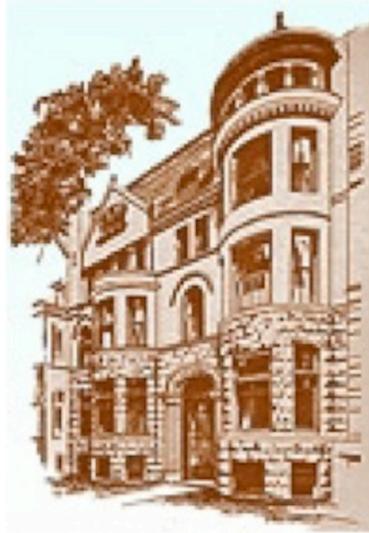


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Understanding Mexico

This exercise in tealeaf reading about Mexico calls to mind our efforts made over the years to include Mexico in the curriculum. Most Americans know little about North America, and neither Canada nor Mexico are on their radar.

David Merchant and I spent a lot of time giving talks about various aspects of the Mexican political scene, and were always amazed at how little the audience knew about the tortured road that got Mexico to where it is today. We had to begin at the beginning.

I did develop a sympathy for the ignorance as I watched yearly faculty efforts to stuff subjects into the lesson plans in an international relations department where I had a chair. Africa was always on the hit list and the professor had to mount a stiff fight to save the course in the face of a long list of demands for courses by his colleagues. Surely international institutions like the United Nations deserved a slot. Surely the history of international relations needed more than one course. And so on. No wonder Mexico gets comparatively so little attention in international relations departments.

Students can be forgiven for not knowing a great deal, as it would take far more than four years of classes to get anyone reasonably knowledgeable about world affairs. Possibly forty years might begin to do the trick. In any event, this essay was part of our rudimentary effort to explain how Mexico got the way it is. And we still think that folks north of the Rio Grande need to know more about their neighbor.

Paul Rich
President, Policy Studies Organization



The NGO in North America: Three Countries and their Pluralism, Associationalism, and Volunteerism

By Paul Rich and David Merchant, Policy Studies Organization

Despite the recent popularity of the subject, social science has yet to reach a consensus about the ingredients of civil society.ⁱ A look at the definitions by different thinkers will be useful as well as at the possible disadvantages to just embracing the idea of civil society and trashing the state. For the purpose of this discussion, it is useful to point out the differences in opinion from one author to the other, not to settle them.ⁱⁱ

One approach in the past was to see civil society as opposition to the state. For example “Kant saw the state as a ‘lawful authority’ that he opposed to the civil society of ‘free individuals striving against each other’. Hegel... regarded the state as a universal and rational institution, whilst civil society consisted of the partial and conflicting interests of individual and corporate groups. However, they agreed that the relationship between the state and civil society was continually changing, and that the state could only be understood with respect to its history.”ⁱⁱⁱ

Immanuel Kant puts forward the notion of a competition in society, to be understood by the search of happiness of the citizens. Thus the state must “regulate” the paths on which the citizens walk: “Kant’s civil society was a moral community that required autonomous people to subject their action to the universal ethical standards of the categorical imperative. Civil society for Kant represented a set of possibilities appropriate to civilized people, and many commentators have noted that the categorical imperative is really a set of procedures.”^{iv} Kant emphasized in the magnitude of the freedom required by the citizens to enjoy it and not to be taken away by the state or any other entity.^v In contrast, Hegel opposed the idea of freedom in which Kant firmly anchored his work.^{vi} Victor Pérez-Díaz comments that Hegel’s understanding of civil society “was ambiguous”:

To begin with, Hegel used the same term [civil society] with two meanings. In the first instance he referred to a stage in a succession of ethical communities, from the family to the state (that is, civil society in our first sense), including the administration of justice by means of a system of laws, courts of justice, and public authority, as well as society proper, all roughly corresponding to the sociopolitical configuration of England by the early nineteenth century. In the second he referred to an element within the most modern of those ethical communities (that is, to civil society in our second sense). This civil society in a more restricted sense would be a part of the “modern state,” corresponding roughly to the sociopolitical configuration of Prussia in Hegel’s time.^{vii}

In Hegel's attempt to comprehend what civil society is, as Pérez-Díaz has suggested, there is a fusion with an authority and also with the market.^{viii} Karl Marx on the other hand directs the discussion towards *citizenship*.^{ix} Dominique Colas argues "For Marx, as for Hegel, 'civil society' did not refer to the whole of an organized society; rather, the 'political development' of society corresponded to a progressive differentiation of civil society from the state."^x A distinctive to Marx's work is accepting that the major engagement of a population is with "civil society as a purely economic entity"^{xi} The resurgence of the Orthodox Church in Russia after the fall of Communism is just one example of why this may not be entirely so.

For Marx, the primary enemy of civil society is the state. The only option in confronting the state was through civil war. For our purposes in discussing Mexico, Marx's opinion is alarming. If, fueled by NGOs violence became the dominant reality in Mexico, the cost would be enormous. Fears of such confrontation did in fact help postpone reform because of doubts about transition. The absence of confrontation on a nationwide scale and that Mexico has moved away from a monolithic one-party state with minimal bloodshed is an unsung accomplishment and offers some hope that its developing NGOs will behave responsibly.

Any discussion of civil society and political culture invokes the ubiquitous Antonio Gramsci. He stressed, with regards to civil society, "...that the grip of property-owning class is most vulnerable within the cultural institutions of civil society, which otherwise function to 'popularize' and to reproduce among the subordinate classes and groups the dominant bourgeois senses of reality or *egemonia*."^{xii} Neil Gerlach and Sheryl N. Hamilton comment, "Antonio Gramsci stated that, 'the State's goal is its own disappearance, in other words, the re-absorption of political society within civil society' (Gramsci, 1971:253). (...) In a sense, [Canadian] civil society has been separated from political society, but contrary to Gramsci's expectations, this has not produced a more progressive democratic social order."^{xiii} Another scholar remarks: "Gramsci's account of the relation between the state and civil society was often unclear and contradictory, but he wanted to emphasize the role of ideology and accord at least equal standing with state-organized coercion."^{xiv}

