Introduction

"Our times demand a new definition of leadership - global leadership. They demand a new constellation of international cooperation - governments, civil society and the private sector, working together for a collective global good."\(^1\)

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

*Speech at the World Economic Forum*

*Davos, Switzerland (29 January 2009)*

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operate on a national and/or international level, in order to achieve a broad palette of objectives, such as providing people in need with fundamental goods and services or judging national and international policies critically, thus promoting sound political action. Due to their differentiating orientations, these organizations have been classified into several different types. These orientations include charitable, service, participatory and empowering NGOs, amongst others. NGOs are organizations which function without the involvement of any governmental council and are burdened with important tasks, while facing public demands for the implementation of several measures, which benefit the public. In the context of today's globalized world, the international community has experienced a proliferation of such organizations due to a public demand for action caused and national as well as international legislation benefiting them. Their role has become more prominent and valuable, since they have gained authority in different new areas and have great impact on global policy making. NGOs operate at all levels of global interest within a single country or in cooperation with more than one nation. They focus on issues concerning humanitarian or environmental affairs, and fight for the achievement of solutions, which will improve our world. They also exist in order to promote economic development, by taking advantage of the availability of funds and the opportunity to create and develop new jobs, and help with

the disarmament of countries, where governments are unable to fulfill the high expectations of their residents and the international community.

In recent years, they started to influence policy making around the world. Their role became more and more prominent, since they passed from the simple provision of recommendations regarding several affairs to a higher level of interaction, where they actively engaged in international policy-making on such topics. Nowadays, they are seen by policy-makers almost as equals to governments, since NGOs often receive higher legitimacy recognition by the public than governments. In order to achieve their aims and goals NGOs may function in cooperation with other NGOs, with governments or with UN specialized agencies. They may protest in a noisy way or make peaceful and silent campaigns.

Although in some cases NGOs threaten governments, many governmental sectors take into consideration the ideas of NGOs, since they are innovative and in most of the cases also reflect the public's wishes. In addition to that, public officials have begun to reluctantly recognize the positive influence and increased credibility that can be derived from consultation with NGOs. Former UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali stated that NGOs "are an indispensable part of the legitimacy" of the United Nations, while Kofi Annan affirmed that NGOs are "the conscience of humanity."

While some NGOs are completely independent, others are known to be governments' pawns, since it is very common for NGOs to be funded by the public sector. They have a very important role in political life, many of them have got the power to pursue their policies on an international scale; therefore powerful states may aim to influence and change their policy by donating them money. As a result, the actions of NGOs are often dictated by the powerful states operating behind them.

Initially, NGOs participated in formal UN meetings at the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Today, 3,400 organizations have obtained consultative status. Thousands of NGOs have emerged in our world despite efforts by authoritarian regimes to diminish their importance and participation, something which can be regarded as a sign of increased democracy. Many NGOs in fact show how complex and diverse social reality is, and that it is made up of a variety of wishes and needs of the population, a situation that is difficult for many governments to handle.

**Definition of Key-Terms**

**Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)**

Previously referred to as “pressure group”, the term Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) nowadays officially describes private sector, citizen-based groups created by people with

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2 Also referred to as “voluntary organizations, development agencies, civil society organizations, membership organizations, mutual aid societies, advocacy organizations, and grassroots organizations”

http://www.answers.com/topic/non-governmental-organization
common pursuits and interests. In order for an organization to qualify as an NGO it must operate without interference from the government. Organizations guided by political parties or terrorists are not real NGOs. They may be funded by private charities, international organizations or foreign governments. Although several NGOs are profit making associations, the majority of them are non-profit. NGOs are established with the purpose of providing services, or to support a public policy, additionally, it can be said that they might also contribute to the establishment of peace, security and to the enforcement of human rights through several humanitarian functions.

**International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO)**

This term was provided by ECOSOC resolution 288 (X) of the 27th of February 1950 and was explained as “*any international organization that is not founded by an international treaty.*” INGOs have identical assignments as NGOs, but they operate on a global basis.

