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THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF COUNTRIES AFFECTED BY WAR

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Abstract. There is no doubt that post-conflict situations call for physical reconstruction. However, a well-developed civil society along with independent media, reliable police and judiciary are equally essential to physical reconstruction for obtaining sustainable economic growth and stability. Reconstruction in post-conflict situations must go beyond the technical aspects of reconstructing infrastructure and services. It also, essentially, should include a human factor contributing to the reintegration of people into civil society. The role of international NGOs will be accomplished when the governmental structures supported by civil society are completely able to take over their tasks with credibility (e.g. political and economic willingness, impartiality and accountability) and feasibility (specific capabilities and professionalism). The aim of the paper is to show the role of international organisations in the reconstruction process of the countries affected by war. In the summary the authors conclude that the role of international organisations acting as a 'puzzle' and having a certain piece of the picture could rather lead to devastation and not to reconstruction.

Key words: wars, reconstruction, international organisations, third world, post conflict situation, stability, non-governmental organisation, civil society.

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РОЛЬ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЙ В ВОССТАНОВЛЕНИИ ПОСТРАДАВШИХ ОТ ВОЕННЫХ КОНФЛИКТОВ СТРАН

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Аннотация. Вне всякого сомнения, экономика стран, пострадавших от войн, нуждается в восстановлении. В то же время для восстановления разрушенных сооружений, устойчивого экономического роста и стабильности необходимы развитие гражданское сообщество, независимые средства массовой информации, надежная правоохранительная и судебная система. Восстановление стран, пострадавших от военных конфликтов, должно выходить за пределы только механической реконструкции инфраструктуры и сферы услуг. Восстановление должно также включать в себя и человеческий фактор, способствуя реинтеграции людей в гражданское общество. Роль негосударственных НКО будет полной только в том случае, если государственные структуры при поддержке гражданского общества смогут выполнить возложенные на них задачи, будучи надежными (политическая и экономическая готовность, беспристрастность и прозрачность), а также способными их выполнить (конкретные возможности и профессионализм). Цель данной работы – продемонстрировать роль международных организаций в процессе восстановления стран, пострадавших от войны. В заключение авторы показывают, что роль международных организаций, работающих как в игре «пазл» и располагающих тем или другим фрагментом картинки в игре, может быть скорее разрушительной, а не созидательной.

Ключевые слова: войны, восстановление, международные организации, третий мир, послевоенная ситуация, стабильность, негосударственная организация, гражданское общество.

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Introduction

The world order changed after the end of the Cold War, war threats among nations decreased and in parallel the possibility to create peace continuously increased.

However, instead of experiencing a smooth transition from regulated economy to market-economy, from the system of communism to a democratic system, a new type of conflict was about to appear in developing and former colonial countries.

These tendencies are the so-called tendencies appearing in the 1990s, among which the latest was shown in the form of a new, permanently sustainable phenomenon in different parts of the world. In the first period, during the Cold War, it was confined to the Arab-Persian Gulf-region, but in parallel with the failure of one of super powers, wars broke out in most of the countries in the region.

In the background of this new type of war mainly racial issues, religious issues, natural resources and energy sources could be observed, and similarly to the previous ones, it broke the previous war rules, which supported the principle of self-determination, which were not organized by governmental groups and were not tightly linked to countries.

These conflicts led to breakdown of societies, degradation of trade and damaging agriculture, and at the same time they had to tackle soaring unemployment and the lack of external financing.

As after the conflicts there was not a statutory governmental structure, the traditional tools of exercising power were destroyed or were significantly deteriorated.

Meanwhile in the institutions and bodies of police and justice, which often were parts of the problem,

the democratic institutional system either operated at a low standard or was missing completely.

Under such circumstances, the conflicts became permanent; they rapidly spread to other countries and therefore affected the whole region. Because of the tendencies, the United Nations examined how the established situation influenced the operation of the international community, how it affected certain countries including the possibility of spreading the conflicts further.

