

(Not) Reagan's Puppets

Analysis of Hidden Intentions in Altruistic Behaviour Based on the Example of Dutch Trade Unions' Relationship with Their Polish Counterparts in the 1980s

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Abstract

Organizations with an ideology seemingly based on altruism can be used to push forward self-interested goals of certain states. This research links self-interested altruist behaviour with International Relations, then proceeds to analyze the scholarly debates on the use of NGOs and trade unions as government agents and connect their findings. Finally, it inquires into the archival correspondence of the Dutch FNV during their support for the Polish Solidarity movement in the 1980s. This research proposes to draw an analogy in the way the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and international trade union confederations operated due to their disconnectedness from the people they are serving, their high degree of politicization and their elitist internal structure. Moreover, both of these types of organizations created political and economic environments within which their local-level counterparts - grassroots NGOs and national trade union federations, respectively - contributed to the perpetuation of these environments and therefore, provided gains for state actors.

This thesis shows that the World Bank and the IMF, among others, coerced developing countries to fall under the Capitalist, rather than the Soviet, sphere of influence during the Cold War. Therefore, such institutions came into existence to serve the self-interest of Western nation-states, which is the main tenet of realism - a school of thought which inspired this research. This thesis shows that non-state actors, like trade unions and other groups, due to their unique nature as non-governmental organizations, have remained largely underrepresented in scholarly works despite their high degree of potential international influence and a high legitimacy to represent the working class abroad. On the other hand, works analyzing the government-associated nature of NGOs are abundant. Considering the current tensions between the West and powers such as Russia or China, understanding the role of such agents is crucial for policymaking.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	I
Acknowledgements.....	II
Table of Contents.....	III
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Research Question.....	2
Theoretical Framework.....	3
Literature Review.....	6
The Study of Altruism.....	7
Trade Unions, Détente and Support for Solidarity.....	11
Non- and Intergovernmental Organizations as Political Proxies.....	15
Sources, Criticism and Methodology.....	19
Archival Source.....	19
Methodology.....	21
Chapter 2: Altruism, Self-Interest and Hidden Intentions in International Relations.....	24
Historiography on Altruism.....	25
Historical Examples of Altruism Misuse on the International Level.....	30
Western States' "Altruistic" Behaviour in the Cold War.....	35
Chapter Conclusion.....	39
Chapter 3: The Role of Western Non-Governmental Actors in Spreading Western Influence in the Second and the Third World.....	41
The Use of International Financial Institutions in Spreading the Western Influence in the Developing Countries.....	44

"Governmental" NGOs and the Cold War.....	49
Trade Unions' Special Place Among the Non-Governmental Actors.....	52
Chapter Conclusion.....	57
Chapter 4: FNV, Solidarity and Political Influence.....	59
The Nature of Dutch-Polish Labour Relationships at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s.....	60
FNV's Actions in Relation to the Government and Trans-National Labour Concerning Poland in the 1980s.....	64
Traces of Political Influence in FNV's Approach to Poland in the 1980s.....	68
Chapter Conclusion.....	73
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	75
Bibliography.....	81
Primary Sources.....	81
Precise letters and documents consulted.....	81
Secondary Sources.....	82

Chapter 1: Introduction

Despite its name, the Cold War was a heated-up, yet indirect, conflict between the American-led capitalist West and the Soviet-led communist (or socialist) East. It saw proxy wars, trade frictions and - most importantly - economic and political influence being spread through agents. The CIA is the most notable example of such meddling, yet the Western means of undermining their opponents' stability did not end with the actions of the American Secret Service. Some institutions - seemingly unrelated to politics and warfare - managed to push forward Western interests, such as free-market policies, under the umbrella of aid or humanitarian help. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, among others, made sure that developing countries fell into the Western, rather than Eastern, sphere of influence.¹ Therefore, such institutions mainly served the self-interest of Western nation-states, which is the main tenet of realism - a school of thought which inspired the topic of this thesis.

Among the non-state actors that might have indirectly influenced foreign countries' policy under the umbrella of aid, humanitarianism, and "solidarity" are trade unions. These groups, due to being quite a different type of non-governmental organization than what is nowadays understood by the term "NGO," have remained largely underrepresented in scholarly works analyzing the government-associated nature of such groups. This is due to most traditional frameworks used to evaluate NGOs failing to capture the unique traits and functions of these organizations characterized by their solidarity-based ideology and their openly political nature. This gap in literature not only limits our comprehension of the diverse landscape of grassroots organizations but also obscures the complex dynamics that shape their interactions

¹Richard Peet, *Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO*, 3rd ed. (New York: Zed Books, 2005), chaps.

with the state. This thesis combines chosen ideas represented in realist works, as well as pieces inspired by Marxism, to unveil potential uses of trade unions by Western nation-states to push forward their political agendas, without getting directly involved in conflicts.

After a theoretical analysis, the thesis evaluates the case study of the Dutch FNV (Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging - Federation of Dutch Trade Unions) and their support for the Polish Solidarity (Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy "Solidarność" - Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity") in the 1980s. The main aim of that approach is to discover potential political influences associated with the Western humanitarian and institutional support for the Poles. This particular example has been chosen due to several interesting traits of both sides of this relationship. First, the Dutch trade unionists have often openly gone in line with the Dutch government - for example, in terms of pro-peace initiatives in the 1970s. Second, the Solidarity movement in Poland is seen as a key player in dismantling the Eastern Bloc and leading to a liberal transformation in most of Eastern Europe. Third, analyses concerning the influence of the USA, Britain or France on foreign politics are plentiful. Smaller actors, such as the Netherlands, remain largely underrepresented in academic works.²

Research Question

The research question of the thesis is:

How have Western nation-states used trade unions to pursue their political and economic interests abroad under the umbrella of aid in the last decade of the Cold War,

²This applies to studies about Dutch-Polish relations in general. For more information see Christie Miedema, "Boekbespreking - Duco Hellema, Ryszard Żelichowski en Bert van der Zwan ed., Poland and the Netherlands. A case study of European relations," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 126, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 111–12, <https://doi.org/10.5117/TVGESCH2013.1.MIED>.

and how can it be understood through the example of Dutch FNV's support for Polish Solidarity?

This research question is supported by the following subquestions:

- How have scholars approached the topic of altruism and its use as an excuse for political and economic intervention in international relations so far?
- To what extent were Western non-governmental actors crucial in spreading neoliberal economic and political ideas during the Cold War, and how does the historical stance of trade unions compare to other types of non-governmental bodies?
- What information concerning potential gains motivated by self-interest of the Dutch state or other Western governmental actors can be derived from FNV's correspondence with the Dutch government, other trade unions and Solidarity in the 1980s?

Theoretical Framework

The proposed study approaches the topic of using trade union movements as political proxies through a compound framework. At its base, the realist tenets are considered, which can be described as the belief that actors always prefer to proceed in a manner that serves their own self-interest. Considering the state-focused context of this research, however, a derivative of that school of thought will be considered - neo-realism, which replaces independent actors with states in an anarchical global system. Such a system is defined by a constant struggle for power without one central hegemon that dictates rules for the entire world. Self-interest and proxy war using non-state clients can be better understood when considering self-interest in calls for humanitarian support, as suggested by Werther.³ Bearing that in mind, the thesis

³Steffen Werther, "Help Yourself by Helping Others: Self-interest in Appeals for Russian Famine Relief, 1921–23," *Disasters* 46, no. 3 (2022): 712, <https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12494>.

takes examples from scholars who have criticized neoliberal policies in the Third World. Neoliberalism, as outlined by Getachew and Wengraf, among others, was a set of policies introduced in developing countries to influence their political systems, preventing socialist revolutions and opening their market, while cutting down on social spending and development. These changes, achieved by financial pressure through non- and supragovernmental organizations such as the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank, served the self-interest of affluent Western states, instead of addressing the humanitarian situation in targeted regions.⁴ These examples show that certain Western states, most notably the United States, would influence political systems before and during the Cold War by using seemingly non-political organizations.

The political uses for NGOs were already criticized in 1999 based on various shortcomings. James Petras evaluated that phenomenon by underlining examples of governmental funding, lack of critique towards the neoliberal changes in the Third World and the undermining of potential bottom-up initiatives aimed at striving against the system imposed by the West in the developing countries.⁵ Based on these three publications, the "non-governmental" part of NGOs' label has been academically proven not to always represent reality. Moreover, Petras mentions the brain drain of people committed to resolving social problems, such as trade union representatives, which implies that changes proposed by trade unions were genuine, as

⁴Lee Wengraf, "Chapter Three; Neoliberalism: Crisis, Debt, and Structural Adjustment," in *Extracting Profit: Imperialism, Neoliberalism and the New Scramble for Africa* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2018); Adom Getachew, "Chapter 2. The Counterrevolutionary Moment: Preserving Racial Hierarchy in the League of Nations," in *Worldmaking after Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2019), 37–70, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691184340-004>.

⁵James Petras, "NGOs: In the Service of Imperialism," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 29, no. 4 (January 1999): 431–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472339980000221>.

contrasted with NGOs' hidden support for the world system dominated by the West.⁶ John Hilary, however, proved in 2014 that certain actions of trade unions are not disconnected from the politics of systems in which they operate, citing differences between different approaches to open-market policies in the developing countries among trade unions located in the EU and the ones located in the Global South.⁷ Such differences constitute a major point to consider - were trade unions used by the West to push forward political changes in non-liberal countries during the Cold War?

To sum up, the backbone of the theoretical framework used in the thesis is the tenet of pursuing self-interest, which is part of (neo-)realism. Achieving the goals set by such ideals may be conducted through the use of NGOs, under an umbrella of humanitarianism or altruism. By critically approaching the nature of non-governmental organizations, like Wengraf, one may better understand their political use. Hilary's work suggests the possibility of a further investigation into trade unions' actions possibly being motivated by nation-states, effectively being used as proxies for achieving Western states' own goals during the Cold War. This approach suggests a novel idea of connecting the use of NGOs and trade unions as proxies with realism, which so far has mostly been done in light of poststructuralism or theories critical of neoliberalism, such as Marxism.

This research framework is especially interesting in light of the analyzed case study. The experts on the topic of Dutch-Polish trade union relations have not approached it from that angle. Some of them, however, came to conclusions similar to Werther's or Hilary's findings. Christie Miedema's study, for example, showed that the approach of Western trade unions to

⁶Petras, 435.

⁷John Hilary, "European Trade Unions and Free Trade: Between International Solidarity and Perceived Self-Interest," *Globalizations* 11, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 47–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2014.860335>.

Solidarity was their "political and ideological positioning" in relation to the Polish state and trade unions.⁸ Western trade unions that were grounded in Catholic ideals of solidarity, for example, were more prone to help Solidarity than the ones derived from communist ideas, which would side with the state-sponsored labour organizations in the East. However, Miedema's research does not include any suggestions that the Western governments would use trade unions to deliberately push forward their political agenda. This is especially interesting considering Solidarity's later crucial role in overthrowing the pro-Soviet authoritarian regime, and the CIA's relationship with the movement.⁹ Its activity is often directly linked with the fall of the Eastern Bloc in general.

Moreover, academic sources approaching the use of such organizations by nation-states for the sake of self-interest are not available in great abundance. If one finds a work referring to these ideas, it most probably concerns a case study of neoliberalism from sub-Saharan Africa or Latin America. Therefore, the case study may allow for a better understanding of Western influence in Eastern Europe before 1989, which became the main playing field of neoliberal reforms in the following decade.

Literature Review

Multiple academic debates must be taken into account due to the complexity of the chosen approach. The study of altruism - a theory originating from psychology - has already been applied to historical events, as it may provide important insights into the processes at play in

⁸Christie Miedema, "Laveren tussen ontspanning en solidariteit - De PvdA en de FNV ten tijde van de Poolse crisis (1980-1982)," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 126, no. 3 (November 1, 2013): 365, <https://doi.org/10.5117/TVGESCH2013.3.MIED>.

⁹See, for example, Seth G. Jones, *A Covert Action: Reagan, the CIA, and the Cold War Struggle in Poland*, First edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2018). Chapter 9 covers the beginnings of CIA's support for the movement.

hiding other intentions behind the umbrella of altruism. This thesis uses the philosophical backbones of 3 International Relations theories - realism, liberalism and idealism - to connect altruism to IR. The debate on the support of Dutch trade unions for Solidarity helps to better understand the analyzed case study, while the debate on using NGOs as proxies helps us better understand the role which non-state organizations played in spreading political dissent during the Cold War. Placing these three debates within the IR schools of realism, liberalism and idealism has not yet been done by IR scholars – doing so sheds more light on the issue of using non-state actors as state proxies in academia by outlining potential motives for helping other groups on a transnational and international level.

The Study of Altruism

To better understand the relationship between labour movements separated by national borders, it is crucial to understand the issue of solidarity between various individuals and groups. Starting with the motives for providing humanitarian aid, the first academic approaches to analyze altruism focused on the economic perspective - one could even claim that by doing so, it referred back to Marxist ideas of capital as driving force, as finance-focused methodologies prevailed over analyses focusing on the people. Already in 1922, Leon Trotsky claimed that "philanthropy is tied to business, to enterprises, to interests - if not today, then tomorrow."¹⁰ This approach remains relevant in more recent studies, as well. This notion had been expanded in the 1980s to include the debate on psychological egoism, which sees most actions as motivated by self-interest across various disciplines - from economy, and psychology to even evolutionary biology. Werther explains that this idea came from a critique of multiple psychology scholars' notion of "emphatic motivation for helping being truly altruistic." The critics based their arguments on the positive effect of helping others on

¹⁰Werther, "Help Yourself by Helping Others: Self-interest in Appeals for Russian Famine Relief, 1921–23," 700.

the giver's well-being. This debate ended up creating terms such as impure altruism, competitive altruism and reciprocal altruism, which all suggest that the donor may gain from actions that only seem altruistic.¹¹ Thus, the debate has already noticed and given some thought to the impure motives for helping.

However, the question of solidarity between various groups and individuals, especially ones connected to labour movements, cannot be explained by purely economic motives, as their mission is often disconnected from economic gains. Scholars analyzing the topic from a psychological perspective, where the problem began, have also made progress in characterizing different cases of selflessness and its potential motives. Social Psychologists Jon Maner and Matthew Gailliot from Florida State University have summarized the 50 years of debate and placed the initial empathy-altruism hypothesis in the 80s as the starting point for the academic discourse on the topic. The authors remark on the two models that might be used to explain self-motivated altruistic behaviour, namely the arousal/cost-reward model and the negative-state relief model. Moreover, Maner and Gailliot present another way in which the theory from the 80s had been challenged - namely, some scholars in the 1990s have identified a sense of kinship and shared identity as potentially influential in terms of deciding to provide aid to someone. According to the critics, actions motivated by these factors should be viewed as egoistic rather than altruistic because the provider of aid is helping another iteration of themselves rather than a group fundamentally different from them. One must disentangle the perceptions of oneness from the experience of empathy before the true motives for helping can be accurately identified.¹² In terms of trade union solidarity, this ties

¹¹Werther, 701.

¹²Jon K. Maner and Matthew T. Gailliot, "Altruism and Egoism: Prosocial Motivations for Helping Depend on Relationship Context," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37, no. 2 (March 2007): 348, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.364>.

into the question of group identity of chosen labour movements, such as their affiliation with Catholic or socialist ideas. If the recipient of aid is a labour movement with the same political stances as the provider, is the provider acting altruistically or helping themselves, since they consider themselves two branches of the same cause?

