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## Inclusion/Exclusion: The New Dynamic in the World System

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### Description of Change

The end of the Cold War was followed by a fundamental change in the world power structure that brought about a host of conflicting trends. For example, some military/ideological alliances, such as the Warsaw Pact, disappeared; others, such as NATO, expanded. Some conflicts were more easily settled, as in the Middle East and South Africa; others, as in Afghanistan, were exacerbated and/or transformed into civil wars. In addition, new conflicts erupted because of the diminished capabilities of the Great Powers to regulate events. Ad hoc military coalitions were easily assembled in some cases (Kuwait) and much less so on other fronts (Bosnia). Many countries in Europe and Asia were liberated from their satellite status and became fully emancipated while, elsewhere, countries, such as Iraq, still have stringent limitations on their sovereignty. A number of state apparati (e.g., in Somalia and Ethiopia) collapsed with the end of support from their distant, suddenly uninterested, patrons. Although most countries are enjoying a renewed sense of freedom, many feel isolated in the new world system and are competing intensely for attention and relevance on the world scene. This is evident in the rivalry among developing and newly emancipated countries for aid and foreign investment and the delocalization of business.

### Reasons for Change

The causes of these conflicting developments include the disappearance of aid based on strategic needs, the weakness of many regional alliances, the increasing number of aid and investment seekers, the erosion of solidarity based on common ideological values, and the persistent low prices of oil and raw materials. Some groups of countries have strengthened their institutional bonds, as is illustrated by the European Community (EC) or the signing of the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Humanitarian aid, very fashionable from 1990 to 1992, is now more limited and selective. Some countries, such as Rwanda and

Tajikistan, have aroused international interest; others, only slightly less tragic, have not.

### Probable Consequences

These changes have both domestic and international effects. Domestically, the feeling of irrelevance in the world induces calls for "authenticity," stronger attachment to traditional values, the triumph of nationalist/populist trends, "retraditionalization" of societies, and, in some cases, the resurgence of religious fanaticism coupled with xenophobia. Hospitality to foreign ideas, institutions, and people themselves, such as tourists or NGO members, is diminished. Internationally, many countries feel more vulnerable, less relevant, and isolated. A deep rift is slowly emerging, not so much between civilizations, but between countries that think they can be included in a "winning" grouping and those that feel excluded from the new arrangements. Symptomatic of this division is that many East European countries want to join the European Union (EU) or NATO as soon as possible. Russia itself wants to be a full member of the G-7 group. Both Germany and Japan are now ready and willing to be permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Some Latin American countries envy Mexico's inclusion in NAFTA and the EU. The feeling of exclusion is transformed domestically into a condemnation of those leaders and parties unsuccessfully seeking the country's integration into some "winning" grouping.

Those excluded from these strong groupings feel estranged from the world; this could lead to their refusal to accept universal norms and organizations. This is evidenced by the fact that the UN currently intervenes only in those areas where the interests of a permanent member of the Security Council are not directly at stake. There is serious risk that the UN will become a residual organization, intervening only in those areas where the great powers are willing to let it intervene.

Regionalization could become the euphemistic cover for the formation of new zones of influence, in which newly emancipated countries are either integrated on an unequal basis or left to themselves. A very strong causal relationship already exists between a loss of position in the world and the emergence of extremist forms of nationalism, such as religious militantism. The idea of a "clash" between the major civilizations is therefore understood as an ex post facto rationalization of this exclusion.

### Proposed Actions

To integrate all nations into the new world order, the following measures are recommended:



- Possible Consequences
- Developing countries should be better represented in the Security Council. The likely inclusion of Germany and Japan could strengthen the image of the P-5 (later P-7) group as an exclusive club for the economically stronger members of the world community. The door would have been opened for new members, only to make large parts of the world feel even less represented. A more subtle form of wider representation with rules of rotation in the membership of the P-5 group will become necessary to erase the image of the government of all by the few.
  - The UN Charter should be revised so that the General Assembly, where all states are represented, would have a more decisive role in shaping UN policy.
  - Regional organizations should have a stronger role in conflict prevention and resolution through a more determined effort on the part of the Great Powers to take these organizations even more seriously than some of their members do.
  - Regional groupings, joint ventures, and peace-keeping forces should be encouraged by a reformulation of aid. States should be invited to participate in these regional groupings, to abide by regional contractual rules, and to be rewarded somehow for doing so.