The more frequently appearing conflicts were observed being problematic by the international community as well and they wanted to find a solution how to prevent the appearance of extreme violence and humanitarian emergencies and how to act against human rights abuses occurring in certain states and between certain states.

The nature of commitments, the responsibility of intervention and the increase of capacity to manage tasks defined in the Foundation Statue of the United Nations Convention (UN) made it possible for the UN to deal with the questions of state sovereignty and to make steps towards preventing a war. Article 2 of the Foundation Statue defines that the organisation must refrain from intervening into internal affairs of states, which raised more questions as the organisation did not possess adequate plans and intervention programs.

However, the devastating effect of wars convinced the organisation and its Security Council to develop a new approach regarding intervention and participation.

Therefore, in the beginning the peacekeeping operations were formed because of certain mechanisms, which came into existence during

colonisation and after the Second World War to handle conflicts and they served as tools to fill in the power vacuum stemming from the lack of colonial powers. Apart from this, a negotiation mechanism was developed, which promoted the lasting settlement of post-colonial conflicts.

It is important to note that even though non-governmental organisations have existed since the beginning of the nineteenth century. They pay attention to issues such as fight against slavery, significant changes and considerable shifts that could be observed in the operation of these organisations in the previous years. Based on the tendencies, one of the political scientists dealing with this field of research, Lester M. Salamon named this phenomenon as 'the first Global Association Revolution'. Within the framework of the development discourse, this meant redefining the role of non-governmental organisations and at the same time it meant the real and fine approach of representing marginalised groups.

While the other approach is that according to the judgement of several researchers, non-governmental organisations have numerous comparative advantages, which compared to the operation of the state and the market will make them more effective considering both the allocation of resources and the reconstruction process. The primary aim of using more effective methods is to be able to have access to the territories involved in the conflict, their way of operation is flexible (in contrast to bureaucratic institutional system operating along strict rules), with the help of which it is easier to adapt to the needs of evolving broken communities. Furthermore, they possess more innovative skills in the field of managing problems and in the field of public service and the costs of their services are relatively low. Their situation concerning their ability to attract investments and to access financing opportunities is also favourable. Finally, by applying a bottom-up approach in participation they can have direct relationships with the individuals.

International organisations played an important and special role primarily in securing services in recent years. Almost in all countries they acted as an integral and structural part of the operating systems. They made great efforts to combat international practices and policies based on the exploitation of individuals and to soothe the rather harsh living conditions in these societies. They performed important tasks during and after the war as well. The targeted goals of the organisations were to react quickly to the requirements of the current

situations and to the needs of local communities through the validation of the fundamental rights defined in the international standard of human rights. Their tasks involved the detection and reveal of abuses and violations of law through several initiations and activities, and the execution of urgency and aid projects aiming at treating the consequences of conflicts.

At present, the international organisations undergo serious changes regarding not only their operational form or their institutional structure, but also their policy and ideology. Nowadays, next-generation organisations come into being, and their goals are primarily determined by a short-term profit, international influence and prestige.

The aim of the present international organisations – either non-governmental or governmental (based on the classification of the law) – is to develop determining organisations in cooperation with the governments of the war-affected countries and also to operate under certain strategic frames, which are operable not only during wars but after wars as well. We talk about organisations or the international supranational organisations (in case we accept geographical features). The aim of their activity is to reconstruct societies under the framework, where they form a unit from economic, cultural and social aspects, which help them to be far from participating in another war.

The question of reconstruction after wars is always relevant; it coincides with the new generation of wars, which largely influenced the international circumstances. Providing a basic humanitarian aid, food assistance, places of refugee and health services during conflicts is outstandingly important both for national and international performers. Signing a peace agreement means the official end of the war and at the same time it means the beginning of another era, which is the period of reconstruction. There are bi- and multilateral organisations working together with national governments in this process to decide how to use available financial resources to reconstruct the economy and society of war-affected countries. Although the transition from war to peace is not as easy and smooth as it seems to be.