**Non-profit Organization (NPO)**

Non-profit organizations or not-for-profit organizations are private associations that have as an aim to assist the general public without operating for profit. Those non-profit-driven organizations may not allocate their earnings to the participants of the NPO. Organizations registered with the authorities as NPOs may only accomplish purposes covered by relevant national legislation. Several member states exempt NPOs from the payment of state taxes.

**Civil society**

Stands for “*the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and the will of citizens, and individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government.*”

**Government Council**

Government Council can be defined as “*A legislative body of local government. A group of persons who, whether elected or appointed, serve as representatives of the public to establish state or municipal policies and to assist the chief executive of the government unit in the performance of duties.*”

**Consultative Status**

“A phrase used within the UN community to refer to Non-governmental organizations in Consultative Status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council.” Firstly addressed in Article 71, Chapter 10 of the UN Charter. Dialogue and cooperation between NGOs and the UN started after the Economic and Social Council assigned consultative status to several

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4 http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Council+(government)
5 http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/consultative+status
NGOs in 1946. It consists of three subdivisions or categories: the General consultative status (for large INGOs), the Special consultative status (for smaller NGOs, targeting several issues of the ECOSOC) and the Roster status. Only the ECOSOC may authorize “consultative status” after approval of the ECOSOC Committee on NGOs.

Accountability

“Principle according to which an institution is responsible for a set of duties and can be required to give an account of their fulfillment to an authority, which issues rewards or punishment.” (source Encyclopedia Britannica)

Background Information

History

Non-governmental organizations have got deep roots since they have been fighting for the general well-being of humanity for more than a century now, meaning that they have been active since the 19th century and have gone through a turbulent history. The first worth mentioning turning point of their history dates back to 1907, when the Union of International Associations (UIA) was created. 130 international corporations established the UIA, an organization aiming at coordinating and monitoring INGOs. Since then, the number of Organizations has increased in a consistent manner, and until today the UIA remains a not-for-profit-driven body which operates separately from any governmental council. In 1953 the Union was authorized consultative status to ECOSOC and UNESCO. The UIA carries out research, provides documentation concerning INGOs published in the Yearbook of International Organizations and enhances relationships between international corporations.

After the end of the First World War and in the course of the League of Nations (an international organization which existed prior to the UN, with similar aims and goals) NGOs helped in the relief of post war areas and also focused on several third-world countries, nowadays referred to as LEDCs. In spite of the crucial role played by NGOs, the League of Nations refused to provide formal recognition to them; consultation with NGOs was referred to as “liaison with private organizations”.

Following the collapse of the League of Nations and the establishment of the United Nations on the 24th of October 1945, the term “Non-Governmental Organization” was officially adopted. NGOs were called so in order for private organizations to be differentiated from Intergovernmental Organizations (IOs) and government agencies. NGOs induced systematic contributions in economic and social issues by the UN, increasing the importance of the ECOSOC. To clarify the interesting relationship between the Committee and those NGOs, they were allowed to have “suitable agreements for consultation”. As a result of

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6 http://www.un.org/esa/coordination/ngo/committee.htm
7 http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1887607/accountability
8 Article 71 http://habitat.igc.org/ngo-rev/1296.html
these developments and decisions, the role played by NGOs was much more important and significant, and the relationship with the UN became much more permanent and meaningful.

During the Cold War NGOs became weaker since the ECOSOC could not function properly, but from early 1970s and onwards such organizations played again a valuable role in the development of the globalized world. Over the years NGOs gained importance and significance mainly because of their relationships with the UN and many of its agencies while being a crucial factor in the effective implementation of UN resolutions.

After the 1980s, NGOs went through a period of significant and huge development, being the main service providers to some states, the governments of which could not comply with their duties. NGOs had a large impact on the world's affairs; they were able to provide aid and to rebuild areas suffering due to environmental hazards, political transitions or poor life conditions in general. The proliferation of such organizations was based on the fact that NGOs provided development aid without having high prices and/or operational costs like governments or IOs. NGOs started cooperating with peacekeeping missions and several NGOs deliberated, informally, with the Security Council in order to monitor those missions. There was a tremendous increase of NGOs in those decades achieving a great number of active NGOs at a national and international level.