All of this suggests that civil society is not a new discovery. The subject has been studied for a long time. Ernest Gellner called attention to civil society and the voluntary sector and so did Amitai Etzioni as well as many others, and the work of Almond and Verba is crucial. They highlighted the cultural pluralism which exist in different countries with their classic studies of five nations: Britain, United States, Germany, Italy, and Mexico, which takes the civil society scholar step by step in the appreciation of individual country's problems while he studying how the voluntary sector has different meanings in each. Almond and Verba stressed the role of voluntary associations long before Putnam. Almond and Verba tell us that "voluntary associations are the prime means by which the function of mediating between the individual and the state is performed. Through them the individual is able to relate himself effectively and meaningfully to the political system."^{xv}

Moving forward, Kumi Naidoo and Rajesh Tandon are of the opinion that "to understand civil society — and particularly what needs strengthening and how to go about doing it — requires identifying its principal functions as the first step in defining what a strong and healthy civil society might look like."^{xvi} In another view, "Civil society implies that autonomous actors exist and engage in self-organized activities to express their own vision of the world and their work towards achieving this vision. By its very traditions, civil society is the twin of a truly liberal perspective of the world — a world in which responsible, active citizens make contributions to the public good and the community."^{xvii}

As for Francis Fukuyama, while critics do not find it hard to accuse him of a lack of originality, it would be unfair. One of his virtues is discovering the obvious when nobody else has. A controversial scholar who proclaimed the "end of history", by which he assumed a triumph of the Western civilization. Fukuyama singles out: "'Civil society'—a complex welter of intermediate institutions, including businesses, voluntary associations, educational institutions, clubs, unions, media, charities, and churches—"^{xviii} It is, pace Fukuyama, a truism that almost no work in social science is totally original, but builds on the past. And it is remarkable how often we forget that.

The claims of novelty involved in all of this have been excessive. So too are the claims that NGOs are a panacea for all social ills. Many scholars in the past who have offered perspectives on civil society have agreed on the sometimes-strained relationship — and even war — between the state and the civil organizations.^{xix} Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato point out: "Phrases involving the *resurrection*, *reemergence*, *rebirth*, *reconstruction*, or *renaissance* of civil society are heard repeatedly today. These terms, indicating the continuity of an emerging political paradigm with essential trends of early modernity, are misleading in one important respect: They refer not only to something *modern* but also to something significantly *new*."^{xx}

To think about civil society as a new concept, as Cohen and Arato indicate, can be misleading. What there is, is a fresh preoccupation, although many scholars have contributed in the past: "For a period of more than a decade and a half now, citizen initiatives, associations and movements have increasingly oriented themselves toward the defense and expansion of a variously described societal realm, the forms and projects of which are clearly distinguished from statism."^{xxi} Currently, the power of groups is getting more consideration, but civil society has existed in different forms for centuries. Cohen and Arato argue that the new component of the discussion about civil society is relating it so forcefully to democratization: "... [to] contemporary forms of self-organization and self-constitution."^{xxii}

If we accept that that civil society should be seen as a major focus of research in contemporary political science, it should be important as well in concrete situations. Here the concern is about how it functions in the United States and Mexico. What are the boundaries of such an examination? Fukuyama has this to say:

‘Civil society’—a complex welter of intermediate institutions, (...) builds, in turn, on the family, the primary instrument by which people are socialized into their culture and given the skills that allow them to live in broader society and through which the values and knowledge of that society are transmitted across the generations. (...) A thriving civil society depends on a people's habits, customs, and ethics—attributes that can be shaped only indirectly through conscious political action and must otherwise be nourished through and increased awareness and respect for culture.^{xxiii}

Important to Fukuyama is the idea of activism through “political action”, which only can be played in one field, the interaction with the state. But for that purpose the basis of a society is to ‘trust’ in each other in order to make our voices be heard in unison.

Robert Putnam is then one of the most recent, but not the first to emphasize that to give an accurate description of the *modus operandi* of civil society, the non-governmental organization or NGO figures large. One might say that Putnam did not discover civil society but did rediscover Alexis de Tocqueville, the French political theorist who is always mentioned when American society is discussed,^{xxiv} and whose work is deeply influenced by his bemusement over the variety of Americans' associationalism. His amazement at the enthusiasm of Americans for voluntary groups is an early nineteenth-century indication that now we are talking about a rediscovery not a discovery. Alexis de Tocqueville saw civil society as a synonym for civic association and brought to center stage realization of the importance of the voluntary feelings of Americans, the urge to get together:

“Tocqueville was right,” Robert Putnam proclaimed as he concluded his immense Italian studies by asserting that it was northern Italy's dense network of voluntary associations and its accumulated reservoir of social capital that deserved principal credit for producing effective democratic government. Trumpeting his attention to the primacy of these “sociocultural factors”, Putnam seamlessly wove Tocqueville into the early conception frame of his own larger project, which has extended during the past decade to encompass a series of works calling for a reappraisal of the very texture of day-to-day American civic life. “Making democracy work.” Putnam's now famous argument goes, requires the engagement (or reengagement in America's case) of citizens to the tasks of building (or rebuilding) thriving networks of social interaction and trust. By adducing Tocqueville's powerful imprimatur, Putnam has sought to enhance his theoretical argument and bolster his own “social capitalist” agenda.^{xxv}

Putnam has attracted so much attention partly because in the United States where Tocqueville noted the proliferation of NGOs as early as the 1830s, there is no conceivable cause for which there is a NGO or NGOs with a political agenda. The enthusiasm of Americans to join diverse groups raises another matter that has become married to the issue of civil society, the health of *volunteerism*. Putnam has almost created an industry devoted to taking the pulse of volunteer activity

An example of the American infatuation with organizations is cemeteries. The rights of the living individuals are what we know from a charter or constitution and many groups work to defend those rights, but in the United States there are a number of associations that protect the rights of the dead. They take a position on urbanization or pollution because there is a tendency to move cities, which implies a move of the graveyards.^{xxvi} This is only one case that serves to illustrate how concerned American society is about any kind of issue and promotes the study of it through an active participation of its citizens.

Attention in the United States has focused the work of Putnam, who has been an alarmist about the health of American volunteerism. He substantiates this with examples such as the National Grange, the Eastern Star, the Moose and other distinctively American movements that have diminishing memberships.