For the proposed case study, however, a combination of pragmatic and idealistic motives has to be understood, as trade unions operated within certain political and economic systems. René Bekkers and Pamala Wiepking of VU Amsterdam published a review of case studies in the field of philanthropy in 2011, which is useful in understanding the matrix of motives for helping. Even though philanthropy is a subject in the field of altruism, it provides useful case studies and a framework through which one can approach the topic. The authors underline that the early 2000s saw a call for more case study-based research in the field, rather than theoretical discussions.¹³ The work also includes a nicely defined overview of mechanisms that might be isolated to better understand selfless behaviour and thus be translated into the realm of international labour solidarity. The authors identify the eight "determinants of philanthropy," which are an extension of a simple benefit-based incentive system.¹⁴ They are useful in this research, as they help to properly assess the phenomena related to providing aid to organizations operating within a rivalling political system and their potential political effects.

Relating the findings of psychology and philanthropy to group action can be done through sociology and case studies relating to group efforts in organizing aid. Steffen Werther, one of

¹³René Bekkers and Pamala Wiepking, "A Literature Review of Empirical Studies of Philanthropy: Eight Mechanisms That Drive Charitable Giving," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 40, no. 5 (October 2011): 925, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764010380927>.

¹⁴Bekkers and Wiepking, 927.

the most important scholars in the field of Moral Economy of Humanitarianism, outlined the use of self-interested appeals to motivate people to take part in charitable causes in his 2022 article. Such appeals may involve campaigns urging potential donors to contribute, as it makes them "feel better" and contributes to them feeling like "good people." Based on the case study of US and European aid during the Russian famine of 1921, the author claims that such calls to action may in certain cases help the cause.¹⁵ His book, published two years earlier with two other authors - Norbert Gotz of Sodertorn University and Georgina Brewis of UC London - covers the topic of humanitarianism in a broader scope, offering a number of historical case studies that may help understand the motives for humanitarian action both between people and groups.¹⁶ In terms of self-interested reasons for trade union solidarity, Werther's work allows for a better understanding of discourse used to call masses to action by addressing universal values, such as humanitarianism or labour solidarity.

Another point connecting sociology with the debate on altruism, that may also be useful for this research, is the question of the institutionalization of aid. The shift from religion-based charity to an almost entrepreneurial approach to the topic can also be used to understand reasons for helping. Brewis, for example, underlined in her 2010 article that Europeans tended to view institution-based charity as the only "legitimate form of benevolence" already before the 20th century.¹⁷ This may show that the reasons for providing aid were not truly altruistic, but always had the self-interest element to them, which in this case was related to

¹⁵Werther, "Help Yourself by Helping Others: Self-interest in Appeals for Russian Famine Relief, 1921–23," 712.

¹⁶Norbert Götz, Georgina Brewis, and Steffen Werther, *Humanitarianism in the Modern World: The Moral Economy of Famine Relief*, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108655903>.

¹⁷Georgina Brewis, "“Fill Full the Mouth of Famine”: Voluntary Action in Famine Relief in India 1896–1901," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 4 (July 2010): 891, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X0999031X>.

the European “mission to civilize”. By extension, institutionalized charity provides a possibility for states to use it for their own interests, as it becomes increasingly influenced by state-related actors. This thesis examines aid organized by non-state actors, which renders institutional humanitarianism a potentially useful discourse.

To sum up, the academic findings on altruism have found that it is not always empathy-based, and that some hidden intentions might be present in apparently altruistic actions. Most studies in the field initially focused on economic or psychological reasons for helping others, with some scholars identifying a form of impure altruism relating to a sense of oneness influencing decisions to help. This idea of sense of oneness is based on shared identity which is prominent in labour movement relationships, as all of them fundamentally focus on the workers, and some of them share closer affiliations through shared ideologies such as religion or political affiliation. Certain subjects in the field of altruism, such as philanthropy, help in understanding the combination between pragmatic and emphatic reasons for helping. Moreover, employing altruism in group-based scenarios provides insights into external influences – such as political interests – and true motives for helping hidden behind claims of altruistic action. This sociological approach connects altruism in psychology and economy with group-based case studies, such as labour movement solidarity, as their ideological universalist missions can be used as calls to action.

Trade Unions, Détente and Support for Solidarity

Understanding the context within which trade unions on both sides of the Iron Curtain operated is crucial for analyzing both the framework of international trade union federations as well as the proposed case study. To grasp the latter, experts on Dutch-Polish relations need to be consulted. One of the most prominent scholars in that subject is Christie Miedema, previously connected to Duitsland Instituut Amsterdam. In her 2013 article about PvdA's and

FNV's reaction to martial law in Poland, she underlined that the debate about the clash between détente and human rights can be traced back to the fall of socialism in Poland in 1989 and Timothy Garton Ash's claim that the peace talks - motivated in the 1970s by the willingness to relax the East-West tensions - did not result in liberalization of the Eastern Bloc, but that the changes were a result of developments from below. This critique of *Ostpolitik*, which placed that relaxation of tensions, or *détente*, at its core, could also be seen in numerous comparisons between France and West Germany's reaction to developments in Poland at the beginning of the 1980s. Based on archival materials from Berlin, Amsterdam and the Hague, Miedema remarks that varied reactions to these events were not limited to these two countries, but numerous organizations in other Western countries also supported or opposed the independent trade union in Poland, depending on their own allegiances, often determined by their "political and ideological positioning in the national and international debate."¹⁸ This mostly meant that trade union movements, among others, acted based on their religious or political affiliations and sympathies.

Miedema's stance on the importance of *détente* was supported and expanded upon by multiple scholars. Idesbald Goddeeris from KU Leuven who conducted his research based on the archives of the Polish Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) and Solidarity's archives found a similar relationship between the East-West relaxation and the Western motives for helping Solidarity.¹⁹ Miedema remarks that the most analyzed Dutch organization in terms of the "Polish crisis" was the Interkerkelijk Vredesberaad (IKV). Her article places two new

¹⁸Miedema, "Laveren tussen ontspanning en solidariteit - De PvdA en de FNV ten tijde van de Poolse crisis (1980-1982)," 365.

¹⁹Idesbald Goddeeris, "The Transnational Scope of Western Labour's Solidarity with Solidarność," *Labour History Review* 75, no. 1 (April 2010): 60–75, <https://doi.org/10.1179/096156510X12568148663926>.

players in the debate - the Dutch Labour Party and the biggest trade union FNV.²⁰ This thesis expands on her achievements by focusing on the latter.

On the international scale, Miedema's claims of support for Solidarity being dependent on certain actors' positioning in the "national and international debate" have also been confirmed. Goddeeris' 2010 article underlines that Western support for Solidarity was not unified and contrasts it with the anti-apartheid movement. Support for solidarity was a series of bilateral agreements, while the latter movement was characterized by multiple Western parties creating a unified stance. The author claims that this might be related to the Solidarity movement being based on social movements, such as the Church or trade unions. Moreover, Western actors were more reserved in helping Solidarity than in fostering anti-apartheid ideas due to spatial proximity - supporting ideas influencing developments in the global South was nowhere near as controversial as providing support for liberal opposition in a European country of the Second World.²¹ The author's other article published a year later highlights the way in which the Solidarity Coordinating Office Abroad, set up by Solidarity officials in Brussels after the organization's delegalization, operated. Goddeeris claims, based on archival material related to the Office, that it lobbied - successfully and unsuccessfully at times - Western actors to provide humanitarian and political support for the trade union. The most important achievement of the Office according to the author is not allowing the West to forget about Solidarity. Moreover, the author also counters most political scientists' claim that legitimacy is a crucial factor in achieving the goals of exile politics, as other less official Solidarity-related initiatives in the West can prove influential in terms of humanitarian

²⁰Miedema, "Laveren tussen ontspanning en solidariteit - De PvdA en de FNV ten tijde van de Poolse crisis (1980-1982)," 366.

²¹Goddeeris, "The Transnational Scope of Western Labour's Solidarity with Solidarność," 72-73.

support, among others.²² Both articles are based on archival material of various Western trade unions, Solidarity and the Polish IPN.

The sudden burst of liberal ideas in the 1970s significantly influenced the following decades, influencing the power dynamics between government and labour organizations, among others. A handful of useful background insights about that period can be extracted from Duco Hellema's works. The expert in International Relations from Utrecht University published multiple works on the global 1970s and "the long seventies." His 2010 article underlines the 1970s' role in shaping new thoughts among the populace of the First World. The author also underlines that the period saw an important sense of unity across different parts of the world. One of the stronger claims the author makes is that the sudden emergence of the human rights movement is a "fascinating phenomenon" since it contributed to the return of the Western political-ideological hegemony, which had been in retreat in the two decades after the Second World War.²³ This serves as a connecting point between this thesis' topic and the IR theories of realism, liberalism and idealism, as this rebirth of hegemony did not occur through official, openly state-related means. The findings of this article may help understand the actions of Dutch non-state actors in the following decade in terms of support for human rights, as many of their actions stemmed either directly or indirectly from political and social events of the 1970s. Moreover, the oil crises of the decade influenced the political and economic climate of the Eastern Bloc as well, rendering the successful emergence of new social movements in Poland more plausible than before.

²²Idesbald Goddeeris, "Lobbying Allies? The NSZZ Solidarność Coordinating Office Abroad, 1982–1989," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 13, no. 3 (July 2011): 125, https://doi.org/10.1162/JCWS_a_00143.

²³Duco Hellema, "De Lange Jaren Zeventig," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 123, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 92–93, <https://doi.org/10.5117/TVGESCH2010.1.HELL>.

Non- and Intergovernmental Organizations as Political Proxies

Trade unions and other types of labour movements, despite being a special type of non-state actors compared to grassroots NGOs, can be better understood by first looking at the role of the latter in pushing forward certain state-sanctioned goals. This can best be achieved through looking at criticisms of neoliberal policies in international relations from the 1970s onward. Most modern research concerning the use of Non-Governmental Organizations and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) as agents of neoliberalism can be traced back to James Petras' 1999 article. There, the author emphasizes the role of governments in funding the organizations, as well as the role of NGOs working as private subcontractors of local governments. As a well-recognized professor of sociology, Petras also mentioned the role of NGOs in killing local efforts for anti-liberal strife and the appropriation of certain bottom-up initiatives by these organizations. By doing so, he claimed, the NGOs complemented the neoliberal exploitation implemented by the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank, but on a local level.²⁴ Petras' work can easily be seen as one-sided, as the author has been a staunch socialist throughout most of his life. Nonetheless, his critique of neoliberal policies in developing countries and the way in which NGOs support the Western exploitation of developing countries may provide an excellent starting point in research concerning non-governmental agencies and organizations in pushing forward political agendas. His discoveries directly reflect the drive for self-interest present in the IR theories of realism and liberalism, but also show the use of any available methods to push forward ideological gains - which, in turn, related to idealism.

The relationship between NGOs founded in the global South and their relation with the ones from the North has also been criticized. Building on top of Petras' argument, Julie Hearn from Lancaster University analyzed the ways in which NGOs originating in Africa can be seen in

²⁴Petras, "NGOs," 440.

relation to Northern NGOs and governments. She suggests that the African NGOs developed a position that may be described as compradors - agents who represent the interests of foreign powers in target countries. This term and associated theory stems from the Marxist circles of the 1920s. The author includes analyses suggesting the deliberate use of local NGOs as proxies by the affluent states, and mentions the "prebendalism theory" which suggests that the local hierarchies in Africa allowed such vassal-like constructs to form.²⁵ Although the article's relevancy is not as apparent at first, it may provide a plethora of insights into the vulnerability of grassroots movements in terms of shifting political views and goals. By analyzing the dynamics of Western proxies' influence on African NGOs, one might be able to better understand the dynamics of trade union relations across the Iron Curtain. What were the potential gains for local representatives? Were there any special conditions which could influence the possibilities of certain grassroots movements to represent foreign agendas?

The role of international institutions in Western economic and political agency has been criticized, too. An extensive work published by Lee Wengraf in 2018, entitled *Extracting Profit: Imperialism, Neoliberalism and the New Scramble for Africa* describes multiple topics related to the neoliberal exploitation of African countries. What is relevant to the suggested research, however, is the third chapter of her publication. There, the author emphasizes the role played by institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank in financially coercing developing nations to reshape their economies and political systems to meet the needs of the Western world. The Western organizations would support policies leading to "improvements in governance" along with financial cooperation.²⁶ Wengraf's analysis presents the duality of certain Western "humanitarian" initiatives and makes one question whether such practices

²⁵Julie Hearn, "African NGOs: The New Compradors?," *Development and Change* 38, no. 6 (November 2007): 1095–1110, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2007.00447.x>.

²⁶Wengraf, "Chapter Three; Neoliberalism: Crisis, Debt, and Structural Adjustment," 6–11.

were visible not only in the Third but also in the Second World during the Cold War. Another point raised by Wengraf in the chapter that crosses paths with the topic of this research is the question of Western aid meant for - mostly sub-Saharan - African countries. The author underlines that most of the humanitarian aid sent by the European Union was targeted at supporting its trade objectives, and was strictly tied with agreeing to some of the WTO decisions by the receiving states. Moreover, Wengraf mentions that the IFIs would use local proxies to label certain initiatives as "local" and thus disguise Western political actions - in a manner resembling what Hearn analyzed, too.²⁷ Therefore, the significance of this point for this thesis is threefold. First, it presents how the West would influence countries to align better with their market goals through non-governmental bodies. Second, it shows how the discourse of initiatives hailed as "humanitarian" was targeted at pushing forward more liberal political and economic change in the target state. And third, it supports Hearn's relevance, by presenting that local-level and grassroots initiatives might have been used to hide the true intentions of certain organizations.

Important labour-related international bodies have also been studied in academia, with numerous criticisms being unveiled in the process. A significant body of literature has recognized the structure of international trade union federations as - contrary to their local-level counterparts - disconnected from the working class and elitist in nature. Jakobsen's article criticizes the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' (ICFTU) non-democratic structure and its use as a tool to influence some developing states.²⁸ In 2020, Thomas Field elaborated more on the role the ICFTU served in expanding American soft

²⁷Wengraf, 25.

²⁸Kjeld A Jakobsen, "Rethinking the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Its Inter-American Regional Organization," *Antipode* 33, no. 3 (July 2001): 363–83, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00189>.

power in Latin America and its CIA-related origins.²⁹ Recently, scholars have also identified similar phenomena on the other side of the Iron Curtain during the Cold War. Harisch and Burton, for example, note how the Kremlin-friendly World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) cooperated with Western communist activists to spread their political ideology in some African states.³⁰ This wave of scholarship critical of the international labour bodies provides insights into the internal workings and governmental connections of these institutions and offers a framework for understanding the role state-level trade unions played in the intricate matrix of governments, workers and international federations. This is especially interesting for the case study, as the Polish Solidarity kept in close touch with the pro-Western ICFTU, rather than the pro-Soviet WFTU.

Next to the global ones, the European-level labour relationships have been studied by academia, too. John Hilary from the University of Nottingham claims that European trade unions do not always choose to pursue their statutory goals, and instead agree to (supra-)state policies that openly contradict them. Moreover, they do it in spite of calls for solidarity from trade unions from the Global South, who are aware of the adverse effects free trade policies have brought to the developing world.³¹ Although this thesis analyzes the reverse process - a potential hidden agenda while pursuing statutory goals - this article is interesting in light of trade unions being separated from their hosts. Since they may be coerced to go against their

²⁹Thomas C. Field, "Union Busting as Development: Transnationalism, Empire and Kennedy's Secret Labour Programme for Bolivia," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 52, no. 1 (2020): 27–51, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X19000646>.