Because of their important influence in the fields of disarmament, development, politics and environmental as well as humanitarian issues, NGOs gained more recognition from the UN and its member states. In 1992 during the “Earth Summit”, 1420 NGOs participated in an active and valuable way for the first time in their history. With the sudden proliferation of those organizations, the interest in consultative status became bigger; therefore the ECOSOC stated that the NGO consultative agreements needed a review.

The consultative agreements between NGOs and the UN were upgraded when Resolution 1996/31 of the ECOSOC was written and adopted. During those years a “second generation” of NGO-UN relations was achieved when the involvement of NGOs in the UN system got to a higher and more significant level. Now, their actions were much more concerned with political issues and clearly manifested the desire of NGOs to become strongly involved with the UN in the implementation of an institutional architecture towards global governance.

In 2000s the Millennium Declaration highlighted the importance of the NGOs’ role in order for the United Nations as a whole to became more effective and achieve its aims and goals. The declaration called upon member states and organs of the UN “to give greater opportunities to the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society, in

Source: http://www.ecommons.net/stage/images/ngo.gif
general, to contribute to the realization of the Organization’s goals and programmes\(^9\). The Secretary-General Kofi Annan convened in 2004 a group of experts, who formulated within the “Cardoso Report” several solutions, which would enhance the role of NGOs. A sufficient number of those recommendations were implemented by the World Summit in 2005.

The role of NGOs

NGOs have multifaceted roles at several levels. Initially their contribution to the general well-being was minimal and mainly targeted at the provision of cost effective services to poverty areas. Due to the weaknesses of the corresponding governments, the private sector, at both national and international levels, began to set up organizations which aimed to cover several social needs. Such organizations have as goals and aims to provide relief to suffering areas, grant advocacy, induce the poor to become interested, take care of the environment, supply on a regular basis the most required social services, and induce and undertake communal development. NGOs are active mainly as services, facilities and goods providers, that means they supply a variety of services and goods to the public at large. NGOs have been providing those goods and social services when states do not have the ability to take care of the corresponding needs of the residents of their country. This function of NGOs is seen in MEDCs, although nowadays more and more non-governmental organizations provide social services to LEDCs.

NGOs with an advocating role are of higher need in regimes undergoing political transition. By providing humanitarian assistance to affected areas and monitoring the functions being implemented they slowly reconstruct a welfare state. Being independent actors, NGOs have no problem in reminding Governments of the mandate of international laws. In general, such organizations often successfully establish communication between people and their government council.

Another function of NGOs is to provide goods to people suffering, mainly in LEDCs, using the resources from MEDCs. NGOs are used in preventing several conflicts but also in providing relief aid in post-conflict areas. NGOs are a major factor in the achievement of economic growth through the provision of services and assistance. It is quite frequent for NGOs to be the only ones that take care of such issues; therefore they usually bring them to the attention of the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank as well. The UN has stated that, if governments are unable to face the problems of developing countries, then the best solution is to cooperate with several NGOs.

The role of NGOs nowadays

Throughout the recent years NGOs have been extremely active and have had the chance to shape several of the world's policies. After they gained some recognition from the UN, the organizations started protesting, demonstrating and propagating in order to achieve the acceptance and permanent realization of their beliefs and wishes. Mainly, they campaigned having as a main aim the objective to achieve several goals in each particular

\(^9\) The UN Millennium Declaration: http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf
situation, although such organizations never really believed that their demands will be really and finally implemented, since they lack of recognition from several governments. In time, NGOs were asked to reconsider the implications their demands would have, and therefore they became a part of the solution instead of just proposing it. After some years NGOs were able to interact on a daily basis with the media, since they had achieved mutual friendly relations. Media being closed allies to NGOs may assist NGOs to achieve their goals, because of their ability to exert political pressure and shape the public opinion, which is why interaction with the media has enhanced the political influence of NGOs. During conferences and deliberations the global community has internalized the image of NGOs as almost equivalent to governments, meaning that the influence of NGOs nowadays is as big as the influence governments have concerning most of the world's issues.

