time again, in many subsequent reports, citing the HLP and 2005 Summit as evidence for a formal mandate. His 2006 progress report on the prevention of armed conflict, for example, reminded the General Assembly that: "[t]he 2005 World Summit recognized "the important role of the good offices of the Secretary-General, including in the mediation of disputes" (resolution 60/1, para. 76), and supported efforts to strengthen [his] capacity in this area". He commended the small addition of the mediation support unit in the DPA, intended to offer advice, operational tools and guidance to mediators and their teams throughout "the whole United Nations system and its partners, including Governments, regional and subregional organizations, non-governmental organizations and private individuals".[654]

Secretary-General Annan also pointed to other related mandates agreed by the GA in the past, such as in resolution 57/337, annex, paragraph 35, where "the General Assembly recognized the need to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations for early warning,

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[652] US. 2006. Permanent mission to the UN. Cable to US State Department. 2006-03-06USUNNEWYORK531.

[653] UN ACABQ 2006a. World Summit Outcome: Peacebuilding Support Office, para 8.

[654] UN Secretary-General 2006d. Progress report on the prevention of armed conflict, para 33.

collection of information and analysis", another role of the DPA. The Secretary-General

reported, "that no significant progress has been made in this area. In fact, unlike some regional

organizations, the United Nations still lacks the capability to analyse and integrate data from

different parts of the system into comprehensive early warning reports and strategies on conflict

prevention".[655]

Soon after the Summit, the Secretary-General also began advocating for an expansion of

funds for other activities conducted by the DPA, in particular support for democratisation. This

was an area governed by the Electoral Assistance Division (EAD) in the DPA. He points out

that the UN is the key global actor involved in democratisation: "The United Nations is thus in a

logical position, by mandate and experience, to lead the promotion of the principle of genuine

and periodic elections at a time when it is high in the international agenda."[656]

In addition to echoing the principled arguments articulated by liberal democratic states in

favour of democratisation in general, the Secretary-General revived the same efficacy and

efficiency arguments used to advocate for strengthening the other areas of the DPA, particularly

in documents for review by the ACABQ:

Despite manifest successes, the capacity of the United Nations in providing electoral

assistance remains overstretched. As noted in the previous report under this agenda item,

we continue to risk becoming the victims of our own success. Effectiveness increases

demand, but the latter is not followed by a concomitant increase in resources to maintain

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[655] Ibid., para 94.
[656] UN Secretary-General. 2005f. Strengthening the role of the United Nations in enhancing…
democratization, para 5.

that effectiveness.[657]

This argument led to the inevitable claim that the EAD requires new additional resources:

> "In the coming biennium, the United Nations must continue to build its capacity to respond effectively to the growing numbers of requests from Member States for electoral assistance. To this end, the United Nations will need to develop or recruit additional expertise in particular election specialties like voter registration, electronic voting, and training of election administrators."[658]

The EAD then doubled in size over two budgets, from less than US$4m to over US$7.5m.

5.2.5 Post-2005 summit: principled and expertise-based arguments [659]

After the Summit, Secretary-General Annan applied his principled authority, asserting the persistence of a critical incongruity between the ideas and principles underlying the UN system and espoused by the General Assembly, and the resources devoted to supporting those principles. On the one hand, "prevention is now fully understood as central to the mission of the Organization", and the DPA is recognised to be, "the focal point for conflict prevention on behalf of the whole system", "the chief source of political analysis and advice", and "the centre for direct support for preventive diplomacy and good offices". On the other hand, "system-wide strategic leadership in this area is still weak", primarily because, "the Department remains significantly under-resourced in the light of its growing workload".

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[657] Ibid., para 3.
[658] Ibid., para 67.
[659] OI 3: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is closely related to the ethos, the form of informal authority with which the audience perceives that Secretariat member to be endowed. i.e. information with relevant expertise, values with principles of the speaker.

In addition to claims that increasing the DPA budget would be more economically efficient, Secretary-General Annan drew heavily upon his principle-based authority in this period. He was quite explicit in asserting that all states, as members of the UN and signatories to the Charter, have no moral choice other than to provide additional resources for the DPA:

> To enable the United Nations to live up to its commitments and obligations with respect to conflict prevention, I call on Member States to support a strengthening of its capacity for analysing conflicts. The United Nations also needs support for developing a strategic vision of what the Organization as a whole, working together, can accomplish in the area of prevention.[660]

Secretary-General Annan also emphasised the expertise-based authority of the DPA staff. Secretary-General Annan argued that "[m]eaningful diplomatic intervention cannot be achieved without intimate knowledge of political, cultural and geographic reality combined with the patient groundwork of building critical local relationships, trust and capacity over a long period. These efforts are labour-intensive and cannot be carried out within existing resources".[661]

5.2.6 Post 2005 summit: strategic persuasion[662]

The most economically powerful states in the UN have long been concerned about the expanding budget, given the scale of assessments that places the greater burden on them. Therefore, another argument Secretary-General Annan repeatedly made centred around the idea that efficiency could be best achieved by increasing the DPA budget. He pointed out that during

[660] Ibid., para 110.
[661] UN Secretary-General 2006d. Progress report on the prevention of armed conflict, paras 90-91.
[662] OI 4: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is in congruence with the pathos, the beliefs and values of the audience.

the 2005-2006 annual peacekeeping budget alone, $5.2 billion was spent on peacekeeping, essentially reacting to crises. Investing just a fraction of that, he suggested 2%, in conflict *prevention*, would reduce overall costs for UN members, especially, "in terms of the loss of lives, livelihood and property resulting from conflicts".[663] In short, if "we are serious about conflict prevention, we have to better equip the Organization to fulfil its core mandate."[664]

If this argument was considered to be persuasive by the US, as the largest contributor to the budget, it might provide an explanation for another puzzle. The US consistently argued against increasing funds for the UN, but has allowed the rapid expansion of extremely resource-intensive SPMs discussed in operational initiation above. If the US believed that investing more in SPMs would eventually reduce the peacekeeping budget, then allowing more SPMs to be created makes sense. A related factor would be the fact that the US pays 28.5% of the peacekeeping budget, but only 22% of the SPM budget (as part of the regular budget), so it would have a strong incentive to shift financial support from peacekeeping to SPMs as a preventative measure, but only if the US, and other large contributors such as Japan, believed the Secretary-General's claims about the efficacy of UN conflict prevention.

The Secretary-General also noted that, "in addition to being insufficient, funding for prevention activities is insecure", inhibiting effective planning and management, and that, contributions, "for many prevention activities are voluntary and earmarked for specific projects, thus often precluding long-term prevention activities and urgent ad hoc interventions".[665] The funding insecurity he refers to is the extrabudgetary "multi-year appeal", in which the DPA seeks

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[663] Ibid., para 96.
[664] Ibid., para 97.
[665] Ibid., para 96.

donations in order to fill budget insufficiencies. In 2014, the DPA asked for $24.5 million, of which over $15 million was pledged.[666]

5.2.7 Post-2005 Summit: multiplying authority

This section returns to consider [OI – 9].[667] In addition to references to the High Level Panel and the 2005 Summit Outcome, the Secretary-General frequently began citing the September 2006 OIOS report on the DPA as evidence that the DPA was underfunded, especially given the expanding demands for both SPMs and electoral support.[668] Most, if not all, of the issues cited by the report had already been apparent to the DPA and Office of the Secretary General, and had been mentioned by them previously. Indeed, the OIOS had gathered most of the information for its report by interviewing members of the Secretariat, even stating that its primary role is to "assist the Secretary-General,[669] so it is unsurprising that their information would neatly overlap.

The report pointed out that the DPA was unable to provide logistical support for field missions, unlike the DPKO, and it also drew attention to several other areas in which DPA actions could be made more effective. These issues defined a great deal of the subsequent debate over DPA reform, particularly from 2006-2009. The OIOS report also identified numerous ways in which the internal operation and administration of the DPA could benefit by improving information and analysis in areas such as the DPA budget, travel requirements, performance

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[666] DPA. How DPA is funded.
[667] OI 9: An IO plenary assembly will be more likely to accept a request from the IO bureaucracy for additional resources if that request has been scrutinised and approved by a body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent expert panel. Given that knowledge, the Secretariat will seek to create such groups.
[668] Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS). 2006a. Report on the management of special political missions.
[669] UN OIOS. Office of Internal Oversight Services: Home Page. https://oios.un.org/. Last accessed 19 June 2017.

measures, and staff management.[670] With limited staff, the DPA seems to have been prioritizing operational posts over administrative ones. As such, the opportunities and time for this kind of reflexive analysis had been limited. In particular, the reference in the OIOS Report most often cited by the Secretary-General was the claim that the "critical resource shortage in the Department [of Political Affairs] has left it heavily driven by the exigencies of crisis response and unable to engage in depth at the country level in many cases".[671]

