THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

AN ANALYSIS OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA

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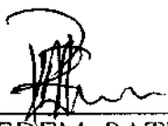
AUGUST, 2000

DEDICATION

To Almighty God for His favours and blessings and the loving memory of my beloved mother, Mrs. Arit Philomena Akpan who departed this world when I needed her most.

DECLARATION

I EDEM PATIENCE with Reg. No. MIAD/ SOC,SCI/ 99/2000/ 20662 do hereby declare that this dissertation has been prepared by me and it is a product of my research work.



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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this project titled **"THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER; AN ANALYSIS OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA"** by **EDEM PATIENCE** meets the regulations governing the award of the Degree of Masters in International Affairs and Diplomacy (MIAD) of Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and Literacy presentation.

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ABSTRACT

Some recent event in the international scene such as the end of cold war, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Reunification of the east and west Germany, have had far reaching effects on the relations among Nations.

The balance of power over global and regional issues were no longer the exclusive preserve of two powers. There have arisen certain developments in International relations, which can be perceived as an emerging world order.

In the past, security was as a rule identified with the East-West Military balance. The role of arms control stemming from this perception was to remove the asymmetry potential between the blocs and negotiate reductions in the level of armed forces and armaments and, at the same time, build mutual confidence based on openness, transparency, and predictability. The political philosophy facilitated agreements between the super-powers on the strategic nuclear forces and multilateral agreements on reductions of international armed forces in Europe, since East-West relations were of a decisive character in international politics. It was assumed that the issues of local conflicts and tensions would be practically settled within the respective blocks.

The situation has changed radically after the cold war. First, security policy is no longer perceived anywhere as synonymous with arms control and disarmament. Secondly, in hierarchy of security policy tasks, the matter of warding off intra-state conflicts has come to the fore. Thirdly, the break up of USSR and the bipolar system has given a new dimension to the problem of the proliferation of weapons destruction.

The fundamental change of geo-political circumstances has transformed the agenda for a new international system. Co-operative security seems to be the most desirable and adequate concept for the challenges ahead. Similarly, certain basic issues confront policy makers regarding the new international security environment. One of such issues is the role of United Nation.

This work examines the traces of this emerging order with particular emphasis on the roles of the United Nation Security Council in the maintenance of international Security in the new World Order.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The disintegration of Soviet Union, the reunification of the East and West Germany and the end of the Cold War, had far reaching effects on the relations among nations. The cold war for example, necessitated the concentration of weapons of mass destructions, which obviously threatened world's security through the bipolarisation of the world under such arrangements[1]. The cold war offered opportunities for multilateral approaches to international security in such a way that international politics in the post- cold war era invariably had to deal with risks that were of growing importance between the East and the West that initially started at a domestic level but later culminated into global reforms[2]. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and her unilateral abandonment of military parity has resulted in the breakdown of the international security system. The old world order appears to be crumbling as the post word war II antagonisms involving the major powers subsided while the opportunities to strengthen interaction co-operation, to address global problems were growing. In effect the international system is in a period of transition from cold war to "multilateralism" as an approach to deal with the challenges of the last decade[3]. Some scholars such as

Krauthammer and Brezezinski are of the opinion that international security is moving towards unipolarity:

> *Like Krauthammer, Brezezinski think of the new world order very much in terms of the leadership role of the United States[4]. A system in which a single power dominates the international security system, has the capability to dictate and determine threats of events and police the behaviour of other states within the globe[4].*

On the other hand, other scholars like Williams Praff contended that bi-polarity is now replaced by real multipolar system despite the advantageous position that Africa now assumes.

> *International prospect is not so much a world dominated by a single power as it is one lacking even great powers the traditional definition of invulnerability[5].*

The United Nations came into existence with the collapse of the League of Nations in 1931. The reason for its establishment in 1945 was for the maintenance of international peace and security which was seen as a "sine qua non" for development. Similarly, the intentions of the big powers in the anti fascist alliance was to establish a new type of international order, to solve problems arising from the aftermath of war, on the premise that their vested interest would be preserved and their positions consolidated. The battle cry for equality representations and peoples of the world as proclaimed in the charter of the United Nations

has never fully materialized as a result of the overriding positions of few powerful nations in the world order.

The United Nations has undergone development and changes over the past decades in response to tremendous changes in world affairs. As a result, the role it plays in international politics is quite different from what its founders envisaged at the time of its inception. The big powers based on the cold war system also pursued hegemonic and power politics, dominated and exploited other countries economically and politically, a process which has been sustained for decades. The purpose and principles as contained in the United Nations charter have not been fully realised[6].

The efforts of the cold war warriors to pursue their foreign policy objective at the United Nations created many problems for the organizations. Consequently, the failure of the Security Council to maintain international peace and security through the consensus of the five permanent member states was most disappointing. Thus, the changes in the international situation have exerted much impact on the United Nations. With the disintegration of the old international security network, the United Nations seems freer to exercise and realise the objectives behind its inception which, of course, in the maintenance of global peace and security and is gradually diverting to socio-economic area with the absorption of new states into the organisation, gearing towards the

establishment and maintenance of new international order[7]. Against this background, this study will examine the role of United Nations Security Council in the new world order.

1.2 The Research Problem

This study seeks to understand the changing character of global security through the analysis of the role of the UN Security Council in the new world order. The study evaluates the problems and prospects of the council in maintaining global security in the 21st century.

The disparity between the mounting tensions and the rules to curtail its widespread has created an imminent threat to world security societal problems can no longer be solved at national level but within the global context. This extends to the concepts of international security.

Similarly, the partial administration of world security constitutes in itself in form of threat to international peace and security. The lack of interest is overtly discernable in the conflicts in Liberia, Somalia, Burundi, Sudan to mention but a few which has claimed thousands of lives and properties. This has particularly contrasted with the turn of events in Cambodia, Bosnia and Yugoslavia, where the United Nations got involved actively. Although, the post cold war ushered in an improved atmosphere for

multilateral consensus in terms of maintaining international security, one cannot reductively emphasize the cooperation of the permanent members of the United Nations council because of the differences in their ideological perceptions and their interest in the arm race. Aside from this, the Soviet Union still remains a formidable power given its nuclear weapons. This poses a disturbing threat not only to various regional organizations charged with security matter in Europe but, the world at large. Among others, the study intends to answer the following Questions.

(i) Why has the United Nations failed to maintain international peace and security through the consensus of the five permanent member states?

(ii) What can the United Nations do to curtail the imposition of the world order by a few powerful or even on powerful state?

(iii) Why have the changes in the international situation exerts so much impact on the United Nations?

(iv) How does the change in the character of the international security affect the United Nations?

(v) How does the effect of the cold war era affect the United Nations principles in the past?

(vi) Why has the battle cry for equal representations of nations as

Proclaimed in the United Nations charter not fully materialized?

(vii) What are the problems and prospects of the United Nations in the new world order?

1.3 HYPOTHESIS

This study is anchored on the following hypothesis:-

(i) The politics and conflicts of the cold war era hampered the operations of the Security Council within the United Nations.

(ii) The role played by the UN Security Council in the Gulf War, Somalia, Bosnia Yugoslavia to mention but a few, have been made possible by the end of cold war.

(iii) If the United Nations Security Council has changed, it is because there are changes in the international system.

(iv) The demise of socialism and incursion of cold war realities do not guarantee an atmosphere of peace and unfettered security.

1.4 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

It has been observed that, during the cold war era, peace and security of the nations were greatly threatened. Nations lived in fear and uncertainty, taking cognisance of the bitter feuds and hostility between the capitalist and socialist blocs. The end of cold war has brought an unprecedented

number of conflicts and challenges and has also ushered in a new dispensation to global peace and security. Based on these premise, the objective of this study will be anchored on the following: -

(a) Examining the character of change in international security and assess how global peace can be achieved and sustained in the new world order.