A rebuttal to this has been offered by Paul Rich, who maintains that not all NGOs are good actors and uses as examples several secret societies also used by Putnam, such as Freemasonry, Knights of Columbus, Odd Fellows, and so on.^{xxvii} Rich maintains that some organizations whose decline Putnam cites as evidence of a decline in volunteerism, do not contribute to the development of democracy.^{xxviii} They have long excluded people on the grounds of religion, race, or gender. He questions whether they really help sustain civil society.^{xxix}

Healthy or not, there are many more NGOs in the United States than in Mexico. While discussing non-governmental organizations as what links the state with its citizens, one has to stop for a moment and understand the significance of this. The desire to volunteer is often represented as a major characteristic of American society.^{xxx} In the United States there is a formal and well-established culture of volunteerism, rather than in Mexico. Margaret Bell comments: "Volunteering primarily exists at the local level. It is both managed and unmanaged. In some cultures it is most visible in 'organized' ways and clearly seen as part of community life expressed at sporting events, in schools, hospitals, libraries, and in community service and cultural networks."^{xxxi} There is an extensive amount of literature devoted to the study of volunteerism, many prominent scholars have discussed the issue, and some are giving new ideas regarding a recent decline of associationalism.^{xxxii}

Typically, in an issue of the *Chicago Tribune* dedicated to volunteerism, there are comments about support for community activity at the paper itself: "[The *Chicago Tribune*] employees provide financial support to a variety of causes and

programs, they also give generously of their time."^{xxxiii} This is a good example of how deep-rooted in America is an eagerness to volunteer. In every corporation, industry, educational institution, government agency, there is a push to be involved by giving voluntary help.

This recalls discussion of what is public, because volunteering implies a concern of the public sphere. How much of a public association is the French Academy? One has to wonder about hype about volunteering, whether at the *Tribune* or elsewhere, because one volunteer may be campaigning for Planned Parenthood and another be in an anti-abortion movement. But even if the volunteers oppose each other, that is indeed democracy and the truth is that whether it is for general public good or not, voluntary groups give America an identity. Don E. Eberly has said that "civil society is part and parcel of what America is."^{xxxiv}

American NGOs are commonly regarded as open affairs, which is true of trades unions or humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross. The more controversial groups that Paul Rich writes about such as Freemasonry or the Knights of Columbus, do not come to mind immediately when this subject of intermediary groups is discussed. Nevertheless, if one was looking for an American NGO in the eighteenth century, it would be the Masons and indeed almost would have to be. Secret ritualistic lodges are, ironically, the original NGOs.

If there is a "renaissance"^{xxxv} in political culture scholarship -- or a "return", as Gabriel Almond puts it,^{xxxvi} one has to also consider that NGOs are a mixed blessing – something we will discuss more fully in the following pages. As a positive force, they do contribute to political wellbeing. Seymour Martin Lipset remarked in *Union Democracy* (1956) that voluntary groups make much more difficult the triumph of such movements as Communism and Fascism and help mobilize diversity in the political arena. They are a training ground for politics, a source of new ideas, and a significant method of communication.^{xxxvii}

That is the stance taken by Putnam: NGOs are good, some NGOs are declining, so democracy is in danger. At the same time that Lipset's remarks about NGOs and political culture in America (exceptionalism being his password) have come back into currency, a major concern is being expressed that all is not well in the relationship between civil society and democracy in what should be the outstanding exemplar, the United States. Professor Putnam thinks the number of "couch potatoes" is growing and watching television is replacing civil participation, epitomized in the alleged move from group to solitary bowling.^{xxxviii}

Back and forth the argument goes. Is America really in a period of decline as far as volunteerism is concerned? Lipset cautioned in *Agrarian Socialism* that individual organizations rise and fall, and that so far no complex society has discovered the secret of equilibrium when it comes to particular ones maintaining

their stability and social gains.^{xxxix} Possibly Putnam has missed a point. He has mistaken natural Darwinian selection for ecological disaster. The phenomenal growth of youth soccer and of miniature golf suggests that some people who were bowling together are now coaching or putting.

While Putnam has made a contribution by sparking debate over whether volunteerism has ebbed, just the spirited social exchanges of the Internet and the enormous non-paid activity in constructing World Wide Web archives shows the other side of the coin to which we refer.^{xl} All manner of discussion, lobby, and support groups have sprung up via the Net.^{xli} Putnam relies on surveys that show a decline in conventional membership in organizations that may have declined because of changes in interest and constituency rather than a lack of public spirit. People in America do play less bridge, but soccer is becoming almost as popular as American-style football. Times change.

The fact is that both pessimism and optimism about the health of American civil society have been around for a long time prior to the Bowling Alone controversy. In 1991 when Robert Fowler tackled the issue of community in America, he acknowledged that, "One interpretation suggests that although community had had its moment in American history, the unfolding of our story has sapped its possibilities." But he went on to criticize those who "...describe a crisis or rather many crises and agree that community is not a hegemonic idea in America culture and, sometimes, that it has never been."^{xlii} Alex Inkeles in an essay for a volume edited by Seymour Martin Lipset, *The Third Century: America as a Post-Industrial Society*, found a continuing commitment in American history to community participation and a consistently high degree of interpersonal trust compared to other countries. About the current revived interest in volunteerism and civil society he comments, "Social science seems more devoted to the recycling of old ideas rather than to the invention of new ones."^{xliii}

Accusing Putnam of "intellectual and journalistic superficiality", Robert J. Samuelson found that even bowling was simply showing a more relaxed style rather than demonstrating a dearth of community. Anyway, argued Samuelson, softball leagues now had more than 40 million participants, in contrast with only 27 million in 1972. Conceding that unions had slumped, he pointed out that there had been an increase participation in literary and art groups and professional groups, suggesting perhaps a change in the population rather than a decline in spirit. American associational life today he insists is less along racial, sexual and ethnic lines and thus has improved in quality. After all, he ripostes, "The Ku Klux Klan didn't promote trust." "Mostly bunk" is his view of the Bowling Alone alarm. "Americans haven't become recluses," he commented.^{xliv}

Another critic of Putnam, Diana Eck, discusses how the American penchant for volunteerism has influenced traditional religious groups that are relatively new to the country. "There are Hindu groups that adopt a highway and an organization called Sikhs Serving America that tries to help street people. There has been a

proliferation of "voluntary associations based on democratic, and not necessarily Christian, principles" which counteracts the notion that people are bowling alone.^{xlv}

Americans are still inventing associations and for every sewing circle and fraternal lodge that has declined, another sort of volunteerism springs up. An optimist, Professor Ann Boyles, writes, "It is perhaps the most significant social phenomenon of our time: the sudden efflorescence of countless movements and organizations of social change at local, regional, and international levels." She adds, "This blossoming of civil society, as represented by non-governmental organizations, community-based groups, academic institutions, and others, is significantly reshaping the international agenda."^{xlvi}

