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NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE "NEW WORLD ORDER": THE RIGHT OF INTERVENTION AND THE ROLE OF THE UN

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THE NEW WORLD ORDER:

Significant changes in the structure of the world following the end of cold war, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the Gulf war have affected the basis of different aspects of international relations. Political scientists face the challenge of understanding these changes and adapting policies to suite the new age.

The paper will address north south relations in the mediteranean within the framework of the " New World Order ".

It is important to define the concept order to arrive at suitable answers to such questions.

THE CONCEPT OF THE WORLD ORDER:

The different points of view researching a certain concept even when it causes complication sometimes enriches and explores its depth. The concept international order is susceptible to such mental mechanism. However, Charles Maclelland defined order as a structure, having elements related and interacting with each other, and having definite limits seperating it from its structure and environment.

The order is considered an analytical tool which introduces a particular perspective to human behavior at all levels. In such terms, order tends to have specific functions which ought to be performed, in as much as order (any order) can mentain its existance through its own mechanisms of adaptation, and in as far as it can perform its role and achieve its objectives. The process turns to be more complicated when its is applied to the international environment, i.e. to the world order.

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Charles Maclelland, adds that the concept of order and the world order specifically is simultaneously abstract, attributive and theoretical. It is therefore abstract because it represents an analytical tool which can be used within the framework of several approaches to the study, including the specific historical approach, and the scientific approach. This is so because it is used to indicate a particular status or situation, which characterizes international relations in a specific period of time. For instance, it has been generally stated that the world order in the post war period was bipolar. Bipolarity is a theoretical concept, which introduces a number of presumptions and hypothesis which are interrelated in a deductive way.

Distribution of international power shapes the nature of international order, and determines its characteristics. Thus international order can serve as a mechanism for distribution of power in the world. This understanding of the nature of international order from a political point of view is of great importance in analyzing as well as understanding international order objectively and realistically. Therefore, the constructive concept of international order is based on the reaction of the fundamental units in the international order and on the nature of distribution of power in the world. Thus, we find a number of specific forms or patterns. We learn a lot on this subject matter from history.

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Distribution of powers in the world assumes one of the following specific forms:

- 1) Unipolar order: In which the power is centralized in one political unit.
- 2) Bipolar order: Distribution of power in the world is divided into two specific centers.
- 3) Multipolar order: Power is distributed among more than two countries.

This understanding of the nature of international relationships and the international order, leads to the inference that the concept of equality among countries, from legal aspects, as is the case with the United Nations Charter needs to be reviewed.

A realistic assessment of international relations requires us to distinguish between actors who create political relationships and affect behavior, and countries that feel obliged to accept them based on the concept of power and adaptation. Interstate interaction should be focussed into two questions:

- The first, is the manner of distribution of power.
- The second, represents the pattern of relationships between these powers.

While the first question relates to the structure of the international order, the second question relates to the means or the mechanism by which international relations are managed. Thus, it addresses the manner by which the international order realizes its stability and existence.

If we want to answer the inquiries proposed at the outset, which relate to the new world order, and the concept of power, we must address the changes that have occurred to this concept; so that we can link between the old and new international orders.

THE CONCEPT OF POWER

International relations is characterized by decentralization. No single actor can monopolize the authority of issuing orders. Nationalism which is legally named "sovereignty" emerges as an obstacle facing the rising of an organization and have supremacy over national loyalties in such situations and over the instinct of survival and self protection. Thus, the state tends to secure protection to itself. No authority other than the state can secure its survival at the level of international relations. This underlies the concept of power as a motivation and interpreter of international relations and its complexities. The concept of power in political ethics goes back to the time of Aristotle. Today, this concept is applied to three levels:

- 1) The individual
- 2) The community
- 3) The state and the international order; where such concept of power represents a corner stone in the study of international relations. The concept of power is expressed by the ability of actors to influence the behavior of others.

Analysis of this concept reveals a number of fundamental variables relevant to the subject of power, such as: Threat, warning, forcing, deterring and the like.