(b) To assess the role of the United Nations Security Council, sole organ charged with the maintenance of global peace and security.

(c) Consider how the changing international order has changed the performance of the United Nations Security Council.

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

Most of the data used in this study were collected from secondary sources, mainly from published works, books, official reports, journals United Nations official records, Magazines and Newspapers, seminar papers as well as other unpublished sources. The information collected and collated in accordance with the content were carefully dissected and analysed on the basis of their relevance to the topic under examination.

Although, the new world order is a new dispensation, the basis of global security is as old as the world itself. And this is further accentuated by the fact that national and continental security seems unattainable given the indices of global manifestation. As such, every

discussion on both national and international political and economic issues in variably form part of the salient variable that determine the existence of global peace and world security.

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study covers the period of 1945 to 1997. It places emphasis on the nature of international security during the cold war era, and how the cold war formed the pattern of security arrangement that was characterised by hostility, confrontation on one hand and the bi-lateral nature of the international security which was founded on the basis of alliances and collaboration on the other. The study examines how international security was maintained at this turbulent period by the sole organ charged with this responsibility, as well as the new world order which came into focus with the demise of socialism, its implications and probable prospects on world security will be examined. There is no doubt that some difficulties and problems, were encountered during the course of this study. There was difficulty in selecting relevant materials for the study from a large number of relevant books and materials on the subject matter in the libraries. Attempt was made to overcome this problem through a careful and rational selection of relevant documents and materials that would best suit the topic in question. There was also difficultly in reaching out to some places and interviewers due to limited

financial resources available to the researcher. For this certain records which, ought to have been kept were actually not kept. Despite these limitations, the relatively large sources of materials available and the selection technique employed will give an insight about the problems associated with the collapse of the cold war, its implication within the United Nations as well as its effects on the international security.

1.7 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

This study is presented in five chapters. The first chapter is concerned with general introduction, the statement of problems associated with the collapse of the cold war and its implications for global security. Hypothesis so generated from the problems, Methodology and finally scope of study. Chapter two deals with the theoretical framework of the study and relevance to the United Nations in the maintenance of global peace and security. The third chapter reviews the issue of global security during the cold era as well as the role of the United Nations Security Council in the maintenance of security during this era .Chapter four examines the post cold war era and the challenges it poses to global security. This is viewed in two dimensions-the view of the developed world of the North (restricted to Europe and parts of Asia) and view from the developing countries of the South (Africa, Latin America and Arab-sub region), in relation to the role of the UN Security Council in peace

maintenance. Chapter five is the concluding chapter, which contains the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

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CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION.

The modern political world is obviously not organized like national community and lacks the social compact inherent in a national or sub national entity, be it a medieval city states or a major modern state system. Its imperfect stability is based on a conglomeration of alliances, formal agreement and understandings among states, each seeking to maintain its integrity and security.

The concept of security is about safety and freedom from danger and outside violation. Security can mostly be conceptualised in a relative sense, for there is nothing like absolute security. It is an age long objective of human beings at different levels. Individual, national, community, regional and international levels[1].

In international relations, the security of a state is of greatest concern to scholars of different ideological traditions. The issue of security has been an overwhelming concern for cultural collectivities from time immemorial. Perhaps, the search for security has been one of the several basic drives for people to come together in such communities as bands, tribes, kingdoms and Nations states. It is also a vital reason why states join international organisations[2].

Security therefore can be referred to as " the quality or condition of being secure, freedom from exposure to danger, protection, safety, feeling or assurance of safety or certainty, freedom from anxiety or doubt, that which secures a means of protection and defence[3].

The development of sophisticated weapons of mass destruction as a foundation by states to an alarming unacceptable proportion is all geared towards security. Security in this context is perceived as a function of power, and that power is a function of military capability. Nation States, therefore, have the perception that the most potent means of obtaining security is in military preponderance. The above notions of security endeared man to the idea of building an institutional framework for the attainment of security. This could be traced to time immemorial through the foundation of international organizations, which manifested themselves in the nineteenth century. Such moves like the Holy Alliance (September 1815), the Hague Conferences (1899 and 1907), the concert of Europe of (1817) to mention but a few, were attempts geared towards the establishment of international security and settlement of international disputes[1]. All these attempts at international organization were half-hearted and inadequate. Besides, there was no permanent organization of a political character to bring the nations together, to enable them to understand each others point of view, settle dispute and avert war.

The League of Nations was established in 1919 to remove these

defects, promote international co-operation and achieve international security. The League of Nations actually failed which culminated into the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. However, the international community was determined to form an organization that would prevent the scourge of war. Consequently, the United Nations charter was written in the closing days of the second world war by the representatives of fifty governments meeting at the United Nations conference on international organisation in San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June in 1945.The charter was drafted on the basis of proposals worked out by representatives of China, France, the soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States when they met at the Dumbarton Oaks Estate, in Washington in August 1944 and was adopted and signed on 26th June 1945. This charter brought into existence an international organization committee, inter alia, to 'maintain peace and security'. To be able to carry out this responsibility, the UN Security Council was set up as the sole organ charged with matters relating to global peace and security[5]. Thus, the council is the only body with powers commensurate with those of world government. It is empowered by the charter to enforce its decisions, which are legally binding upon all its members.

2.2. CONTENDING THEORIES OF SECURITY

The elusiveness of the concept of security is amply and evidently demonstrated by multiplicity of the conceptual definitions offered by scholars in the field of defence and strategic studies. Some espouses the view that security is a value (instrumental or end value) which can only be acquired and maintained by military powers, others are of the opinion that much as the military is credible, there are other important means like the socio-economic, political, environmental, and psychological dimensions which are also very important. These two contending perspectives on the concept of security could be theoretically and conceptually designated as the "Conventional security Doctrine" (CSD) which places overwhelming premium on military capability as a means of acquiring and maintaining security, and the "Alternative Security Doctrine" (ASD) which in addition to the military capability stresses some non-military means of acquiring security. The Survey of conceptual definition of security would be based largely on these two analytic theoretical distinctions.

Arnold Wolfers conceptualises security as the " protection of values previously acquired[6]". He describes it as an ambiguous symbol while Ochoche and Bashir sees the concept of security as rather "vague and hazy" Walter Lippman posits that a nation is secured to the extend

that it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war[7]. These scholars conceptual understanding of the concept of security is based on the realist of power politics paradigm and indeed the conventional security theory, which is explicitly military. Johan Galtung conceives security as having to do with sustainability of an entity or system. According to him, the concept of security refers to the probability that a system can be sustained, a human system, a social system, or a world system[8]. Galtung's conceptualisation of security could be sub-summed under the conventional security doctrine, because he places overwhelming premium on military capability as a means of providing security. To Galtung, the security of any state is largely dependent upon the level of invulnerability and defensive capability of such a state.

However, Galtung was being critical on the over-focus of the conventional doctrine. If military capability should be the sole decisive determinant of security of a state, how then do we explain the monumental collapse of the Soviet Union and all its cherished values through massive commitment of human and material resources towards bolstering its military capability? How do we explain the defeat of the United States of America in Vietnamese war, which the United States were more superior in terms of military might?[9] However, he revisited

his earlier conception and settle for CSD and ASD. Murray and Viotti posits that:

> *The term security goes well beyond military considerations. Security can be understood both as a defence against external (or internal) threats as well as the overall socio-economic well being of society and individuals who compose it*[10].

The primacy of production and the economy over which all other national policies depend cannot be downplayed on the alter of militarism; It is the fundamental of national security.

Robert Mc Namara (1968) posits that security value in any modernising society must be essentially predicted upon the economic development. Thus, he agued as follows:

> *In a modernising society, security means development. Security is not military force though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity though it may encompass it. Security is not military hardware though it may include it. Security is development and without development there can be no security*[11].