³⁰Immanuel R. Harisch and Eric Burton, "The Missing Link? Western Communists as Mediators Between the East German Fdgb, the World Federation of Trade Unions (Wftu), and African Trade Unions in the Late 1950s and Early 1960s," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 103 (2023): 292–311, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547922000333>.

³¹Hilary, "European Trade Unions and Free Trade."

basic nature, could they not be coerced to add extra elements to activities that are in line with it?

Sources, Criticism and Methodology

Archival Source

A proper analysis of the case study required an inquiry into archival material, since no academic sources have used this particular case study to analyze hidden intentions behind altruism. The source of analyzed material is located at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam (IISG):

“Archief FNV.” Archive. Amsterdam, n.d. ARCH00419. International Institute of Social History. <https://hdl.handle.net/10622/ARCH00419>.

The collection contains first-hand information as gathered by the FNV - Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (Federation of Dutch Trade Unions). The archive was fully transferred to the IISG by the organization itself. Its extensive range of topics and types of documents provides a plethora of insights into how the organization operated and what its aims were. The messages included in the archive are not modified, but they might have been selected and hand-picked to present a more positive side of the organization. Therefore, using it poses a challenge usually associated with these types of archives - being careful about potential interferences in its contents. The archive spans over 4 decades, starting in 1978. It is constantly being updated with new documents. Hence, not only can it provide source material for the conducted study, but also important background information and hindsight, which all might be valuable during the research. Next to its academic usefulness, the source's location is an advantage, too. Being located in the Netherlands, it does not require travelling to distant

places to access it. Moreover, authors like Miedema have already used this collection during their research, but looked at different aspects of its contents.

In the collection, several boxes have been identified as usable. Among the pieces labelled "concerning contacts with labour organizations," 4 boxes have been chosen - numbers 2300 to 2303. These collections - all of them labelled simply "Polen" - refer to all sorts of correspondence with (and concerning) FNV's counterparts in Poland. The most significant advantages of these boxes are their extensiveness compared to some other countries. Correspondence with the Poles alone takes up four and a half boxes. Another significant advantage of these pieces - they include letters and telegrams exchanged with both the state-sponsored and the independent trade union movements, which provides insights into differences in FNV's approach to Solidarity and other labour organizations in Poland. They also include some internal communication between members of the FNV and correspondence between FNV and other Dutch labour-related and governmental actors concerning contacts with Poland, which may be the most relevant for the sake of this research since not everything could have been said directly to Solidarity due to censorship.

Next to these, boxes 4747-4750 offer important insights into the correspondence exchanged by the organization's director for International Affairs - Johan van Rens - between 1976 and 1986. Additionally, box 4775 includes letters exchanged by his successor Leo Mesman in the period 1986-1999. These pieces constitute relevant building blocks in the research of any potential hidden reasons for helping the Poles in the 1980s by the FNV.

Methodology

The thesis begins by constructing two crucial theoretical frameworks and then inquires into the archival material accordingly. First, the potential motives for helping are analyzed based on secondary sources relating to the study of altruism in psychology and sociology and tries to translate them into the realm of International Relations through the philosophy of morality. Second, an analysis of non-governmental organizations and international trade union federations follows, based on secondary sources as well. Lastly, it connects the two frameworks and based on their findings analyzes letters and statements available in the archives to see whether, and if so by what means, the Dutch FNV strove to undermine Poland's political system by supporting the Solidarity movement in the 1980s. Crucially, it focuses on the discourse promoted by the Dutch unionists in their correspondence with governmental institutions, international labour movements and their Polish counterparts.

The methods used to inquire into the letters and statements are archival research methods described by Liz Stanley in her chapter of *The Archive Project*. The most important part of that approach is the "documentary analysis," where Stanley delves deeper into how understanding an archive is made up of five layers. The author's explanation provides an example especially useful for the purpose of this research - letters. The documentary analysis of these, including re-reading and surface reading in the author's case, allows us to see not only the text of the letter but also the supporting information around its author, receiver and the circumstances in which it was created.³² Since the primary source research refers to the assessment of the "hidden" intentions of FNV officials, Stanley's instructions seem especially relevant to this topic, as that reading frame helps the reader to go beyond the written text, and possibly break through the censorship that stood in the way of openly supporting Solidarity.

³²Liz Stanley, "Archival Methodology inside the Black Box," in *The Archive Project: Archival Research in the Social Sciences*, by Niamh Moore-Cherry et al. (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 54–55.

A more concrete outline for the methods used during the archival research in this thesis looks as follows:

1. Context1 - The context in which the primary sources may be analyzed is determined based on the secondary literature and relates to attributes such as historical circumstances or the nature of the source's author. For example, Miedema's and Goddeeris' pieces provide insights into the Polish-Dutch labour relations, and Hellema provides a wider context of the 70s and the 80s and the clash of the two blocs. Werther's writing provides pieces concerning the potential political gains of helping a group within the boundaries of one's adversary. Moreover, the works of altruism scholars help connect the topic of these relations to the discipline of International Relations.
2. Pre-text - The immediate cause of producing a given letter is analyzed based on secondary literature and other primary sources created in the temporal vicinity of the analyzed one. Is it a reaction to a different letter? Does it just forward information? Who are the main actors in the process of exchanging that message? Why was the message composed?
3. Text and Intertext
 - a. Meta-data is gathered based on the details provided by the archive's administrator and information included in the piece itself. Date of sending/receiving a message; the exact body sending and receiving it; the representative signing the message.
 - b. Content can provide information about the events and the reaction to them. What actors do the authors refer to? What is their attitude towards them? Is it written clearly or mysteriously?

- c. Structure is certainly the most subtle of all three parts. It will be used to assess the tone of a letter, allowing for a better understanding of the personal dynamic between the correspondents, the gravity of a discussed matter, and - potentially - the sincerity of an agreement.
4. Post-text, similar to the pre-text, can be determined based on other primary sources that directly or indirectly derive from the analyzed piece. Otherwise, secondary sources may be consulted to assess the direct aftermath of the exchange of information studied.
5. Context² is supplied using the primary and secondary sources created after the studied document, in a similar way the initial context is provided. At this point, questions will be asked, such as "What is the significance of the analyzed piece on the events that followed?" and "How well does it fit into the research framework?"

Chapter 2: Altruism, Self-Interest and Hidden Intentions in International Relations

How have scholars approached the topic of altruism and its use as an excuse for political and economic intervention in international relations so far? Insincerity hidden behind altruistic slogans is a recurring theme in the study of International Relations, but due to a broad range of its applications, it is difficult to approach it systemically. This chapter lays important groundwork for further analyses of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as government associates and the case study of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions' (FNV) support for the Polish Solidarity movement in the 1980s. It does so by identifying debates on altruism outside the humanities or social sciences. Most notably, the debates among psychology experts are discussed - such as the debate on the optionality of altruism, or the aspect of self-interest as a factor in helping others. Then, through establishing connections between three IR theories - realism, liberalism and idealism - with chosen philosophical thinkers, it links the discipline's potential use of the concept with its mostly psychological origins. Afterwards, the chapter identifies a number of theories and concepts proposed by scholars of IR and Political Science that can be linked to these findings. Lastly, it examines two case studies based on secondary sources that show the importance of self-interest in seemingly altruistic actions of chosen Western governments during the Cold War.

In light of the case study analyzed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, this chapter allows us to understand the potential motives and intentions hidden behind a certain discourse through two links. First, the case study is analyzed based on letters and statements issued by the subject of the study, which limits critical voices in the discourse. Second, the subject of the

inquiry was a part of the Western whole, so understanding the use of altruistic motives for helping in the West is crucial in understanding FNV's actions.

Historiography on Altruism

Although the concept of altruism originated as a philosophical notion, it remained a domain of psychologists, biologists and other natural scientists concerned with animal and human behaviour. Social sciences have largely remained blind to the developments in these fields for centuries and approached the concept as choice-dependent, undetermined by human nature. The common assumption was that morality, and thus altruistic behaviour, were a choice - a notion based on traditional philosophical assumptions about human nature. Breakthroughs in medicine and biology of the last half a century, as well as new ways of studying child development, have led to a new understanding of altruism as possibly motivated by human goodwill, independent or less dependent on conscious choices than previously assumed. It was not until the 2010s, however, that the first attempts were made to integrate these findings into International Relations.

In the realm of psychology, the biggest concern with altruism has been whether humans are capable of truly altruistic behaviour. One side of the debate has collected evidence that seems to support the truly selfless nature of helping others. It presents humans as able to improve another's welfare without gaining anything in exchange. The other side of the debate challenged such views, citing the difficulty of disentangling selfless concern from other factors that may influence decision-making in helping others.³³ Crucially for this research, however, that debate as a whole has been challenged, too. Maner and Gailliot's paper, for example, was inspired by the discourse one may refer to as the "second debate." The main

³³Werther, "Help Yourself by Helping Others: Self-interest in Appeals for Russian Famine Relief, 1921–23," 701.

criticisms include analyses of motivators initially ignored by the first altruism-egoism debate, such as potential emotional gains - feeling better or proud when helping someone in need - or the perception of shared identity with the receiver of help.³⁴ If a person belonging to a group supports another member of said group, is apparent altruism not aimed at long-term benefit for the group, and thus for the provider of aid?

A group-based approach to altruism and humanitarianism allows us to look at the matter from a sociological perspective. This approach has produced terms such as impure altruism, competitive altruism and reciprocal altruism. Steffen Werther's article expanded on the former, providing examples from the contemporary marketing world and - most importantly - an interwar humanitarian campaign. Werther's examples seem to support the egoist - and thus, choice-based - side of the "first debate," showing that calls for altruistic action are most successful when potential donors can identify potential gains for themselves while helping others.³⁵ In other words: underlining an individual's possibility to gain from helping, be it emotional, economic, or social, renders asking for help more effective. Findings like those are most valuable for this research, as they show that actions of non-governmental actors - mostly presented as selfless and charitable - may still be influenced by promises of potential gains for the donor groups. How do these developments correspond to the theories presented by IR scholars?

Choices made by actors on an international scale have been approached from different angles in the century of the discipline's existence. Despite being formulated and named in the post-WW2 period, most of these schools of thought can be traced back to certain philosophers and

³⁴Maner and Gailliot, "Altruism and Egoism," 348.

³⁵Werther, "Help Yourself by Helping Others: Self-interest in Appeals for Russian Famine Relief, 1921-23," 701.

thinkers concerned with statecraft, even if not exclusively. In terms of this research, altruism can be situated in the IR theories with defined norms of morality. These include the rivalling parties of the First IR Debate - realism and liberalism - as well as idealism, which can be seen as another criticism of realism in IR and one of the founding stones of liberalism and neoconservatism. The former two directly refer to self-interest, while idealism allows for it. All of these schools can be seen as inspired by thinkers such as Hume, Smith or Hobbes in terms of morality. These inspirations can serve as a meeting point for the debates in psychology and IR theories.

Hobbes' approach to morality and politics in his 1651 *Leviathan* defined a system of governing that is not influenced by moral obligations, with one exception - peace. The governing body has unlimited legitimacy, not influenced by morality, as long as it secures the sovereignty of a given state.³⁶ Therefore, if we consider the self-interest of a certain group as the only determinant of morality, the reasons for providing help to others become egoistically, rather than altruistically, motivated. By extension, it presents any willingness to help others as a conscious choice, rather than an implicit human trait - which may result in impure altruism discussed in the psychological debate.

Idealism, often seen as a predecessor of liberalism, can be approached as a separate school of thought in this research due to its moral framework differing from that of its descendant. Contrary to Hobbes, Hume's ideas on morality referred to the human tendency for parochialism and the possibility to transcend it by societies that are “open and commercial.”³⁷

³⁶Robin Douglass, “Hobbes and Political Realism,” *European Journal of Political Theory* 19, no. 2 (April 2020): 257–58, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885116677481>.

³⁷Neil McArthur, “Cosmopolitanism and Hume’s General Point of View,” *European Journal of Political Theory* 13, no. 3 (July 2014): 322, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474885113492728>.

In effect, his ideas might be seen as praising self-interested actors while presenting the locally-oriented ones as limited. The thinker, whose ideas inspired the tenets of idealism, identifies the fluidity of friendships and cooperations, as well as dynamic moral judgments of potential partners - which is a natural trait of human beings. Crucially for this research, Hume also explains the tendency of self-interested actors to form alliances. The potential long-term goals of cooperation not only provide gains for the involved parties but also meet the needs of human nature to cooperate and seek compromise.³⁸ Therefore, Hume can be seen as another point of connection between altruism in psychology and international relations - self-interested actors may engage in cooperation without an apparent immediate gain and present themselves as altruistically motivated while awaiting the long-term gains from providing support to a third party.

Liberal thought opposes the ideas of realism and places cooperation as the insurer of peace - therefore, it also focuses on actions taken to benefit the actor's self-interest, namely to protect it from war. The morality of liberalism, described in the writings of the likes of Smith, distances the goals of a government from the influences of human traits of those in power. This can also be applied to group action – even if its members are all altruistically motivated, the goals of the group must transcend the sense of their morality. Smith's notion of an "impartial spectator" includes the ability to make decisions not motivated by one's personal moral framework, but rather by an assessment of potential gains and losses inclined towards objectivity. Some scholars have argued, however, that Smith's approach can also be seen as an explanation of prosocial behaviour benefitting the self-interest of given actors.³⁹ Therefore,

³⁸McArthur, 324.

³⁹Alberto Acerbi and Pier Luigi Sacco, "Self-Interest, Prosociality, and the Moral Cognition of Markets: A Comparative Analysis of the Theory of Moral Sentiments and the Wealth of Nations," *Rationality and Society* 35, no. 4 (November 2023): 518, <https://doi.org/10.1177/10434631231170460>.

even the "impartial spectator" can be used to find rational explanations and methods of helping that benefit certain actors - which in the case of Smith implies the further development of wealth - and be seen as an interesting addition to the psychological debate on the nature of helping.

According to the morality of these three schools of thought, hiding self-interest behind a discourse of altruism is allowed on the state-level. However, approaching it systematically remains challenging. Most of the research concerning altruism and selflessness in the domain of international relations has focused mostly on capital flows and financial aid. Among these, most emphasis is put on Official Development Aid (ODA) and the reasons for granting it.⁴⁰ The focus on that particular subject seems justified - aid is a powerful financial and political tool that may shift the balance of power and reshape the international political landscape. Moreover, financial transfers are easy to quantify and can be compared with ease, contrary to more qualitative analyses.

More recent studies have largely embraced the consensus on the compound nature of reasons for providing aid and drawn more from critical theories. An increasing number of scholars focus on donor states that are not members of the Western-led Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Not only have they reinforced the political gains from providing foreign aid by presenting new, non-Western donors as case studies, but also analyzed the West's accusations of the insincerity of new donors' aid. These accusations include conditionalities in providing economic assistance, increasing political influence in recipient countries or the

⁴⁰For a comprehensive overview of literature on ODA and the reasons behind choosing recipient countries, see R. Melis Baydag and Stephan Klingebiel, "Partner Country Selection between Development Narratives and Self-interests: A New Method for Analysing Complex Donor Approaches," *Review of Development Economics* 27, no. 2 (May 2023): 1199–1223, <https://doi.org/10.1111/rode.12954>.

exploitation of raw resources hidden behind the discourse of development.⁴¹ Although these newer academic pieces do not refer to any particular school of thought either, it is possible to see the shift from asking "if" self-interest is a crucial factor in providing aid to asking "how" we can identify it. Therefore, these studies can be seen as a critique of insincerity and thus be perceived as closer to idealism than the utility-based theories of the First Debate. In terms of the case study covered in this thesis, the examples mentioned by Dreher can enrich our understanding of the indirect influence associated with humanitarian help in labour relations.