Leith Hamid defines power as the use of force which compels others to adapt themselves to govern their acts in consistence with norms of behavior preferred by key actors. However, according to Burtrand Russel, power accumulates from the possession of the ability to influence. According to Right Mills, the concept of power is the possession of the ability of actors to make decisions despite the opposition of others. However, in the field of international relations, Morgenthau propounds that international politics is a conflict for power regardless of its ultimate objectives. This, political power is a sort of psychological relationship between those who exercise it and those against whom it is exercised. It grants the former the control over the acts performed by others through influence, which might be practiced in a manner of order, or by threat or persuasion or by a combination of them. Based on this understanding of the concept of power, many theorists in international relations used to describe the international order, before the collapse of the Soviet Union as bipolar, based on the consideration that power is a channel of relations that influences and compels. It is basically expressed by military force, since power is materialized by military force, and since this military force is possessed by two parties with overwhelming qualitative characteristics. So logic points out that the distribution of power is based on a bipolar system, and consequently, order is based on a limited bipolarity. This analysis, even if it is apparently based on the understanding of power, it is considered to be incapable of explaining international reality in depth.

Changes in the areas of technology and electronics have had an impact on the fundamental concepts of social behavior. The concept of power in international relations was most affected. The fall of the Soviet Union teaches us one significant lesson in history and raises the following question: What is the cause for the collapse of a powerful military force without a military defeat?

Limiting the concept of power to military capability causes an imbalance in the intellectual structure of policies. The first thing that has to be understood is the difference between potential power and actual power. Potential power has access to all resources available to the state which could be utilized in shaping its relations with other states. Actual power stems from the conversion of the states entire power resources that are transformed into military capability.

The new meaning of the concept of power stems from analyzing the attempts of influence that the states tend to exercise in framing their relations with each other, in a manner that power governs the relationship between two parties or more, and aims at making a change in their behaviour, not necessarily through the coercive use of power, in the sense that coercion does not always represent the most effective or sole way for the demonstration of power, whereby the materialization of power or adaptation to its influence is considered one of the element of power. This leads us to the statement that states power does not necessarily lie in the size of its military capability but in the number of choices and

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alternative actions available. The more political options afforded to the state the greater its strenght in international realations and its influence upon others. Domestic factors, such as technical and an economic base, largely determines the range of options available to states and their ability to affect substantial change in international relations.

Therefore, there is an urgent need to review the interpretation and analysis of the international order existing from the second world war to the present day. Addressing the concept of power, in terms of its theoretical structure, provides a framework for examining international relations. Therefore if world order is defined in terms of the distribution of power in the world, and power is defined according to the degree options available based on a states economic capability, including the options of deterence and coercion, then , how is power distributed in the world today? The bipolar system dominated the interntional order following world war 11 . In terms of military power, the U.S. and the USSR dominated international relations. However, Henry kissinger correctly pointed out that the world is considered bipolar in terms of distribution of military power, but multibipolar by the criteria of economic and political strength.

Since the 1970's and 1980's the technological and economic base of state power began to exceed the importance of military power, especially following the emergence of detente, reduction of military threat and the end of the cold war. The rise of Japan as

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an economic power along with the political and economic ascendancy of a unified Europe are two examples which demonstrate that international relations today can be best explained by the distribution of power representative of a multipolar system. The international order of today may be considered new in the sense of the existing ditribution of power.

The dominance of a multipolar regime necessitates the inquiry as to how this system is maintained and the distribution of capability in terms of deterence and coercion to influence international relations. Furthermore, queries must address not only the nature of international relations in a multipolar system, but qualilative relations between the rich north encompassing (85%) of the worlds production and the poor south. Also about the future of territorial , racial and religious conflicts in addition to the problems of development, democracy, human rights and proliferation of amss destruction weapons. Such world problems form a challenge to the methods by which international relationship are managed, and both levels i.e. between the major world powers , and between these powers and the remaining countries of the world.

One of the most significant weaknesses of conventional diagnosis of world statemanship is the tendency to overstate military sources of power, and to consider them as permanent basic standard for measuring and comparing all other forms of power. Economic and technological power in fact have become the most important aspects of a state's strength. They stand for the final featurng factor of global state's structure which shall become a field for commercial

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and financial rivalry. In other words, a state's stature shall spring from its economic achievements rather than its military capabilities, because no power can maintain survival if relying on violence alone.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East has gained a significant importance in world relations. At the time when geography was responsible for such geostrategic importance of the Middle East region, the factor of resources and the nature of the world struggle however, subsequently formed and are still forming the springhead for the increasing importance of the region in world politics. Today, studies of this region became increasingly intensive due to its involvement with changes befalling to centers and peripheries in international relations. Although the study of such changes is circumscribed by too many difficulties and complications, arising from the intimate circumstances of the region, such study yet seems demanding and necessary for the purpose of forming an obvious conceptional idea about how international changes influence world relations, and for functional purposes dealing with the methods that the region has to adopt in order to adapt with such developments.