The starting role of NGOs was just to suggest and speculate on matters related to international policies, in sharp contrast with today’s role which is mainly to engage and adopt policy at high level deliberations. In the past few years not only NGOs, but also INGOs have achieved huge changes in the global community, becoming more prominent in the system of the UN. New environmental treaties and conventions have been promoted mainly by NGOs, playing a major role in promoting solutions for pollution problems which have been affecting the global community. A great example of NGOs’ influence in environmental aspects and treaties was a conference parallel to the Earth Summit (1992) in order for NGOs to exchange research results concerning environmental issues; as a result they drafted a collection of valuable treaties concerning environmental matters, defining the rights and obligations of the member states. Moreover NGOs strongly influenced international policy concerning arms control and disarmament treaties. Member states have several times tried, on their own, to reach solutions concerning illegal arms trade or the use of nuclear weapons, but most of them ended up with no visible result. In cooperation with the UN, NGOs established a the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Committee on Disarmament, Peace and Security, one of whose goals is to assist society by delivering several services in order to ensure peace and the citizens’ security. Because of its important role, the committee has been a significant and valuable ingredient in the world’s initiative for arms control, peace and disarmament, and has become a permanent participant in related activities.

It is worth mentioning that NGOs have been important in other areas as well. The NGO Working Group on the Security Council came to life as a valuable interlocutor of the UN’s General Assembly and changed the regulations regarding the existing debts of underdeveloped nations.

**Criticism of NGOs**

NGOs may have many supporters but they also have many criticizers, who mainly focus on their effectiveness as well as on the absence of transparency and democracy, poor autonomy and lack of accountability among NGOs.
Since they have gained an outstanding role in international policy making, the processes in which they get involved may sometimes not be democratic or transparent. It is common to observe that NGOs, in fact, influence people “decision making” positions, act “behind doors” and not leave room for the intervention of third parties.

Some people even suggest that the authority of NGOs in relation to policy making should be subject to limitations. And in a similar manner, many question if NGOs really act as legitimate representatives of the people, or if they work as political platforms for a limited group of high level executives. It cannot be forgotten that NGOs are apolitical and that this very fact gives them the liberty to enter certain fields in which it will be difficult for governments to intervene; an example of this is their ability to monitor actions through political alliances and avoid diplomatic restrictions.

NGOs must become more transparent, inclusive to a point where they will publish declarations indicating how they use their power. It will also be necessary that they publicize their sources of funding. It is important that when they get involved in policy making activities as well as in the design of regulations, they should achieve and show a more democratic attitude, which will be conducive to more transparency and accountability.

Major Parties Involved

Governments

As indicated before, NGOs work independently from governments, however, they are allowed to receive funds from them, facilitating the achievement of the aims and goals of the Organizations. In most cases there is a thin line which separates the policy of NGOs from the policy of the governments which are funding them. On several instances governments may have as an aim to influence several NGOs in order to change their policies concerning specific matters and issues, inducing them to go along with the governments’ policies.

Strong nations, which are active in shaping global policy concerning numerous current affairs, and for which policy matters are crucial, frequently fund NGOs in order to utilize their potential to achieve political goals. NGOs, which nowadays affect easier than governments in international policy making, will strengthen the political position of such governments.

Some NGOs which are of high recognition among the people may sometimes be accused of infringing their host country’s sovereignty. Powerful environmental or human rights organizations may intervene on the political system of a country, by expressing demands and expectations. Human rights organizations may affect the foreign policy of their target countries (the countries where they provide aid) promoting new laws based on their own policy, which is often affected by the governments funding the organization. NGOs aiming to resolve disarmament issues in several areas may focus on the military policy of the target country and aim to change it by creating new disarmament systems for such countries. Having the above in mind, delegates should pay the necessary attention to the fact that
several NGOs have engaged with projects, which may threaten the political autonomy of a country.

It is obvious that less powerful states are the most frequent targets of foreign intentions towards achieving changes in local bodies. By acting through NGOs, the powerful governments cannot be accused of trying to strongly influence target states, considering that NGOs are free to act as they desire, as the Security Council states.