From the above, it is evident that Mc Namara only describes to the alternative doctrine of attaining security. According to him any country that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortages, population explosion, low level of productivity, fragile infrustractural base for technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment, has a false sense of security[12].

The message here is that, societies that are characterised by weak and fragile economic base cannot support and sustain serious military offensive. It is also axiomatic that a hungry and famished population cannot be good human materials for national defence and security.

Security as evidence has shown is the major pre-occupation of strategic studies. Despite this fact that security has been studied for a long time, it is worthy to note that scholars have not succeeded in its meaning to a manageable proportion. Security can therefore be classified into two categories. (i) Conventional security (ii) alternative security.

2.3 CONVENTIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINE (CSD)

The conventional security doctrine is based on the premise that: (i) security is a function of power (ii) power is a function of the military. This premise is based on the anarchical nature of the international environment, a situation where each nation safeguards her interest to the detriment of others[13].

The conventional security doctrine places great reliance on a strong and effective military force, which will first deter aggression, and also win war should deterrence fails. It lays emphasis on the wholesome resistance to destruction and the capability to combat external threat and aggression. It is based on the notion that man lives in an unruly world, which makes search for security inevitable. This pervasive sense of

threat explains states pre-occupation, with the extensive measures used in preparing for war. Therefore, it supports the use of arm race, nuclear proliferation as well as the expansion of military technology. It is believed that security can be achieved by building a larger and stronger and more effective military force.

Evidence has shown that the developed world spends far more than the developing nations for military preparedness. In 1984 the developed nations spent 643 Billion Dollars in defence against 165 billion Dollars of the developing nations. This view of the primacy of the economy pervades nearly all the United States document on national security objectives. "No wonder President Bush had to go to war with Iraq over strategic petroleum oil in 1990" (Meu Tedheke1993).

People's values are revealed by how they spend their money, similarly, government allocate their revenues according to their priorities. Examinations of national budgets disclose an unmistakable pattern: nearly all the states seek security through substantial outlays of national revenue for arms. At the height of the cold, the United States sought repeatedly to gain bargaining leverage by conveying the impression that it was willing to use nuclear weapons against the Soviets. It was felt that political victories could be worn through intimidation.

When nations enjoy military superiority vis-à-vis their principal adversaries, they tend to think of weapons as instruments of diplomatic

bargaining, that is, as tools to be used for the political purpose of changing others behaviour. Thus, the concept of 'compellence' of which America is not an exception. The concept of Compellence (Shcelling, 1966) describes American strategic doctrine with respect to nuclear weapons during the period of American nuclear Superiority, as the use of nuclear weapons as instruments of influence to get others to do what they might not otherwise want to do. And this invariably leads to militarisation of states on a global scale. Similarly, motivation of states is also an important consideration for attacking of others. Attacks are theorically based on the cost benefit analyses. Most states therefore raises their defensive capability to make attacks by others most costly and regrettable as was evidenced in American- Iraq war in 1990.

2.4 ALTERNATIVE SECURITY DOCTRINE (ASD)

The concept of security is a dynamic phenomenon. Experiences have shown that increasing one's security may mean one's vulnerability. Therefore, security is not entirely a function of a military and strategic concern. H. Jackson and S.P Ferris agrees that:

> *There is an important relationship between national economic strength and the formulation of foreign policy and the military strategy. Economy strength serves as the basis from which all national activities proceed*[4].

This position is also shared by Paul Kennedy (1989: 439) when he asserts that:

> *military power rest upon adequate supplies of wealth, which in turn derives from a flourishing productive base, from a healthy finances, and from superior technology*[15].

The alternative security doctrine is based on the nation that, besides military threat, these are multiple dimensions of vulnerabilities. The ASD is aimed at making a state invulnerable through attempting the issue of security from the multi sectional framework. The ASD as a doctrine of security has overwhelmed the CSD both in terms of application and relevance. Evidence has shown especially among scholars of security studies that there are consistent shift in the narrow understanding of security in terms of military capability, to a more encompassing conception. This is evident in Michael Ronners observation that:

> *The conventional view of armed forces guarding against external enemies is becoming increasingly relevant. Most conflicts since World War II have been in form of civil wars, pitching armies controlled by unrepsentative elites against their domestic opponents. These arise from a host of social, political, economic and ecological disputes and are fuelled by sharp inequalities. While military actions may succeed in suppressing those grievances, it is unlikely to eliminate the cause of conflicts*[16].

However, this argument of ASD is not to render the military dimension to security irrelevant.

Robert McNamara asserts that the security of any nation lies not solely in its military capability, but equally in developing relatively stable

patterns of economy and political growth. He conceptualised ASD as a general mobilization of the people. To him both, military and social element of security concern should not be divorced, since military and social elements are two sides of the same coin, and must be seen as such – The concept of invulnerability represents the social dimensions of security concerns, while the defensive capability and out side offensive capability represents the strategic or military dimensions. Military means to maintaining national security could be relevant and efficacious to some states just like it could be irrelevant and inefficient to others. The means of obtaining security therefore, depends largely on the level of economic and technological development of a given nation. Accumulation of both nuclear and conventional weapons in former Soviet Union could not enhance the state from disintegrating, for more preference was given to this, to the detriment of other aspects of security. Thus, for the purpose of this dissertation, the alternative security doctrine is preferred, for it goes beyond military matters to address other pressing issues such as socio-economic aspects that can be pervasive threats to human and international security. The ASD also stresses the psychological dimension to security, even where military capabilities exit, if there is no psychological preparedness it can hardly be effective.

The ASD has its roots in social and economic issues. It stresses the satisfaction of basic human needs to the detriments of war and

conventional doctrine. This could be seen in the functioning of the United Nations. The United Nations has remained the world's principal mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security, and for mobilizing international efforts to deal with global economic, social and environmental problems. It has contributed enormously to global stability, cooperation and understanding. Amidst crises and a never-ending stream of new challenges, the UN has evolved into an indispensable, multifaceted tool upon which 185 members states and billions of people rely to handle issues that requires international cooperation[16]. Recent breakthroughs – such as the agreements reached at world conferences on environment, population and social development and the extension of the treaty on non – proliferation of nuclear weapons. The United Nations reveals a long list of accomplishments. Some of its achievements are so basic – such as the enormous impact of health and family planning and education programmes, food and energy supplies, mass poverty, out space, the oceans and sea beds to mention but a few. The UN is trying to address these impediments to global peace and security for most trouble spots on the globe have their crises rooted in them. Thus, these alternatives to security are given more preference than ever before, for the United Nations believes that it is through this wholistic approach that global peace and security can be achieved and sustained. For if it looked into vividly, security embraces democracy,

social inequality, economic equality and other social related problems which poses as a threat against global peace and security.

Categorically speaking therefore, it would be agreed that more peace and stability have been sustained around the globe through addressing socio-economic issues along side political issues than strictly military approach.

For the purpose of this study therefore, the Alternative Security Doctrine is preferred, for it goes far beyond military matters to address other pressing issues such as socio-economic matters which possess detrimental consequences if not addressed to human security vis-avis international security. The United Nations must address threats to global peace beyond conventional approach. Prominence must be given to issues like democratisation, human Rights and developments, social inequality, economic inequality, health and education, aggression and terrorism to mention a few, that has militated against enduring pace and security. It is only when all other avenues to correct these ills has failed, that the last resort of conventional means could be adopted to bring into prominence the United Nations Security Council role which is charged with the sole responsibility of maintaining global peace and security.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN THE COLD WAR ERA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The end of the Second World War left the United States of American and the Soviet Union as the greatest powers in the world, and created suspicion between them because of their conflicting goals and objectives.

The cold war dates back to 1945 when Soviet Union tried to consolidate socialism in eastern part of Europe – Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Luthania and Eastern Germany after the Second World war. It was marked by ideological confrontation between the two dominant blocs of Capitalism and Socialism.