The moralities of all three thinkers allow for employing all means in pursuit of certain gains. As long as one seeks sovereignty, peace or a certain idea, the means for achieving them do not matter according to realism, liberalism and idealism, accordingly. Therefore, creating false discourses is acceptable for achieving self-interested gains, which suggests that both state and non-state actors may act in this way according to all three schools of IR considered in this chapter. The example of ODA shows how these ideas are executed by various parties involved in granting development aid. What other examples of such behaviour have been noticed by academia?

Historical Examples of Altruism Misuse on the International Level

The word "misuse" in the title of this section is rather broad and descriptive, and refers to various actions not motivated by empathy that are explained or reinforced through a creation of discourse related to that concept. Despite rarely referring to certain philosophers or schools

⁴¹Axel Dreher et al., "Apples and Dragon Fruits: The Determinants of Aid and Other Forms of State Financing from China to Africa," *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 1 (March 1, 2018): 182–94, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqx052>; Axel Dreher, Peter Nunnenkamp, and Rainer Thiele, "Are 'New' Donors Different? Comparing the Allocation of Bilateral Aid Between nonDAC and DAC Donor Countries," *World Development* 39, no. 11 (November 2011): 1950–68, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2011.07.024>.

of thought, multiple scholars have identified issues related to the misuse of altruistic values in their findings.

The circumstances in which international assistance - particularly humanitarian aid - has been rendered possible in the first place have to do with the institutionalization of aid among Western, and later global, societies. Some scholars went as far back as the 18th century, to analyze European colonial settlers' reservations towards indigenous Indian alms-giving practices. British newcomers to India would question the true motives of donors, citing "fears of superstition" as potential motivators for helping others, rather than true empathy. One of their main criticisms, however, was the lack of institutionalized charitable societies that would build schools or hospitals.⁴² The colonial powers would therefore not care about the indigenous understanding of charity but relied heavily on their institutionalized understanding of it - all while dismissing the noble claims of Indian aid providers. This example of colonial practices in the sphere of ethics of giving can provide insights into three important phenomena. First, European colonizers would view non-Westerners as insincere purely because they did not fit the evangelical and egalitarian concept of institutionalized charity, and thus present alleged impure altruism as a security issue. Second, accusations like this opened a path for the imposition of Western systems on societies with different moral frameworks, without regard to their indigenous norms and practices. Third, it shows that even ideas as abstract and seemingly universal as humanitarianism are influenced by Eurocentrism, which may significantly limit the way in which we approach that topic.

The creation of a pro-humanitarian discourse to conceal political advancements has been apparent in more recent history, too. Among modern developments, the Cold War saw the establishment of the aforementioned DAC. The organization, although founded on noble

⁴²Brewis, "“Fill Full the Mouth of Famine,”” 891–92.

ideas, received criticism for its ability to politicize aid. DAC's strength, however, is not only their ability to redirect aid to the chosen few, but the way in which the organization sets the stage for providing aid even for non-DAC members. The Chinese and Taiwanese reaction to the 2010 earthquake in Haiti may serve as an example of that influence. Both Beijing and Taipei focused their humanitarian action on government-to-government support, circumventing institutions such as UN agencies and undermining bottom-up initiatives. Both governments politicized the issue of providing aid to Haiti, too. The amount of support provided by either side was heavily influenced by the cross-strait relations, limiting the potential for charitable transfers in order not to undermine the other government's efforts.⁴³ The Chinese humanitarian response in Haiti can be seen as an interesting case study - not only does it expose the influence of DAC's policy on the rest of the world, but also shows the impure altruism and the politicization of empathy among parties that would criticize the same behaviour among Western countries. Moreover, it can be seen as a move towards a Hobbesian - thus realist - approach to altruism and alms-giving, as it projects state sovereignty onto the realm of humanitarianism.

Another aspect closely related to altruism and international relations is the concept of humanitarian intervention. Championed by the US in the post-Cold War era, such interventions have been intertwined with spreading liberal policies abroad. Hidden behind the aegis of using "proportional cross-border military force with human protection intent," the American interventions have propagated the liberal worldview in most places where its soldiers set foot.⁴⁴ A policy strikingly resembling "the white man's burden" of roughly a century earlier, its alleged empathetic and altruistic motives resulted in forcing systemic

⁴³Czeslaw Tubilewicz, "The Politics of Compassion: Examining a Divided China's Humanitarian Assistance to Haiti," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 12, no. 3 (September 1, 2012): 470–71, <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcs007>.

changes upon millions of people throughout the years. Changes were introduced with an implicit assumption that the American democratic system is better than any other, without concern for local customs. Therefore, they contributed to the reshaping of the discourse on humanitarianism into a West-centric one. This drive for political change can only be seen as a blind push motivated by idealist thought - doing everything to achieve one's worldview.

The concept of the "distant vulnerable" is another way in which American interventions in the Middle East and elsewhere have been approached by academia, and help us understand the use of altruistic discourse in achieving self-interested goals. Barack Obama, when justifying the 2011 American intervention in Libya related to the self-interest of the USA to gather supporters. In other words, the US referred to safeguarding its sovereignty in calls for public support, which relates to the Hobbesian idea of extending one's power to safeguard peace. This "enlightened" understanding of American interests, as compared to a classical "narrow" realism, considers the long-term effects of given actions, justifying a seemingly altruistic, or humanitarian, action. In the case of the Libyan intervention, the American president cited the potential of the unresolved conflict to undermine the credibility of democracy in the region, finally resulting in "a far greater price for America" than the costs borne by sending the US Army there.⁴⁵ The way in which Obama used the concept directly matches the definition of impure altruism identified in the previous section of this chapter. Due to the creation of that discourse, key people, such as the US Secretary of Defence, became convinced that the intervention in Libya provided gains for the American side, resulting in more support for a "humanitarian" case.

⁴⁴Thomas Peak, "Rescuing Humanitarian Intervention from Liberal Hegemony," *Global Responsibility to Protect* 13, no. 1 (November 30, 2020): 38–39, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1875-984X-2020X002>.

⁴⁵Luke Glanville, "Self-Interest and the Distant Vulnerable," *Ethics & International Affairs* 30, no. 3 (2016): 335–36, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0892679416000253>.

An interesting example of misuse of altruism on the international level can be seen when looking at pledges for providing aid. For example, the 2005 G8 Gleneagles Summit served as a prime circumstance for some Western leaders to label themselves as the champions of altruism. The summit saw bold statements being made, and various commitments being signed with an aim of ending poverty in Africa. Pledges included doubling aid to the continent by 2010, increasing it by some \$25 billion annually, which constituted roughly 0.7% of the participants' GNI. Critics pointed out that the signatories' track record in terms of providing aid had been "disastrous" and despite that, some of the leaders attending the meeting had no reservations calling it the "100 percent debt relief summit." Moreover, the debt reduction schemes designed by the US and the UK have been seen as political tools for diminishing other Western competitors' economic hold of the indebted countries. After the summit, analysts have identified the attendees' failure to meet their own goals, writing off debt forgiveness from aid packages and failing to collectively increase aid by \$20 billion - an amount six times lower than the amount of Iraqi debt cancelled by the G8 in 2003.⁴⁶ The claims of selflessness and altruism were only used to boost the attending politicians' public image through the creation of a positive discourse, while the promises related to providing aid remained unmet and often became a political tool, serving the internal interests of states allegedly acting according to the principles of humanitarianism. When projected onto the ideals of the three philosophers, such behaviour fits the Smithian approach to morality. The leaders had no trouble engaging in forgery in order to benefit politically in the long term. The provision, or rather its lack, of aid funding was not relevant in the discourse.

There are clear examples of actions motivated by intertwining self-interested and altruistic motives for state-based helping in history. Some phenomena, such as humanitarian

⁴⁶Wengraf, "Chapter Three; Neoliberalism: Crisis, Debt, and Structural Adjustment," 28–30.

interventions, have been identified to need both aspects to be effective. Others, such as issues related to providing aid, have often seen altruism being used mostly as an excuse to turn humanitarian support into a political tool. Influencing local policymaking through "selfless" intervention, military or not, has been known to be used as a tool by governments from the West and beyond. When relating them to the moral frameworks discussed in this chapter, all three schools of thought present morality as an explanation for the impure forms of humanitarianism and altruism.

Western States' "Altruistic" Behaviour in the Cold War

The major shift in great power dynamics brought about by the Cold War saw an emergence of international struggle for the support of officially neutral countries. New states emerging due to post-World War 2 decolonization and the shifting loyalties of some Latin American powers created a new asset valuable for both the First and the Second World - potential support in international organizations and economic systems. Both the West and the East made numerous interventions and attempts at influencing Third World countries, but this section of the chapter focuses on identifying potential self-interested gains from intervening, either politically or militarily, in the chosen regions of the Third World during the Cold War.

The post-1945 extension of the idea of self-determination, executed for the first time on a bigger scale after the First World War, resulted in Western European countries granting independence to their former colonial subjects. The United Nations Charter placed the idea at a central spot and one of the key principles of international law. On paper, the idea seemed noble - granting the oppressed peoples freedom from their colonial overlords and granting them the choice to decide their fate. In reality, however, some scholars identified numerous

contradictions to these ideas. Two former African colonies serve as an example of such problems - Congo and Angola, both heavily exploited and politically oppressed by their colonial overlords, and politically unstable after granting independence.

The independence of (DR) Congo in 1960, despite the UN's policy of self-determination, was by no means a smooth transition of power. Some archival sources show that key people in the US government at the time did not believe that the new African states were prepared for independence and therefore granting them an equal vote in the United Nations would not be advisable.⁴⁷ This made the US pressure its Western allies, including Belgium, to keep pressing the newly independent governments into compliance with the Western worldview. Washington and Brussels, to reduce backlash from the international community, claimed that their interference in the former Belgian colony was motivated by fear of "instability" and the willingness to avoid a bloody civil war in the country. Archival evidence from the American National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) suggests, however, that the decision to keep intervening in Congolese affairs was mostly motivated by "Cold War reasons" that were hidden behind a constructed discourse that focused on altruism and humanitarianism. Correspondence between the American side and the Belgian government explains that these mostly concerned two issues. One, to keep the Soviet influence out of Congo and two, to ensure that Congo remains part of the Western economic and political system, allowing them to exploit the colony even after its independence.⁴⁸ Therefore, Belgium and the USA justified their willingness to retain dominance over the country by portraying it as a humanitarian intervention. Seen through the realist lens, they tried to extend and safeguard their sovereignty by making sure it remained in the Western sphere of influence. In the case of

⁴⁷US Secretary of State Foster Dulles cited in John Kent, *America, the UN and Decolonisation: Cold War Conflict in the Congo* (London: Routledge, 2010), 26.

⁴⁸Kent, 45–56.

Belgian Congo, this strategy would lead to the deployment of Belgian troops that would focus on ensuring the safety of white Europeans residing in the former colony, followed by a conflict with the UN peacekeeping forces. The UN, influenced by the Americans on their anti-communist stance, wanted to replace the Belgian forces as a neutral intervening power - with their goals not focusing on the well-being of white Europeans in the country or economic ties with the West, but rather on ensuring the lack of Soviet influence in the country.⁴⁹ The UN, therefore, can also be seen as an actor using the cover of neutrality and impartiality to push forward the anti-communist sentiment, which would benefit most powers leading the organization, and therefore strengthen their own sovereignty according to the realist IR theory.

Another African example of post-colonial interference in internal affairs, related to the Congolese example, is the turmoil created after Angola's independence. After a long war of independence, with multiple countries supporting various belligerents, Angola received its independence from Portugal. The civil war that followed, as well as international support for various warring parties, has extensively been covered as one of the most explicit examples of the Cold War's indirect conflict between the First and the Second World. What is often omitted in terms of the conflict, however, is one of Portugal's closest allies - the United Kingdom. Being a close collaborator of the United States, one could have expected the British to support Washington's efforts in reinforcing the Congo-based anti-government Angolese group, UNITA.

However, some scholars have identified factors that influenced London's rather neutral stance in Angola, both before and after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal and the Angolan independence. One of these factors was the fact that Britain had already begun releasing its

⁴⁹Kent, 75.

colonial subjects and by 1976, its policy aimed at securing close ties with the newly independent nations and making the support for them "so obvious and apparent that it would have been impossible for the Soviet Union to compete" with the UK.⁵⁰ Openly influencing Angolan affairs would not picture the British policy as friendly towards the new African nations, especially considering their already close ties with Apartheid-ruled South Africa. Therefore, it benefitted from the fluidity of alliances and associations to pursue its set policies and eventually gain an advantage from it in a Smithian fashion. The second reason for Britain's limited interest was the domestic political struggle faced by most European states at the time - the parliamentary and public debate about the effectiveness of the relaxation of East-West tensions - or *détente*. In the 1970s, the Tories began to present the strife for decreased tensions with the USSR as a way of letting the guard down and letting the Soviets influence Third World countries. Labour officials, on the other hand, continued to believe that intervening in state formation and political changes would fuel the communist sentiment in the former colonies, and preferred to refrain from officially supporting any side of the conflict.⁵¹

The UK's lack of involvement in the Angolan War of Independence and the following civil war - despite its position as one of the leading powers of the First World and its close ties to the involved parties - is an example of choices made due to self-interested motives, rather than external factors, which were forwarded through the creation of a pro-independence discourse. While the US and South Africa spread the idea of the Red Scare and associated

⁵⁰UK Foreign Office Minister of State cited in Geraint Hughes, "Soldiers of Misfortune: The Angolan Civil War, The British Mercenary Intervention, and UK Policy towards Southern Africa, 1975–6," *The International History Review* 36, no. 3 (May 27, 2014): 498, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2013.836120>.

⁵¹Hughes, 499–500.

black nationalism with communism, the British remained reluctant and advanced their African agenda by securing friendly relations with the newly independent states.

These two examples, although far from the full scope of Western influences in the Developing Countries, present two important conclusions about the nature of self-interested interventions in the Third World. First, it shows that universal ideas, such as self-determination, were limited in scope and often not reflected in the actions of Western governments. Belgium's reluctance to withdraw its military from the newly independent Congo, as well as American interventions in new African states, show their selectivity in respecting the idea. In the end, it was the external factors, the "Cold War reasons," that drove the states to act - or not - in a certain way. The use of a humanitarian discourse, or of willingness to respect the independence and well-being of certain groups, was often used as an excuse to gather political supporters and potentially decrease international backlash. Therefore, different strategies were pursued to fulfill an idea - but the idea was based on one's own gains.