Russia and Egypt

Two recent examples that help to understand such situations are those of Egypt and Russia. During the recent political transition in Egypt several pro-democracy organizations operating there had been accused by Egyptians of getting illegal foreign funds and operating without permission, while promoting US foreign policy. Therefore they sent a formal criminal charge to the USA. On the other hand Russia was always against the existence of NGOs with foreign funds in the country, since the government always had believed that such NGOs, especially the ones coming from USA, had as an aim to intervene in the national policy. The most recent example was the Russian charge to German NGOs which were designated as “foreign agents”, which as they stated, were strong participants in the introduction of the German foreign policy.

The Committee on the NGOs

Being a committee of the ECOSOC, established in 1946, its functions are to report to the ECOSOC, to provide solutions on matters demanding action by the Council and its 19 members. The Committee also takes under consideration several requests of NGOs for consultative status, while it monitors their “consultative relationship”.

NGO Monitor

It is an NGO which publishes information concerning the activities of other NGOs around the globe, thus enhancing accountability, and which analyzes reports published by other NGOs. This NGO has played a crucial role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, publishing information concerning the action mainly of humanitarian organizations.

World Bank

The World Bank, despite its name, is not a Bank, but an international platform aiming to eliminate poverty and to assist in the development of countries, delivering aid and assistance at several levels and areas, such as but not limited to: education, health, infrastructure and development of the private sector. It collaborates with NGOs by providing them with funding.

Major NGOs

- **Oxfam**: Established in 1942 by the coalition of 17 organizations, which work together in more than 90 countries in order to eradicate extreme poverty. Its aim is to build “a
future, free from injustice and poverty.”

10 this NGO has got an outstanding project concerning their accountability, which should also be followed by other NGOs.

• **Greenpeace:** This NGO is one of the largest organizations with an environmental orientation in the world. It operates in more than 40 countries. Its aim is “to ensure the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity”

11 Its activities are concentrated on global environmental issues, mainly those related to global warming, deforestation, genetic engineering and anti-nuclear issues. This organization relies entirely on the contributions of individuals, not accepting donations or contributions from political parties (of any nature).

• **Amnesty International:**

12 It operates through the involvement of more than 3 million members, activists and supporters located in 150 countries and territories, and it focuses exclusively on fighting human rights abuses. They aim at having every person in the world enjoying human rights. They are totally independent from governments, political ideologies, religions or economic interests and are supported exclusively by private donors.

Timeline of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800s</td>
<td>Creation of first NGOs. Active in the anti-slavery project and the movement for women's suffrage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Creation of the UIA by Henri la Fontaine, an NGO researching on INGOs. It operates until today.</td>
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| 1919 | Creation of the League of Nations, which refers to cooperation with the UIA as “liaison with private Organizations”.

Source: http://www.differencebetween.info/sites/default/files/images/1/ngo.jpg

More about Oxfam: http://www.oxfam.org/en


More about Amnesty International: http://www.amnesty.org./en/who-we-are
<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>The Charter of the UN is drafted; establishment of the United Nations. Article 71, Chapter 10 of the UN Charter assigned “consultative status” to NGOs with the ECOSOC making the term “NGO” popular.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Committee on NGOs operates for the first time.</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.02.1950</td>
<td>Definition of INGO in ECOSOC resolution 288 (X).</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.05.1968</td>
<td>ECOSOC resolution 1296 (XLIV).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Earth Summit in Rio, proliferation of NGOs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Creation of the “Cardoso Report”.</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>World Summit Outcome.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.04.2010</td>
<td>World NGO day officially recognized.</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.02.2013</td>
<td>“THE WORLD NGO DAY INITIATIVE IS DEDICATED TO ALL NON GOVERNMENTAL AND NON PROFIT ORGANISATIONS WORLDWIDE” is celebrated.</td>
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**Relevant UN Treaties, Resolutions and Events**

Article 71 of Chapter 10 of the UN Charter providing Consultative status to NGOs (1945)\(^{14}\)

"The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned."