5.3 Ban Ki-Moon and the shift towards an emphasis on formal authority

In January 2007, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon took office. His approach to the position was markedly different to that of Annan. Observers described him as a "shadowy figure",[672] with a strong preference for quiet, backroom diplomacy that seemed to be a continuation of a long career in the South Korean diplomatic corps.[673] After nearly three years in office, Ban was described in *Foreign Policy* as a "nowhere man", and that "[n]ot for him bold speeches or attempts to mobilize public opinion… Not for him championing human rights, or even rallying in defense of beleaguered civilians".[674] A few months later, another article described how despite the fact that "moral power alone, in the proper hands, can be remarkably persuasive. But Ban's tenure thus far, three years into a five-year term, has been viewed as both lackluster and ineffectual".[675]

In his first term as Secretary-General he made almost no public expressions of principle-based authority, and it was only during and after events in Libya and Syrian after 2011 that he

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[670] Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS). 2006a, Para 30-31.
[671] Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS). 2006b. Evaluation of political affairs; subsequently reiterated in Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS). 2006a.
[672] Gowan 2012, 387.
[673] Gowan 2011.
[674] Heilbrunn 2009, 23.
[675] Schlesinger and Glez. 2010.

began using the bully-pulpit to draw public attention to widespread human rights abuses. Even then, however, his expressions of principles seemed muted. As one observer suggested, "Ban is strong minded and has principles, but his immediate responses sometimes reflect the balances of opinion in the various committees".[676] Despite taking the risk, during his campaign to become Secretary-General, to openly support the International Criminal Court and raise the issue of climate change, Ban was also often reluctant to challenge the great powers. In 2015, Ban was widely chastised in the General Assembly after he backed down under pressure from the US and Israel, removing Israel from a "list of shame" of countries that do not protect children's rights; this was even over the strong objections of his own staff who had compiled the list.[677]

Along with climate change, he adopted preventative diplomacy as one of the core focuses of his tenure. Ban appointed Lynn Pascoe as the first American Undersecretary-General for Political Affairs, and gave him "marching orders… to build up the political department, to get the organisation to be better at acting earlier, more preventively, to prevent conflict.[678]

Ban continued to articulate most of the arguments expressed by his predecessor, but shifted the emphasis away from claims of a moral imperative towards claims of efficiency, drawing on his formal authority to administer the Organisation. In November 2007, he published revised budget estimates, including a detailed plan for a significant expansion of the DPA, with over 100 new posts and over US$20 million added to the previously agreed budget for 2008-2009.[679] He argued that while, "the Department of Political Affairs has primary responsibility for carrying out preventive diplomacy and supporting the Secretary-General's good offices

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[676] Williams 2016.
[677] Cook 2015.
[678] Senior DPA staff member in interview, June 2015.
[679] UN Secretary-General. 2007b. Revised budget for Political Affairs.

function", and while "there is strong demand to step up and systematize the Organization's work on prevention, prospects for success are slim unless the chronic and well documented underresourcing [sic] of this strategic part of the United Nations Secretariat is redressed."[680]

Ban did not draw upon emotive narratives, in the way that Annan stressed the peacekeeping failures of the early-mid 1990s. Rather, he emphasised his formal authority to implement the mandates assigned by states. For example, he cited General Assembly resolution 57/337, in which the Assembly recalled the need to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations for early warning, collection of information and analysis, and resolution 61/230, in which the Assembly recognised the important role of the good offices of the Secretary-General and encouraged the Secretary-General to use mediation whenever possible. He also cited the many instances in which the UNSC commented positively, if vaguely, on mediation, conflict prevention, and national dispute resolution mechanisms. He very rarely formed arguments drawing upon his principle-based authority; the closest he came to implying a moral imperative, a constant refrain of Annan's, was to claim that while "preventive diplomacy functions lie at the very core of the Charter of the United Nations", "its severe resource constraints keep it from playing, to the extent it should, the role Member States and he deem to be essential".[681]

Secretary-General Ban did draw upon the multiplied authority created by Annan, citing the 2004 HLP comments that the "under-resourcing" of the Department and weak mediation capacity was at odds with Member States' professed desire for a stronger United Nations.[682]

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[680] Ibid., para 2.
[681] Ibid., para 7.
[682] OI 9: An IO plenary assembly will be more likely to accept a request from the IO bureaucracy for additional resources if that request has been scrutinised and approved by a body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent expert panel. Given that knowledge, the Secretariat will seek to create such groups.

When citing that report, Secretary-General Ban put forward six proposals for improving the capacity of the DPA to engage in conflict prevention; of those, five conspicuously required additional resources.[683]

5.3.1 Ban: strategic persuasion at the General Assembly

When addressing the General Assembly in both speeches and documents, Secretary-General Ban posited a broad argument that included some small elements of principled authority embedded in a primary argument based on his formal authority. He argued each time that, a) the DPA's work is central to the UN, b) DPA mediation efforts are successful in preventing conflict,[684] c) the General Assembly and Security Council have given the DPA an increasing mandate, but that, d) resources are insufficient.

Another prominent periodic document produced by the Secretary-General that made this argument is the May 2008 Strategic Framework. As discussed in Chapter 3, this document provided the foundation for the budget discussions, first at the CPC, and then more significantly at the ACABQ.

> [T]he prevention of conflict, early warning, mediation support and establishment of a more integrated and effective United Nations approach in responding to conflict and

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[683] His specific proposals:
a) Build up the DPA's regional Divisions' capacity for monitoring and analysis, effective policy formulation, and rapid dispatch of assets.
b) Strengthen the DPA's policy-planning capacity and mediation support function through the establishment of a Policy, Partnerships and Mediation Support Division.
c) Increase resources for the Electoral Assistance Division.
d) Increase resources for the Security Council Affairs Division.
e) Establish a network of regional offices that would assist Member States and regional organizations with their preventive diplomacy efforts.
f) Management, executive and oversight functions need to be tightened by refocusing the work of the Office of the Under-Secretary-General and by reinforcing the capabilities of the Department's Executive Office.
[684] UN Secretary-General. 2007a. Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa: progress report.

supporting sustainable peace processes are at the heart of the work of the United Nations

and, under the Charter of the United Nations, are key responsibilities of the Secretary-

General. To address increased demand for such services, the Organization must establish

a more integrated and systematized approach. [685]

Continuing to strengthen the Department of Political Affairs, which has been mandated to

lead that work, is central to enhancing the Organization's ability to be more proactive and

provide a more effective platform for preventive diplomacy and good offices in the

service of Member States… reinforcing specific management coordination and support

functions. The proposed reconfiguration to strengthen the Organization's ability to

provide good offices in the prevention and resolution of disputes between and within

nations is critical to the effective delivery of political mandates for a peaceful and more

secure world.[686]

Over 2007 and 2008, both the Secretary-General and his USG for Political Affairs stated

that the formal mandate of the DPA stems from the Charter of the United Nations, specifically

articles 1,[687] 33,[688] and 99.[689] This claim was made despite the fact that the DPA had only

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[685] UN Secretary-General. 2008d. Proposed strategic framework.
[686] Ibid., paras 23-24.
[687] The Purposes of the United Nations are: 1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.
[688] 1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of a, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.   2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.
[689] The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

existed since 1992, and UN Charter support for independent political action by the Secretariat beyond informing the Security Council is at best extremely vague, and arguably entirely absent.

Even when discussing seemly unrelated issues, such as improving accountability throughout the UN system as a whole, the same message was reiterated, that "in order to make real progress in the above-mentioned areas [discussing improving accountability], the support of Member States would be needed through the provision of sufficient political, financial and human resources, commensurate with the mandates entrusted to the Organization in all areas of its work".[690]

5.3.2 Ban: strategic persuasion at the ACABQ

However, when producing the financial review documents that form the basis of discussions first at the CPC, but then primarily at the ACABQ, the Secretary-General narrowed the argument to simply stating that the mandate was there, but the funds were not. He excluded the claims of ethical obligations that form the core of his, and his predecessor's, prior addresses to the General Assembly.[691] His performance assessment of the UN over 2006-2007 is an unambiguous and typical example:

> The [DPA] programme's capacity and expertise has been stretched when called upon to assist Governments in heading off future conflict or to prevent backsliding in fragile post-conflict environments or societies. Human and financial resources shortfalls have hampered its ability to adequately support conflict prevention, resolution and peace

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[690] Ibid., Para 36.
[691] OI 4: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the logos/content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is in congruence with the pathos, the beliefs and values of the audience.

consolidation initiatives and to properly address the concerns of various regions.[692]

The phrase "despite its limited resources" or an equivalent was used in almost every paragraph on the DPA, usually following positive reports of its achievements.

During the 2008 budget debates, the Secretary-General also followed through on the operational initiation strategy, directing the attention of the ACABQ to the expanding mandate of the DPA in terms of the number of missions it has to administer. In August 2008 the Secretary-General cited new missions "in Northern Uganda, Darfur and Western Sahara, Somalia, Kenya, West Africa, Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic" as evidence for the need for additional resources.[693] [OI – 8].[694] He emphasised the expertise and achievements of the new on-call mediation team, formed in March 2008, including specialists in security, transitional justice and human rights, constitution-making, wealth-sharing and power-sharing arrangements.[695]

In his words, the responsibilities of the DPA "have multiplied over the years without the proportionate budgetary increases, greatly hampering the Department's ability to do the kind of analysis, diplomatic engagement and coordination that is required for successful and proactive preventive diplomacy. In addition, the rapid growth in the number of political missions makes adequate oversight at current staffing levels extremely difficult".[696] The Secretary-General did

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[692] UN Secretary-General. 2008c. Programme performance: Section 3 Political Affairs.