The basic difficulty faced by any researcher of the Middle East region lies with the systematic approach he has to follow, and whether the study should be on geographical basis, on racial basis, or through its functional aspect, i.e. the function of ingredient

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units comprising the region's order with their various machineries for attaining stability and balance.

The concept of regional or provincial order was developed in the sixties and seventies. Its origin relates to two basic sources of the international literature.

The first is regionalism, which represents a doctrine arising against internationalism that preached the construction of a new international order for peace keeping and stability. Where as propagandist of regionalism considered the establishment of regional conglomer-actions as the best and most feasible means for maintaining international peace and security. Internationalists on the other hand called for the establishment of a universal government comprising all states for that purpose.

The second origin for the concept of regionalism stems from integration research with all its diversities, particularly economic integration. Besides these two ideological origins of the regional order concept, there existed new world developments that contributed to the concept. In this context, Oran Young introduces the discontinuities norm of international order and provides practical data for the rising of regional systems. The Young's norm reflects how some universal influencing forms of regionalism are marked with conformity and others with discontinuity.

This is followed by the emergence of conformity in the norms of relations and types of benefits from both the universal as well as the regional frameworks.

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There are certain zones of unique characteristics which distinguish them from others. In addition to the international influence of factors in all zones of the world, there are also private factors which affect the type of relations and reactions existing in each zone as opposed to other zones. One of the reasons that added to the importance of adopting the regionalism concept as a means of political analysis, is the absence of a world war leading to international coalition, the thing that allowed each zone to evolve its own characteristics in one way or another, and also allowed the revival of super and regional powers, the remarkable increase of independent states especially in Africa and Asia. In this very context, many scholars and researchers have produced various identifications of the regional order. Examples are: The sub-order or the regional sub-order, the partial international order or the world sub-order, etc. However, the theoretical framework given by Lewis Cantori and Stephen Spegil is considered the most decisive and comprehensive identification. Both scholars considered the regional order as comprising one, two or more adjacent and interactive states having religious, linguistic, cultural, social and historical ties in common, and their emotional feeling towards their regional identity is occasionally increased by actions and stances of outside countries. The two writers further divided the regional order into three parts: The core zone, the margin, and the penetration zone. The core (heart) includes the countries which are far from the core of the order to some extent as a result of social, political,

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economic or organizational factors. But nonetheless, they play a certain role in the regional order policy. The penetration zone includes outside countries which perform political roles within the international order. Within the three foregoing classifications the locations of countries is determined by four categories of variables as follows:

- 1) Nature and standard of cohesion in the order.
- 2) Nature of communications
- 3) Level of power or capabilities of the order, and the structure and types of relations.

However, the region is defined by three main trends:

- 1) One concentrates on the geographical nearness considerations.
- 2) One concentrates on the availability of cultural, social, economic and political cohesion between the states.
- 3) One concentrates on the interaction element. This trend argues that the regional order is based on the existence of political, economic, social, and cultural interactions between neighboring or identical states.

As for the Middle East region, neither of the paths adopted for its study will find the unique characteristic distinguishing this region. Some geographers argue that it extends from Morocco to Pakistan. This definition projects an effective role for the region in international politics. However, if an ethnic feature were adopted, the Arab World will constitute the heart (core) of the region. The Arab World has a specific importance in the international order by reason of its resources and fortunes.

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Whereas the functional dimension shall necessitate the inclusion of Turkey, Iran, Ethiopia and Israel as effective and significant elements. The Middle East region has a special strategic importance within world politics. It links three continents encompassing most of what is known as the third world.

The region was pulled back and forth by three ideologies that stand for the general concepts of socialism, capitalism, and nonalignment. From here erupts oil which is fundamental for world industry, and in it pours the latest innovated weapons which render it an indispensable experimental field.

This strategic importance of the region has attracted the sights of international powers, and lead to their struggle for spheres of influence in it, so as to adjoin it to the areas of their influence from which they practice their dangerous games in some collisions of international balance. In order to probe the position of the Middle East in the international order and its relation therewith, we should geographically define the Middle East for analytic purposes, and bring about the general features of its importance in international politics.

The geographical area covered by the Middle East extends from the Nile Valley in Africa including Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritria and Libya; and from Asia all the Arab Peninsula, and the fertile crescent; and Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus from Europe.