The cold war created a situation in which the most powerful Nations on the globe had never fought against each other directly, but incidentally found themselves in extricably locked in such an impending race for security against each other. The west was busy struggling with the spread of democracy worldwide and the East bent on the spread of communism. The USA that emerged as a superpower also wanted to have access to world economy. She was involved with imperial plans. This was done in 1947 under the marshal plan of the action by making money available to countries in Western Europe that suffered scourge of

war to rebuild their economics. The Marshall plan was also aimed at curbing the spread of socialism.

The politics of the cold war era was generally based on high hostilities between the two contending blocs[1] . Thus, it was believed that there was an imaginary line dividing the socialist bloc from the capitalist bloc. This invariably helped in shaping the political and economic systems of the world, which reflected on the international security order of this era.

The United Nations which came into existence in 1945 was charged with the sole responsibility of maintaining global peace and security. The cold war dominated the first four –and a half decades of the UN in some ways limiting its peace keeping capabilities. During this era, the climate of international politics militated against the realisation of the sole objectives of the United Nations, as the new organisation's ability to enforce the principle of collective security was severely restricted.

3.2 POLITICAL ARRANGEMENT

The end of the Second World War marked the genesis of regional security, in which each region isolated itself from other regions. This necessitated the formation of stronger military alliances and possession of nuclear weapons were seen as a means of protection. This shaped the politics of cold the cold war period.

This atmosphere led to the emergence of regional organizations as a means of enhancing security. Such regional defence system as the North Atlantic Treaty organisation (NATO) for western Europe and the WARSAW PACT, for Eastern Europe. Regionalisation of security resulted in the confrontational rivalry between the two contending political and ideological systems based on the realisation that universalism in defence terms were unrealistic, ineffective and unreliable. The woeful failure of the collective security arrangement under the League of Nations and the inability of the United Nations, which succeeded it, to improve upon the terms of effectiveness reliability foredoomed further efforts towards universal defence arrangements.

The North Atlantic Treaty organisation (NATO) was set up to curb Soviet expansion in Europe and as a standing force to defend the integrity of Western Europe in case of any eventual attack from Eastern Europe. NATO was an alliance of countries binded by political, economic and institutions to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their people founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. Kenneth Meyers was of course not wrong when he conceived NATO as:

> *alliance based on a common commitment to democracy, a share cultural heritage rather than a military marriage of convenience*[2].

As an organisation , North Atlantic organisation was charged with the responsibility of drawing up defence plans for the North Atlantic area. By 1950, arrangements were concluded for an integrated defence force under a centralized control and command which incoporated all participating governments. The strength of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was comparable to WARSAW PACT.

The WARSAW PACT covers such area as former soviet allies of Bulgaria , Czechoslovakia , Romania and the United States. This goes to show that the relationship between Soviet Union and the United States was that of open belligerence.

The political arrangement during this era has to do with what the contending super powers stood for. That is, a liberal democracy for the west and social democracy for the Eastern bloc.

A typical liberal democracy encompasses three vital elements, which are mechanism for political choice balanced political structure, and stable political system. These three characteristics are interrelated. The premium which liberal democracy puts on freedom of choice is in its origins of an economic freedom bounded on the operation of free market economy rather than political.

Liberal democracy entails a lot of equality in both political and economic spheres. though not tenable at the moment. This made curt custeryger to classify the united state as the least egalitarian democracy –

due to the imbalance between political power and economic privilege[3]. Despite these developments, by some scholars, the United States is still bent on integrating the democratic world not minding the lost. This United States does this by aiding democratisation processes at different part of the world, through means like financial assistance, providing expert advice, planing over throw of undemocratic government to mention but a few. This is a common feature of American democratisation process in the third world countries. The propensity of American democratisation move has not left out Eastern Europe, all in the advantage of creating spheres of influence as Macpherson points out:

> *Liberal democracy is founded only in countries whose economic system is wholly or predominantly that of capitalist enterprise. It would indeed be surprising if this close correspondence between liberal democracy and capitalism are mere coincidental*[4].

Socialist democracy on the other hand, is patterned toward the political system of the soviet society. It is characterised not only by the absence of antagonistic class but by genuine socialist character of all class and social groups. Socialist democracy is based on alliance of the workers toiling peasants which enables it to function as highly democratic form of government .In view of this, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat headed by the working class, expresses the will and basic interest of the whole society. It is important to note that in socialist

democracy, State power becomes the embodiment of popular self government. The communist party, acts as a guarantor of this process which is the only institution that ensured continued strengthening of the democratic foundation. Just like America, the USSR was bent on consolidating the principle of socialist democracy globally. The Eastern bloc supported lots of revolutions in different parts of the world. All these attempt were geared towards increasing allies especially in the developing world. The Soviet Union supported decolonisation process in the world not only through publications but also through monetary aids as in the case of Namibia and South Africa. The two super powers in trying to create spheres of influence employed means like propaganda, industrial, military and financial aids when necessary. For instance, Egypt, Poland, Nigeria and Korea received military aids from the United States of America while Russia equally provided military aids to Mozambique, Angola, and Libya etc. This development led to arms proliferation around the world, for the two super powers were involved in heavy military industrial net works. Both side conceded that military

capability was a means of achieving their political objectives. This goes to show the link between political arrangement and militarisation in the cold war period. Despite these differences, the super powers cannot afford to go war against each other at any time or under any circumstances. Each State's vast military power makes war obsolete as an instrument of national policy. The cost to both sides of a full scale nuclear war, would far exceed any conceivable benefit. Thus, peace and balance of power during the cold war stems from these realistic deductions.

3.3 ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENT

Dating back to the cold war era, the international economy was shaped towards the capitalist and socialist economic world. Based on this, both the united State and the Soviet Union held opposing views on how international security can be safeguarded. Socialism was aimed at collective ownership and common ownership of the means of production.

On the contrary, capitalism was aimed at private ownership of means of production, based on capitalist tendencies. This western economic system is practised in Africa and most third world countries.

Security, in its purely military sense, was link to other facets of international life such as economic organizations. The formation of NATO, complemented and reinforced the Atlantic economic community, institutionalised through the organisation for economic co-operation and

development and organisation for European co-operation. The United States security framework comprises of a bilateral and multilateral economic institutions. The international monetary fund (IMF), international Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) otherwise known as the world Bank. The general Arrangement on Tariff's and Trade (GATT) , and European Economic Community (ECC), all these institutions referred to as Bretton woods system , are integral part of global Capitalism.

The world was established in 1946 to aid the third world countries, and countries devastated by the war. While general agreement on Tariff and Trade (ATT) was devised to abide by the most favoured Nations principle in order to remove trade barriers especially tariffs.

The European Economic Community (EEC) formed in 1958, was meant for the promotion of broad economic integration among (France, West Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands and Belgium). This community nestled comfortably in the Soviet Union antagonisms, which had galvanised European unification. The union provided a platform used in expressing their interests, build coalitions and enhance their power. The European Economic Community was a structure put in place to promote both Western Economic and political values in Europe . Thus , it brought about the unification of North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO) members of Europe . This created a combination of ''real politik'' and new functional component.

The Bretton woods institutions were created 1944 to help industrialized countries avoid serious monetary crises and to keep the different national currencies of member states at fixed exchange rates. It was also to help member states whose currency values were threatened to borrow from the institution to reactivate their economies.

The purpose of these institutions was to create a new basis for world trade and development in which all countries under the leadership of the United States will work harmoniously. The experiences of the inter-war year between 1920s and 1930s in which many countries protected their own interest economically and created different trading and monetary zones made it clear that the new economic system established by these institutions would guide against that. The Economic Security Network created by the United States and allies was actually to curb expansion of the communist power and influence around the world. It also had to do with coalition of the two economic systems, One represented by market, based on allocation of resources and private enterprise while the other founded on central supervision and state own ship of the means of production . The international economic institutions were not performing the roles, which they were set up to perform. They compounded problems of the developing economies around the world,

through strict measures. Membership under the capitalist economic arrangement was not performed under equal footings, thus the quest for New International Economic Order (NIEO).