While the "discovery" that the key to democracy is civil society is not as novel as had been made out, the proposition that understanding democracy requires understanding civil society, social capital and political culture, is important.^{xlvii} Steven Brint claims that Aristotle was the first to emphasize the ties between democracy and political culture,^{xlviii} and to assert that political culture was the key to holding power in society.^{xlix} However, the present high interest in how a healthy political culture is maintained^l has become almost synonymous with an interest in the conditions fostering democracy.^{li} Larry Diamond remarks, "But increasingly, scholars are recognizing the symbiotic nature of the relationship between state and civil society, in the process of democratic consolidation and more generally. By enhancing the accountability, responsiveness, inclusiveness, and hence legitimacy of the regime, a vigorous, pluralistic civil society strengthens a democratic state and moves it toward consolidation."^{lii}

It was only a matter of time before discussion prompted by Putnam's research would spread worldwide. As has been suggested, new relationships between state and society are global.^{liii} This is the situation in Mexico where a considerable number of NGOs have been created and begun to make demands of the state. This struggle of an emerging civil society in less-developed countries, particularly, was plagued by political controversies. Take the presidential elections in Mexico of 1988, where a dubious process elected President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Then there is the conflict in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas that caught the attention of Mexican organizations and even of the international community.^{liv}

Thus, NGOs are crucial to the development of civil society everywhere. The differences between countries are large. The work of Ann Hudock is especially pertinent. She believes there are two categories, Northern and Southern NGOs. What she intends by separating them is to give a better explanation of what the differences are between them and their actions in developed and less-developed countries.^{lv} For that reason it is necessary to examine the contrast between Mexican NGOs and American NGOs.

For Mexico, all of this is significant. If it is generally agreed that volunteerism and associationalism are pivotal to nurturing and sustaining democracy, their health in countries that are in transition from non-democratic regimes requires more thought than it has received.^{lvi} This is not saying that volunteerism is democracy's panacea. Nor is it saying that all organizations axiomatically democratic helpmates.

Ronald Inglehart warned: "There is no question that economic factors are politically important, but they are only part of the story. I argue that different societies are characterized to very different degrees by specific syndromes of political culture attitudes; that these cultural differences are relatively enduring, but not immutable; and that they have major political consequences, being closely linked to the viability of democratic institutions."^{lvii} So they do, with particular relevance to emerging democracies such as that of Mexico.^{lviii}

The potential for conflict has been mentioned. Interest groups such as those involved with women's rights, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender issues, and many other rights' groups, while playing an essential part in the construction of public policies create a conflictive situation if they do not get the attention that they are looking for. In contemporary Mexico there have been warning signs of the potential for violent conflict -- for example the Chiapas rebellion and the UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) students' strikes. When a group feels disenfranchised they will resort to physical force. The importance of representation of interest groups through NGOs is related to domestic peace, especially in developing countries.

An example of what the emerging problems caused by NGOs are about is the now often spotlighted role of humanitarian aid organizations. When in the nineteenth century the International Red Cross was the only major organization working in the relief area, extending to its representatives the courtesies that diplomatic protocol mandates was a relatively easy proposition. Today the field is crowded with worthy groups who would seem to deserve some sort of protected standing so they can do their work adequately: *Caritas International, Catholic Relief Services, International Save the Children Alliance, Lutheran World Federation, Oxfam* and the *World Council of Churches* are just a few. There were approximately 800 NGOs currently operating in Croatia!^{lix} This is a situation which the Vienna Convention never anticipated. The changed climate was noticeable at the UN Conference on Environment and Development at Rio de Janeiro in June 1992: "Some 9,000 NGOs from 167 countries sent some 15,000 delegates to attend a forum parallel to official intergovernmental meetings. Some 1,500 NGOs were accredited to the official conference proceedings. NGOs at local, regional, and international levels were recognized as key participants in the agenda for sustainable development that resulted from the conference."^{lx}

There was however a long gestation period, because as early as at the Stockholm meeting on the environment in 1972, Maurice Strong, secretary general of the conference, proposed broadening NGO participation beyond those NGOs on

formal consultative status with the UN: “Later in the 1980s, national and even local NGOs were admitted to UN conferences. Nonetheless, the number of NGOs from all over the world – particularly from the developing world – that came to Rio surprised the governments. Developing countries had initially been skeptical of (Northern) environmental NGO presence; they later sought to ensure adequate NGO representation from developing countries.”^{lxi}

Since Rio, NGOs have made further headway at the UN. They were well represented at the 1993 human rights meetings in Vienna. At the population meetings in Cairo, 1994; at the social development conference in Copenhagen in 1995; and at the women’s meetings in Beijing in 1995: “Almost 2,500 NGOs were accredited to the Beijing conference, making it the largest UN gathering ever held.”^{lxii} So it is not a surprise to find Boutros Ghali welcomed NGOs to a meeting at UN headquarters with these effusive words: “I want you to consider this your home. Until recently these words might have caused astonishment. The United Nations was considered to be a forum of sovereign states alone. Within the space of a few short years, this attitude has changed. Non-governmental organizations are now considered full participants in international life.”^{lxiii}

While in the UN charter, article 71 provided that the UN Economic and Social Council to “make suitable arrangements for consultation with nongovernmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence”, in 1949 only 90 NGOs had consultative status: “In 1968 the legal framework for NGO consultation was redefined under Resolution 1296 of the UN Economic and Social Council. Despite politicized UN-NGO relationships during the Cold War, the number of NGOs with consultative status grew from something under 400 in 1968 to more than double that in the mid-1980s. By 1994, this number had reached almost 1000.”^{lxiv}

To what rights if any are these groups entitled? For example, should their representatives be able to pass through immigration and customs with facility? Should their communications with each other and their home offices be protected from inquisitive eyes? in other words how much diplomatic status should surround them?

We all sympathize with and wish to support their efforts of mercy. However, should Oxfam have the same status as the Ukraine or Trinidad? Caution should be exercised in extending protocol benefits, and that there has been a lack of thought in the granting of diplomatic umbrellas to international organizations, a need for discussion as to their place in the emerging global configuration. This applies whether they are once-removed representative of governments such as the World Bank and International Air Transport Association, or more clearly fall in the category of voluntary associations.