The Middle East thus appears as a plain plateau lying between Africa, Asia and Europe. The region is characterized with the following:

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- 1) Its location in the junction of the major continents of the ancient world.
- 2) Its projection on the largest water area comprising the Mediterranean the Black Sea, the Arabian Ocean, the Caspian Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Gulf, Hermuz Strait, the River Tigriss and the Euphrates, Jordan River Bab-elMandeb, the Suez Canal, and the Straits of the Bosforus.
- 3) Vastness of its area that secures depth for production, dispersion of military bases and diversity of agricultural crops.
- 4) Abundance of resources particularly oil where it contains over two third of the world oil reserves.
- 5) It is a traverse bridge between land and both marine and air passages between the Far East and Europe. In other words, it is one of the busiest areas of world services, and the richest in production and manufacturing.

The research of Middle East regional order's relation with the international order is the core of this work. Based on the international order's concept set on the norm and distribution of world powers, the Middle East cannot qualify as a central part in power relationships. In this measure however, from a more obtuse angle, the significant value of the region to the international order can be explained by two regards:

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First:

Since the Middle East constitutes a critical strategic area for world powers, and because of its special characteristics of oil resources, its relative preponderance to polars of the international order shall increase with the possibility of forming a homogenous regional unity called the Middle East market.

Second:

Though the Middle East is outside the international power bloc, i.e. outside the international order, it is yet essential for interrelations between those powers. Such interrelations are necessarily influenced by changes in the region and according to the density of their ties with it. Conflicts and duels of the Middle East region pose a challenge to international relations management which thus has to find some solutions for, them if it were to maintain steadfastness of the international order. If we add to this regard the fact that the Middle East is a laboratory for relations between the deprived and destitute south, suffering the burden of indebtiness besides the failure of development plans, and between the rich north representing central powers of international order, then care of the Middle East becomes a requisite imposed by the national interest of rich countries themselves.

Due to its geographical and economic importance, the middle east forms a vital region to the international order. Probability of middle eastern market remain outstanding despite the areas racial,

sectarian, and intellectual conflicts. Such market would impact the nature of relations between the region and international order, as with such volume and capacity, it sure will entice international participation.

The picture of future ties between the middle east and the new international order, or the position of middle east region in that order, will become clearer when we discuss these ties through the new role of the United Nations. There are underdevelopment problems, political and water conflicts, proliferation of mass destruction weapons, all these cases roughly tell the main features of the foreseen relation.

NEW ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

Our main objectives here is to explain two fundamental problems:

First : Trying to perfect a vision of a possible role for the United Nations in world politics. The changes that effected the world introduced a chain of new pending problems require specific mechanical thinking for their circumvention and solving, and demanding the introduction or displaying of a comprehensive picture of the actual prevailing international relations.

Second : Finding the dialectic relations which connects the middle east with the international order, and displaying this regional zone as a pattern of probing the UN ability to practice its required role of being the suitable tool for administering international relations and creating

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the manners needed to maintain stability and
steadfastness of the international order.

The idea that struck many people about the possible new pyramidal international organization in which the international government would monopolize authority, must have been supported by the ideas of previous scholars who studied the social vault of the states organization. Finding a global organization with authorities beyond the national loyalties is strongly connected with the concept of an international social vault, but having states not persons at the ends this time.

The nature of complication featuring todays international relations, changes suspicion about the continuation of the absolute supremacy notion. This notion today seems as if it has exhausted its specific historic role which attempted to augment the existence of the states and their strenghtening. As the probability, that any state today can attain its vital aims and benefits without a dense network of relations with other countries had faded, therefore, the prophecy that international relations should take a central trend seems reasonable, mainly because the opinions of legists calling and supporting the idea of international organizations emergence argue that solutions for international duels, no matter how inconsistent, can be found though legal adaptation. Nevertheless, the nature of the dominating international order is in fact the factor which controls the manner in which a legal institution acts. Both international and regional organizations arise by dedication of a political state of affairs.

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Their policy is confined within the frame of upkeeping the existing situation by lawful methods without being able to create a new international state of affairs. Such conservative nature of international organization does not nullify their central importance in innovating suitable means and methods for a better management of international relations.

The fact disclosed by the fall of the Soviet Union does not relate to the distribution of world powers, but to the nature of prevalent international relations, and the ideological struggle which had camouflaged the reality of the international order does no more exists in its former shape. Competition in economical and technical advancements has stepped to a significant position in international relations. However, the intensity of this competition will necessarily determine the nature of relations that we expect to watch at the beginning of next century.