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) was formed as a reaction to the capitalist domination of global economy through its international economic institutions, It was established with the sole aim of uniting and co-ordinating the effort of its member states, planning development of the national economy, accelerating economic and technological progress in these countries, to raise level of industrialization especially in countries with less developed industries. It was based on the principle of sovereign equality of all member states.

Presently, the world has moved from the era of the deep seated East west tension and hostilities with diametrically opposing ideologies to and era of East west détente, and economic liberation. With the disintegration of Eastern blocs many of the economic and political institutions has equally witnessed partial if not total collapse.

COMECON is in a State of dormancy as well as WARSAW PACT. This has left the Western Europe unchallenged as a continental political and economic power.

3.4 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY UNDER THE COLD WAR ERA.

The global security system was based on alliances, application of strategic doctrine , accumulation of weapon and , of course, the interconnections of both regional and global security on one hand , and economic and military security on the other during the cold war era. The global security system rested on the twin pillars of strategic deterrence and the East-west ideological divide. The strategic orientation of ideas bloc was shaped primarily by the interests and priority of the super powers. Doctrines of the cold war, which followed the arms race, included the Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), balance of terror, first and second strike capabilities, and nuclear parity. This Invariably, gave rise to insecurity, suspicion, tension and consequently confrontation. Absolute peace and which was difficult to achieve during the cold war era. Though the United States and Soviet Union never confronted each other directly, they had always found reasons to antagonise each other's move through uprising around the world. Its not an exaggeration that after the Second World War, more than one hundred and forty wars (140) was witnessed resulting in the death of over ten million people in the world. Richard Nixon, one time President of the United States maintained that:

> *In some cases the Soviet Union initiated or exacerbated such conflicts. In other cases the United States has stepped in to promote its interest against communist aggression. As long as the superpowers view their interest and responsibilities on global level, each small war is world war in the making*[5].

Under such environment, the maintenance of global peace was difficult to achieve[6]. The East–West rivalry or relationship was dominated by issues of national security, military strategy, and moves to

defuse explosive problem in negotiations over arm levels. Nuclear proliferation gave regional conflicts the potential to escalate to nuclear war and perhaps averted the likelihood of such conflict resulting to open confrontation between the superpowers. Arm race and the spread of nuclear weapons characterized this period between the united State and the Soviet Union, which made them to develop solid military and industrial complexes. Both of them saw the need to protect their spheres of influence as well as their political and economic interest. Though the third world countries formally espoused the policy of non–alignment, these developments did not alter the central strategic balance or modify the domestic and external constraints within which most states aligned or non –aligned defined and implemented their security policies.

By the end of the 1990s, several developments have pointed out to a new emerging security system. Old ideological enemies and political rivals were more willing than before to collaborate. There is a new emerging security system, the reunification of Germany, the disintegration of WARSAW PACT, the reduced role of North Atlantic treaty organisation, and of course the multifaceted European International framework which seems able to fulfil important security and economic functions in the world.

3.5 PEACE MAINTENANCE BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL DURING THE COLD WAR ERA.

The Nation Security Councils primary role was to maintain global peace and security during this era. The United Nation Security Council became quickly ensnared in the emerging cold war between the united state and the Soviet Union. Time and again, the Soviet Union unable to mobilise majority on its side, exercised its veto power to prevent Council action on matters with which it disagreed.

The Security was often paralysed, and the organizations ability to enforce the principle of collective security was severely restricted. The promotion of global peace around the world during the cold war was not encouraging. It actually helped limit the cold war to battle of rhetoric. This did not solve the problems, but provided a forum within which agreement where reached. The United Nation through the Security Council was able to register meaningful progress during this period. Normally, when crises or conflicts erupted, the Security Council was able to adopt measures to ease such tensions, taking cognisance of the nature of the bitter politics created by the cold war. This role of the Security Council often led to a more diplomatic means of providing atmosphere for peace to reign by transferring hostilities on battlefield to a round table discussion. For instance the Cuban missile crises of 1962, the complaint by the government of Nicaragua in 1966 is a case point[7].

The United Nations Security Council tries to provide means of settlement of disputes through enquiry arbitration, and judicial procedures. For issues that require fact findings, the secretary general did this with the help of special representatives-observer mission and peace keeping forces, in accordance with the united Nations charter.

These two instruments were used in various times to ensure reduction in resumed fighting through establishment of buffer zone manned by peacekeepers. By deploying more than 35 peace keeping forces and observer missions since 1948, the United Nations has been able to intervene in conflicts to monitor cessation of hostilities agreements, provide humanitarian assistance and encourage peace negotiations. United Nations has dispatched several peace forces from different armed forces of members states, to provide some relative peace in bewildered zones, some instances include the following[8]:

I. The Balkan boundary disputes observer group was deployed to Greece from 1952-1954

II. The United Nations Military observer Group in India and Pakistan in 1949

III. The United Nations observer Group in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958

IV. The United Nations Emergency force, in operation on the Egypt-Israel boarder from 1956 to1967 and 1973 to 1979

V. The United Nations security force in west New Guinea (west irian), in operation from 1962 to 1963

VI. The United Nations undertook an enforcement operation in Korea, 1950 to 1954.

VII. The United Nations peace keeping in Cyprus set up in 1964.

Apart from observers' missions and peace keeping forces, The United Nations often times uses the strategy of sanctions to guide against threat to global peace and security. For instance, the United Nations under Article 41, imposed economic sanctions against the white minority regime in southern Rhodesia and in the same vein imposed embargo on the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1977.

Preventive diplomacy was also adopted by the United Nations to monitor and guard against escalation of disputes in conflict areas, as well as to limit the spread of conflict of ideology of the cold war era. Under

preventive diplomacy, the United Nations Security Council deployed UN forces to crises zones at the request of government or disputing parties. This step had a great advantage for it guides against hostilities. The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 is a good example where this measure was effectively implemented.

The cold war intruded into world politics and the UN even before it could fully develop and become effective. Most of the then members state hoped that the great powers would function on the basis of understanding in the interest of peace. Rather, the security council became a forum for confrontation between the great powers rather than a Centre for harmonizing the actions of the nations as laid down in Article(4) of the UN charter. Bitter disagreements that paralysed the security council's functioning were symbolized by the vetoes, open vetoes mostly cast by one permanent members, viz, the soviet union, and the hidden ones associated with the voting strategy of another viz, the united states. The stalemate set the stage for the circumvent of the council.

The performance of the council in the cold war era had its advantages and disadvantages, even though the cold war almost paralysed the functioning of the Security Council, It did not however prevent the organisation from playing cumulative and notable roles towards the achievement of global peace and security.

The end of cold war thus enhanced prospects for cooperation, peace and economic development by giving new momentum to disarmament agreements and generating peace dividends that can be re-allocated towards development efforts in the world.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN THE POST- COLD WAR ERA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The end of cold war was widely hailed by all states with great relief in the hope and expectation that a new era was about to dawn in international politics and international organisations. Once again, as in 1945, it seems that these hopes and expectations were exaggerated, for instance, the end of cold war and of bipolarism had not really revolutionized the traditional behaviour of the United Nations' member states. The United Nations only reflected the motivations, interest, and behaviour of member states, which has operated since the birth of the sovereign state system.

The cold war warriors also seem to have realised that the cold war was partly counter productive[1].