[693] UN Secretary-General. 2008b. Causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa. Progress report.

[694] OI 8: Where a particular reform, particularly increasing resources, would need to be justified by increased operational activity, an IO bureaucratic actor can a) persuade states whose approval is required that a particular operation must be created though the IO, and b) persuade the relevant states to accept operations on their sovereign soil.

[695] Ibid.

[696] Ibid., para 10.

not mention that he and his predecessor had instigated the creation or expansion of those missions.

In reports given to the ACABQ, both the Secretary-General and the USG indicate the many General Assembly and Security Council resolutions that have supported DPA functions, including A/46/882 and GA resolutions 47/120 and 57/337.   The central claim, one appreciated by the ACABQ, was that the reforms for the DPA were intended only to improve its ability to address its current mandates, and not to broaden its mandates. At the 20 – 21 November 2008 UN parliamentary hearing, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon echoed those arguments, and again stressed that UN conflict prevention continued to be severely underfunded.[697]

5.4 December 2008: the strengthening

The formal authority approach of Secretary-General Ban was initially effective, particularly at the ACABQ in 2008, for two reasons. One is that his arguments were almost exclusively technical, avoiding the arguments based on principles and a moral imperative that overtly irritated ACABQ members. The second reason was that he was able to draw on the consequences of the strategies used by Annan, in that the application of principled authority and the creation of the HLP had led the General Assembly to produce resolutions in support of the DPA, that Ban could then use as evidence for established state support for DPA strengthening.

Through 2007 and early 2008, the Secretary-General had faced waning opposition to DPA expansion. In December 2008, despite a global economic climate that would lead one to expect states to seek severe budgetary constraints, the General Assembly agreed to the Secretary-General's request for DPA growth. Resolution A/RES/63/261 approved an additional 49 (of the

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[697] UN General Assembly. 2008, 3.

101 requested) posts in the regular budget of the DPA, and agreed to restructure and grow the DPA by adding two more regional divisions.[698]

This strengthening coincided with a greater interest in the use of SPMs as a key tool both before and during conflicts. The budget for existing SPMs doubled in 2008, from US$400m to over US$800m, and despite the divisions in both the Security Council and General Assembly over the war in Iraq, member states approved spending an additional US$200m on the UNAMI construction project, rounding the figure up to US$1 billion exactly.[699]

The strengthening, and the months preceding, also coincided with a change in the relationship between the DPA and member states, a change that may have contributed towards greater scrutiny of their actions. The DPA had explicitly began raising their own profile in order to justify greater resources. In the words of the DPA staff, "We had, in a way, been a little bit secretive, a little bit too aloof before, working very closely with the secretary general's office and so this was very much getting into the arena with the member states, talking to them and understanding their concerns, listening to what they wanted to do".[700]

The extent to which the Secretariat was able to persuade states to expand DPA activities was in large part due to the fact that member state blocs did not focus on any issues that severely divided them. The debate amongst member states had focused almost exclusively on the technical and administrative (rather than political) DPA issues, of the type addressed by the 2006 OIOS report.

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[698] Practical effects of A/RES/63/261 summarised well in: UN ACABQ. 2010a. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 63/261 on the strengthening of the Department of Political Affairs

[699] This figure is a peculiar one. Every other item, in every other budget, is negotiated down to specific dollars and cents. This is the only one I have seen where at item is apparently "rounded up".

[700] Senior DPA staff member in interview, June 2015.

These uncontroversial issues included the need to clarify the criteria for determining which of the DPKO or DPA would be the lead department for a given mission, to clarify reporting lines; to prevent travel budgets from repeatedly overrunning, and to reduce persistently high vacancy levels.[701] Both the OIOS and the ACABQ had also claimed that the performance indictors for missions were too unclear to enable them to determine whether a mission had actually achieved its objectives or not.[702]

As the OIOS confirmed on 13 August 2009, in a follow-up report on the management of SPMs by the DPA, almost all of the issues had been resolved.[703] Of its fifteen previous recommendations, six had been completely implemented, and nine had been substantially, if not completely addressed. Their only two outstanding criticisms were that the DPA still had weak mechanisms for reflexively assessing their own performance, and that, while the annual budgets of special political missions had increased tenfold from 1999 to 2009, from $47.5 million to $461.2 million, there had been no corresponding increase in the overall budget of the DPA.

Throughout the years leading up to the beginning of this case study, there had been, initially, widespread consensus amongst states that DPA expansion was undesirable. Developed states did not want budget increases because they covered the vast majority of the costs, and developing states because SPMs, like peacekeeping operations, were perceived as infringing upon their national sovereignty. The joint coordination committee (JCC), comprised of the G77, the NAM, and China, was particularly wary of the idea that the DPA, now led by a US citizen

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[701] UN ACABQ. 2009a.
[702] UN ACABQ. 2009b, para 7. For examples of vague indicators, see UN Secretary-General. 2012b. Proposed strategic framework for the period 2014-2015.
[703] Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS). 2009. Follow-up audit of the management of special political missions.

and a former member of the US State Department, would be given greater resources to politically intervene in their states.

However, as all states were similarly wary of expansion in the early 2000s, none of these debates led developed and developing states to feel that their core interests were diametrically opposed to those of the other. That was to change immediately after the DPA strengthening, as the debate in the ACABQ and General Assembly shifted to more contentious issues. This disagreement, which crystallised into a sharp division between voting blocs, was to prevent further reforms.

5.5 Post-December 2008: Bloc entrenchment

There were two issues raised after 2008 that caused conflicts between states and the Secretariat, and between different blocs of states. The former issue was that of control over SPMs themselves, and the second, more contentious issue, was that of the budgetary arrangements for SPMs and the corresponding scale of assessments. This section considers OI – 6.

5.5.1 Issue 1: control over SPMs

As this first wave of issues were mostly being resolved, and after member states agreed to strengthen the DPA in December 2008, a more intense debate began, both in the Security Council and the plenary assembly. In the Council, high-level debates began to focus more on mediation and diplomatic intervention by the United Nations,[704] and they began requesting detailed reports from the Secretary General.[705]   In the General Assembly, member states tried to establish more detailed control over the creation and form of the SPMs themselves.

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[704] UN Security Council. 2008e.
[705] The first of such reports is UN Secretary-General. 2009b. Report of the Secretary-General on enhancing mediation.

The ACABQ requested details on the "evolution of the resources allocated for special political missions over the last three bienniums", and were shown the following:

Year	Total appropriation (Thousands of United States dollars)	% increase compared with the previous year
2002	93 556.2	-
2003	108 641.9	16.1
2004	162 145.9	49.2
2005	230 728.1	42.3
2006	286 747.6	24.3
2007	364 684.4	27.2
2008	435 541.7	19.4

Table 4: Annual SPM appropriation, 2002-2008. [706]

They noted "the progressive growth in the budget allocations for special political missions since 2002",[707] and demanded that "in future, budget proposals for special political missions contain precise justification of resource requirements so as to allow the General Assembly to make an informed decision".[708] They also demanded far more detail on the criteria for establishing special political missions, for deciding the form of the mission, for reviewing its progress, and in deciding whether the mission can be concluded.[709] In interviews, both an ACABQ member and two delegates to the Fifth Committee speculated that the increased scrutiny evolved as a natural consequence of the rapidly increasing budgets, although none of those interviewees had been present at their current posts in 2009. In short, SPMs rose in salience, and the ACABQ reiterated demands from the General Assembly for far greater managerial control over a process that had hitherto largely been within the purview of the Secretary General in concert with the Security Council. This was not an arbitrary urge to

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[706] UN ACABQ. 2008. Estimates in respect of special political missions
[707] UN ACABQ. 2008, para 6.
[708] UN ACABQ. 2008, para 7.
[709] UN ACABQ. 2008, para 14.

micromanage, nor only greater interest because greater funds were being used, although the latter was almost certainly a factor. There were plausible and chronic reasons for member states to believe that they had lost the ability to control how SPMs begin, how they operate, how they expand, and how they end.

On the issue of SPM creation, as mentioned, the G77 were still frustrated that they were excluded from the process between the Secretariat and the Security Council. The Secretary-General's response remained consistent. He stated that the UN had procedures and criteria for establishing SPMs: Article 99 of the Charter gives the Secretary-General the authority to "bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security", and Article 29 then states that "the Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary". These subsidiary organs can include field missions (both peacekeeping and political), good offices, the deployment of an envoy, or the establishment of sanctions panels or monitoring committees.