Undoubtedly many of the organizations founded or expanded in recent years are not only worthy but can justly claim that they have been invited to participate more aggressively on the international stage. Every social concern, from ecology to the World Wide Web, offers examples of governments in an era of government downsizing inviting non-governmentals to play a bigger part than previously. But in one of their operettas, *The Gondoliers*, Gilbert and Sullivan provide the line "If everyone is somebody, nobody is anybody." The demands on the international system made by the vast number of new states created since World War II have already been controversial and have overtaxed international systems, and now the demands of NGOs are compounding the problem. In just over twenty-five years, the number of diplomatic missions operating in Washington increased from 94 to 139, operating 320 buildings -- a city to itself.^{lxv}

The old notion that countries exchanged ministers rather than ambassadors, or even consuls if the relationship was not important, is long dead, and in fact a number of Latin American countries if the budget can stand it have three or more ambassadors in the United States: one accredited to the American government, another accredited to the Organization of American States, and one or more accredited to the United Nations. Consider then the implications of adding to the stew the representatives of NGOs.^{lxvi}

There is certainly a case to be made for placing lots of what is happening in the way of NGO activity within the covering protection of the international system. Many of these organizations around the world are trying to operate in extremely contentious situations where the protection of protocol is admittedly desirable:

There is a pressing need for northern NGOs in particular to develop clear guidelines for their engagement with governments during relief operations. The weakness of local authority structures in the large-scale relief operations in Rwanda, Afghanistan, Mozambique and Somalia, for instance, explains to a large extent the *ad hoc* nature of NGO-government relations. Moreover, the relative freedom enjoyed by NGOs engaging in cross-border activities in the 1980s has, in many cases, resulted in operational codes of practice that implicitly assume that a host government is an obstacle to, rather than partner in, the development process. NGO field directors are not always sufficiently briefed prior to negotiating access and operational principles with a host government; clearer policy directives from NGO headquarters will help to avoid a negative backlash from governments that is, unfortunately, becoming all too common. Recent NGO legislation introduced in Kenya, Sri Lanka and Rwanda to name but three of the most contentious in recent years suggests that NGO-government relations during and after an emergency phase require urgent attention.^{lxvii}

So a new field (and new headache) is appearing, one about how to deal with international organizations of the quasi-governmental sort and, increasingly, with international NGOs lacking any government links. This problem will grow. Private

groups are now taking on governmental functions and becoming "quasi-governmental", neither fish nor fowl. A good example would be health organizations, the number of which has vastly multiplied beyond the simpler world of WHO (World Health Organization).

No part of the world is exempt from the NGO expansion. The growth of voluntary organizations in Latin America is reflected in the fact that a recent guide to nongovernmental organizations in the region cites 42 directories containing information about more than 20,000 groups, a doubling since 1990. The assertion is now being made that this constitutes a second or parallel world of large numbers of networks of people.

Not surprisingly then, NGOs are becoming more aware of the United Nations and other international forums as their activities have taken on an international cast. Paid professional political consultants are targeting NGOs as customers for their services.^{lxviii} South African trade unions now attend an annual conference on protocol: "As South African non-governmental organizations become increasingly engaged in international affairs where they will have to negotiate their way through official corridors, they will need to assimilate and be exposed to the necessary codes of conduct integral to successful diplomacy.

"Following a request from the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the FGD organized a workshop for trade unionists dealing with the norms and standards of international diplomatic protocol. Helena Burger, a professional consultant, previously employed at the Department of Foreign Affairs, conducted the workshop. Its success has led to a proposal to host an annual protocol workshop for a wider spectrum of organizations."^{lxix}

The kind of problems in dealing with NGOs are encapsulated in the debate surrounding the international standing of the Knights of Malta, a movement which is a candidate for being the first and oldest NGO -- if one bears in mind that the Vatican or Holy See until well into the nineteenth century controlled a large part of what is now Italy and thus was clearly a temporal power. Indeed, the Knights of Malta are a unique example of a "GO that became an NGO". When Napoleon occupied the island of Malta in the Mediterranean in 1798, he overthrew the regime of the Knights, who had governed the island for centuries. They fled, and one group of Knights established a "government-in-exile", as it were, in Rome.^{lxx} Granted extra-territorial rights, in Rome the knights became the first NGO to enjoy the shelter of diplomatic protocol (unless one chooses to regard their single building as a nation-state). They have supported during the ensuing two centuries some fine charities, but they are jealous about their passports and other privileges such as ambassadorial immunity

Some of the dilemmas presented by the world community's recognition or non-recognition of the Knights may be useful in thinking about NGOs in general. One becomes involved in arcane debates over the legitimacy of contending parties, because in the case of the Knights of Malta, the Vatican and the Rome-based knights have a long list of similarly named groups whose legitimacy they deny:

"Orders Not Affiliated with the Order of Malta & Not Recognized by the Vatican - There are dozens of organizations which use the name, symbols, and tradition of the Order of Malta in an un-authorized fashion. The organizations listed below have no affiliation with the Order of Malta and are not recognized by the Vatican:

Grand Sovereign Dynastic Hospitaller Order of St. John - New York City, New York, USA

Illustrious Order of the Knights of Malta - Reading, Pennsylvania, USA

Imperial Russian Order of St. John of Jerusalem - New York City, New York, USA

Knights Hospitaller OSJ - Knights of Malta - Bradenton, Florida, USA

Knights of Malta, San Francisco, California, USA

Knights of Malta, The Grand Chancellery - Great Neck, New York, USA

Knights of Malta, Sov. Order of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem - Bellevue, USA

Knights of St. John - several US cities

Order of St. John - San Francisco, California, USA

Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Ecumenical Knights of Malta - Bethesda, Maryland, USA

Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Priorate of the Holy Trinity - Villedieu, France

Sovereign Order of St. John - Benton, Tennessee, USA

Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem - Ontario, Canada^{lxxi}

Possibly many of these groups are spurious or not charitable, but then again others may be quite legitimate. Once the concept of conferring international status is divorced from a criteria that requires control of territorial base, in other words when control of land is not critical to the award of diplomatic status and conferring of the protective umbrella that goes with that recognition, a number of problems arise.