The urgency aid and the aid to help rehabilitation and development are often difficult to access and the stable operation of such projects faces several obstacles. This problem especially occurs in the initial period of peace, which is stabilized by concluding agreements and decreasing the military violence. An important factor is to switch from urgency aids to long-term aids and to reach certain forms of social

and economic development among international donors. Reconstruction is a wide and complex process; it is the period of social, economic and cultural reconstruction, which takes time to be realized. It is often referred to as gradual transition, which is of key-importance not only because of preventing new conflicts, but also it can be a decisive step towards long-term development as well.

The intersection of the activities of intergovernmental organisations and international non-governmental organisations in war-affected countries

As international organisations are developed in the framework of international agreements between the governments of these countries, non-governmental organisations are outside their mandate even though non-governmental organisations had an impact on governmental organisations, such as human rights organisations. As the large-scale effect of such civil society organisations on international politics became clear, the UN based on Article 71 of the Economic and Social Council warned the member states to take appropriate measures and decide on proper processes regarding the consultation with non-governmental bodies dealing with issues in their scope of authority and that the Council should take proper actions to enhance consultation [Frances, 2005].

According to the definition, an organisation is a group of people with a defined aim, who can use one or more ways to reach their goal. They are entities independent from their creators and directed by the administration chosen at the general meeting of the members [Frances, 2005]. Organisations can be classified into two categories: governmental and non-governmental organisations. Governmental organisations are subdivided into national governmental organisations established by the state. Their control and support is based on implementing certain tasks. Apart from this there are intergovernmental international organisations. They are created due to the views of an international conference. However, international organisations operate autonomously and independently from the member states [Tongeron, 2000].

Intergovernmental organisations are developed between states by signing an international agreement and their members are the states. They are international legal bodies, which means that the international law defines their rights and obligations. They participate in the elaboration process of the rules and standards of the international law and they

operate according to the rules of the international law and they are not under the national laws of the states. They operate in different forms:

They can be of global nature, such as the UN or international organisations covering one special field, such as the World Health Organisation, or the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the FAO, or the UNESCO.

There are general organisations of the regional type, such as the European Union, the League of Arab States, and the African Union Association; the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, the Gulf Cooperation Council or special regional organisations, such as OPEC.

As opposed to non-governmental organisations, the concept of intergovernmental organisations refers to the fact that their mandate is given by the governments, therefore the member states determine their activities. Special operational conditions apply to them, which is often referred to as 'privileges and immunities' in diplomacy.

Non-governmental organisations on the other hand are voluntary, non-profit groups, which are organised at local, national or international levels by civilians. If the membership or activity of an organisation is limited to only one given country, then it is a national non-governmental organisation, but in case its activity goes beyond the boundaries of the country, it becomes an international non-governmental organisation. Some well-known organisations among international non-governmental organisations are: MSF (Médecins Sans Frontiers), the Amnesty International, the Human Rights Watch, the Oxfam, etc [Weiss, Gordenker, 1996]. In other words, non-governmental organisations are organisations of private individuals, which fall within the scope of the internal laws of the given countries and not of the international law. The organisations are legal entities and their operation is regulated by the rules valid in that given country. Such an organisation is for instance the Red Crescent in Iraq (the equivalent of the Red Cross relief organisation).

However, international and national non-governmental organisations maintain strong contacts with intergovernmental organisations such as the UN as there are approximately 2100 non-governmental organisations operating in the field of economic and social development. These organisations obtain advisory activity in the Economic and Social Council, which is the main political decision-making body concerning economic and social issues. Several non-governmental organisations have official representation in the centre of the UN, which provides precious

relations for the UN with the people of the world [El-Baz, 2005].

The definition of reconstruction after a war: (definition by the UN)

The supplement of the International Peace Agreement of the EU defines reconstruction as follows: 'complex efforts to identify and support structures, which strengthen peace, the feeling of trust and wellbeing between people by the agreements made to cease wars' [Kreilkamp, 2003]. This process can involve disarmament of the ex-warring parties, setting back the order, repatriation of refugees, consultation services and training support for the security and election observation staff, efforts to enhance the protection of human rights, strengthening and reforming governmental organisations and the participation of peaceful and non-official performers of the state in political processes.