On the issue of SPM expansion, it was understandable that the General Assembly felt they had no control, and even the Security Council had little control. Almost all SPM budgets seemed to rise almost constantly, and some, bizarrely, immediately after their budgets had been agreed. For example, on 27th October 2009, days after the General Assembly had approved $1 billion for SPMs for the biennium 2010 to 2011, the Secretary-General requested over $600 million for only 27 (of the 29) missions, *for the first year alone*. As the ACABQ would later note, this effectively ignored the General Assembly resolution and would inevitably lead to an increase to the approved SPM budget of at least $200 million even before the biennium had begun. In the same October 2009 document in which the Secretary-General justified these increased SPM intra-budget-cycle requirements, he tried to address some of the concerns over

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the lack of state control of SPMs. However, his arguments only discussed his formal authority to implement mandates set for the Organisation, and they did not satisfy member states.

After December 2008, the General Assembly and ACABQ also demanded clear performance criteria and exit strategies for each SPM. By demanding those criteria, and the ability to amend them, they could potentially shift more control over whether a field mission continued, or ended, from the DPA to the plenary assembly.[710] The Secretary-General responded that each mission has "a results–based budget and logical framework with specific objectives, expected compliments and indicators of achievement, as well as performance measures and outputs". The Secretary-General argued that the relevant DPA regional division regularly assesses each mission, four times during the first year of the mission, and at least twice a year thereafter, making external reviews unnecessary. The DPA, he argued, would decide when the mandate has been achieved or if a different form of operation, such as peacekeeping mission, had become necessary.

The Secretary-General's responses implied that operational decisions are competently and necessarily made by the DPA, DPKO and Secretary-General, and not by member states. This claim was particularly problematic because, as discussed, the mandates of missions are typically derived from UN resolutions that are themselves often vague (as a means to broaden agreement), and the Secretariat tends to insert into the mandate, extremely ambitious objectives and performance indicators that typically seek to address the root causes of a conflict. Such goals and indicators can arguably never be completed.

The Secretary-General also caused friction between the Secretariat and member states by

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[710] Interview with delegate to Fifth Committee, June 2015.

seeking to establish integrated support for field missions from the UN system as a whole, indirectly adding to other budget sections throughout the Organisation. This backstopping includes "comprehensive substantive support", for planning, communication with the mission, briefing, management and administrative, budget and finance, and logistics."[711] While the Secretary-General pointed to various improvements to the administration involved in backstopping field missions, he reiterated the common refrain that "the backstopping function remains seriously under – funded and unbudgeted".[712]

5.5.2 Issue 2: SPM budgets

This increasing desire of member states to micromanage SPMs, and thus by necessity, the DPA, was complicated further when the Secretary-General raised what was to become the most contentious question: from which part of the budget should the DPA be funded, and what scale of assessments would be used for that part. As DPA staff confirmed in interview: "I would say it's one of the top two or three controversial issues in peace and security nowadays because it goes to the core of how the UN should be funded and how member states share the bill. The main issue there is whether SPM's should be part of the regular budget".[713] In the December 2008 proposed budget outline for 2010-2011, the Secretary-General had raised, for the first time, a point that has since become an increasingly contentious, unresolved issue amongst member states. He observed that there were challenges to financing SPMs through the regular budget:

> The procedures followed for the initiation of the missions, whether through the Security
> Council or the General Assembly, do not follow the programme planning and budgeting

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[711] UN Secretary-General 2009a. Estimates in respect of special political missions, para 65.
[712] Ibid., para 69.
[713] DPA staff B in interview. June 2015.

cycle of the regular budget. Furthermore, special political missions may be approved at any time of the year. Accordingly, their timing and related resource requirements have consistently proven almost impossible to predict accurately. Under the circumstances, the Assembly may wish to consider whether special political missions are amenable to treatment under the present regular budget procedures for estimating requirements in the budget outline and subsequent programme budgets.[714]

This was particularly contentious because shifting SPMs to a separate part of the budget raises an inevitable question: what would the scale of assessments be? If SPMs were now to have a budget similar to peacekeeping missions, then a move to the same scale of assessments would increase the annual payments of the US from 22% to 28.5% (although the current US administration is arguing for unilateral reduction to 25%), leading to an increase of over US$30m each year for the US, and significant corresponding decreases for less developed states.

Secretary-General Ban did not attempt to bring principle-based authority to bear, but relied only on his formal authority to achieve the mandates set by the member states, an argument that had been effective at the ACABQ, but not at the General Assembly. On 22 July 2010, the Secretary-General published a review of the effects of the December 2008 strengthening the DPA.[715] There were three claims in the review: the DPA was vital and effective; the DPA was underfunded; the DPA was inefficiently funded as part of the biennial regular budget. This third claim would indirectly trigger the contentious issue of the scale of assessments that would then prevent productive deliberation on the first two claims.

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[714] UN Secretary-General 2008e. Proposed programme budget outline, para 16.
[715] UN Secretary-General 2010b. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 63/261 on the strengthening of the Department of Political Affairs.

He praised the improved ability of the DPA to provide essential services, to provide timely and accurate political analysis and recommendations on crisis situations, and to be effective and flexible in responding to a range of different prevention, peace building, mediation, and electoral assistance scenarios. The report also emphasised just how busy the Department had been over the previous year, operating on more than 30 issues across the world.

However, the generally positive tone of the report was countered by a strong and familiar refrain that the reforms were insufficient. Resolution 63/261 did not provide resources for backstopping missions. He stated that missions are less effective because there is insufficient funding "for a headquarters capacity to backstop these missions (which includes strategic planning and assessment, coordination with regional and subregional organizations and groups of friends, support for integration with United Nations country teams, and reporting requirements to intergovernmental bodies)".[716]

Ban emphasised that the resolution had only approved 49 of the 101 necessary additional posts he had proposed, and had decided against establishing an SPM support unit. The resolution also rejected the Secretary-General's recommendation for a director and deputy director (D – 2 and D – 1 levels respectively) for each regional division, leaving the divisions with unequal and insufficient upper management, and limiting effective oversight. The regular budget also, he argued, covered only about a third of the department's real travel costs, forcing the DPA to resort to extrabudgetary funding in order to cover the travel that is necessary to carry out its mandate. He summarised:

General Assembly resolution 63/261 greatly improved the capacity of the Department of

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[716] Ibid.

Political Affairs to deliver on its core mandated activities. However, the fact that only half of the originally requested posts were approved by the General Assembly means that the Department continues to operate with insufficient capacity in a number of areas, requiring it to rely on extrabudgetary and other ad hoc arrangements.[717]

However, alongside these requests for additional resources, the Secretary-General also emphasised the need for changes to the SPM budget process. He argued that the fact that political "missions are funded from the regular budget and, unlike peacekeeping missions, do not enjoy pre-mandate commitment authority, delays and complicates their establishment, and leads to corresponding recruitment and rapid deployment, logistics and procurement problems", undermining "the Department's capacity to quickly respond to Security Council mandate changes and in-country political transitions".[718]

Soon before the 2010 budget debates, Secretary-General Ban again raised the issue of SPM funding mechanisms, placing it higher on the agenda of the General Assembly. He argued that SPMs "have characteristics that set them apart from the other activities of the Organization financed from the regular budget".[719] He drew attention again to the disjuncture between the "procedures followed for the initiation of the missions, whether through the Security Council or the General Assembly", and "the programme planning and budgeting cycle of the regular budget", in particular because SPMs can be initiated at any time during the budget cycle.[720] As

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[717] Ibid., para 52.
[718] Ibid., para 58.
[719] UN Secretary-General 2010e. Proposed programme budget, para 17.
[720] Ibid.

DPA staff say, the "regular budget… is not really set up for the kind of nimble operating capacity that you need as a modern Department of Political Affairs".[721]

The ACABQ was more focused on increasing state control over SPM budget growth, and seeking justifications for changes, than attempting to address changes to the more contentious issues.[722] They demanded far more detail on any changes in the SPM and DPA budgets from one estimate to the next. Another concern was that the, "level of extrabudgetary resources provided to SPMs should be fully disclosed so as to allow for a clear and transparent analysis of the resources proposed as compared with capacity available from all types of funding and the needs identified". [723] As a senior DPA staff member stated in interview, "in an era of zero growth budgets, in the regular budget, we were essentially pushed to look for extrabudgetary resources".[724] A final related complaint was that some of the SPMs still had open-ended mandates, again arguing that by their nature these missions should be limited in duration and aimed at accomplishing specific tasks.

The ACABQ did acknowledge the Secretary-General's comments on the budgeting difficulties for special political missions, but their closed-door meetings, while concurring that a new budgetary category was worthwhile, did not yield any agreement on a scale of assessments,

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[721] Senior DPA staff member in interview, June 2015.
[722] UN ACABQ 2010a. Implementation of General Assembly resolution 63/261 on the strengthening of the Department of Political Affairs.
[723] Ibid., para 16; The Secretary-General responded with details of extrabudgetary funds: just under $55 million in 2011, and $70 million in 2012, the majority of which was used for the missions with the least funding through the regular budget, such as the UN political offices for Somalia, for Sierra Leone, and for Burundi. See UN Secretary-General. 2011a. Estimates in respect of special political missions. These missions constitute the cluster III category, which formally received $126 million for 2012, but were then also allocated a further $44 million from extrabudgetary funds for the same year. Given the desire of the 5th committee to closely manage the UN budgets, and their recently invigorated urge to do so with the SPM budgets in particular, these extrabudgetary resources, managed not by them but by the Secretariat, were problematic.
[724] Senior DPA staff member in interview, June 2015.

and they did not make any recommendations.[725] They echoed their traditional refrain that more information was needed. The General Assembly agreed, and in resolution 65/259, requested that the Secretary-General conduct a thorough review of the current funding and backstopping arrangements for special political missions with a view to identifying possible alternatives. The ACABQ concurred.[726]

In October 2011, the Secretary-General responded with a review of the arrangements for funding and backstopping special political missions.[727] He strongly emphasised that his observations and recommendations were developed in order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the missions, enhancing transparency and accountability, avoiding duplication, and facilitating oversight by the General assembly of the budgets of the United Nations. The fundamental repeated argument was that increasing funds for the Secretariat would give the member states more power and control over the missions. His consistent conclusion was that SPMs have a dynamic life cycle, unpredictable timing, and operational characteristics, which are hindered by the biennial budget process.