Chapter Conclusion

The topic of altruism has been extensively studied by academia but largely remains a domain of psychology. The debates in that field mostly argue whether altruistic behaviour is a conscious choice and whether self-interest influences the willingness to aid others. The latter aspect often remains hidden and can be seen affecting altruistic choices - with varying degrees of influence. From a sociological standpoint, a sense of oneness between groups may blur the line between altruistic and self-interested actions. Philosophers, whose ideas can be seen as inspiration for three schools of IR - realism, liberalism and idealism, provide a connection between psychology and the disciplines associated with politics. Hobbes, Hume

and Smith all refer to morality in statecraft in their works, which enables this thesis to relate the findings in psychology to decision-making on the state level. Using these connections, several concepts produced by IR and political sciences scholars are identified as related to hidden self-interest, such as humanitarian intervention or the distant vulnerable. Although they rarely refer to the concept of altruism explicitly, these concepts often include using discourses related to it as a cover for self-interested goals or invoking egoism to gather public support for certain actions. Finally, two examples from African decolonization are identified as examples of self-interest disguised as a more "noble" goal, intended to reduce public backlash for certain decisions related to political or military interventions in given third-party states. These findings provide a solid framework for further analysis - first, the use of NGOs and trade unions as state agents can be approached through the lens described in this chapter by identifying discourses used as cover-ups for other intentions. Then, the case study can be approached using the findings of this and the following chapter.

Chapter 3: The Role of Western Non-Governmental Actors in Spreading Western Influence in the Second and the Third World

To what extent were Western non-governmental actors crucial in spreading neoliberal economic and political ideas during the Cold War and how does the historical stance of trade unions compare to other types of non-governmental bodies? This chapter aims to elaborate on this question by analyzing three types of non-governmental bodies: grassroots movements (in this chapter referred to as grassroots NGOs), International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and trade unions. Looking through the moral frameworks of the three schools of IR identified in Chapter 2, it connects the actions of these collectives with the discipline of IR. The result of this chapter's query serves as a framework for further elaboration on the international role of trade unions during the Cold War, as understanding power dynamics between organizations with varying scopes of activities – such as national-international – is crucial in understanding relationships and solidarity between movements operating within two separate political systems.

The approach of this chapter was inspired by multiple scholars of critical theory, most notably including the critique of neoliberalism. These researchers often uncover the self-motivated - and ultimately realist - actions of seemingly liberal or idealist institutions, such as the IFIs and NGOs. Their research mostly concerns the 1970s and the height of the postcolonial period in developing countries. The consumer goods crisis of the decade resulted in a Western shift in their Third World policies. The developing, post-colonial states, critics argue, have been influenced by the West through the means of supranational bodies to turn their economies into export-based ones, with most of their natural resources being sent directly to the developed countries for manufacturing. This, along with policy changes

imposed by the IFIs, led to a decrease in public services and - in effect - political destabilization of the region and induced dependency on the Western economies.

However, academia does not cover the same Western supra-national influence on the Second World states. Naturally, the economic pressure through IFIs would not be as effective in centrally planned economies as in the developing states. The "civil society" represented by the NGOs in the First and Third World would not emerge openly, as various government-sanctioned bodies mostly took their role. This shortcoming of the current historiography on the topic directly relates to another gap in scholarly works. The role of trade unions has mostly been approached on a domestic level, without much focus on the international use of these groups for the benefit of given states. Academia mostly treats trade unions as independent actors within their country of origin, without any significant ties to the government. Considering the political origin of these movements – a way to fight for the wellbeing of the masses by influencing policymakers – the severity of this shortcoming becomes clearly visible. It is apparent in multiple debates consulted during this research. The critique of neoliberalism does not provide elaborations on the actions of the West in the Second World, and the role of trade unions in indirect state intervention also eludes the debate, as contrasted with IFIs and NGOs. The debate on Dutch-Polish labour and civil movement relationship does not consider potential state influence, while the debate on the international trade union federations seldom includes analyses of nation-level trade unions. The severity of these shortcomings become even more apparent once one considers that Solidarity was not part of the pro-Soviet WFTU, but maintained close relations with the pro-Western ICFTU. This chapter fills in these gaps by identifying ways in which the actions of trade unions resembled those of government-related IFIs and NGOs in foreign policy. It does so by delving into the interconnectedness of international financial institutions, non-

governmental organizations and trade unions in shaping global economic and political landscapes during the Cold War era.

First, the chapter approaches the use of IFIs in disseminating neoliberal political influence and the role of grassroots NGOs in filling in the void left by the withdrawal of public services. These NGOs, however, rarely represented the people in need and often aligned with neoliberal agendas and served the interests of Western governments and corporations. This alignment highly depended on the types of funding provided by supra-national organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Afterwards, the chapter highlights the geopolitical position of trade union federations, which were influenced by Cold War ideologies and global power struggles.⁵² It concludes that labour movements on both sides of the Iron Curtain were involved in the political struggle between the two blocs. Western trade unions, backed by anti-communist sentiments, cooperated with governments to counter potential threats of communism both domestically and internationally. On the other hand, Eastern trade unions, under the influence of Marxism-Leninism, supported movements in the Third World, aligning them with the broader geopolitical interests of the Eastern Bloc.

This interconnected web of IFIs, NGOs, and - by extension - trade unions, demonstrates how non-state actors, driven by ideological and economic motives, have played a non-negligible role in the struggle between the two blocs during the Cold War. Whether through financial policies, humanitarian aid, or labour movements, these actors have wielded influence that transcends national borders, ultimately reflecting the power dynamics inherent in international relations. The research conveyed in this chapter yields the key proposition of

⁵²On the labour movement split between the East and the West after the Second World War, see Jon V. Kofas, "U.S. Foreign Policy and the World Federation of Trade Unions, 1944-1948," *Diplomatic History* 26, no. 1 (January 2002): 21–60, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-7709.00299>.

this thesis - the international trade union federations and the International Financial Institutions played a similar role in creating a system within which their local-level counterparts - nation-level labour movements and NGOs, respectively - became involved in actions motivated by politics.

The Use of International Financial Institutions in Spreading the Western Influence in the Developing Countries

The global crisis of the 1970s led to a rise in neoliberal practices in the West. These practices, introduced domestically as well as outside the First World, led to a decrease in governmental spending in the countries of the Third World. This mass withdrawal of public investments left a void in multiple spheres of public life. To fill that gap in, numerous voluntary organizations rose from the bottom up to provide continuity in the efforts to develop the societies of the Third World.⁵³ These non-governmental organizations (NGOs), however, were not as pure and noble as their founding ideas might suggest. At first, their goals were to provide humanitarian support in the developing world, providing food, know-how and education in the regions that most needed them. By doing so, they complemented and took over some of the actions of institutionalized churches, which had lost a significant degree of their credibility as "for the people" by their active engagement in the "big politics" of the Third World movement in the 1960s.⁵⁴ In other words, these movements often replaced religion as idealistic providers of aid and development. This idealistic foundation will become an important credibility factor for labour-focused organizations in later decades, too.

⁵³David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 1. publ. in paperback, reprint. (twice) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 171.

⁵⁴Duco Hellema, *The Global 1970s: Radicalism, Reform, and Crisis*, Decades in Global History (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 29.

The most significant challenge when analyzing NGOs and their actions, both in academia and public discourse, is the meaning of the term. Their collective name implies a grassroots movement, organized in the spirit of a civil society, that tries to pursue its goals without direct links to any form of government. The first challenge associated with such an ambivalent definition was already identified by scholars at the end of the 20th century. It is difficult to establish the precise actions and structure of NGOs, as they vary from one organization to another. The types of funding they receive, the goals they exactly pursue and how they go about doing it, as well as the internal coordinating structure, differ immensely between them.⁵⁵ Therefore, by using the term NGO, almost every public (but not governmental) body that aims to support a bottom-up initiative can be described - from a group of volunteers setting up schools in a developing country to giant bodies such as Amnesty International or even the International Monetary Fund. The differences between the far ends of the scale spectrum might as well be seen as rendering the term NGO irrelevant.

The second problem with the term - also identified at the end of the previous century - is the relation of these organizations to the political system they operate in. The criticism was present already in 1997, underlining the dependence of the NGOs on governmental politics and current political climate in their states of origin and places where they operated.⁵⁶ The critique of neoliberalism that has been gaining momentum since the end of the century has exposed even more relationships between NGOs and certain political ideas. The moral framework in which Western NGOs operate does not account for the true "local" needs of the people they are supporting, with appeals for human rights being short-sighted in terms of socio-economic differences between the West and the Developing World. The use of

⁵⁵William F. Fisher, "Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 447-48.

⁵⁶Fisher, 451.

"universal" human rights as the main rationale for helping has been criticized as being reminiscent of colonial practices, as they legitimize the imposition of foreign - governmental or not - rule on states deemed "incapable of adherence" to them. The dissemination of such calls for intervention for the sake of safeguarding human rights has correlated with the growing pressure for neoliberal policymaking.⁵⁷ This ties back to the second chapter of the thesis and presents the use of allegedly "humanitarian" reasons to create a discourse of universally good actions and justify interference in foreign policy. Moreover, NGOs propagate an institutionalized form of providing aid and humanitarianism, which was a concept developed in the West in the first place.

The "ground-level" NGOs have not only unwittingly operated within and in support of the emergence of global neoliberalism after the crisis of the 1970s, but also cooperated with the bigger institutions that made that shift possible. Knowingly or not, they profited from the changes introduced by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), in turn providing even more potential for them to influence the economies of the Developing World. The initially noble initiative to set up NGOs swiftly became a way for individuals to profit from changes in the weaker economies. The individuals running the NGOs, for example, are often middle-class people from the global North, using the new model to essentially set up a new type of business - one that is safe from direct governmental interference and does not need to invest in property to operate. Some scholars have claimed this governmental detachment to be indicative of the NGOs completing the neoliberal cycle started by the IFIs - the "big" organizations and international corporations exploit the weak economies from the top, while the excuse of "internationalism" is used from the bottom to secure profits for the activists.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 177–79.

⁵⁸Petras, "NGOs," 439–40.

The political and economic environment created by the "big players" made even the most idealistic NGOs belligerent in the liberalization process.

This phenomenon of exploiting the - in principle noble - NGOs as a financial asset is visible in the emergence of African NGOs. Julie Hearn in her 2007 article describes a mass emergence of indigenous NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa. First, the loans granted by the IMF and the World Bank led to a collapse of local economies, which led to international aid becoming the biggest and safest source of income. The African "petit bourgeois" set up various NGOs that captured the value of that aid as a "safety net" for their wealth.⁵⁹ Therefore, the IFIs succeeded in introducing systemic changes - even the NGOs became for-profit actors and agents of privatization, as they filled the void left by the declining parts of the public sector by turning them into private for-profit endeavours. This led to a further decrease in the socioeconomic status of the affected communities and resulted in the need for even more aid and loans.

The long-term effects on states affected by the neoliberal policies, introduced by the West and aimed at mitigating the effects of the global crisis, can still be seen to this day. The criticism of the IFIs, such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, has long been present in academia. Claims have been made that these institutions were created to facilitate Western capital accumulation under the excuse of "promoting development." One of the World Bank's leaders stated in 1969 that it was "neither a philanthropic institution nor a social welfare agency."⁶⁰ Indeed, the forceful introduction of neoliberal economic measures led to these institutions gaining an increasing degree of influence on the governments affected by the changes. The West was able to turn the developing economies in the 1970s

⁵⁹Hearn, "African NGOs," 1102.

⁶⁰Wengraf, "Chapter Three; Neoliberalism: Crisis, Debt, and Structural Adjustment," 4.

and 80s into export-led economies through their dependence on "development" loans and grants provided by the IFIs, effectively making these states dependent on the First World.⁶¹

These measures also contributed to an increase in social disparities. For example, the effects on the Caribbean have been identified as disproportionately affecting women - the decline in state services entails more burdens for women, who are traditional caretakers of families and communities in the region.⁶² A more recent example shows the growth in socioeconomic disparities in Greece and how capital owners may influence politics in a neoliberal system. The run-up to the 2015 referendum on increased austerity measures, for example, saw the IFIs - such as the IMF and the ECB - inducing scarcity in basic goods, influencing Greek media to vote in favour of the measures, and convincing employers to threaten their employees with layoffs and wage delays.⁶³

These examples remain relevant to this thesis, presenting three important traits of IFIs and neoliberal changes. First, it shows that by using a discourse of "development", the programs heralded as focused on benevolence served the interests of Western economies, even when introduced by institutions seemingly meant to address international needs. Second, it shows that such measures disproportionately affect vulnerable groups and individuals, such as women or workers. This ties into the analysis of trade union involvement in foreign affairs, as protecting workers' rights and well-being is their statutory goal. Third, the minor and

⁶¹Wengraf, 5–6.

⁶²Jan Knippers Black, "Responsibility Without Authority: The Growing Burden for Women in the Caribbean," *Review of Social Economy* 55, no. 2 (June 1997): 235–36, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00346769700000037>.

⁶³Christos Boukalas and Julian Müller, "Un-Doing Labour in Greece: Memoranda, Workfare and Eurozone 'Competitiveness,'" *Global Labour Journal* 6, no. 3 (September 30, 2015): 390, <https://doi.org/10.15173/glj.v6i3.2720>.

independent organizations were indirectly forced into the propagation of the system created by IFIs, due to the economic and political environment created by the latter.

"Governmental" NGOs and the Cold War

The cooperation between the IFIs and grassroots NGOs can be seen on a wider scale. The creation of a "civil society" associated with the emergence of the latter happened in the context of the Cold War, and the global struggle between the liberal West and the centrally-planned East. When approaching the actions of any non-governmental actors, especially ones originating in the West, one must consider the overarching goals of the Western states. These mostly revolved around preventing the emergence of Communism in the Third World and the dissemination of free market policies across the globe. The actions of the IFIs and NGOs left the developing countries increasingly dependent on foreign aid, which was in turn exploited by the governments through the same institutions to achieve their Cold War foreign policy goals. The way in which IFIs were used by the Western governments during the Cold War has already been analyzed by multiple scholars.

Birthered at the end of the Second World War in Bretton Woods, the World Bank and the IMF were the most significant supra-governmental economic institutions that promoted the American - and, by extension, Western - interests in the world. Headquartered on American soil, both institutions were disproportionately influenced by Washington. One of the clearest examples of that meddling is the fact that after the WB refused to grant Chile funding in 1970-1973, official US institutions referred to it as a "successful exercise of US influence on the Bank."⁶⁴ In fact, funding strategies as a whole were used to keep the Third World states in

⁶⁴Thomas Barnebeck Andersen, Henrik Hansen, and Thomas Markussen, "US Politics and World Bank IDA-Lending," *The Journal of Development Studies* 42, no. 5 (July 2006): 773, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220380600741946>.

the fold, not only through the Bank's projects but also through smaller initiatives. For example, the Inter-American Foundation, created to oversee aid projects in Latin American countries, was focused on supporting small, grassroots development projects. However, the federal agencies accused its board of funding left-wing and anti-American organizations in the 1980s that were chosen based on the organizations' willingness to maintain a good public image rather than "serving the US taxpayers."⁶⁵ Therefore, the US taxpayers, one may assume, would require an aid-focused fund to combat communism rather than improve the quality of life in target countries. Once the economic pressure on the developing countries was established, the IFIs could be used to ensure their compliance.

One way of approaching this topic in academia has been to look at different UN agencies and the way in which developing nations voted compared to the US and other Western states. Dreher et al. looked at empirical data on the correlation between the number of World Bank projects in various countries and their Security Council membership during the Cold War. The first striking observation was that the temporary UNSC members who voted in line with the G7 countries received larger loans from the World Bank during the Cold War.⁶⁶ This alone suggests that the Bank's choices were politically motivated in the period. After an in-depth analysis, however, the researchers found out that countries such as Zaire (DR Congo) or Algeria received four to six times more World Bank projects in the years of their Security Council tenure than outside of it. Even more interestingly, the trend stopped after the end of

⁶⁵Mona M. Lyne, Daniel L. Nielson, and Michael J. Tierney, "Who Delegates? Alternative Models of Principals in Development Aid," in *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations*, ed. Darren G. Hawkins et al., Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 48, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491368.003>.