The scope and dimensions of the above definition expanded. At present, the process covers more than activities concerning peace-building, it rather involves implementing programs and promoting positive peace culture, which can be used to define different activities and programmes as part of strategies applied after wars.

If the expression is interpreted only from the economic aspect, as several economists do, then it means the 'political activities dealing with the reconstruction of societies broken by the war'. In this case it would involve a wide range of activity strategies aiming at economic research, whose target is reasonable planning of projects requiring significant funding.

The World Bank defines post-conflict reconstruction the following way: 'providing support for the smooth transition from conflict to peaceful circumstances by the social-economic reconstruction of the country.

The second concept of the UN is based on the identification of the long-term reconstruction strategies, involving all the economic and social considerations serving to manage the root causes of the war, according to which the following new definitions were created' [Doyle, Sambanis, 1995].

Preserving peace: A temporary strategy, whose aim is to produce all the conditions necessary to prevent the repetition of violence, in case both parties agree and in case it corresponds with the conditions defined in the UN Charter Chapter VI. It is usually defined as part of the reconstruction process as it

includes the aspects of economic reconstruction, the transformation of institutional structures within the state, such as transforming the system of police, military and justice, the follow-up of elections and the reconstruction of the civil society's capacity [Snaderson, 2005].

Building peace: Besides peace-keeping operations, in accordance with the UN Charter Chapter VII, it includes the effort to encourage negotiations and to solve political conflicts, which form the base of violence. This document contains the general process of the UN's making the peace agreement in 1992, which meant a long-term, revolutionary progress in building peace in countries and societies after the war. It can affect all fields, such as building economy and state institutions, which is finally implemented as a comprehensive part of the reconstruction strategy [Snaderson, 2005].

The third and probably the most possible concept determines the followings: 'measures aiming at the reconstruction of states and preventing other wars to maintain the 'status quo'. The final aim of reconstruction activities is to establish a safety margin against the return of violence. The aim of the reconstruction is not to secure the establishment of peace, but rather to help strategies to be implemented, which contribute to the cease of conflict and to increase the capacity of war-broken countries. Probably the most important criterion of reconstruction success is phrasing the comprehensive, long-term strategy, which includes all the previous sub-strategies, from disarmament to building a political system through the negotiations being appropriate for the operation of internal and external political process of the war-broken countries [Diehl, 1994].

The concept of the reconstruction strategy

The factors and activities defining the reconstruction strategy can be classified according to time, the affected territory and according to the participants. It is usually the time factor which stays in the background of problems in certain territories as urgent activities are frequently required. The strategies and the success of strategies depend on how the connecting steps influence the circumstances and the type of crisis and to what extent the reconstruction strategy serves the development targets [Sen, 1999].

In short, the reconstruction strategy after the war meant the release of human potential and the expansion of collective opportunities, which corresponds with the

definition of Amartya Sen, saying that ‘reconstruction is freedom itself’, getting rid of war, of suppression, of poverty, of political slavery and of everybody who obstructs the active and full participation of people in framing their future [Sen, 1999].

We can take it for granted that choosing the right reconstruction strategy is not independent either from the general common vision determining economy and society or from the contexts defining the external limits. The comprehensive strategy is part of it, during which we must value the borders and power relations between freedom and the past heritage in detail without losing sight of the long-term plans of reconstruction. This perspective and the curtailments provide the ground for managing crisis successfully and the ground for reconstruction [Lipsy, Lancaster, 2000].

It might happen that the reconstruction strategy is falsely phrased as this issue is much more complex than funding and implementation of large-scale construction projects or involvement of determining international building construction companies. The reconstruction of economy, society and government is in the centre of real questions and they must be implemented in parallel to each other and without any delay [Corm, 2003].