He proposed that SPMs should be moved from the DPA budget into a separate, special account for the funding of SPMs with a financial period of 1 July to 30 June (to coincide with the peacekeeping budget). He also strongly recommended that SPMs should be able to access the peacekeeping reserve fund and strategic deployment stocks on the same basis as peacekeeping operations, and that the discretion of the Secretary-General within the programme budget for

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[725] UN ACABQ. 2010b. Proposed programme budget outline.
[726] UN ACABQ. 2011a. Strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to manage and sustain peacekeeping operations; UN ACABQ. 2011b. Estimates in respect of special political missions.
[727] UN Secretary-General. 2011c. Review of arrangements for funding and backstopping special political missions.

unforeseen and extraordinary expenses should be increased from the current $10 million to $50 million. He did not mention the most contentious point, that of the scale of assessments for any new SPM budget section.

In this report, the Secretary-General does not miss the opportunity to argue again for more resources for the DPA. He discussed how SPMs have not only become larger, but also far more complex; in 2003 a field based mission had an average of seven tasks, but by 2010 half of the missions had from twelve to twenty-four.[728] He also discussed how, despite improvements that resulted from the establishment of the Department of Field Support, which now had a mandate to support field-based special political missions as well as peacekeeping operations, the DPA still lacks the necessary funds for substantive and administrative backstopping. He also argued that missions are hindered by not having access to the backstopping services financed through the support account.

The response of the ACABQ to the two reports on SPM funding was immediate. In addition to the usual criticisms such as the need for more detail, they also agreed with several of his proposals.[729] They supported the creation of a separate, annual account for SPMs with a financial period from 1 July to 30 June. This, they agreed, would reduce the volatility in the programme budget, and make it easier for the General Assembly to simultaneously consider the budgets for SPMs and peacekeeping operations. This was a logical step, particularly because there are overlaps between political and military missions, and because there may be transitions from one to the other. However, they did not yet address the issue of the scale of assessments

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[728] Ibid., para 7.
[729] UN ACABQ 2011c. Review of arrangements for funding and backstopping special political missions.

for a new account, a subject that would later cause voting blocs to be entrenched in opposition to each other in the Fifth Committee.

The SPM budget mechanism issue was inextricably tied to all other DPA reforms because of the preferences of certain blocs. Some countries, such as Norway, have proposed a piecemeal approach, addressing some of the operational reforms while tabling the funding reform question for another time. However, some blocs such as the Latin American group and the Asian group have insisted that reforms be tackled holistically, suggesting that if states merely tackle the easier issues now, they will never come back to address the more challenging funding issues.[730]

Over the last eight years, on the issue of DPA reform, UN institutions have stalled. The Secretary-General continued a focus on technical arguments limited mostly to his formal authority to fulfil mandates set by member states.[731] The recommendations of the ACABQ were not adopted by the Fifth Committee, and from 2009 until now, the DPA has not grown or substantially changed. Attempts at persuasion for further strengthening of the DPA continued, but in vain.

5.6 Conclusion

At the beginning of this case study, in 2004, Secretary-General Annan utilised all three strategies, with targeted persuasion in each, to move member states to value UN political missions. He drew upon his considerable principle-based authority to persuade the General Assembly, and the expertise authority of the authority-multiplying HLP panel and OIOS Reports

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[730] DPA staff B, in interview with this author, June 2015, Delegate A to Fifth Committee in interview with this author, June 2015.

[731] See UN Secretary-General. 2012c. Report of the Secretary-General; strengthening the role of mediation for an example.

that he had commissioned to persuade both the ACABQ and the General Assembly. By 2007, as Secretary-General Ban took office, these had already been established, in the sense that they had encouraged member states to agree in the December 2004 budget debates and the 2005 Summit, that the preventative conflict prevention approach managed by the DPA should be a top priority for member states. This meant that in 2008, Secretary-General Ban could successfully apply arguments based only on his formal authority to pursue mandates set by the General Assembly, because they had already set those mandates.

However, Secretary-General Ban's strategy did not change for several years thereafter. He maintained a focus on formal authority, and never emphasised his own expertise, a viable possibility given his lifetime career as a diplomat for South Korea. Nor did he emphasise the principle-based authority that his predecessor strongly associated with the role of the Secretary-General of the UN. This shift in strategy, combined with the decision to repeatedly indirectly place at the top of the agenda the most contentious issue in political missions, that of the budgetary structure and scale of assessments for SPMs, exacerbated the member state propensity to micromanage increasingly expensive political missions. The outcome was rigid stagnation in the growth of the DPA.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Empirical findings

Over the last two decades, IR scholars have increasingly taken the influence of ideas seriously. Many authors, predominantly but not exclusively using a constructivist approach, have begun to explain how institutions at all levels of analysis emerge from social processes. They have also explored the possibility that some actors may have considerable influence on those processes despite lacking material resources to use as leverage. As such, changes in formal institutions, such as those studied here, can be the product of shifts in norms and shared ideas that can in turn be influenced strategically by norm entrepreneurs. These pioneers can be found in a variety of state and non-state organisations, and I have focused on one such potential source: the UN Secretariat. More specifically, I sought to determine whether these actors are able to influence a norm that defines the extent to which the international community of states may be obligated to devote resources to parts of those bureaucracies.

I have argued that *IO Secretariat actors can leverage their informal authority (both expertise-based and principle-based) to persuade member states to devote additional resources to a part of the Secretariat, using three strategies*:

i) *Agenda setting*, in which the Secretariat ensures that member states devote more time and energy to debating a particular issue.

ii) *Initiating or expanding operations*, in which the Secretariat can initiate activities that then provide the justification for additional resources.

iii) *Multiplying authority*, in which the Secretariat establishes independent, yet similarly minded panels that then serve as additional expert authorities to influence member states.

Informal authority

There were two sets of evidence that supported the claim that the Secretary General or a member of his staff was endowed with informal authority and that it had some effect, although the evidence did not measure the causal effect of that authority relative to other factors. The first set of evidence lay in the terms others used to refer to those actors. Both ACABQ members and Fifth Committee state representatives made requests for technical advice to the Secretary General or his staff. They, and other actors throughout the UN system and beyond, made repeated references to the specialised knowledge of both Annan and Ban, particularly before their appointments, and in the early years of their tenures. This evidence was stronger, and increased more over time, with Kofi Annan. It was weaker with Ban Ki-moon; this may be due in part to his personal characteristics, but also to his explicit choice of strategies, leaning more towards subtle diplomacy than outspoken norm advocacy.

The second set of evidence focused on the element of deference that authority entails. Deference has two aspects; one is the expression of respect, of which there is much evidence, especially in the case of Annan, but the other is submission, i.e. compliance with guidance or directives from the actor being deferred to. In the cases studied here, analytically isolating submission to a non-state actor is problematic for several reasons, such as the lengthy time frame and the need for representatives to assert that they are principally acting in the interests of their governments. State representatives and others often describe the principles, values or morals held by the Secretary-General as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, but they do not explicitly cite his exposition of those principles and values as the reason for a change in policies. Submission has thus only been identified indirectly, as states shifted their policies towards those

of the Secretary-General. This evidence of submission was present in both cases. However, further research could strengthen this project, and provide more direct causal evidence, by isolating key moments in which specific veto players explicitly chose to submit to the preferences of the Secretary-General. The section on further research, later in this chapter, explores this option.

Persuasion

The observable implications (OIs) considering when persuasion will be more effective posit that a request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if there is greater congruity between the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience. There was good evidence for this, particularly in the authority-audience relationships and in the message-audience relationships. Annan became more persuasive over the years because a) he was increasingly identified with his principle-based authority, b) he chose to explicitly emphasise that authority in his messages, and c) he targeted those messages towards audiences that identified with values that prioritised the principles of Annan and the UN, or who were willing to raise the priority of those principles.

There are varying dimensions to this evidence. One is that member states increasingly came to support the policy positions and justifications of Secretary-General Annan over the time in which his principle-based authority was increasingly asserted by him and acknowledged by others. Conversely, there was a correlation between the change in Secretary-General to Ban Ki-moon, who chose not to explicitly adopt the moral or principle-based role that defined his predecessor, and the subsequent state resistance to Secretariat-proposed reforms.