The Rome-based Knights claim to have diplomatic recognition from about 80 countries, but to be on the safe side they have also acquired permanent observer status from the United Nations as an NGO, thus getting the benefits of both categories. There are clearly some other groups of Knights which also seek recognition and which are not on the proscribed list of the Rome group -- but are not on any approved list either.^{lxxii} To add to the confusion, there are also groups which the Vatican "half recognizes" and which have ties to the Dutch, Swedish, and British crowns but which have achieved even less diplomatic recognition so far than the Rome Knights.^{lxxiii}

The complex situation with respect to the competing versions of the Knights of Malta illustrates the point about dangers inherent in the extension of political privileges.^{lxxiv} The international community has no really effective way of sorting out who is entitled amongst the NGOs to such rights. Through many years diplomatic recognition based on control of territory has been a lynchpin of diplomacy. With the nation-state, although there are legitimate complaints about so-called postage stamp republics that have the privileges of major powers, there is a well-developed idea of what a state is. The controversies, such as that which surrounds the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus, have been fought out over relatively familiar ground as far as how to determine recognition.

The extension of protocol privileges to the proliferating number of quasi governmental international organizations, whether the International Seed Testing Authority or the Parliamentary Association or to any of innumerable meritorious NGOs, some partly government supported and some entirely voluntary, should be examined closely and skeptically by foreign ministries and protocol officers.

One might accept the Vatican view of who is entitled to be recognized as a Knight of Malta, but to do so would invite considerable criticism -- which is possibly why the Knights, notwithstanding their long history and good works, have never managed to achieve unambiguous recognition from the world community. Since several of the competing organizations of Knights of Malta have connections with European monarchies, by no means can the potential for dissension be dismissed.^{lxxv} How does one pass judgment on the thousands of other groups that are lining up at the door for the chance to avoid long lines at customs and immigration, gain exemption from taxes, and fly a flag on the front bumpers of their cars?

While the Knights are the possibly oldest NGO to have acquired some stature in the international community, they, when examined carefully, are only one of a world of contending claimants for the distinction of being Knights of Malta -- which should sound an alarm about treating lightly the extension of privileges to entities and into areas where we are dealing not with nation-states but with hybrid movements. In summary, we need to encourage scholarship on the question of which NGOs will acquire consultative status at the UN. The topic is one of the understudied aspects of civil society. The irritation of the Mexican government with the NGOs that flocked to Chiapas is just one instance of an increasing problem.

ⁱ "Formulating a definition of civil society that is precise and that enjoys wide acceptance is not easy. The shape and definition of civil society is often affected by the purposes to which a given group directs it (...)." Eberly, *Op. cit.*, 5.

ⁱⁱ "While there is no single, agreed-upon definition of civil society, most usages of the term reflect two institutional features and the values they embody (...)." Amitai Etzioni. "Communitarianism and the Moral Dimension". Eberly, Don E., ed. *Op. cit.*, 130-131.

ⁱⁱⁱ Howard, Caygill. "Kant and Hegel on the state and civil society". Richard Bellany & Angus Ross eds., *Op cit.*, 155.

^{iv} John Ehrenberg *Civil Society: The Critical History of an Idea*. New York: New York University Press, 1999, 113.

^v Caygill, *Op. cit.*, 156.

^{vi} "Hegel tried to offer a reconciliation of 'subjective freedom' and 'objective freedom', of individual liberties and socioeconomic and political institutions, the institutions being understood as providing the basis for such subjective freedom. However, it is quite significant that Hegel referred to objective freedom by the name of 'the state', and not of 'civil society'." Victor Pérez-Díaz. "The Possibility of Civil Society: Traditions, Character and Challenges" Hall, John A. ed., *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*. Massachusetts: Polity Press, 1995, 96.

^{vii} Victor Pérez-Díaz. *The Return of Civil Society: The Emergence of Democratic Spain*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998, 70-71.

^{viii} "(...), Hegel understood civil society (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*) as a *historically produced* sphere of ethical life which comprises the economy, social classes, corporations and institutions concerned with the administration of welfare (*Polizei*) and civil law. The 'system of need' stimulated by civil society in this sense decisively separates the human condition from the natural environment. Needs multiply and diversify, making it clear that civil society is not a pre-given and invariable substratum of life existing outside of space and time."

John Keane. *Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998, 50.

^{ix} "The problem of uniting individual and social wills—of articulating a model of society that would at the same time represent the autonomy of its individual members—that is, the essence of the problem of civil society, continued into the nineteenth century. In the second half of that century, following the critique of Marx, the growing capitalist economy of West European societies, and the rise of socialist movements there, the terms of these problems changed, even if the problems themselves remained the same. Thus, in the second half of the nineteenth century there is less concern with civil society and more with the idea of citizenship."

Adam B. Seligman. *The Idea of Civil Society*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992, 101.

^x Dominique Colas. *Civil Society and Fanaticism*. Tr. Amy Jacobs, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997, 24.

^{xi} Ibid.

^{xii} Keane, *Op. cit.*, 15.

^{xiii} Neil Gerlach and Sheryl N. Hamilton, "Considering Complexity in Canadian Civil Society: A Case Study of Studio XX", *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Canadienses*, Mexico City: Nueva Época, October 2002, Vol. 3, Número 4, 58.

^{xiv} Ehrenberg, *Op. cit.*, 209.

^{xv} Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965, 245.

^{xvi} Kumi Naidoo and Rajesh Tandon. "The Promise of Civil Society", *Civil Society at the Millennium*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc., 1999, 5.

^{xvii} Volker Then and Peter Walkenhorst. "Strengthening Civil Society's Capacity to Promote Democratic Governance: The Role of Foundations", in *Civil Society at the Millennium*. (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc., 1999), 128.

^{xviii} Fukuyama, *Op. cit.*, 4-5.

^{xix} According to Seligman: "(...) although the concept of civil society was defined differently by different theorist of the French, Scottish, and German Enlightenments, what was common to all attempts to articulate a notion of civil society was the problematic relation between the private and the public, the individual and the social, public ethics and individual interests, individual passions and public concerns." This description of earlier times certainly rings true to the contemporary debate.

Eberly, *Op. cit.*, 23

^{xx} Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato. *Civil Society and Political Theory*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1992, 29.

^{xxi} Ibid.

^{xxii} Ibid, 30.

^{xxiii} Fukuyama, *Op. cit.*, 4-5.

^{xxiv} "Alexis de Tocqueville, in many ways the theoretical godfather of civil society on the American scene, described civil society as civic association: It consisted of legions of charities, lodges, fraternal orders, civic leagues, and religious associations." Eberly, *Op. cit.*, 7.

^{xxv} Robert T. Gannett, Jr., "Bowling Ninepins in Tocqueville's Township", *American Political Science Review*, February 2003, Vol.97 No.1, 1.