⁶⁶Dreher, Nunnenkamp, and Thiele, "Are 'New' Donors Different?," 3.

the Cold War.⁶⁷ The researchers' findings strongly suggest that the reasons for the sudden increase in funding before 1990 might have been purely political. In the context of the morality of the three IR theories, this sudden decrease after 1990 means the US wanted to safeguard its dominance by all means possible during the Cold War, fitting the Hobbesian idea of morality in realism.

Some scholars cited in Andersen et al.'s 2006 article found that the actions of the IMF were strongly influenced by factors related to compliance with the Western economies. The way in which a country voted in the general assembly, for example, contributed to the internal decision-making in the IMF. Moreover, the degree to which a potential aid receiver was engaged in trade with the US, the UK, France and the Benelux states determined their chances of receiving preferential treatment in the organization.⁶⁸ They claim, however, that most work preceding their paper saw the World Bank in stark contrast to the IMF, describing it as a more egalitarian alternative that could not so easily be influenced by the developed economies.⁶⁹ The authors find, however, that the Bank's decisions have also been heavily influenced by the US foreign policy.⁷⁰

Presented findings show that the strife towards neoliberalism was actively spread during the Cold War and served the interests of Western governments. Through the use of IFIs – institutions hidden behind a discourse of neutrality and internationalism - the neoliberal system was disseminated and influenced governance in developing economies. By doing so, the grassroots movements were - at times unintentionally - engaged in supporting that system

⁶⁷Dreher, Nunnenkamp, and Thiele, 5.

⁶⁸Andersen, Hansen, and Markussen, "US Politics and World Bank IDA-Lending," 778.

⁶⁹Andersen, Hansen, and Markussen, 779.

⁷⁰Andersen, Hansen, and Markussen, 786.

through their position as alternatives to the declining social services. This global system was created to maintain Western dominance over the decolonizing world, "threatened" by the rise of communism in places historically dominated by the West. To safeguard their power, its representatives did not hesitate to influence the Third World by political proxies. The groups struck most by these changes, however, were the working class individuals and other vulnerable groups, which makes us ask: what role did trade unions play in this world of austerity measures?

Trade Unions' Special Place Among the Non-Governmental Actors

Labour movements, albeit traditionally older than the grassroots movements and the IFIs, became increasingly relevant after the Second World War. In the 1970s, the neoliberal changes influenced the lives of the working class. As Harvey argued, "neoliberalization has transformed the positionality of labour" and vulnerable groups. This meant that the decrease in the number and effectiveness of public institutions, resulted in the working class looking for alternative ways to remain involved in groups providing social solidarity, ranging from cartels to NGOs and religious cults.⁷¹ In other words, the neoliberal changes led to labour being treated as a commodity, leading to social restructuring. Issues like this, one might think, would provide fertile soil for the growth of trade unions. In the paradigm of the Cold War, however, it was not as straightforward.

The internal structure of national trade unions mostly reflected a democratic system that allowed all voices to be heard - contrary to the more elitist NGOs - that also increased their legitimacy.⁷² Therefore, their very creation was openly political, giving more power to the

⁷¹Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 171.

⁷²Harvey, 177.

working class and genuinely targeting their well-being. However, the international federations of trade unions were more prone to being influenced by certain actors. In the first five years after the end of the Second World War, the European labour environment saw an enormous split. Most trade unions originating in the West established their own International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), leaving the USSR-friendly unions in the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Both blocs included some representatives from the Third World as well.⁷³ Therefore, the very creation of international labour federations can be seen as a political move, with most of the unions from the democratic countries splitting from their colleagues on the other side of the Iron Curtain. On the inside, however, the organizations were not as distinct and both followed an internal decision-making division that might be compared to the Bolshevik system, which free trade unionism - certainly in the West - principally opposed.⁷⁴ Therefore, these structures could be compared to the IFIs - disconnected from the people they were serving and easily influenced by major political powers.

The potential for using international labour as a political tool has been recognized on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Multiple scholars have extensively elaborated on the role of the CIA in the creation of the ICFTU, for example.⁷⁵ The international cooperation strategies during the Cold War were largely comparable to the international aid and development programs, aimed at preventing the communist takeover first and tending to workers' needs second. One of the clearest examples of direct American state foreign influence through labour

⁷³Jakobsen, "Rethinking the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Its Inter-American Regional Organization," 365.

⁷⁴Jakobsen, 369.

⁷⁵Field, "Union Busting as Development: Transnationalism, Empire and Kennedy's Secret Labour Programme for Bolivia," 29.

associations was the way in which the Latin American Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT) was influenced by American trade unions. One of the US-based trade unions, AFL-CIO, provided 90% of the funding to the organization, effectively controlling it. This degree of funding was possible through an agreement with Washington, which strived to curtail the development of communism in Latin America through the promotion of free trade unionism.⁷⁶ Examples like this show how vulnerable the international trade union organizations were to the influence of regional superpowers and how actively the US wanted to secure its power by all means possible. They also show a process of creating a discourse of Western-like trade unions being the only legitimate and “free” type of such institutions.

To the east of the Iron Curtain, the communist world found a way to use the WFTU to their advantage as well. Due to the authoritarian nature of the involved countries, the cooperation on international issues was more tightly coordinated. The organization would be used by the East to play an active role in the decolonization process in Africa. Since communist parties on the continent were effectively non-existent, the East had to focus on the existing labour movements and - already present and strong - trade unions to promote its interests. The WFTU was therefore used to disseminate knowledge about Marxist-Leninist ideas among the labour activists from the continent. The national governments would invite these activists to take part in various training programs under the auspices of WFTU cooperation. This way of influencing the Third World would only become viable from the mid-1950s onward since Stalinism viewed any anticolonial struggle as inspired by the African "national bourgeoisie" and therefore, the Eastern Bloc and the WFTU had not engaged in similar activities before

⁷⁶Jakobsen, “Rethinking the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Its Inter-American Regional Organization,” 365.

Stalin's death.⁷⁷ Therefore, the use of international labour organizations for the Bloc's self-interest was not only seen in the First World but served as an important channel of propaganda and training for the Second World as well, which helped secure their ideologically and politically driven goals.

A valuable addition to the study about the relation between the battle of Cold War ideas and trade unions can be seen in the post-Second World War UK example presented in a recent article. The rhetoric of the "red menace" was used by the UK government after the Second World War to enforce changes in the managerial boards of British trade unions. By blaming the British communists for most labour-related anti-government protests, the state was able to replace the top men with ones working hand in hand with the state.⁷⁸ This resulted in trade unions introducing strong anti-communist decisions as a measure against potential communist actions that would destabilize the existing hierarchies. Therefore, it was beneficial for the sitting decision-makers to cooperate with the state even without any imposed measures, as potential communist influence might have negatively impacted their legitimacy.⁷⁹ This example, although not directly related to trade unions' involvement in international affairs, shows that the decisions taken by the trade union leaders may be influenced by non-direct factors - such as the Red Scare directly after the Second World War, and increase the extent to which states indirectly influenced local labour movements through a creation of discourse delegitimizing anything that could possibly be hailed as communist.

⁷⁷Harisch and Burton, "The Missing Link?," 293–94.

⁷⁸Matthew Gerth, "The Trade Union Movement: A Fifth Column?," in *Anti-Communism in Britain During the Early Cold War, A Very British Witch Hunt* (London: University of London Press, 2023), 191, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.2775918.10>.

⁷⁹Gerth, 224.

It remains crucial to remember, however, that workers' initiatives and labour movements are a truly grassroots type of organizations. Therefore, they possess a degree of autonomy and international innocence unseen by other bottom-up initiatives. When analyzing international relations between labour movements, the matter of international solidarity should be considered. That solidarity is a "practice and social relation emergent within a shared encounter with changing conditions of social life, in the workplace and beyond".⁸⁰ Workers sympathizing with their foreign counterparts have a tendency to support the cause, as long as the problem is clearly communicated to them. This degree of autonomy from governments and their idealistic motivations allowed for direct relationships even between labour movements operating within different political systems.⁸¹ However, keeping in mind the international trade union federations' role in the system, it is possible that this sense of solidarity was exploited to gather support for political causes.

The explored sources lead us to believe there exists an analogy between the actions of the IFIs and the international federations of trade unions. Similar to the supra-national financial bodies, the process in which these collectives were set up involved state and ideological influence. The tools used by them on the international scale resembled aid programs of the World Bank, while a federation's involvement was determined by the state or ideological interests of either side of the Iron Curtain. In light of this analogy, it might be suggested that the national trade unions have common traits with grassroots NGOs - albeit less disconnected

⁸⁰Adam Fishwick and Lucila D'Urso, "Trade Union Solidarity in Crisis: The Generative Tensions of Worker Solidarities in Argentina," *Work, Employment and Society* 38, no. 1 (February 2024): 46, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09500170221100935>.

⁸¹Numerous examples of cross-border trade union cooperation can be found in Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Jelle Visser, *Trade Unions in Western Europe Since 1945*, The Societies of Europe 2 (London: Macmillan, 2000); For relations across the Iron Curtain, see, for example, Goddeeris, "The Transnational Scope of Western Labour's Solidarity with Solidarność."

from the people they are serving, they still operate in a system determined by state policies and ideological interests, and they have certainly operated so during the Cold War. This means that the actions of nation-level trade unions, even when motivated by genuine concern for workers' wellbeing, might have been limited in type and scope due to the politicized nature of their international counterparts.

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter explores the extent to which Western non-governmental actors contributed to pushing forward Western political goals during the Cold War and how trade unions differed from other types of non-governmental organizations. First, it identifies the traits of grassroots NGOs and their - mostly indirect - alignment and propagation of the neoliberal system in the developing states. Then, the chapter proceeds to assess the role of International Financial Institutions as Western tools based on previous historiography. These institutions have often openly been referred to as tools, with development and aid programs often proportionately reflecting the recipient's trade relations with the developed countries. The final analysis of the chapter concerns the structure of international trade union federations, which - contrary to national trade unions - are quite susceptible to politics. Both sides of the Iron Curtain used the international trade union federations to safeguard their influence and power, fulfilling the Hobbesian approach to morality. National state unions, albeit more independent than their international counterparts, were influenced during the Cold War due to public phenomena, such as the Red Scare, resulting in state actors influencing their trade unions. Finally, the chapter proposes to draw an analogy between IFIs and international labour movements, due to their susceptibility to political changes and influence, their disconnectedness from the people they serve and their IFI-like international cooperation programs. Expanding on that, a suggestion is made to draw a parallel between grassroots NGOs and national trade unions on

some issues during the Cold War, due to their dependency on the international system within which they operated. This hypothesis is followed by a case study analysis based on archival material in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: FNV, Solidarity and Political Influence

What information concerning potential gains motivated by the self-interest of the Dutch state or other Western governmental actors can be derived from FNV's correspondence with the Dutch government, other trade unions and Solidarity in the 1980s? This chapter aims to apply the findings concerning the role of national and international labour-related organizations from the previous chapter to discover potential self-interested motives behind the actions of the Federation of Dutch Trade Unions (Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging, FNV) in relation to the Polish population and trade union Solidarity in the 1980s. These actions are considered in a three-step analysis. These steps include: an inquiry into the nature of Dutch-Polish labour relationships before the 1980s; an inspection of the Dutch FNV's relations with governmental bodies and international labour organizations; and an in-depth analysis of the language used in FNV's correspondence at the time. Primary sources are mostly used during the analysis included in this chapter, with most of the pieces coming from the FNV Archive stored at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. The most prominent type of primary sources found in the archive are letters and telex messages exchanged between the FNV and other parties, with public statements and internal notes available at times, too.

This chapter relates to the theoretical findings of the previous two parts in multiple ways. First, labour relationships, as well as the humanitarian support provided for Poland by the Dutch can be seen as an example of impure altruism. If the FNV felt a sense of brotherhood with their colleagues in Poland, then helping them could have been considered helping FNV's own people. According to the oneness theory of Chapter 2, this explains the potential motives as self-interested and directed at targeting the needs of European (or global) labour, therefore

diminishing the role of true altruism in the process. It may also be approached as a type of distant vulnerable, which has to be supported in order to protect workers at home. Second, Solidarity in Poland was an outlier to the classical post-war East-West division between the WFTU and the ICFTU, respectively. By keeping close ties with the latter throughout all of its existence, Solidarity provides a unique example of an independent trade union in the Eastern Bloc that had direct contact with the American-dominated ICFTU. Third, the Dutch political climate at the time made the country oppose the American hegemony in terms of Cold War international relations at times. This included the Dutch trade unions, where the drive for détente - the relaxation of East-West tensions - was an important part of their international strategy. This puts the FNV in stark contrast with labour organizations such as the American AFL-CIO federation, which sought confrontation with non-Western governments and trade unions. Lastly, Solidarity had documented ties with the CIA and was crucial in overthrowing the pro-Kremlin rule in Poland in 1989, significantly contributing to the end of the Cold War.

The Nature of Dutch-Polish Labour Relationships at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s

The post-war landscape of labour movements varied enormously across Europe. In the Western world, trade unions retained their pre-war nature as religious or socialist organizations. In the Eastern World, the movements of the interbellum era were mostly delegalized and replaced or absorbed by state-funded agencies, as the workers were central to the communist ideology. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this division would soon be reflected by a split on the international scale, with most of the trade unions originating in the West joining the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). At the same time, the state-funded Eastern movements would remain members of the World Federation of Trade Unions

(WFTU). However, this split did not mean an absolute end of bilateral relations between trade unions across the Iron Curtain.

The history of the labour movement in the Netherlands is strongly connected with the one of pillarization (*verzuiling*). Before the 1970s, every central trade union federation corresponded with one "pillar" of the Dutch society.⁸² The Dutch Catholic Trade Union Federation (Nederlands Katholiek Vakverbond, NKV) was created by the Catholic Church authorities to prevent cooperation with the socialist and protestant trade union federations. These, represented by the Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions (Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen, NVV) and the Christian National Trade Union Federation (Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond, CNV), respectively, had their origins before 1910. The shift in Dutch society marked by the end of the 1960s led to a policy of depillarization (*ontzuiling*) and resulted in the Catholic NKV merging with the socialist NVV. The Federation of Dutch Trade Unions (Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging, FNV) that resulted from the merger remains a central player on the Dutch labour scene to this day. The merging process happened between 1976 and 1982 and saw the FNV play a central role in representing Dutch labour on the international scale.⁸³

On the Polish side, the Red Army marching towards Berlin dragged a political bomb behind itself. In it, next to the representatives of a new puppet government, the top brass of the Temporary Central Trade Union Committee (Tymczasowa Komisja Centralna Związków

⁸²The four pillars of society in the Netherlands included: Catholics, Protestants, Liberals and Socialists. For a comprehensive study of pillarization and a comparison with other Western societies, see Staf Helleman, "Pillarization ('Verzuiling'). On Organized 'Self-Contained Worlds' in the Modern World," *The American Sociologist* 51, no. 2 (June 2020): 124–47, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12108-020-09449-x>.

⁸³Ebbinghaus and Visser, *Trade Unions in Western Europe Since 1945*, 444–45.