A comparison across different audiences within the UN shows that effective persuasion can depend heavily on the relationship between the form of authority expressed in requests for

resources, and the expressed values of the audience. The General Assembly and Security Council, responsible for initiating new mandates for parts of the Organisation, were often receptive to principle-based arguments, but also to arguments that took into account the political realities of the interplay between the concerns of key voting blocs. In contrast, arguments at the ACABQ were far more effective when only emphasising value of economic efficiency and the formal authority of the Secretariat to achieve the mandates set by member states. Principle-based arguments were explicitly rejected by the ACABQ.

A consequence of theoretically conceiving of successful persuasion as an outcome of congruence between speaker, message and the values of the audience is that a researcher must address the inevitable possibility that the audience has multiple, conflicting values. The General Assembly is frequently, if not consistently, subject to this condition. Given that congruence between the three elements of persuasion is not possible if the audience is composed of competing blocs that are strongly divided in beliefs and values, the theory expected that an IO's bureaucracy will be less able, or unable, to successfully encourage institutional change under that condition. This was even more likely at the various veto points in the decision-making process that require consensus by member states, such as the Fifth Committee in the General Assembly.

In the DPKO case, this happened with a sub-issue within the Brahimi reforms, the proposed creation of EISAS, the intelligence cell for the Secretary-General. Most powerful states were either in favour or loosely ambivalent, but the G77 was vehemently opposed, and reforms on the issue never progressed past the ACABQ. In the DPA case after 2008, entrenchment on the issue of SPM budgetary arrangements prevented reforms. However, the beginning of this period of bloc entrenchment also coincided with a change in strategy of the new Secretary-General, in which he limited arguments to formal authority only. As the final part

of this chapter considers, a further case study could establish which factor was more influential by looking at the current reforms driven by the new Secretary-General Guterres, whose professional history and personal characteristics suggest that he would successfully be able to wield principle-based power in a way that Ban Ki-moon chose not to.

Agenda setting

Persuasive evidence for the importance of agenda setting was found in the ability of IO bureaucratic actors to leverage their informal authority to raise the profile of certain issues and to encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and resolve those issues. In the cases studied here, Secretary-General Annan successfully, if gradually, persuaded member states that UN peacekeeping, and then UN political missions, had reached a crisis point, such that they had to be debated by member states.

The strategy of agenda setting can be better understood through the framework for persuasion used in this project: authority – message – audience values. A central purpose of the strategy is to increase the congruence between the message and the values of the audience, by causing the audience to prioritise the particular values emphasised in the message. The General Assembly has multiple sets of values, and they can be encouraged over time to reprioritise, for example, the efficiency of UN peace operations over state sovereignty or financial frugality. This reprioritisation then improves the congruence between ethos, logos and pathos in later messages, making them more persuasive.

Strikingly, however, this strategy was more effective at the General Assembly than for the ACABQ, where values were less amenable to reprioritisation. Chapter three indicated why this might be the case; the mandate of the General Assembly is to address almost any issue (social, economic, political) on almost any level (national, regional, global), and voting blocs

overtly advocate for their own state interests on all those issues. This complexity suggests that numerous, overlapping values will exist on any issues, allowing for the possibility of reprioritisation. In the ACABQ, however, the mandate is very specific. On the one hand, as ACABQ members admit, each of the sixteen members comes to the committee with a particular world view derived from experiences they share with their former national and regional colleagues in the Fifth Committee. On the other, their explicit task is to set aside politics, and to achieve i) a budget that reflects the mandates set by the Security Council and the General Assembly, and ii) a budget that achieves some semblance of economic efficiency. As such, assertions by the Secretary-General that a new task be added to the programme, or that certain values demanded a change in priorities, were received negatively because those considerations fundamentally clashed with the values of the committee.

In both cases, agenda setting was gradual, and was inter-related with the other strategies. For example, the timing of the Brahimi Report, categorised as the multiplication of authority, also cemented UN peacekeeping as the foremost topic for the Millennium Summit. Similarly, the 2004 High-Level Panel, in conjunction with Kofi Annan's *In Larger Freedom*, set the agenda for the 2005 Summit.

Operational influence

The evidence in the case studies supports the claim that an IO bureaucratic actor can create or expand activities, both by persuading member states to accept operations on their sovereign soil, and by persuading member states within the IO that an operation is necessary. This increase in operations then justifies an increase in resources for the related parts of the Secretariat.

This was the case with UN peacekeeping and the expansion of DPKO in 2000. All general reviews of UN Peace Operations credit the Australian-led intervention in Timor Leste, and the NATO-initiated operation in Kosovo, as creating the international recognition of a need for UN peace operations. The strong implication is that the revival of UN peace operations was the result of state-led, external factors, beyond the control or even the influence of the UN Secretariat. However, the case study above demonstrates persuasively that the UN operation in Timor Leste would not have taken place without a concerted effort on the part of the Secretary-General and his staff. It is not clear that the Secretary-General deliberately engaged in operational initiation specifically in order to raise DPKO funds; his focus may purely have been to address the issue of human rights in Timor Leste. However, the consequences were that by September 2000, the strain on the DPKO to manage the operation that Annan had created, was a powerful justification to strengthen the DPKO.

A similar process took place with Special Political Missions and the DPA. Approximately half of all SPMs, created since the formation of the DPA, were initiated by the Secretariat, and their existence was explicitly cited as justification for additional resources for the DPA. The creation of embryonic SPMs, and the consistent and persistent efforts of the Secretary-General to increase their resources, placed greater pressure on states to offer the DPA more funds. The creation of embassy SPMs, with ambitious, arguably unachievable mandates, led to permanent political sub-units for the Secretary-General, that, while separate from the budget of the DPA in headquarters, justify greater, long-term funding requirements for that budget.

Multiplying authority

The evidence demonstrates that an IO plenary assembly was more likely to accept a request from the IO bureaucracy for additional resources after that request had been scrutinised and approved by a body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent panel. Recognizing this fact, the Secretariat created similarly-minded groups, even when groups created or staffed by member states already existed to address the same issues.

In the DPKO case, the influential Brahimi Report, which, while independent, echoed the positions of the Secretary-General and the DPKO. The Secretary-General created and timed the Brahimi report deliberately to influence member states at the Millennium Summit and further set the agenda for that summit. Its panel was universally accepted as embodying considerably expertise, and almost all of its recommendations were accepted by member states (notable exceptions being the EISAS and TCC/Security Council relations).

A similar process took place in the DPA case. In the 2005 Summit, member states repeatedly cited agreement with the parts of the HLP emphasising conflict prevention, although their agreement manifested as more vague expression of support than with the Brahimi Report. However, while vague, that support was sufficient for the Secretary-General to persuade the ACABQ that member states wished to add to the capabilities of the DPA.

Alternative explanations: establishing parameters to Secretariat influence

The persuasion and strategies of the Secretariat were instrumental in the outcomes of both cases, but material factors, emphasised by realist and neoliberal institutional theories, also played a part.   No single meta-theoretical approach can entirely explain the variation in the delegation of resources to the Secretariat. Constructivist perspectives better explain the influence of the Secretariat and other non-state actors, but realism, which overlooks the authority

of those actors, nevertheless offers insights as to the conditions surrounding limits to that influence.

Realist theoretical approaches explain key elements of the post-Brahimi reforms that failed to gain traction. One set of examples relate to the establishment of a concrete doctrine for mandating and deploying UN peace operations. Such a doctrine, once agreed to, could restrict the future foreign policy options of member states, demanding or prohibiting UN intervention under certain conditions when their interests dictated otherwise. Consequently, the development of such a doctrine was blocked by powerful member states.

Another alternative argument for which there is some, albeit slightly speculative, evidence is that member states were willing to delegate additional resources to a part of the Secretariat because they expected to gain net material benefits or more control or power from the change. The Brahimi reforms may in part have been relatively successful because developed states felt that a stronger DPKO, at HQ in New York, would give them more control over previously autonomous peacekeeping missions run by G77 states, operating in G77 states. Similarly, developing states may have supported a larger DPKO because they would materially benefit from additional posts in the DPKO and related departments, posts that are required to be regionally distributed.

Developing states might also have seen tangible benefits to a strengthened DPKO and DPA. Such an institutional change, funded largely by more economically powerful states, could improve the efficacy of missions whose primary mandate is to improving stability across their regions. Developed states might also conceivably assume that this increased stability would then allow more profitable economic relationships with those countries.

Another potential material benefit to all states, that Secretary-General Annan had argued, was that more effective and well-funded DPA efforts to prevent conflict would create dividends as fewer peacekeeping missions would be required in the future. However, the total budgets for both peacekeeping and SPMs continued to increase at a remarkable rate, despite the rapidly expanding SPMs. Over 80% of the total UN budget increase since 2000 is due to those expanding missions. There is one piece of evidence, however, that investing in the DPA may have reduced costs for member states. From 1998 until 2008, global military expenditures increased at a steady and rapid rate, but in the two years following the DPA strengthening, that rate decreased, and since 2010, global military expenditure has remained constant.[732] While there are a number of possible explanations for this, there may have been either be a delayed reduction in the need for national military expenditure as a result of greater DPKO activity, or a shorter-term reaction to greater DPA activity. I make no such assertions, but the connection is worth exploring.