The original assumptions and expectations of the United Nations never became what it was meant to become, owing to the clashes of political, strategic and ideological interest of the rival power blocs. The result was that the grand scheme that the charter envisaged for collective enforcement of peace and security was never operationalised. That not withstanding, the United Nations was able to register a solid list of accomplishments. Perhaps, most importantly the United Nations was able

to keep alive the ideal of multilateral cooperation even during the bleakest years of the post-war period.

With the demise of the cold war, the world and United Nations have been liberated from the shackles of a debilitating competition towards a new power structure in the international system. There is climate of hopefulness, a sense among nations large and small that opportunity has been regained. At long last, there is a possibility that decisive action can be taken to fulfil the purposes for which the United Nations was created, and that which the people of world expected it to accomplish, amidst the nature of momentous change in the world

4.2. THE NEW WORLD ORDER.

The new world order has to do with the transition and changes in world affairs, from the cold war period to a new global order.

Although the contemporary processes of internal changes are characterised by considerable vacillation, there is no doubt that the cold war is over. The issue of bi-polarism has also diminished. These changes can be examined in two dimensions. First, the revolutionary changes in a number of countries namely, Eastern Europe and Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and a number of developing countries like Africa. Secondly, a number of agreements have already been reached that could lay the political-institutional foundations of the new relations. In Europe, the

conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Paris document represents a culmination of the process of building a new vanguard of legal, political and security structures in Europe[2].

The post cold war seems to suggest that the global equation has considerably shifted to the advantages of the United states, west Europe and NATO. Reasons for this can be found in the weakening of the soviet union, secondly in the collapse of the WARSAW TREATY, the United states and allied coalition victory in the Gulf war, and lastly in the growing gap in economic and technological development between the North and the South. With aftermath of the cold war, there seems to be reasons to suggest the supremacy of the United State as well as the growing strength of Japan, China, Europe (Germany). There is a reason to believe that multilateralism will remain a corrective pill that would moderate United states supremacy. It is worthy to note that, Moscow and Washington's ability in dominating world affairs has dropped to varying degrees. The world is moving towards multipolarisation, with shaping and growing of a multitude of forces in the world. Of course it will be a prolonged period before a genuine multipolar world would come into existence, as the balance of forces in the world remains uneven. Nevertheless, in the current decade of great transformation, the balance of force will further unchange new and major changes. The idea of creating a one polar world dominated by a few big nations will only lead to

tensions and conflicts in international relations. Nationalism and Trans - nationalism will be contending forces under the new global dispensation. Which invariably increase the opportunities for conflicts. For the new global trends to be sustained the North–South relation of economic dependency and retarded ness, military weaknesses etc must be addressed.

Thus, for easier understanding, marks of the New World Order can be summarised as follows:

- The United States emerging as the only hegemonic power.
- Preference for liberal democracy
- Drift from Russia and breakaway republics towards market economy
- Application by former members of COMECON and WSTO to enter NATO and EEC
- Collapse of the Warsaw Treaty (WSTO), COMECON etc
- Russian abandonment of its former allies eg. Yugoslavia, Cuba, and Ethiopia etc giving rise to incessant conflicts something it wouldn't have done in the past.
- Chinese preference for market economy and ensuring no leadership for international socialism.

These are some of the manifestations of the new world order and of course challenges that faces the global security under the post cold war era.

4.3 A VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

The conceptualisation of the post cold war order is relatively different to the third world countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and some parts of the Arab sub-region from that of the developed world. While the call for New World Order was made mainly by leaders of the developed world, some representatives of developing countries were expressing apprehensions and misgiving about the idea. Their fear was that the new world order might be a concept of rationalising hegemony.

Despite fears in some quarters, there are hopes for sustainable democracy in Africa in spite of international contradictions that appear to jeopardise this aspiration Regionalisation is also affecting different facets in Africa. There are moves towards regionalisation through Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), African Union (AU) etc. There is the need for African states and the South to break away from the yoke of Northern domination, to ensure the realisation of regional security,

With the new global dispensation the quest for a feasible strategy and mode of collaboration in regional security has openly shifted in

operational terms from the nation of a collective defence force to the notion of a constabulary force. The concern now is with a regime that can maintain peace, capable of coping with the politically desirable task of conflict management in a changing regional order. African regional system comprising recent colonial roles of traumatic social conflict which in a number of cases threatened to destroy the societies involved is still rudimentary because it is more numerous complex, diverse, heavily dependent and of course easily divided.

There is the need to have sub-regional arrangement that would be based on common purpose and interest for the effective functioning of multilateral regional organisations.

Now, the end of the cold war, which was expected to enhance global peace and security, appears to have increased the insecurity of the south and sent it scrambling for means of sharing up its security. We are witnessing one effect of this in the revival of Non-Aligned Movement, which has been presumed moribound. At the 30th anniversary meeting in Accra (September 2-8, 1991),its posture was best expressed by Mr Alo Alatas, Indonesia's Minister of External Relations when he said that the point was not to dwell on the amelioration of East-West relations but to address the North and the South polarization now looming as the central on resolved issue of the present day[3].

In that meeting Ghanaian's Head of State flight lieutenant Jerry Rawlings argued that the New world order which was being presented as new internationalisation "is suspiciously close to a new version of super powers monopoly". He stressed that the fundamental divide in the international community is North-South.

The conference paid a great deal of attention to the solidarity of the South in the struggle against political marginalisation, oppression and poverty. These were proclaimed as necessary steps in the building of a new world order in which co-operation replaces conflict. Specific aspect of the proclamation includes the democratisation of the international political system, especially the United Nations, the shifting of decision making from Security Council to general assembly and trade negotiations from GATT to UNCTAD.

Judging from the above, it is important to note that, unless some fundamental changes take place, economic progress, democratisation will be hard to achieve. For the third world countries the '' iron curtain '' might turn into borderline between the rich and poor nations, which seems as a threat to their survival.

4.4 A VIEW FROM THE NORTH

The prevailing northern conceptions of the post cold war era revolves around different issues, like the changing nature and structure of power in the world system, the propensity of threats to international

security, and obviously the role of the United States in the world. It was the disintegration of the Soviet Union that ushered in a new international order. This new political development offered multilateral approach to international security, which brought about cooperation between the United States and Soviet Union during the golf war in 1991.

Although the disappearance of the cold war has improved the chances for multilateral approaches there is no guaranty that the five permanent members of the security council will be able to agree on all cases of threat to international society. For this reason, there is a need for regional approaches and arrangement of self defence under article 51 of the UN charter. Considering that more than 80 percent of the world arms exports are provided by five permanent members of UN Security Council, the world community expects them to exercise their special status. But the task of reducing the rate of arms transfers and armament goes of course beyond the five permanent members of security council, for it requires above all the cooperation of the recipient, as well as that of the arms suppliers.

A familiar northern view of the world order holds that the essential further future of the new world order is unipolarity. Perhaps one notable experiments on this is Charlse Krauthammer. He argues that even though multi polarity will come eventually the destructive future of the contemporary world order is unipolarity. Krauthammer continues to

argue that the Gulf war was more apparent than real because it was not a coalition of equals, not even an operation of collective security. He went further to add that:

In the Gulf without the United States leading and prodding, bribing and blackmailing, no one would have stirred. Nothing would have been done; no embargo, no desert storm, no threat of force, the world would have written off Kuwait[4].

On the other hand, in his write up "order, disorder and US leadership" sees two element in the present global transformation; the collapse and disintegration of the soviet bloc and the ascendency of the western concept of democracy and the free market. The 'New World order' has framed a new geostrategic agenda and it is on the resolution of this agenda that the prospects of peace and security depends. According to him, the geostrategic agenda can be thought of as a triangle drawn from Brussels to Tokyo, Tokyo to Cairo, and Cairo to Brussels. The Brussels axis is the European project of Economic and political unification, which would supposedly lead to a more stable world by terminating intra-European conflicts. The Tokyo axis is the far East Regional security projects.