As far as the most appropriate perspective is concerned, economy and society appear as organic parts of the reconstruction process and not as a tool to help the implementation of construction projects [Corm, 2003].

International pillars participating in the reconstruction processes after the war

Communities leaving the conflict put more and more pressure on and express their worries to international donors because they are aware that war is about to end and therefore the period of sustainable peace will come, but its realization will face problems due to dire poverty, ethnic, sacred or political rivalry. There are other factors aggravating the situation further, such as the spread of weapons or the fact that operating governments are not based on developing infrastructure. All this means a huge threat as the countries can be easily directed back to wars.

However, despite these huge challenges, the post-war period is the period for hope and opportunities, which can be materialized after struggling for years or for decades. Thanks to financial and technical resources, managing the causes of war and the establishment of the nation’s future seem to be a realistic aim even though there is

too little time for that. It was revealed on the international level that in several cases ‘building peace’ was a much bigger challenge than ‘winning the war’ and reconstructing a state is a rather complex and long-term process. It was also accepted and agreed that there is not a single institution, which is able to manage and handle peace-building issues. This process can be implemented only with the common effort of several institutions, which form the proper formula for reconstruction processes together. These are as follows:

1. The World Bank group, which includes five institutions:

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the IBRD. It was established in 1946. Its aim is to cease the effects of war, promote private capital investments, develop international trade, harmonize different loans and monitor the effects of foreign investments.

The International Development Association, the IDA. It was established in 1960. Its aim is to support backward countries. It offers quite favourable interest-free loans with 35–40 year repayment period. Its areas of support are: education, agriculture and transport.

The International Finance Corporation, the IFC. It was established in 1956. Its aim is to support private capital and private businesses.

The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes, the ICSID. It was established in 1965. Its aim is to settle debates in connection with investments.

The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, the MIGA. It was established in 1988 in order to manage different risks and problems resulting from that.

2. The referred areas of Multilateral Development Bank (MDB). They include such financial institutions, which provide economic and social aid and technical consultancy for countries at the regional level. The expression MDB refers to the World Bank group and to four regional banks:

The African Development Bank. It focuses on developments in Africa.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB). It focuses on decreasing poverty in Asia and in the Pacific region.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). It implements investments in East-Europe, in the Balkan region and in several countries of the ex-Soviet Union.

Inter-American Investment Corporation. It contributes to funding development efforts in the region of Latin America and the Caribbean.

3. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA). Its task involves coordinating activities connected to natural disasters and complex emergency situations, harmonizing humanitarian activities and supporting development. The members and partners of the OCHA are governments, civilian and humanitarian organisations, UN agencies, foundations and programs, such as The Red Cross.

4. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). It is the world-wide development net of the UN. The UNDP is one of the UN General Meeting's implementing bodies. The organisation finances its activity from the voluntary contribution and donation of member states. The organisation has representations in 177 countries and they help to solve development issues in cooperation with local governments and provide support for the promotion of social development. The UNDP employs recognized experts who offer consultation and trainings for the governments of the developing countries, furthermore it offers financial aid. Its activity is more and more focusing on supporting the most backward countries. The UNDP mainly focuses on the followings: to decrease poverty, to manage the problem of HIV/AIDS, to establish democratic structure, to deal with issues concerning energy and environment protection, to prevent crisis and to do reconstruction. The UNDP considers protecting human rights its important task and gives a special attention to increasing the role of women in all its programs.

5. The UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). It deals with the empowerment of women and with gender equality at all levels of planning and practical implementation. In 2010 it became part of the newly established entity, the UN-Women.

6. Other UN agencies:

International Labour Organisation (ILO). It is a specialized body of the UN. Its main aim is to protect the basic labour and social rights of employees. Apart from this, it elaborates international labour standards. Among others it determines the prohibition of forced labour, the employees' right to organize and collective agreement. It plays key roles in solving economic problems such as employment in war-broken countries. Protecting the rights of migrants guaranteeing their social security among the ILO's activities was always paid attention to.