Realist perspectives also help support the claim that one of the conditions for successful persuasion is that key state voting blocs must not be entrenched in opposition to each other over the issue. For realists, a key motivating factor for every state in the international system is their relative power, and the salience of an issue is directly related to that factor. The two key issues during the time period studied, on which the least progress was made, were EISAS and the SPM budget assessments. For developing states, EISAS would give a significant increase in relative power to the most powerful states, in terms of increased information-gathering in developing regions. Similarly, a decision to change the scale of assessments for the SPM budgets to one

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[732] Data available at: Stockholm International Peace Institute.

similar to peacekeeping would have significantly increased costs only for developed states. Therefore, concerns over relative power also caused bloc entrenchment on that set of issues. The increased salience of the issue after 2008, as SPM costs rapidly increase, also explains the considerable increase in attempts to micro-manage SPMs, by both the ACABQ and the Fifth Committee.

A final note on the contribution of alternative theories such as realism and neoliberal institutionalism. The conscious choices of non-state actors to adopt either the statist, materialist assumptions of realism, or to assume that the ideas of a materially weak individual can influence powerful states, greatly influenced the extent to which proof for the latter can be found. For example, Kofi Annan explicitly acted as though confident that he carried a certain authority, and that he could use that authority to influence the decisions of member states. His tenure is thus rife with examples of that influence. In contrast, Secretary-General Ban adopted a different approach. He chose to adopt a more deferential posture vis à vis member states, drawing almost exclusively on his formal authority. This strategic shift was initially able to build upon the successful persuasive efforts and strategies of his predecessor. Annan had, through his own arguments and utilising the secondary authority of the HLP, encouraged member states at the 2005 Summit to formally support the DPA, and the momentum of that process, combined with the institutional delays in the UN budget process, led to the increases in the first two years of Ban's tenure. However, Ban's ability to guide and provide impetus to the reform processes declined rapidly thereafter. Ban's statist assumptions were therefore a self-fulfilling prophesy.

While Ban's approach seems to have been a considerable factor in the end of the DPA reforms, however, there were also other material factors. The timing coincided with a global economic crisis in which all member states sought to reduce costs, just as SPM budgets were

continuing to rise. It is thus unclear whether Ban's posture contributed to the resistance of member states, or whether it merely permitted it.

6.2 Contribution and limitations

The primary contribution of this project is in providing a convincing framework for studying the relationships between authoritative members of an IO Secretariat and the member states. The framework shows that agenda setting may be effective in leading the proverbial horses to water, but that other strategies that change the operational environment and introduce new persuasive actors are necessary to encourage those horses to drink. This framework also introduces some new and useful concepts, such as the multiplication of authority, and the categorisation of some field political missions as embryonic or embassy SPMs. In doing so, this framework builds upon the insights of Barnett and Finnemore (2004) and Avant et al. (2010), by parsing out informal from formal authority, and by offering a clearer explanation of the strategies through which that authority is used to influence member states.

One counterintuitive finding that could help refine the expectations of Principal-Agent sub-theories, was that the presence of multiple principals can weaken the persuasive opportunities available for an agent, rather than provide more opportunities for influence, as current Principal-Agent studies suggest. Reforms were more easily achieved when the principals were initially united in opposition to those reforms, as though they were a single actor with a single set of preferences, than when blocs of states are entrenched in opposition to each other on a specific issue. The relationship between the G77 and developed states, in particular, was key to achieving reforms in the UN.

The project also demonstrated that some of the factors emphasised by realists were also influential. As member states found themselves paying far more for SPMs from 2004 to 2008,

the salience of the DPA increased, and the urge for intergovernmental committees to micromanage the DPA and reduce the autonomy of the Secretariat rose. The realist emphasis on security concerns and relative power also convincingly explains the opposition of the G77 to the creation of EISAS. A UN intelligence organisation could have operated beyond their control and may even become a tool, it was speculated, of the CIA.

The most conspicuous limitation of this research lies in convincingly confirming the cause of the change in the policies of individual member states. An aspiration of the case study approach is that one can delve beyond correlations to more closely examine the mechanisms involved in the relationships between the variables involved. This project made positive, but incomplete steps in that direction. The suggestions for future research below would help to remedy this limitation.

6.3 Future research

There are several useful avenues for further research. One challenge in this research is that there are two parallel explanations for the period of DPA stagnation after 2008. One explanation is the increasing bloc entrenchment, but the second is the change in strategy of the recently appointed Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, from developing and utilising principle-based authority to a focus only on formal authority. Both explanations are expected by my theory, but it is unclear which was more determinative.

However, a research opportunity has now arisen which could resolve this. Last year in particular, member states began debating the report of the 2015 High Level International Panel

on Peace Operations.[733] Secretary-General Ban initiated this panel, another deliberate attempt at the multiplication of authority. As a member of the DPA said in interview shortly before the Panel published its conclusions, the current "panel on peace operations is a good example of how we try to drive our own agenda. It was the Secretary-General that appointed that panel".[734] The interviewee went on to say: "You see how something that starts with the Secretary-General now permeates the membership because everyone is talking about this, and it creates a momentum of its own and member states are taking it very seriously. We don't know what the outcome will be, and I think that the reform agenda that might come out of this is certainly enacted by member states, but it was the Secretary-General at the start".[735] This Panel was dubbed "Brahimi Mark 2" by DPA staff and others at the Organisation,[736] because it largely reiterates many of the concerns of the Brahimi Report. It was a significant factor in setting the agenda for the General Assembly session that began in September 2017.

The current Secretary-General António Guterres (since January 2017) previously spent a decade as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and before that worked closely with Kofi Annan on Timor Leste as a diplomat with the Portuguese government. While I have yet to study the extent to which member states currently view Secretary-General Guterres as embodying principle-based authority, that authority appears to be widely accepted within the Secretariat. It could be enlightening to see what the effect his strategic choices make, and whether they could be sufficient to overcome the continuing bloc entrenchment. Preliminary observations suggest

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[733] HIPPO. Report of the Independent High-level Panel on Peace Operations, convened by the Secretary-General to undertake a thorough review of the current United Nations peace operations and the emerging needs of the future [A/70/95–S/2015/446] of 17 June 2015.
[734] DPA staff in interview. June 2015.
[735] Ibid.
[736] Senior DPA staff B in interview, June 2015.

that it has been possible to sideline the idea of changing the scale of assessments, enabling

agreement on a number of less contentious but substantial reforms, such as provisionally

changing the SPM financing from a biennial to an annual budget.

A second avenue for further research stems from the fact that for the DPKO, I only

delved into one case study in the initiation of peacekeeping missions, that of Timor Leste.

Conversely, in the DPA, I only offered a thin survey of special political missions to determine

the proximate causes of their creation. I would like to do the reverse for each. I would like to

survey most peacekeeping missions initiated over the last twenty-five years, and I would like to

do at least three in-depth case studies of SPMs, to more critically assess my claims that the

Secretary-General's actions were critical to the initiation and/or expansion of many different

types of peace operations.

A third avenue for research, that would greatly improve the understanding of how and

why key audiences chose to shift attitudes towards the DPKO and DPA, would be

extraordinarily useful, but more challenging to arrange. It would involve a limited range of

interviews with Secretaries-General Annan, Ban, and Guterres, and with several key Heads of

State present at the Millennium and 2005 Summits, including Presidents Bill Clinton and George

W. Bush, Prime Minister Tony Blair, President Vladimir Putin, President Olusegun Obasanjo

(Nigeria, Chair of the G77 in 2000), and Prime Minister Percival Noel James Patterson (Jamaica,

Chair of the G77 in 2005). The offices of Annan, Ban, Clinton, Blair and Putin were contacted

for this project, but unfortunately none of them were able to spare the time to be interviewed.

Yet another productive direction for future research would be to clarify the

generalisability of the 'agenda setting – operational influence – multiplying authority'

framework, by broadening the evidence in at least two ways. One way would be to include other

issue areas such as development, trade or the global environment; this could be done within the UN. One worthwhile specific example would be to examine the role of Secretary-General Ban in the climate change negotiations during his tenure. One way to isolate the effects of different issue areas while keeping other factors constant, would be to consider the wide range of issues covered in the HLP Report, and in *In Larger Freedom*, and how the Secretary-General and member states interacted on each issue before, during, and after the 2005 Summit.

Future research could also fruitfully build on and complement the current study by examining other IOs. This study provides strong evidence for the new theoretical framework within the United Nations, but additional research would improve the generalisability beyond that organisation. One useful first step would be to examine a regional, multi-issue IO in which the sets of values held by various member states may be more similar to each other than in the UN. This could provide more evidence for the effects that a more coherent audience, in terms of shared values, have on persuasive efforts.