Zawodowych, TKCZZ) was already assigned to take over any remainders of the pre-war labour movement. With time, the Committee was transformed into the Association of Trade Unions (Zrzeszenie Związków Zawodowych, ZZZ), with the Central Council of Trade Unions (Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych, CRZZ) being the main legislative body. The direct influence of the state did not help the ZZZ avoid a decline that began in 1956 and accelerated strongly in the 1970s. In 1980 numerous trade unions decided to leave the association, citing its inability to address workers' issues and instead focusing on fulfilling the state agenda. In the same year, the ZZZ ceased to exist.⁸⁴

The rapid decline of the association in the 1970s coincided with worker-driven strikes that replaced the ruling class with the new government with Edward Gierek at the helm. The "Age of Gierek," initially driven by economic growth funded by Western loans, turned into a commodity crisis after 1975. The repressive state reactions to ensuing strikes resulted in the creation of a nationwide Workers' Defence Committee (Komitet Obrony Robotników, KOR) in 1976. In 1980, various strike committees, along with the lead KOR activists, set up the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" (Niezależny Samorządowy Związek Zawodowy "Solidarność," henceforth Solidarity). The trade union quickly gathered 10 million members, representing one-third of the active workforce of Poland in 1981.

Not much can be found in the archives of FNV's predecessors concerning the well-being of Polish workers. The first primary sources concerning the situation in Poland come from February 1977, and shortly describe the hunger-fuelled strikes and the resulting establishment of the KOR. The policy group International Relations suggested that the FNV should commit

⁸⁴Janusz Jarosiński, "Związki Zawodowe W Polsce Ludowej – Od Dobrych Początków Do Totalnej Klęski (Trade Unions in the Polish People's Republic – from Good Beginnings to Total Failure)," *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis*. 87 *Studia Politologica*, no. 5 (2011): 75–76.

1000 guilders to support KOR's strife to ensure the workers' wellbeing.⁸⁵ The following year, the CRZZ extended an invitation to NVV concerning the "SECURA 78" exhibition in Poznan - an event focused on workplace safety organized by CRZZ and the Polish government. FNV representatives not only rejected the invite, stating that such events should be organized within the International Labor Organization (ILO) but also reminded the Polish side that the NVV no longer existed as it was merged into the FNV.⁸⁶ This shows that in terms of labour relations, the FNV representatives cautiously approached the state-sponsored incentives in Poland while supporting the non-governmental groups in the late 1970s.

The creation of Solidarity met a significant degree of support among the Western European trade unions united in the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). FNV's first reactions can be found in the correspondence of Johan van Rens - the director of the federation's International Affairs office - and resemble the consensus reached during the ETUC meeting related to the developments in Poland. Western trade unions agreed that these developments and the ideas supported by Solidarity are to be followed closely and that potential requests for support would be shared within the ETUC and - where needed - within the International Labour Organization (ILO). Nonetheless, these actions were to be taken with reservation and caution to prevent providing "any contribution that would promote the intervention of other Warsaw Pact countries."⁸⁷ This example shows that the FNV's position was already heavily influenced by a unified European stance directly after the emergence of

⁸⁵J.M.W Greunsven, van, "Betreft: Situatie in Polen," Internal Note, February 21, 1977, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁸⁶P Damming, "Re: Meeting of Representatives of European Trade Union Centrals within the Framework of the Symposium 'SECURA 78', 16 - 20 April, 1978," Letter to CRZZ, February 3, 1978, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁸⁷Johan Rens, van, "Betreft: Polen," Letter to Mrs./Ms. Schellekens, November 21, 1980, 1-2, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

Solidarity and that it did not act autonomously. Moreover, the organization can already be seen as acting in accordance with the drive for détente in Europe, followed by Western - and certainly Dutch - governments.

FNV's Actions in Relation to the Government and Trans-National Labour Concerning Poland in the 1980s

In the archives consulted during the research, the first direct correspondence between the FNV and a supra-national or decision-making body in the context of Poland is Amnesty International's 1980 request to appeal for the freeing of Edmund Zadrożyński, a member of KOR, arrested for anti-governmental stances.⁸⁸ Moreover, evidence shows that the FNV's role on the international scale was largely in line with the ICFTU - for example, the Dutch appealed to the Polish embassy to let the representatives of Solidarity attend an ICFTU youth congress in Seville.⁸⁹ The international organization's use of the FNV as an agent might have been motivated by limited official relations between Spain and Poland - the chances of the Dutch appeal succeeding were higher.

The archival presence of the FNV's correspondence with legislative bodies and non-governmental groups increases significantly after December 13, 1981. The introduction of martial law in Poland resulted in a shift in the Western approach to the situation there. For the first two years of the military governance, the FNV's communication with the Dutch government increased in intensity as well. The first telex transmitted between the Dutch

⁸⁸Laurens Wüst, “[Amnesty International’s Appeal to Support Edmund Zadrozynski’s Case],” Letter to FNV, January 13, 1980, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁸⁹J.M.W Greunsvan, van, “[Appeal to Let Solidarity’s Representatives Attend the ICFTU Youth Rally in Seville],” Letter to the Polish Ambassador in the Hague, August 18, 1981, 4747, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

ambassador to Poland and the Dutch MFA underlines the safety of FNV's president, Wim Kok, who successfully took off from Poland on December 12.⁹⁰ A day after the Polish junta came to power, the FNV organized a meeting together with the CNV and forwarded their resolutions to the government. The Minister of Foreign Affairs confirmed that the Dutch state, together with the "Ten" (the European Community) and NATO, strived towards the same goals as the trade unions.⁹¹ The FNV sought further contacts and cooperation in the world of politics. Aside from the Labour Party (Partij voor de Arbeid, PvdA), with whom labour movements shared many similarities, it also reached out to other parties, including the ones that formed the government at the time: CDA and D'66. In a letter sent on January 11, 1982, the organization forwarded the information on a new "Nederlandse Stichting Hulp Polen" ("Dutch Foundation Help Poland"), established in accordance with the decisions taken by the ETUC leadership.⁹² Interestingly - an opposition party at the time reached out to the FNV, too. The People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie, VVD), whose platform was far from pro-labour stances, declared willingness to take an active part in the unified Dutch reaction and humanitarian support for Poland.⁹³ This might have been motivated by an upcoming September parliamentary election, after which the VVD became one of the ruling parties.

⁹⁰Joost L. Kun, van der, "Uitzonderingstoestand Situatie Warschau," Telex to Dutch MFA, December 13, 1981, 11871, 2.05.330 Inventaris van het code-archief periode 1975-1984 van het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, (1937) 1975-1984 (2008).

⁹¹Max Stoel, van der, "Polen," Letter to Wim Kok, FNV Chairman, December 24, 1981, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁹²J.M.W Greunsvan, van, "Betreft: Polen," Letter to various political parties, January 11, 1982, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁹³Wim F. Eekelen, van, "[VVD's Willingness to Cooperate]," Letter to FNV, January 12, 1982, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

Most of the FNV's correspondence with the government at the time, however, was preceded by letters exchanged with the ICFTU. The international body introduced decisions directly reflected by the Dutch labour movement. In a report sent by the FNV to the ICFTU on December 23, 1981, the Dutch side reports on the activities undertaken so far. All of them, including the organization of humanitarian help, putting pressure on the Polish government and encouraging the Dutch government to act accordingly, are reported to be "in line with the recent ICFTU and ETUC statements on Poland."⁹⁴ The ICFTU was mainly concerned with forwarding the necessary information about trade unionists detained in Poland and urging the FNV to act by putting pressure on the Polish government and its representatives in the Netherlands.⁹⁵ In an FNV letter to the Dutch MFA sent on the second anniversary of Solidarity's creation, the Dutch unionists only quickly reminded the minister to keep pressuring the government to meet the demands of the Western international labour community.⁹⁶ After Poland introduced a new anti-unionist law, the FNV openly forwarded the ICFTU and ETUC's call to action to the Dutch minister.⁹⁷ This trend continued until the end of martial law in Poland and started to lose momentum with time. Thus, the ICFTU and other international organizations used the FNV to pressure the Dutch government to follow the Western - or American - approach to Poland through a discourse of universal values, such as freedom of the working class or humanitarian support.

⁹⁴Tom Ety, "Re: Your Telex Dated 23-12-1981 Concerning FNV Solidarity Campaign with Solidarność," Letter to the ICFTU, February 21, 1977, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁹⁵Otto Kersten, "[ICFTU Concerned about Krupiński]," Telex to FNV, April 7, 1982, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁹⁶J.M.W Greunsvan, van, "[Two Years Solidarity and a Request for the new MFA]," Letter to the Dutch MFA, August 27, 1982, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁹⁷J.M.W Greunsvan, van, "[Forwarding of the ICFTU and ETUC's Appeal to Condemn the New Polish Anti-Union Law]," Letter to the Dutch MFA, October 5, 1982, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

After the Polish martial law was lifted in 1983, FNV's own stance was watered down even more, giving way to a unified ICFTU decision-making and requests from other international bodies. Examples of such behaviour include the Women's Union FNV (Vrouwenbond FNV) appeal to General Jaruzelski – head of the Polish military junta - to ensure better conditions for Wanda Dragon, motivated by Amnesty International's call to action.⁹⁸ A similar event happened a year later when the FNV appealed to Jaruzelski to cancel Wałęsa's show trial in 1986.⁹⁹ The remainder of the documents found in the archive repeat that pattern. In 1989 the FNV openly stated that the humanitarian actions organized by the Dutch side had been terminated and that help was now organized through the ICFTU in cooperation with Solidarity, and focused mostly on training programs for Solidarity members.¹⁰⁰

These documents show that the FNV did by no means operate stand-alone in the 1980s. It was part of a greater international labour machine that pressured the Polish junta into releasing the trade unionists. With time, its relations with the government and the international labour movements became less audible, at least in terms of the Polish question. They remained a strong supporter of Solidarity, even after it became an underground organization, but their operations were limited by their willingness to maintain peace - what has already been extensively described by Miedema. However, keeping in mind the politicized nature of the ICFTU discussed in the previous chapter, as well as the correlation between less engagement in the Polish cause and the decline of the Cold War rivalry in the

⁹⁸Vrouwenbond FNV, “Message from Women’s Union FNV to General Armii Wojciech Jaruzelski,” FNV Telex to the Polish President, December 2, 1985, 4775, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

⁹⁹Hans A.P.M. Pont, “[FNV’s Appeal to the Polish Government to Drop Charges Against Wałęsa],” FNV Telex to the Polish President, February 5, 1986, 4775, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

¹⁰⁰H. Eekert, van, “[FNV’s Refusal to Participate in a Fundraiser for Medicines for Poland],” FNV Letter to mr v/d Burgt, December 11, 1989, 2303, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

second half of the 1980s, how can we see whether FNV's actions were aimed solely at helping the well-being of fellow labour activists, and not at causing political turmoil in a rivalling bloc?

Traces of Political Influence in FNV's Approach to Poland in the 1980s

Despite the discourse of humanitarian reasons for the Dutch reaction to a rather tragic economic situation in Poland in the 1980s, the issues related to tackling the problem were heavily influenced by the political climate of both countries. Neither the FNV nor Solidarity operated in a void, and the nature and extent of their actions were limited by external decisions. For example, the Dutch unionists were aware of the American trade union AFL-CIO's influence on the ICFTU, which in turn dictated the actions undertaken in relation to Solidarity and the impoverished Polish population.¹⁰¹ The question remains, however, whether the Dutch were aware of the governmental influences in the American labour structures and whether that influenced any particular type of support provided for their colleagues on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Some of the sources found in the archival collection seem to confirm the former, as in an internal letter to the representatives of a local branch of the FNV in Heerenveen, the director of the International Affairs department stated strongly that "first and foremost, the FNV decides what her stance is and we are not Reagan's [puppets]."¹⁰² This narrative, especially considering its recipients being members of the FNV, makes it plausible that the organization was selective as to which policies proposed by the ICFTU to pursue. On the other hand, Cold War secrecy makes it impossible to confirm or

¹⁰¹Johan Rens, van, "Notitie t.b.v. het gesprek met Stefan Lewandowski op 28 maart 1981 op het hoofdkantoor van de FNV te Amsterdam," Internal Note, March 28, 1981, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

¹⁰²J.M.W Greunsvan, van, "[RE: Letter from FNV Heerenveen criticizing FNV's approach to Solidarity]," Letter to FNV Heerenveen, November 24, 1982, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

deny whether Van Greunsven's words were genuine, or merely a cover-up to keep the integrity of the organization intact by maintaining the discourse of international labour solidarity.

Another point to consider is the politicization of humanitarian help and other fundraisers for Poland. Soon after the military junta came to power there, the political parties in the Netherlands, as well as the Dutch parliament, decided to cooperate with the trade unions and establish the Dutch Foundation Help Poland, which wanted to "lead over 200 associations and committees that currently lead the actions for Poland."¹⁰³ The chairman of the foundation was a member of the centre-right VVD party, who was also the chairman of the lower chamber of the Dutch parliament at the time. This move, while aimed at improving the efficiency of humanitarian help, also led to the politicization of the issue. Moreover, the foundation was meant to be an extra step in the humanitarian process rather than a replacement for the actions active at the time.¹⁰⁴ Such a structure resulted in fundraisers, such as the one coordinated by the FNV and the CNV in December 1981, to fall under the supervision of multiple parties, including politicians. The central coordinating body made it possible to influence the type and amount of goods sent to Poland, which might have been used as a tool for pressuring the parties on the other side of the Iron Curtain into compliance. This becomes even more problematic once a quote from a VVD politician is brought forward in one of the newspapers at the time. The representative believed that the Russians were fully responsible for the Polish crisis and that the Netherlands had to operate unanimously after the necessary consultations with NATO and EEC.¹⁰⁵ Naturally, actions involving crossing the

¹⁰³Nederlandse Stichting Hulp Polen, "Knipselkrant," Note distributed to the stakeholders, January 25, 1982, 2, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

¹⁰⁴Nederlandse Stichting Hulp Polen, 2.

¹⁰⁵Nederlandse Stichting Hulp Polen, 5.

Iron Curtain required caution, but putting humanitarian actions organized by Churches and other non-political bodies behind a political filter might have significantly influenced the types of actions undertaken by the FNV, among many others.

The language used by the FNV in their communications with the Dutch government and other organizations varied over time but remained rather reserved in terms of potential changes to Poland's political system. Before the introduction of martial law in Poland, for example, FNV's top brass would openly admit the organization's role in the process of brokering information with their Polish colleagues.¹⁰⁶ Since Solidarity was not a member of the ICFTU, national trade unions, such as the FNV, had to be consulted to maintain contact between Western international labour and the Polish movement. For example, in one of the letters to a trade union member at the beginning of 1982, the FNV underlined their focus on the "reversing democratic process" and "political pressure to restore the declining democratic achievements."¹⁰⁷ In one of their appeals to the Dutch MFA, the trade union rephrased their calls to action and asked to support their "strife to let the democratically elected leaders of Solidarity continue their work."¹⁰⁸ In terms of contacts between the central and subordinate offices of the FNV, various approaches can be seen. In a letter to FNV Heerenveen from late 1982, the headquarters state that their support for Solidarity's representatives in the West is important because "they keep in touch with the underground Solidarity activists in Poland, who fight for an independent trade union movement in their country - and that is worth our

¹⁰⁶Rens, van, "Notitie t.b.v. het gesprek met Stefan Lewandowski op 28 maart 1981 op het hoofdkantoor van de FNV te Amsterdam," March 28, 1981, 3.