World Food Programme (WFP). It is a leading UN agency, which contributes to ensure the supply of food and to participate in fighting poverty in crisis and emergency situations.

They are very devoted to cooperate with women as they realized that women are the 'primary and most effective performers' in the process of reducing poverty and hunger.

Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). It is a specialized body of the UN. Its main aim is to fulfil food safety. In this regard it pays attention to reducing hunger and malnutrition, fighting poverty, ensuring economic and social development to everybody and utilizing natural resources (soil, water, air, genetic resources) in a sustainable way.

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). This body was established in 1946 by the General Meeting of the UN to help freezing, hungry and ill children of Europe after the Second World War, who had to suffer horrors, bombings and the passing of different warriors during the war. The main aim of establishing UNICEF was to secure the safety of children in war-broken countries. UNICEF participates in the reintegration of child-soldiers and in the process of providing and ensuring educational opportunities.

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). It started its operation in 1961 as the successor of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which was established in 1948 to fulfil the Marshall Fund, but later it aimed to develop economic cooperation between the member states, liberalise trade and develop the payment system.

The main aims of the organisation are: economic growth, high level employability, promotion of free trade, increasing the standard of living and contributing to the development of international economic relations while preserving financial stability.

7. The Bilateral donors. They include the United States of America, Canada, and Sweden, the members of the European Union, Japan and several other countries. The UN assures the financial fund by the World Bank. The funds are directly given to national governments, international non-governmental organisations and local entrepreneurs for the sake of reconstruction and establishing employment.

The level and type of support provided by them change according to their interests and the time of intervening into the country. These agencies set up special offices in several cases to manage different situations during and after the war [Allen, Alan, 2000]. These are:

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It was established in 1961 and provides support – determined on the annual basis by the Congress – for foreign countries. Although in

theory it is an independent body, its operation is largely influenced by the president, the foreign minister and the National Security Council.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). It was established by the Canadian government in 1968. The main aim of its operation is to support sustainable development in developing countries, to reduce poverty and contribute to a more secure, reasonable and improving world.

The EuropeAid. It is an initiative based on the cooperation of more interested parties. The program is operated by the European Council. The European Council, which represents the interests of the EU members, gives the most support and aid to those in needs all over the world. The external aid programs are guided by the EuropeAid Cooperation Agency in the Council.

The Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). It is a governmental agency, which coordinates the allocation of official development aid on behalf of the Japanese government. The main aim of its activity is to support economic and social development of developing countries and to promote international cooperation.

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). It belongs to the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is responsible for organising Sweden's official development support to give to developing countries.

The Profit-oriented entrepreneurs. The organization includes large companies undertaking engineering and building constructional activities. Their presence is quite determining in conflict zones: they open local offices, employ local people and have contracts with local companies.

Although bi- and multilateral development agencies are liable for reconstruction projects, the actual work is usually carried out by sub-contractors and by private companies.

Conclusion

Identifying and supporting structures aiming at consolidating peace is an organic part of reconstruction after war. The process involves several strategies, which are shared by states, international organisations and individuals with high level of the international power.

Both proportionality and contrast can be found in elaborating conceptual and theoretical model of the reconstruction process as it has numerous fields, such as political sciences, economics, sociology, anthropology or psychology.

The post-war reconstruction strategy contains opportunities and activities, which are organised due to time, place and roles based on available opportunities for people and on the choice of the community. This is the so-called freedom by Amarta Syn (reconstruction is freedom).

Recognised international organisations belong to the most important pillars of the reconstruction after war as they significantly contribute to political decision making and strategic development, but not only in the beginning part (in the transition period between war and peace), but also later.

The activity of the intergovernmental international organisations includes comprehensive strategies directed by the UN and regional organisations, detailed strategies of the specialized agencies of the UN and of the development and reconstruction projects and the international financial institutions guided by the IMF and the World Bank.

Based on those frameworks, we can conclude that the role of international organisations in reconstruction is like a 'puzzle' as having less or having more pieces could rather lead to devastation and not to reconstruction.

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