**ECOSOC Resolution 1296 (XLIV) on Consultative Arrangements**\(^{15}\)

It defined the criteria for the assignment of a Consultative Status for over 40 years, during which time there was a substantial growth in the number of NGOs.

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\(^{13}\) [http://www.worldngoday.com/](http://www.worldngoday.com/)


\(^{15}\) [http://habitat.igc.org/ngo-rev/1296.html](http://habitat.igc.org/ngo-rev/1296.html)
ECOSOC resolution 1996/31 on the “Consultative relationship between the United Nations and non-governmental organizations”  

The criteria under which NGOs are assigned consultative status were reconsidered in 1996. This resolution upgraded the obligations allocated to NGOs in order to start consultation agreements with any part of the UN system.

In 2004, the Secretary-General formed a group of specialists, in order to design and propose recommendations enhancing UN relations with the civil society, including NGOs. The result was the “Cardoso Report”. (A/58/817)

After that, the Secretary-General published a report proposing several measures, which would improve the relations between IOs, the UN, and NGOs. (A/59/354) The report called for the increase of financial aid to NGOs and in particular to southern NGOs, and for a less bureaucratic authorization procedure concerning NGOs.

Moreover, in 2005 after the World summit, an important and significant outcome was announced, consisting of two articles focused on NGOs and the role of civil society, Articles 170-171. You may also take into consideration this revision of Article 71:


Previous Attempts to solve the Issue

The United Nations were not directly involved in the issue of the changing role of Non-Governmental Organizations, since they had not even defined it, meaning that no resolutions had been adopted on this issue; therefore there were no previous attempts to solve this issue. The UN and its member states have fought over and over again in order to define the relationship between the organs of the UN system and its member states, but NGOs were never taken under consideration. The NGO Monitor may be considered as a previous attempt to find a solution to the problem, but the NGO never received the recognition necessary to accomplish such a task.

Possible Solutions

NGOs have been active for centuries now, but the importance of their role has undergone several changes throughout the course of the years. In the last decades the world faced a proliferation of NGOs and their role became more valuable and prominent in policy making at several levels of international issues. In order for those NGOs to cope with their

new role some changes must be implemented. The structure of non-governmental organizations should change, becoming more adequate for their role. A new mindset should be implemented, meaning that people working in such organizations should gain new skills in order to facilitate the new role of NGOs.

Another important innovation is the re-establishment of a systematic basis, which will support the cooperation of Governments with NGOs. Several countries have already implemented a similar solution but they should upgrade it, taking into consideration the new role of NGOs. An international framework should be drafted concerning general mechanisms for coexistence between governments and NGOs. The agreement between the public and private sector should focus on the formulation of common obligations, which both governments and NGOs should comply with for a more productive collaboration. This agreement may also reconsider the financial aid given by Governments to NGOs and establish new laws for such relationships. The new regulations should also apply to the local branches of INGOs and define their legal relations.

Moreover, member states should combat another problem: the erosion of the host government sovereignty, due to the previously mentioned facts. Therefore, the international community should create new legal systems, which would re-establish the power and authority of the hosting governments concerning decision-making at different levels. Limits should be adopted for NGO-action as well as the influence of NGOs in policy making.

Due to the prominent role Non-Governmental Organizations have in the global community, at every level of international important aspects, solutions must be provided by the UN system, in order for NGOs to use their role in a positive way.

Annex

1) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ElWt1rcmFs
2) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7iv3Y6ePfCM

Bibliography and helpful links

"The changing role of NGOs"
http://www.matterforall.org/blog/category/changing-role-of-ngos/

“Roles of NGOs”
http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/ngo-roles.html

http://www.socsci.uci.edu/globalconnect/webppts/ProjectChange/02%20-%20NGOs.pdf

“NGOs under government funding”
http://www.globalgovernancetwatch.org/ngo_watch/ngos-and-government-funding

“NGOs and global policy making”

“Committee on NGOs”

“UN and NGOs”

http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/peter-willels.html#71

http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/peter-willels.html

“NGO Monitor”
http://www.ngo-monitor.org/articles.php?type=about


“CNN: USA - Egypt”

“BBC: Russia and NGOs”
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-20691886