In this course, the dense relation network which connects the polars of international order, and the economic nature of power in the world today, and the tremendous technological developments that make influential a change in the type of production and management in a certain location, and eventually influences the rest of the order, , all press towards finding a high level of international cooperation, with guaranteeing security, stability and spreading peace for the freedom of trade and bartering. This opinion will look more reasonable when we imagine the volume of possible joint interests in case of cooperation on one hand, and on the other hand the volume of huge loss which shall

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be tantamount to the order's collapse in case collision, especially when realising the capability of each party to inflict damage on others. However, the query that seeks an answer relates to the relation of international order poles with other political units in the world community. The huge volume of interests that links the poles of international order and fasten them together, warns the danger of possible negligence of other regions of the world. Also adaptation necessities needed by each of the international order poles for management of self internal affairs may lead to negligence of other world regions which suffer acute stalemates and sanguine struggles, and as such it becomes impossible to find solutions to these problems.

This state of affairs reveal the new challenge before the international order, and clearly manifests the disparity problem between the north and south. If the world were destined to rule with such norm of thinking, humanity would suffer critical difficulties that threatens extinction of human race.

The problem before the world require, for the sake of joint interests of humanity, international efforts. Top priority for the international order is to know how and design problem solving methods if trying to maintain survival and stability. Pollution, poverty, proliferation of mass destruction weapons, development, and epidemics are problems facing the whole world, and the international order will not be able to achieve interests of its poles unless it deals seriously with this case.

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Technology has shortened geographical distances between countries, while it set apart between classes (casteism). Since changes are of international nature, they require tremendous international efforts, it is this that renders the argument of new UN role acceptable and essential together.

The Middle East region therefore, occupies an important position in the world order. Represented by a majority of third world countries, this region suffers serious and threatening problems. Possession of vital resources for international civilization gives the region an increasing importance, but there remain the query about how the region will be dealt with through the new role of the UN in the world order.

No region of the world has gained the concern of the United Nations since its establishments like the Middle East. The Palestine issue was one of the first political casuses tackled by the UN, and the general Assembly, Security Council, and a number of UN commission, particularly the special political one, However, the attention of the UN towards, the middle east was not limited to the palestine issue and its ramifications , but also included cases of other states and peoples of the region. For example, an international mandate system was formed for a group of Arab States before given independence like Libya, Somalia and other issues of dispute between Arab states and foreign countries like the foreign intervention in Lebanon, the French aggression against Tunisia, and the Egyptian cause with Britian, also other forms of conflicts like

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the Iraq - Iran war and the recent Gulf war. Actually the task of making international peace and security (the reason for UN establishment according to its charter), warding the world off war calamities, and solving conflicts peacefully is an essential mission for nation and peoples in order to enable them practice their basic tasks. The UN charter is a document greatly effected by the events seen by the 1930's era. It is based on the experiment exercised by the allies during world war II. The charter had assumed that the major allies won the war would be honest to each other in their capacity as trustees or the responsible, if necessary, for achieving peace.

This assumption was expressed by the consensus rule indicated in the charter and which is known for " Veto " or the right of objection. It is incontestible that the deadly blow for the UN credibility and effectiveness was represented by the curbs which limit the feasibility of the Security Council as a result of permanent disputes between its permanent members of the super powers. The obstacles that limit the Councils ability to develop and cooperate for discharging its mission of international peace and security, were considered as negative attitudes in its capacity as a political organization. The world which had to be seen by the UN is largely different from that which the charter was made. Only two months after the meeting in San Francisco, the appearance of nuclear weapon had heralded the occurrence of radical change in relations between the super powers, and the management of international affairs.

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The fast collapse of colonization had demanded the redrawing the map for a great part of the world dominated by a vast and new human bloc that was forgotten by the charter and was not foreseen by the originators thereof.

The increase of the world population, almost twice as much in forty years, the technological revolution, and the increasing correlation of nations, all represent revolutionary changes, and the list of problems blows up increasingly year after another so that no single state can achieve its objective independently no matter how big it was. None of these matters were envisaged or obvious when the charter was formulated.

With these considerations in mind, and with the exigent facts of our era in regard, it seems that the query is not only about whether the UN would be able to save international security and peace, but the query should be how that can be attainable, and would the UN be able to do it under the variable political circumstances? If it were unable, is there any other serious alternative?