Another useful addition would be to consider a single-issue IO, in order to clarify whether a particular theoretical decision made in this project is universally applicable. In the case of the UN, the categorisation of types of authority necessitated the conflation of Avant et al.'s institutional and principle-based forms of authority. The central ideals of the UN institutions, namely universal peace and human security, become the core of the principle-based authority of the members of the Secretariat who advocate for those ideals. However, other organisations may have very different ideals, and the extent to which the Secretariat is perceived to embody those ideas may differ from one organisation to another. Military alliances IOs, such as NATO, prioritise the security of some states at the expense of the security of others. As such, the principle-based authority of the NATO Secretary-General, if tied to the goals of the

organisation, would be very different to that of the UN Secretary-General. The principle-based authority of the NATO Secretary-General, could thus align very closely with the values of all, or almost all NATO members, but be strongly opposed by all non-members. A case study such as NATO, or any regional organisation, would also open up an interesting study as to the possible exercise of the informal authority of a Secretariat over states that are not members to that particular organisation.

To conclude, this framework offers considerable potential for a generalisable theory of the relationship between Secretariats and member states. Various original, further avenues for research, as outlined, can help define the extent of that generalisability, and they could more closely examine the motives of the member state audiences whose agreement was ultimately necessary at these fascinating moments of institutional change. However, the focus in this dissertation on the UN budget institutions, and on the actions of the Secretary-General and his staff, has helped to explore and better understand both the opportunities for influence, and the strategies used to guide member states.

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Appendix I

Review of the observable implications and findings; for each: 0=no evidence; 3=strong evidence

Observable implication	*Case 1: DPKO*	*Case 2: DPA*
i) Informal authority		
OI 1: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with expertise-based authority, states may a) make requests for technical advice to the IO bureaucratic actor, and/or b) make references to the specialised knowledge of the IO bureaucratic actor as reason for deference to their instructions.	2 – At the ACABQ 2 – At the General Assembly Although in both forums, the expertise of Brahimi Panel was cited more than that of the Secretary-General.	2 – At the ACABQ 3 – General Assembly Similar to the DPKO case, despite the diplomatic experience of SG Ban, the expertise of the HLP Panel was cited more often.
OI 2: If an IO bureaucrat is perceived to be endowed with principle-based authority, states may a) describe the principles, values or morals held by the IO bureaucratic actor as legitimate and worthwhile pursuits, and/ or b) cite those principles and values as reason for deference.	3 – Annan widely and increasingly described as endowed with principle-based authority, and observers described how listeners were influenced by him as a result.	1 – Some, fairly weak evidence for perception of Ban as endowed with principle-based authority.
ii) Persuasion		
OI 3: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is directly related to the form of informal authority with which the audience perceives that Secretariat member to be endowed. i.e. information with relevant expertise, values with principles of the speaker.	2 – Some correlational evidence. Perceptions of principle-based authority, as they increased over time, are correlated with an increase in the effectiveness of principle-based arguments.	2 – Evidence that this continued to be true with Secretary-General Annan, but difficult to assess with Secretary-General Ban, who did not articulate principle based arguments to anywhere near the same degree.

Observable implication	Case 1: DPKO	Case 2: DPA
OI 4: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be more effective if the content of the argument (information, beliefs, values) is in congruence with the beliefs and values of the audience.	3 – Arguments at the ACABQ were far more effective if emphasising values of economic efficiency and formal authority, but avoiding principle-based arguments. The General Assembly was far more receptive to principle-based arguments, but also to arguments that took into account the realist concerns of key voting blos.	3 – Arguments at the ACABQ about budget arrangements for SPMs, emphasising values of economic efficiency, were effective, but when the Secretary-General simply reiterated those arguments at the General Assembly Fifth Committee, they simply ignored those recommendations and arguments, and realist concerns of voting blocs defined the debates.
OI 5: A request by a member of an IO Secretariat for greater resources will be most effective if the informal authority of the speaker, the content of the message, and the identity (beliefs and values) of the audience all accord with each other.	For both cases: 2 - there is good evidence for this, but it depends upon the speaker's previous efforts to influence the audience's prioritisation of different values through agenda setting strategies. The General Assembly has multiple sets of values, and they can be encouraged, over time to reprioritise, for example, the efficiency of UN peace operations over state sovereignty or financial frugality. This reprioritisation then improves the congruence between ethos, logos and pathos in later messages, making them more persuasive. However, this was effective at the General Assembly, but not at the ACABQ, where values were less amenable to reprioritisation.	
OI 6: On issues where a plenary assembly is strongly divided in beliefs and values, and to the extent that various veto points in the decision making process require consensus by member states, the IO bureaucracy will be less able to successfully encourage institutional change.	3 – This was particularly clear on specific issues such as the EISAS.	2 – Good correlational evidence. However, the period of bloc entrenchment also coincided with a change in strategy of the Secretary-General, limiting arguments to formal authority only. It is unclear which factor was more influential. A further case study looking at current reforms could resolve this.

Observable implication	Case 1: DPKO	Case 2: DPA
iv) Agenda setting		
OI 7: IO bureaucratic actors can leverage their informal authority, in circumstances beyond and in addition to those formally mandated to them, to raise the profile of certain issues, and encourage states to acknowledge that they have an urgent obligation to deliberate and resolve those issues.	3 – Secretary-General Annan successfully, if gradually, persuaded member states that UN peacekeeping had reached a crisis point and must be debated by member states.	3 – Secretary-General Annan successfully, of gradually, persuaded member states that UN political missions had reached a crisis point and had to be improved. The creation of the HLP, as well as documents such as In Larger Freedom, established the 2005 Summit debate, including the issue of UN preventative diplomacy.
v) Operational influence		
OI 8: Where a particular reform, particularly increasing resources, would need to be justified by increased demand for a specific type of operational activity, an IO bureaucratic actor can create an additional demand for those activities, both by persuading member states to accept operations on their sovereign soil, and by persuading member states within the IO that an operation is necessary.	2 – Some evidence. In the case of Timor Leste, this was the case. This claim could be strengthened by taking a broader view of more peacekeeping missions over a wider time period, as was done in the DPA case. While there is good evidence that this strategy led to wider state recognition that the DPKO required more resources, it is *not* clear that the SG deliberately engaged in operational initiation in order to raise DPKO funds, or whether his focus was purely on addressing the issue of human rights in Timor Leste.	3 – Many SPMs were initiated by the Secretariat, and their existence was explicitly cited as justification for additional resources for the DPA. The creation of embryonic SPMs, and the consistent and persistent efforts of the Secretary-General to increase their resources, placed greater pressure on states to offer the DPA more funds. The creation of embassy SPMs, with ambitious, arguably unachievable mandates, lead to permanent sub-units, that, while separate from the budget of the DPA in headquarters, create greater, long-term funding requirements for that budget.

Observable implication	Case 1: DPKO	Case 2: DPA
vi) Multiplying authority		
OI 09: An IO plenary assembly will be more likely to accept a request from the IO bureaucracy for additional resources if that request has been scrutinised and approved by a body external to the bureaucracy, such as an intergovernmental committee or independent panel. Given that knowledge, the Secretariat will seek to create such groups.	2/3 – It is clear that the external panels influenced member states, which accepted, almost verbatim, almost all of the Brahimi Report recommendations (notable exceptions being the EISAS and TCC/Security Council relations). There is also reasonable evidence that the Secretary-General created and timed the Brahimi report deliberately to influence member states at the Millennium Summit.	2 – The General Assembly did cite agreement with the relevant parts of the HLP, albeit in more general terms than with the Brahimi Report. The ACABQ did then later accept that agreement as sufficient evidence that member states were adding to the mandates of the DPA. However, while the HLP may have been created partially with the intention of improving UN political missions, the report was extremely wide-ranging, so it was unlikely to be specifically intended for that purpose.
vii) Alternative explanation		
COI 1: Member states oppose the delegation of responsibility or resources to a part of the Secretariat when i) they consider the issue salient, ii) when they believe doing so would restrict their foreign policy options, and/or iii) if there are no means by which they can subsequently control the policies of that bureaucracy, either through formal or informal means.	1 – Some evidence for this. The G77 opposed EISAS specifically because they thought that they could not control it, even to the point that some believed it could become a front for the CIA.	2 – There is a clear correlation after December 2008 between member states considering SPMs to be more salient, and the urge to micromanage the DPA and restrict further expansion.

Observable implication	Case 1: DPKO	Case 2: DPA
COI 2: States will be more likely to advocate additional mandates and/or the delegation of additional resources to a part of the Secretariat when they expect to gain net material benefits from that change.	1/2 – Somewhat unclear. Brahimi reforms more successful because developed states felt that they would have more control over previously autonomous peacekeeping missions, and developing states because they would materially benefit from more (regionally distributed) posts in the DPKO and related departments.	1/2 – Unclear. Less stable, developing states might see SPMs as providing tangible benefits by improving stability, and developed states might conceivably assume that trade relationships with those countries could be more beneficial if those countries became more stable.
COI 3: Any instances studied in which member states give the Secretariat additional resources and/or an expanded mandate would be accompanied by institutional changes that restrict the autonomy of the corresponding Secretariat actors.	0 – No evidence either way in the DPKO case.	2/3 – Immediate increase in micromanagement by states after resources of DPA increased in 2008.