Another scholar William Praff in his book Redefining world power sees the concept of the new world order as different from the unipolar thesis[6]. It is more concerned with a world lacking a great power that

meets the traditional definition of invulnerability. However, he raises the question of the United States in the face of threats to international security such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the mutual alienation of North and South. He challenges those who see the American intervention in the Persian Gulf as a model of determined activism in the interest of world peace. Praff insists that the impressive global coalition, which the US puts together, does not herald a new era of mutualisation multilateralism led by the United states. He argues that the New world order maintained by a US led global coalition presupposes that the interest of the US would coincide with major world issues.

The view under review concerns not only a small portion but every part of the world. Underlying these views is the subtle attempts to dichotomise the world without articulation and in some cases, without being conscious of the saliency of such dichotomy. Infact, this dichotomy constitutes the basic structure of the New world order of two extremes, with a radical division of the world into rich and poor nations, an aggregation usually referred to in geographical terms as "North-South". Now, the East-West cleavage has virtually disappeared, living only North-South as a conspicuous element in the world.

It is necessary therefore for the Post Cold War to be founded on the foundation of balanced interests and recognised principles of internal law. This is necessary in order to erase the notion of America's hegemonic

role especially in the United nations security council, to a state of fear of domination, which might eventually lead to the collapse of the new global dispensation if not properly checked.

4.5 PERFORMANCE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER.

The Security Council is that which the charter of the United Nations gives primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It can be convened at any time; whenever peace is threatened and may deploy peacekeepers to prevent the out breaks of conflicts. Member states may bring any dispute before the Security Council and are obligated to carry out its decisions.

The council has fifteen members. Five of these-China, France, the Russian federation, the United Kingdom and the United States are permanent members possessing the rights to veto any council decision. The other ten are elected by the assembly for two-year terms. Decisions require nine votes; except in votes on procedural questions, a decision cannot be taken if there is a negative vote by a permanent member. When the threat to international peace is brought before the council, it usually first ask the parties to reach agreement by peaceful means. The council may undertake mediation or set forth principles for a settlement. It may request the secretary-general to investigate and report on situation. If

fighting breaks out, the council tries to secure a cease-fire. It may, with the concepts of the parties involved, send peace-keeping missions to troubled areas to reduce tension and keep opposing forces apart. It has the power to enforce its decisions by imposing economic sanctions and by ordering collective military action. The council also makes recommendations to the assembly on a candidate for secretary-general and on the admission of new members to the United Nations[7].

The evolution of the United Nations can in a sense, be assessed, with reference to what happens in (and to) the security council. This excessive attention to just one organ of the organisation is a historical legacy inherited from the formative conferences held in the mid 40s and carried forward during subsequent decades by member states both at the official and non official level the world over. This is so because peoples expectations from the council on the basis of what is promised in the charter are very high. The end of the cold war makes little difference to those expectations. There are, however, differences as to the popular perceptions of the performances of the council. The relative inability of the council to live up to expectations of the founding fathers for well over forty years offers a sharp contrast to the high profile role it played especially in the course of the last five years.

The new role of the Security Council has virtually transformed it into a supreme council reflecting its newly acquired superior status

contribution to the "renaissance" of the United Nations[8]. The rise of the council has had both qualitative and quantitative manifestations. The annual reports authored by the former Secretary General Boutros Ghali on the work of the organization since the beginning of the 1990s graphically portray the new found efficiency of the council in terms of the increased number of formal meetings, apart from the informal consultations arranged and resolutions adopted.

The fall of the Berlin wall and the unification of the two Germanys in 1990 heralded a new era in the history of the United Nations Security Council. It thus becomes pertinent to examine how far its varied experiences helped the council in dealing with changed circumstances as well as its roles in world affairs since the end of the cold war.

With the end of the cold war, as the former Secretary General Boutros Ghali once noted, the council was to "follow more closely and in more consistent manner than before a wide variety of threats all over the world"[9]. This was so largely because of the momentum created after the unprecedented and largely effective resistance the council orchestrated against the Iraqi occupation and annexation of Kuwait in August 1990. It was hoped at that time, the forcible eviction of Iraq in March 1991 would signify an era of activism in the historical evolution of the council. The changes that occurred in Europe between 1989 and 1990 and the collapse of the cold war made this possible. Subsequently, it would have been

impossible to deploy such a vast amount of troops and equipment to the Middle East. Thanks to the end of the cold war and particularly the co-operative attitude between the USSR and US, which made it possible for the first time for five permanent members of the UN security council to agree on far reaching measures under a united nations mandate. This development has therefore come to expand the role of the UN charter, such as military staff committee, by initiating a process of reform of the charter. The first ever security submit (January 1992) declared that the world had "the best chance of achieving international peace and security the founding of the United Nations". Since then, the council has been at the centre of international activity; it has sought to bring tranquillity to Angola, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haiti, Liberia, Rwanda and several other trouble spot around the world.

Peace keeping continues to be the most important tool at the disposal of the council with which to address an array of peace and security problems in different part of the world. Since 1990, the council has launched some meaningful observer mission of traditional mould: the missions sent to Georgia, Mozambique and Tadjikistan are examples. However, many peace keeping operations which it has launched in recent years where extremely complex in terms of their nature, mandate, rules, engagement and composition; so much so that they where termed exercised in 'peace keeping plus.'[10]

The new generation of operations undertaken by the council involves performance of a wide range of challenging tasks other than exercises on supervision of adherence to cease fire arrangement between the parties to a conflict. These task includes humanitarian, administrative, electoral and police functions; conduct of election or referendum (as in Cambodia, Mozambique, Namibia and Western Sahara), refugee relieve and repatriation (as in El Salvador, Rwanda, and Somalia), whetting the human rights record of civilian police (as in El Salvador), disarming on demobilization of armed men (as in Angola, El Salvador and Somalia). These of course are changing task of the UN Security Council. Under this dispensation, the council appears to have mixed up the limited character of peace making; with the larger domain of peace making and post conflict peace building.

Another means the council adopts to maintain peace and stability in the world order is compelling through sanctions. The council uses its power to impose non military sanctions on a few rare occasions during the cold war, and with not very encouraging results. Strikingly, the year since the end of the cold war have been marked by frequent resort to varying combinations of non military sanction in the new era, in the wake of Iraq-Kuwait conflicts. It imposed the most far-reaching non-military sanctions ever. These means included prohibition of oil exports, trade in

arms, cash transfers, transhipment of goods to mention but a few, unlike in the past.

The Security Council also imposes the use of all necessary means. In situations where the response of the united nations in the form of either sanctions or peace-keeping or both has proved insufficient or unfeasible in achieving the stated objectives, the council does not hesitate to let the member state to do the job by using "all necessary means". In November 1990, it authorized the use of "all necessary means" by countries sympathizing with Kuwait to get the Iraqi aggression vacated even though this mission was controversial. It also authorized the use of all means in response to the humanitarian crisis in Somalia and Rwanda. The use of "all means" was also used in restoring the legitimate, democratically elected government of President Jean-Bertnand Aristide to power in Haiti when the use of sanctions proved abortive.

The role of the United Nations Security Council seems to be stretching the charter of the UN. The role of the council in the years after the end of the cold war is predicted upon the belief that the charter conception regarding the nature and scope of the threats and peace, breaches of peace, and acts of aggression still hold good if loosely interpreted. The best instance where this conception was stretched is the way Iraq was treated in the aftermath of its aggression against Kuwait (1990). No doubt, the council was right in invoking the authority of the

charter in determining the aggression as a breach of the peace. Equally, the council liberally employed the scope and meaning of international peace and meaning of international peace and security to facilitate a role for itself in civil war situations in Angola, Georgia, Liberia and the states, which once made up Yugoslavia. It interpreted such serious humanitarian crisis as where precipitated by brutal and prolonged ethnic cleansing exercises in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda as development with deleterious consequences for the charter purpose of maintenance of international peace and security. This culminated into setting up two tribunals for investigating and prosecuting of crimes committed by individuals against international humanitarian law in these two regions.