As regards to the first question, there is only one situation where all governments look seriously to the UN as a political institution, this is when there is a confrontation danger threatening major nuclear powers, and warning outbreak of nuclear war, as happened during the middle east crisis in 1973. This leads us to contemplate how can we make the UN capable of saving peace? Also prior to the investigation of specific ideas, it is worth questioning whether it is possible in our current development

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situations expect from the member states to coexist with the charters principles and ascend to its level. The UN charter requires:

- 1 - That governments should not use military power in other than joint interest.
- 2 - That members should settle their disputes peacefully and refrain from using or threatening the use of force.
- 3 - That the Organization should jointly take measures to prevent causes which jeopardizes peace, and to prevent aggressive action.
- 4 - That the organization shouldn't interfere with the internal affairs, that are exclusively a sovereignty prestige of any government.

The UN however , played an important role in preventing the outbreak of a nuclear confrontations . The Security Council has introduced a number of methods that alleviate and circumvent acuteness of conflicts, as a peace keeping instruments, offering its good offices, reconciliation and other activities of siezing opportunities , and facesaving methods that had helped governments to change courses of action and crisis into a less violent and less dangerous trend.

The UN system lacks the basic authority and the major source of effective pressure. As a result, a number of other means were introduced, but they do not relate to the collective peace system empowered by the charter.

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This once again leads to the arguments that the effectiveness of the UN system is determined by two factors:

The first being the general international attitude, i.e the shape of international relations particularly between influencing units. The second being the way by which the member states wish to avail the possibilities created by the UN. The new role of the UN thus encounters many challenges on the international level as well as in the Middle east region, the most important of which being :

- 1 - Termination of the cold war and international confrontation have changed the pattern of international relations and transformed it into cooperation and understanding between various parts of the international order with the possibility of marginalizing or ignoring other areas. The UN thus will have to restore balance to such thought and to concentrate on the unity of human interest.
- 2 - Intensive regional conflicts especially in the Third World which were controlled to some extent by the patterns of prevalent relations between the powers of international order, and for his own reasons that shaped each conflict with its special specifications both locally and regionally. This necessarily requires active movement for settling variable conflicts in harmony with the international trend towards negotiations, and peaceful settlements so that the UN becomes the center of coordination and management between the contradicting interests of international politics.

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3 - Aggravating economic problems due to the shortage of resources, collapse of the structure , population explosion, shortage of food , and drought.

This imposes a new role on the UN by concentrating on the reconnaissance of the South, on political development to activate dialogue with the north, on removing obstacles before international trade, and on producing plenty of alternatives for the developmental role of the UN.

4 - The phenomenon of the flaring of minor conflicts about initiative inceptions (ethnic, racial, sectarian, and religious) during the dissolving circumstances of major political entities (like the Soviet union, Yugoslavia, and Africa). This requires special care for human rights and anchoring the democratic movements as priorities of the new mission of the Organizations .

5 - The revolution of accelerating change in management and communications system, requiring the updating of the administrative structure of the Organization, and mobilization of its human and financial resources accordingly.

Such developments lay on the UN shoulders the task of evolving dialectics between North and South or between South and South, and of alleviating the burden of indebtedness which encumber the Third world, of contributing to the efforts of protecting the environment, combating addictions, prohibiting proliferation of mass destruction weapons, and restricting the armament race.

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All these challenges apply to the existing state of affairs in the middle east. The UN will have to deal with these issues with more care and seriousness. The argument that the legal international or Domestic conditions, should not limit the UN effectiveness as a legal international order, for the sake of achieving peace security and welfare.

The experience of UN in dealing with middle east issues however, doesnt seem satisfactory nor prompts that it will occupy a leading position in managing international relations independently. This becomes obvious by examining the management of the Gulf crisis on the one hand, and the Bosnia - Hertzgovania or the Somalian crisis on the other. However it was sucessful in dealing with the Cambodian case. This matter denotes to basic patterns of comtemporany world policy. They show that much of the UN res and behaviours are principally controlled by the interests and considerations of super powers rather than those of international peace and security, resulting in many suspiciops about the right of interferring legally given to the UN, and whether such right is aimed at resolving disputes which threaten international peace and security, and towards combating aggression, or whether it is a pretence seeking legality to achieve super powers interests. The world is willing to give the UN a larger role in confronting international crisis, and to equip it with political and economic tools of sucess, if we want to evade inevitable disasters.

Such a change requires a new intellectual readiness as well as a new perspective of reassessment, and a conscious awareness of the facts that the ability of mankind to survive is greatly dependent on the richness of man's imagination and his power of creation and presentation .

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