¹⁰⁷Wim Kok, "[RE: Letter from mr van Zanten concerning potential action to be taken by the FNV]," Letter to a trade union member van Zanten, February 26, 1982, 2300, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

¹⁰⁸Greunsvan, van, "[Forwarding of the ICFTU and ETUC's Appeal to Condemn the New Polish Anti-Union Law]," October 5, 1982.

support."¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, two years later, the representatives of FNV's industry branch sent a direct letter to the Polish ambassador in The Hague, openly demanding to restore democracy in Poland.¹¹⁰ This starkly contrasts with the letters exchanged between the headquarters and both Polish and Dutch state officials, where the term democracy is clearly used in the context of trade union democracy, which suggests that the central office tried to avoid sounding revolutionary in their calls to action. In other words, the discourse promoted by the Dutch unionists was focused on maintaining their low profile in relations with state officials, while remaining more open in their internal communications.

Such calls for the democratization of trade unions did not remain unnoticed even at the time. In a statement from Moroccan Labourer's Committee from 1984, they briefly mention that Solidarity became "a victim of the relationship between political parties and foreign organizations, where both parties are motivated by their own power."¹¹¹ Such statements would prove increasingly plausible, as the FNV would move towards even more open statements about democratization as the Solidarity crisis faded away. In one of their letters from 1989, the FNV states that they had already called the Dutch government to act more on changing the system in Poland a year before. Moreover, the FNV "pointed out the Dutch responsibility for a peaceful transformation in Eastern Europe that would lead to more pluralism, democracy, general wellbeing and respect for human rights."¹¹² Therefore, two

¹⁰⁹Greunsvan, van, "[RE: Letter from FNV Heerenveen criticizing FNV's approach to Solidarity]," November 24, 1982.

¹¹⁰Frits Deenen, van, "[Letter of Protest after the Murder on Popieluszko]," Industriebond FNV's letter to Polish Ambassador, November 9, 1984, 2303, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

¹¹¹Komitee Marokkaanse Arbeiders in Nederland, "Verklaring van Het KMAN over 1 Mei," Public Statement, May 22, 1984, 3, 4750, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

¹¹²Johan Stekelenburg, "[FNV's Stance on Poland]," FNV's letter to Drs. Ammers-Douwes, October 9, 1989, 1, 2303, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

observations can be drawn from the FNV's language used in their communications. First, the representatives were significantly more reserved in their statements in their correspondence with governmental bodies, such as the Dutch MFA or the Polish embassy in The Hague. The discourse promoted by Dutch unionists seemed to aim at maintaining their labour-focused image, as their calls for social justice in Poland referred mostly to the respect of workers' and human rights. In letters to private persons and in the internal notes, the language used was slightly stronger and left more room for interpretation.¹¹³ Second, the type of language used by the FNV changed with time, with the beginning of the decade observing language quite more reserved than by the end of the period in terms of words that might potentially be considered revolutionary to the Polish political system at the time. Open calls for democratic reform without clear labour-focused contextualization started to appear only after martial law was lifted in Poland in 1983.

One possible explanation for both of these phenomena might be the belief in *détente* - still quite strong at the beginning of the 1980s, but steadily fading away as the decade went by. Another possible rationale is that the FNV needed to gather legitimacy at the time of its merger, which resulted in them engaging in humanitarian actions to gain publicity at the beginning of the 1980s. Furthermore, the language used by the FNV in its correspondence, despite how dynamically it changed, does not suggest any discourse that promotes a hidden pro-Western meaning in their humanitarian actions for Poland in the 1980s. The way the Dutch talk about humanitarianism and worker democracy, however, suggests that the Western understanding of these concept was considered as the only legitimate one. It may be

¹¹³In one of the letters, for example, the chairman openly states they will ignore Poland's laws and keep supporting the now-outlawed Solidarity. J.M.W Greunsvan, van, "[FNV's response to one of its members about the criticism of the organization's actions]," Letter to Mr Worms, December 6, 1985, 2303, ARCH00419 - Archief FNV.

speculated that due to the political climate within which it - as well as the receiving end of that support - operated, might have made its actions contribute to the liberal turn that happened in Poland at the turn of the 1980s and 90s. Their nature as part of the ICFTU, potential publicity gains and a sense of oneness with the labourers of the world suggest that their altruism was not only motivated by pure benevolence. The latter aspect of this relationship is especially intriguing, as worker solidarity might have motivated them to act to support what they might have considered another iteration of themselves.

Chapter Conclusion

The findings of this chapter suggest that the FNV did not openly push for democratic reform in Poland until the end of the 1980s. Although the labour relations between the two countries started before the decade, they remained quite limited until the dawn of the 1980s. The period saw new decisive actors enter the stage in both countries. In the Netherlands, the newly formed FNV became involved in supporting the Polish Solidarity, which emerged in 1980. Despite the FNV's correspondence with the state-sponsored trade unions in Poland, the relations between the two remained quite cold until the fall of the latter. The Dutch unions operated within the framework of the ICFTU and ETUC, with varying degrees of conformity. The international federations consulted the FNV in various appeals, such as ones to free political prisoners. The introduction of martial law in Poland in December 1981 increased the frequency of the organization's correspondence with governmental and international institutions. Partly because of such appeals, the FNV would call the Dutch government and various political parties to action through a discourse of humanitarian support and supporting the independent Polish unionists. The share of FNV's appeals preceded by requests from international organizations would increase as time passed, while the absolute number of letters concerning Poland would decrease in the same period. It remains crucial to remember

that the FNV was part of an international labour system that worked in a unified way to pressure the Polish government under the leadership of the ICFTU.

It remains unclear whether the FNV knew about the American governmental influence on the ICFTU, but its representatives seemed to be aware of AFL-CIO's decisive role in the international structures. On a local scale, the actions of the FNV directed towards Poland were filtered by a multilateral foundation, where various political stakeholders had a say. The organization, while aimed at coordinating all humanitarian efforts for Poland and Solidarity, did not replace the actions active at the time, but rather created an additional step where the representatives of the parliament possessed a degree of influence. The language used by the FNV would change over time, with their initial contacts with both Dutch and Polish governmental officials rather reserved in terms of political statements. These would be replaced by open calls for pluralism and democracy by the end of the decade. The possible explanations for this development include the initial drive for détente which faded away as the decade went by, and the organization's willingness to build its credibility and publicity after the merger that was definitely concluded at the beginning of the 1980s. An ideological sense of oneness with the workers in other parts of the world might have also negatively affected the purity of their altruism, as they might have considered the Polish (or other) workers as an extension of their own group. Nonetheless, the findings show that the archival material analyzed does not present enough evidence to state that the FNV supported the Polish cause to instigate systemic changes in the country, either in or without cooperation with any governmental bodies. However, the political reality within which it operated might have made its actions contribute to the liberal turn in Poland and the end of the Cold War.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis approaches the research topic through a multi-faceted analysis. First, a theoretical cornerstone based on past bibliography is laid, which allows us to understand the hidden self-interest in seemingly altruistic relations between states. Then, an analysis of non-governmental actors as client organizations of certain states is analyzed in order to suggest the core proposition of this work - an analogy can be drawn between International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and international federations of trade unions in creating a politicized system which forced even their most neutral local-level counterparts into compliance with foreign policy goals of certain state actors. Lastly, archive-based research is conducted to analyze the proposed notion based on Dutch Federatie Nederlandse Vakbewegingen's (FNV) correspondence with governmental and non-governmental bodies concerning the situation in Poland in the 1980s. Although no direct evidence of FNV's willingness to meddle in the Polish political system is found, the frequency and nature of their correspondence with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) suggests a strong American influence in the decision-making process of the Dutch labour federation.

Chapter 2 draws a multidisciplinary sketch of hidden self-motivated reasons for helping others. The study of altruism, first approached by psychologists on a personal level, has seen attempts to connect it to the world of International Relations and interstate interactions. The former discipline acknowledges the existence of impure forms of altruism, motivated by potential emotional gains for helping others. The connection between psychology and sociology suggests a feeling of oneness with another group as a potential explanation for helping – if the donor group considers the receiver part of the same collective, the role of altruism diminishes and gives way to group self-interest. Then, the chapter proceeds to

identify ways to relate the psychological findings on impure altruism to three IR schools with identifiable norms of morality - realism, liberalism and idealism. The first two schools of thought, whose reality is defined by the works of Hobbes and Smith, respectively, allow for gains hidden behind altruistic claims in securing one's self-interest. Realism allows that due to its focus on safeguarding sovereignty and power of a state by all means, while liberalism allows for fluidity in one's morality as long as it helps yield long-term - in Smith's case, economic - gains. Idealism, while not referring directly to self-interest, allows for shifting allegiances and alliances to pursue certain goals and ideas - even if an idea directly benefits its proponents. Therefore, the moral frameworks of the three schools of International Relations allow for a concealment of self-interested actions behind a discourse of altruism.

Secondary sources consulted in the chapter unravel the multi-faceted nature of the misuse of altruism in international politics. The Western influence on the discourse on altruism led to the West using the concept as an excuse to shape the world to fit its image. Other concepts, such as the "distant vulnerable" and "humanitarian intervention" are identified in the chapter, pinpointing the Western willingness to use altruistic motives to either secure its sovereignty or gather public support for certain foreign policy decisions. Moreover, a feeling of oneness with the recipient of help may diminish the role of altruism in donor's motivations, especially on sociological – group-to-group – level.

The chapter concludes with two examples of Western dishonesty concerning altruism during the Cold War and related decolonization processes. One of them is the hesitance of the Belgian state to withdraw its military forces from (DR) Congo after it received its independence. Secondary sources prove that Brussels wanted to protect its own political and economic interests in the former colony, while all of its actions were hidden behind noble

slogans of "peacekeeping" and altruistic willingness to counter the bloody chaos that would ensue after the country's independence. This approach can best be understood by the Hobbesian approach to morality, and therefore be seen as a realist drive to ensure and extend Belgium's sovereignty. On the other hand, the British actions in Angola show the fluidity of alliances related to Idealism and Liberalism, as the UK refused to support one of the warring Angolan groups supported by their close allies. The long-term goals of the UK, related to it becoming a "friend of independent Africa," overshadowed their allies' calls for involvement in the Angolan case. Moreover, both of these examples, while referring to the most humane and universal ideas of liberty, equality and self-determination in their discourse, were motivated by potential gains for the former colonizers. The core takeaway of the chapter is that IR can be connected to the psychological debate on altruism through phenomena like impure altruism, the distant vulnerable, humanitarian intervention or sense of oneness with state actors only (or partially) using altruism to reach self-interested goals.

The following chapter expands on the previous findings by incorporating secondary literature on Western indirect political and economic influence during the Cold War. Critics of the rise of neoliberalism in the 1970s often point to non- and supragovernmental institutions as key drivers. The chapter examines how International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and grassroots NGOs spread Western ideas of sovereignty and economy. Despite their potentially idealistic motivations, grassroots movements contributed to a parasitic system shaped by IFIs, notably the World Bank and the IMF, which were heavily influenced by the US and other Western states. Secondary sources also highlight how Western powers used IFIs to pressure foreign governments, including buying UN Security Council votes. Ground-level institutions, often designed and controlled by the First World, combined with IFI-induced export-oriented reforms, led to worsening living and working conditions. Thus, the IMF and World Bank,

under the guise of development and aid, served Western self-interests, hindering Third World growth and entangling local initiatives in a system that perpetuated Western dominance.

The chapter examines trade unions as a different type of grassroots movement from NGOs. Nation-level trade unions, often seen as genuine and member-driven, had more pluralistic structures and a degree of autonomy based on international workers' solidarity. This allowed them to pursue foreign policy independently of their host countries. In contrast, international trade union confederations were highly politicized, with both Cold War blocs having their own collectives. Their structures, like those of IFIs, were often disconnected from the needs of their constituents. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) was significantly influenced by the American government, while the World Federation of Trade Unions was used by the Eastern Bloc to spread its political system in the Third World. National trade unions were also influenced by Cold War politics, such as the UK's labour movements becoming pro-government due to the Red Scare. The findings concerning the IFIs and international labour lead to the main proposal of this thesis: the international trade union confederations operated similarly to the IFIs during the Cold War, with a high degree of political influence, disconnectedness from the people they should be serving and their internal non-democratic structures. In this analogy, nation-level trade unions find themselves in a situation comparable to NGOs, as the system in which they operate makes them contribute to political causes dictated by the international system - even when their intentions are genuine and idea-driven.

Chapter 4 begins by examining Dutch-Polish labour relations in the 1980s, amid Poland's humanitarian and economic crisis. Before the 1980s, trade union ties between the countries were limited. The rise of the Solidarity movement in Poland in 1980 changed this, prompting

contact from the Dutch union FNV. Despite active humanitarian support, the Dutch efforts were constrained by their commitment to détente. Initially, contacts between Dutch labour and Polish officials were often initiated by the ICFTU or ETUC. The imposition of martial law in Poland on December 13, 1981, led to a surge in correspondence from FNV to various governments and labour organizations, though this soon dwindled. Over time, FNV's letters increasingly focused on forwarding information from the ICFTU, such as appeals to free political prisoners in Poland. It is unclear if FNV decision-makers were aware of American influence in the ICFTU, though they knew of the American trade union AFL-CIO's dominance in the confederation.

On a local level, the Dutch political scene quickly collaborated with the FNV and other labour organizations after the Polish military assumed power. The Nederlandse Stichting Hulp Polen (Dutch Foundation Help Poland) was established to coordinate humanitarian efforts for Poland. However, this organization acted as a politicized filter, adding an extra step that might have altered or hindered FNV's aid for their Polish colleagues. Primary sources reveal that the language used in correspondence evolved from appeals for human and prisoner rights to calls for democracy and pluralism by the decade's end, while still referring to the needs of the working class. This shift is attributed to a fading belief in détente and the desire to strengthen the organization's image at the beginning of the decade. Despite no direct evidence of FNV supporting pro-liberal changes in Poland, the political climate of the 1980s influenced the nature and scope of their aid. The ICFTU, ETUC, and the Dutch government all played roles in shaping FNV's actions regarding Poland, either directly or indirectly.

The findings of Chapter 2, related to the findings that states are prone to seek self-interest in humanitarianism and other "altruistic" appeals because they fit both realist and liberal ideas

of foreign policy, are connected to the organizations discussed in Chapter 3. These institutions, even though often established and controlled in a seemingly neutral way, have executed governments' foreign policy plans. In the case of the West during the Cold War, the IFIs helped create a system that would benefit the First World and make grassroots movements compliant, even indirectly. The proposed analogy drawn between the IFIs and the international trade union confederations is based on this indirect influence and presents both types of collectives as disconnected from the people they are meant to help, highly susceptible to political influence and control, and internally constructed in a way that counters the - almost statutory - nature of non-governmental bodies. When such an analogy is drawn, local trade unions, similarly to grassroots NGOs in the system created by the IFIs, often cooperate with their international counterparts due to the system the latter have created. This means that even genuine actions of nationwide trade unions can be limited and changed by international actors who are influenced by state agencies and other political bodies.

This hypothesis seems to be - at least partially - correct, as the example of the Dutch Trade Unions Federation FNV analyzed in Chapter 4 has shown. Evidence found in the archives of the organization does not show traces of possible political influence, but rather genuine humane concern. The framework within which it operated, however, includes the ICFTU and the Dutch government, which might have had different political interests than the Dutch unionists and therefore made their actions contribute to Solidarity leading Poland's liberal reforms at the end of the 1980s and the expansion of Western states' sovereignty after the end of the Cold War that ensued. To go beyond the limitations of this research, archives of the ICFTU and ETUC could be consulted to see their governmental connections. Moreover, turning to oral history as a potential primary source may shed more light on the issues evaluated in this thesis and break through the discourse presented by the FNV archives.

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