Despite these achievements by the UN Security Council, some of the actions it has taken as part of its exercise of its formal authority are wildly perceived as lacking in moral authority. First, it's functioning is now almost contingent on the preferences, prejudices and initiatives of some permanent members. Secondly, the council's use of sanctions or authorization reflects selectivity in its approach which runs counter to the philosophy on non-discrimination of the UN as a whole. This was reflected in the council's action against Iraq, Libya, the federal republic of Yugoslavia, and Haiti.

Most active roles by the United Nations Security Council after the end of the Cold War, does not necessarily denote its capacity to function

effectively without passing under the undue domination of any single member or group of members. This was however checked during the cold war, thus the decline, if not collapse presents a challenge to the Security Council.

One might emphasise the continuing relevance of what Javier Perez de Cuellar stated some years back, for it has a bearing on the present role of the council:

> *The changing turbulent world may not sustain hegemonies global or regional, but is receptive to influence that which comes from Statesmanship and consistent conformity with international law. The greater the power, the higher is the responsibility to act and to be seen to act with justice. This is true as much of states as of the organisation as a whole and its organs*[11].

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CHAPTER FIVE.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 SUMMARY

In recent years, significant and profound changes have taken place in the international arena. The world pattern based on the Yalta system and characterised by East-west confrontation has disintegrated, giving rise to trends toward pluralism. Under such circumstances, the old international security order, which took shape after the world war II, has invariably under-gone changes which has invariably affected the role of the UN Security Council, the sole organ charged with the maintenance of global peace and security.

The demise of communism in the Soviet Union and its republic, and especially the division of the Soviet Union to abolish the strategy of parity and military competition with the United States and the West, have resulted in a revolution of erstwhile security order and subsequently a creation of a new world order. This has resulted in the collapse of the bipolar structure of International system, which invariably suggests the advantaged position America now assumes, since her major contender is no more.

Though the cold war is no more, the structures are still in place, such as massive accumulation of destructive weapons and skill to make nuclear weapon by many developing countries. These are still evident in

the post-cold war era, which definitely will have implications on International security.

The deduction reached as to the threat that faces International security can be analysed as follows:

The Major threat to humanity is that of accumulation of weapon of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons. This is an International problem for both the developed and developing countries. This is brought about by transfer of arms and arms related technology, which constitute a threat to International security and demand urgent attention from the world community. For during the cold war, it engulfed the whole world with fear of nuclear weapons. The possession of nuclear weapons was seen by Nation states as access to defence, but ironically this created a state of insecurity in other states.

In the third world countries, the accumulation of weapon of mass destruction is so rampant, which has been made possible through efforts of developed countries and linked to that of South-South arms transactions. Paradoxically, the problem is accentuated by the fact that the provider of these arms are mostly the strong members of the United Nations Security Council charged with the sole responsibility of maintaining international security.

These arms also constitute a threat to International security especially taking cognisance of many unsolved conflict around the globe,

for example in Bosnia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Sierra Leone, Romania to mention but a few.

The unstabilised natures of many third world countries also constitute a threat to global security. Democracy is far from being achieved due to the dictatorship nature of most third world leaders. The unrealisation of democracy in the third world might not be in consonance with the new global dispensation, since democracy constitute a major theme of this dispensation.

The widening gap between the North and the South with economies of the South deteriorating will inevitably jeopardise the economic development of South and the world at large and poses a threat to international peace and security.

Associated with this is the problem of inequality among Nation states, especially regarding the role arrogated to America in some quarters to be at the dictates of world affairs, this would be subordinative to other states and could lead to a feeling of suspicion and insecurity. In the same vein, the issue of roles of member states in the United Nations and especially that of the Security Council needs urgent attention, for it is more or less becoming an affair of the militarily and economically advantaged Nations.

On a wider plane, as Krishna Menon once remarked that the power of veto exclusively in the hands of great powers is only a symptom of

disease, the disease itself being lack of understanding among great powers. At worst, the exercise of veto by the great powers is a necessary evil, since there can be no United Nations without the great powers. With the right of veto, we might well endure it. Lack of understanding among the great powers is largely due to the operation of real politik, which the charter of the organisation has not abolished (and cannot abolish). Cold war or no cold war, it will operate so long as the sovereign state system functions parallel to international organisation.[1]

Finally, the 20th century has demonstrated fully to man that it was hegemony and power politics that led to the holocaust of the two world wars and a series of other wars and conflicts, inflicting untold suffering and calamities upon mankind. Furthermore, aggression, interference, opposition, and rivalry in the old international order of hegemony and power politics were responsible for tensions and turmoil, bringing grave dangers and threats in the present world. These are some of the problems that might threaten world peace and security under the present dispensation and which obviously the UN Security Council must address.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The demise of socialism and incursion of the cold war realities do not guarantee an atmosphere of peace and unfettered security. Especially if one considers the geo-political dimension world politics is assuming.

The case of India and Pakistan as regards nuclear testing-can be cited as concrete examples. Thus, conflicts with the globe are assuming different dimensions, and are likely to be more pervasive than in the cold war era. This calls for the immediate attention of the UN Security Council.

The cold war was a major impediment to the performance(s) of the UN Security Council. For as evident in the 90's,there is a renaissance in the role and performances of the council. The council had been able to perform far beyond expectation especially as regards its primary objectives of promoting global peace and security. The roles played in Gulf War, Haiti, Bosnia- Herzegovina, Yugoslavia would not have been possible under the cold war dispensation.

In its entirety, the UN Security Council has improved in its role and performances in the 90's, from the docile status envisaged for almost four and a half decades during the cold war towards a more articulated role in the enhancement of global peace and security in the New world order.

In addition, the future of inter-national collective security needs to be closely examined. The UN Security Council participation in the Gulf war, though marginal in many ways was responsible for a rebirth of the idea of that collective security is something, which the council can and should play a substantial role. Now that the basic structure of the old, post war era has collapsed, the UN Security Council must rise up to the role it is expected to fulfil in the future.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

From the foregoing, the following recommendations are being made with the hope that they will be useful to the UN Security Council in the pursuit and maintenance of global peace and security.

The present arrangement in the Security Council with only five countries as permanent members negates democracy. Therefore, there is the need to incorporate other countries like the regional powers especially countries like Japan, Germany, Nigeria, Israel etc. This will go a long way in eroding the criticisms of the council's skewed geographical bias and retaining or improving the council effectiveness.

The issue of accumulation of armament by both the developed and developing countries is also a sensitive issue which the council must address squarely, for it had contributed as a threat to global security during the cold war era, which invariably may persist even stronger under the present dispensation.

The role of the United States in the UN Security Council operations calls for a balance between the need to harness the impressive power of the United States and the need to preserve the legitimacy of the Security Council as an important actor.

Schisms in India-Pakistan have introduced more dimensions of threat to world peace. Therefore, with the emergence of more countries whose military capabilities cannot be underestimated - India, Pakistan,

Japan, Israel, Nigeria to mention but a few. There is every need to encourage the expansion of the Security Council.

The UN Security Council needs to understand that the issue of inter-national security goes beyond the East-West schisms as manifestations have shown. Conflicts are provoked by fierce and new assertions of nationalism and sovereignty, while cohesion of the state is threatened by brutal, ethnic, religious, social, cultural and linguistic strife. Unlike during the cold war when inter-state conflicts were the primary concern. It is apparent that during the present dispensation intra-state conflicts would be one of the main challenges the UN Security Council must address.[2]

It is worth noting that the present political climate, if fully put in place would go a long way to relieve the globe of unnecessary conflicts and a more freer atmosphere for the UN Security Council to realize the goals envisaged by the founding fathers.

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