^{xxvi} See The Cincinnati Catholic Cemetery Society. (2000-2002) <http://www.cccsohio.org/>; The Ohio Cemetery Preservation Society (1999-2003) <http://www.rootsweb.com/~ohcps/>; The Troy Cemetery Association, Inc. (2002) <http://www.oakwoodcemetery.org/>.

^{xxvii} Paul Rich. *El rol de las Organizaciones No Gubernamentales y la sociedad civil en la nueva democracia mexicana*. Paper given at Congreso de responsables de proyectos de Ciencias Sociales, CONACYT, Oaxaca, Mexico: 19 March 2000, 6.

^{xxviii} For comments by Seymour Martin Lipset about Rich's views in contrast with Putnam's, see his remarks at the tenth anniversary of the *Journal of Democracy* Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Alexis de Tocqueville and the Future of Democracy", *Journal of Democracy*. 08 August 2002. <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/panel.htm>

^{xxix} "Civil society theorists tend to view democratic society as fragile, and see democracy depending for its success on those institutions which socialize infant individuals into adult citizens, including and especially the family. If this is true, the central task of democracy is for older generations to devote themselves to socializing the young by not only passing along character and democratic habits, but also preserving the character-shaping institutions that play this role in the community." Eberly, *Op. cit.*, 19.

^{xxx} "Few things are more important to America's social order than the dynamic role voluntary associations have played in creating a stronger society. This social sector represents the most dynamic and unique force within the American socio-political system. It stands out as a peculiarly American mechanism for social action and moral renewal." *Ibid*, 3.

^{xxxi} Margaret Bell. "Volunteering: Underpinning Social Action in civil society for the New Millennium", in *Civil Society at the Millennium*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc., 1999, 29.

^{xxxii} For example, Harvard Professor Robert Putnam has discussed it in his famous book *Bowling Alone*.

^{xxxiii} "While [The] Chicago Tribune and its employees provide financial support to a variety of causes and programs, they also give generously of their time. Much of this activity is coordinated through TribUnity, the employee-driven volunteer group that organizes participation in a variety of causes throughout the year—from serving meals to the homeless to book drives to walking and bowling to raise funds for

charity. Worth the wait: One night last July, Ileen Kelly, a sales representative in the Chicago Tribune's Advertising department, volunteered through TribUnity to serve dinner at the Uptown Café, a North Side institution that provides free meals to low-income and homeless people. Kelly found the experience so rewarding that she immediately signed up for the next outing at the Café and eventually asked to become coordinator of TribUnity's volunteer shifts for 2003. (...) Community Spirit: On a Saturday afternoon last June, 8,000 volunteers (including many Chicago Tribune employees) turned out for the 9th Annual Chicago Cares Serve-a-thon. These hard-working Good Samaritans were bused to various service sites and managed to complete projects at 76 schools and agencies. As media sponsors, the Chicago Tribune and metromix.com, the Tribune's online entertainment guide, assisted in promoting the event and recruiting volunteers. United for United Way: The Chicago Tribune has always been a dedicated supporter of United Way; in fact the company historically has been one of the city's top United Way contributors. Last year, Chicago Tribune employees donated more than \$700,000. Celebrating Community with Special Events: While it would be impossible to list them all, below is a brief sampling of Chicago Tribune-supported events from the past year. Suburban community events included the Downers Grove Ice Sculpture Festival, the Lombard Lilac Parade and Naperville's Last Fling Labor Day weekend. In the city, the Chicago Tribune supported neighborhood street fairs and festivals such as Andersonville's Midsommarfest, Chinatown's Summer Fair, MayFest and Edison Park Fest. The Chicago Tribune also sponsored numerous culture and heritage celebrations, including Dance Africa, ¡Viva! Chicago and the 7th Annual Korean Street Festival. Additional Chicago Tribune sponsored events: Blues Fest, Evanston's Starlight Concert Series, the Chicago Jazz Ensemble, Taste of Chicago, Chicago's Heart of Italy Food & Wine Festival, Taste of Randolph Street, the Magnificent Mile Arts Festival, the African Festival of the Arts, the Community Arts Fair and the DuSable Museum Arts & Crafts Festival. Finally, the Chicago Tribune supported three minor-league baseball teams (the Schaumburg Flyers, the Kane County Cougars and the Joliet Jackhammers), as well as the boys high school basketball City-Suburban Showdown." "Supporting the Community Through Volunteerism", *Chicago Tribune*, Report to the Community, Section 9, Chicago: April 02, 2003, 8.

xxxiv Eberly, 4.

xxxv See Ronald Inglehart, "The Renaissance of Political Culture" in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 82, No. 4, December 1988, 82.

xxxvi "To speak of a return to political culture implies that there was an earlier time when political culture studies were here at hand and prospering, that this was followed by a time in which the approach declined, and these studies are once again prospering." Gabriel Almond, "Forward: The Return of Political Culture", *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*, Larry Diamond, ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993, p. ix.

xxxvii Seymour Martin Lipset, *Union Democracy*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1956, 82-86.

xxxviii Ichiro Kawachi, Bruce P. Kennedy, and Kimberly Lochner, "Long Live Community: Social Capital as Public Health," *The American Prospect*, November-December, 1997, 56-59.

xxxix Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950, 82.

xl The Internet is really a great socializer.

xli See Janet Moursund, "Social Support on the Internet", in *Mapping Cyberspace: Social Research on the Electronic Frontier*, ed. Joseph E. Behar. New York , NY: Dowling College Press, 1997, 53-78.

xlii Robert Booth Fowler, *The Dance with Community: The Contemporary Debate in American Thought*. Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1991, 35-37.

xliii Alex Inkeles, "Continuity and Change in the American National Character", *The Third Century: America as a Post-Industrial Society*. Seymour Martin Lipset ed., Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1979, 401-403.

xliv Robert J. Samuelson, "Why It Doesn't Matter If You Bowl Alone", Washington Post Writers Group, *Mexico City News*, 12 April, 1996.

xlv Diana Eck, comments at a symposium "The Democratic Soul" reported in *Religion and Values in Public Life*, The Center for the Study of Values in Public Life at Harvard Divinity School, 6:1, Fall 1997, 3.

xlvi Ann Boyles, "The Rise of Civil Society", *One Country*, 2 (January-March 1997).

xlvii Sidney Verba, "Comparative Political Culture" in *Political Culture and Political Development* Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba eds. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965, 514.

xlviii Steven Brint, "Sociological Analysis of Political Culture: An Introduction and Assessment", *Research on Democracy and Society*, Frederick D. Weil ed. Vol. 2, Greenwich, CT: Jai Press, 1994, 3.

xlix Ibid.

¹ See Larry Diamond, "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered", *Reexamining Democracy: Essays in Honor of Seymour Martin Lipset*. Garry Marks and

Larry Diamond Frederick D. Weil eds. Newbury Park CA: Sage Publications, 1992, 116-120.

^{li} "But the development of a stable and effective democratic government depends upon more than the structures of government and politics: it depends upon the orientations that people have to the political process - upon the political culture. Unless the political culture is able to support a democratic system, the chances for the success of that system are slim." Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *Op. cit.*, 498.

^{lii} Larry Diamond, "Consolidating Democracy in the Americas", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 550: 34, March, 1997.

^{liii} "Changes have taken place in the relationship between state and society in Latin America. There is evidence of an unprecedented associational dynamic in society, among the poor and middle sectors with change agendas of all kinds. Unlike in the past, this is more autonomous from political leaders, party bosses, and state structured spaces. It is less concerned with taking state power and more with influencing the direction and priorities of government and making it accountable." Howell, *Op. cit.*, 221.

^{liv} "(...) After the strongly questioned elections of 1988, where Carlos Salinas became president amidst nationwide accusations of fraud, several COs [Civil Organizations] and, later, networks of COs were created to promote clean and transparent elections. In 1995, a legal framework for some of these organizations was established. On the other hand, after the rebellion in the southern state of Chiapas in 1994, several peace organizations emerged and other previously created political COs acquired greater national presence. In fact, we could argue that it was in 1994, with this rebellion and national elections a few months later, that COs as a group consolidated their national relevance as a result of the activities of these high-profile political DSOs [Development Support Organizations]." José Méndez. "Civil Organizations in Mexico: Recent Evolution and Prospects", *VOLUNTAS, International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. New York: Klumer Academic/Plenum Publishers, Vol. 10, Number 1, March 1999, 95.

^{lv} "As a 'southern NGO', the term used to refer to these NGOs located in less-developed countries, whether in the southern hemisphere or not, ARD [Association for Rural Development] was beholden to those organizations which provided its resources. The irony was that these donors, or 'northern NGOs', as those organizations located in more developed countries are called, supported ARD because they believed that it was well placed to assist communities, given that ARD staff spoke local languages, knew local communities, and were aware of the political context in which development activities took place." Hudock, *Op. cit.*, 1.

^{lvi} Dennis Kavanah, *Political Culture*. New York NY: Macmillan, 1972, o. 11

lvii Inglehart, *Op. cit.*

lviii "...until recently rather little attention has been directed to how political culture affects the possibilities for democracy in the less developed world and the newly transforming polities of the former communist bloc." Larry Diamond, "Introduction: Political Culture and Democracy", *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*. Larry Diamond ed. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993, 15.

lix The period was 1960 to 1987. "Regulating the Non-Governmental Sector: The Dilemma" by Eddie Adin Yaansah and Barbara Harrell-Bond, <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsp/rpn191.htm>

lx Carrie A. Meyer *The Economics and Politics of NGOs in Latin America*, Praeger, Westport (Connecticut), 1999, 5.

lxi *Ibid.*

lxii *Ibid.*

lxiii *ibid.*

lxiv *ibid.*, 5-6.

lxv Grant V. McClanahan, *Diplomatic Immunity: Principles, Practices, Problems*, St. Martin's Press, New York 1989, 93 fn.7.

lxvi See Yaansah and Harrell-Bond at <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsp/rpn.htm#no19>

lxvii "The NGO Code of Conduct: NGO obligations towards governments [plus text of Code]" by Jon Bennett at <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsp/rpn.htm#no19>

lxviii Protocol International web page at <http://www.drcomputer.com/protocol/page02.htm>

lxix Foundation for Global Dialogue web page at <http://www.sn.apc.org/fgd/proto.htm>

lxx By no means is there agreement on any aspect of the order's history, even as to the legitimacy of the Rome group; "The order continued in possession of the island of Malta until 1798, when it was betrayed by some French Knights into the hands of Bonaparte, after which the station of the order was established at Catania in Sicily, where it remained until 1826, when the Pope permitted the Chapter and the

government to remove to **France**." Charles A. Blanchard, *Revised Knight Templarism Illustrated*, Ezra A. Cook Publications, Chicago, 1975 (1911), 272. Emphasis added.

lxxi Sovereign Military Order of Malta page at <http://www.smom.org/other/index.html>

lxxii For example, there is a group which traces its origins to Knights who while on the island of Malta joined Masonic lodges and later in exile became involved with the Orange Order. See http://members.tripod.com/~Blessed_Gerard/KNIGHTS.HTML

lxxiii *op.cit.* <http://www.smom.org/other/index.html>

lxxiv "A Mr Dieter Schweiger, apparently a German citizen, in March 1991 succeeded in persuading some officials of the German government bureaucracy that he was "knight commander and Grand Chancellor of the Sovereign Hospitaller Order of St John, Ecumenical and Orthodox Knights of Rhodes and of Malta" and applied for part of the medicines and hospital equipment belonging to the former East German armed forces to be given to his organization. He managed to obtain goods to the value of millions of Deutsche Marks without any checks on his credentials by the officials concerned. Not content with just medical supplies, and hospital equipment, he obtained 150,000 pairs of military boots, several container loads of Marlboro cigarettes and billions of liters of diesel fuel. His intention was to sell of this material to the Iranians but could not pay for the transportation so once again turned to the German government, this time asking the Foreign Office in Bonn to provide financial support for, as he claimed, transporting medical supplies to Djibouti. By the time he and his accomplices were apprehended they had already raised 5.7 million Deutsche marks. What was even more astonishing was that the German bureaucrats gave this conman so much, while restricting the Malteser Hilfsdienst to some dressing materials for distribution in the Baltic states. The government subsequently faced some embarrassing questions in the Bundestag. Guy Stair Saintry, "The self-styled Orders of Saint John" (Part II), <http://www.chivalricorders.org/chivalric/selfsty2.htm>

lxxv See Frederick Smyth, *Brethren in Chivalry: A Celebration of the Two Hundred Years of the Great Priory of the United Religious, Military and Masonic Orders of the Temple and of St John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes and Malta of England and Wales and Provinces Overseas, 1791-1991*, Lewis Masonic, London, 1991