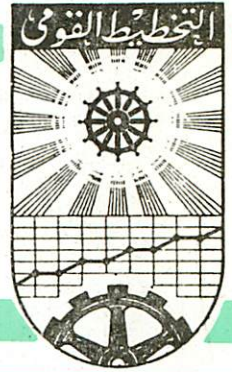


ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

THE INSTITUTE OF
NATIONAL PLANNING



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"Crisis or Compromise on Some
Issues of International Order
and Third World Problems"

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The subject of this paper is in fact a trial to reassess three related sub-subjects to "international order" and Third World^(*). The first is concerning and entitled "peace and Arms: A crisis or Dilemma of Public Opinion Understanding in the Third World", which had been presented to the "International workshop of peace research held in Budapest 11-13 Dec. 1984. That International workshop of peace research had been prepared and coordinated by all the following participant bodies:

1. Center for peace research coordination of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
2. International Peace Research Association (IPRA),
3. World Federation of United Nations Associations, (WFUNA)
4. UNESCO.

The subject of the International workshop had been stressed "Peace Research, Public Opinion and Adult Education". The another's paper had dealt with some main problems of the topic in the Third World as follows.

1. Arms production as a form of Import-substituting Industrialization. The beginnings traced back to the 1960's

(*) These three topics were tackled in three separate papers presented by the author in three recent forums:

- The 12th International Summer Seminar, Institute for the Economy of Developing Countries, University of Economic Science, Berlin, GDR, 1985.
- The 2nd RIS Conference, New Delhi, India, 1985.
- The International Workshop of Peace Research, Budapest 11-13 December, 1984.

and become more than about 46 countries in the Third World by the breakthrough of 1980. The problem, in fact, is the raising of other very important questions related to: production efficiency, production cost; relying on the producer; exportability, Marketing opportunity etc.

But some critical remarks must be noted here such as:

- a. responses and perceptions of public opinion concerning arms industry and its Socio-political costs on the long term;
- b. impact on the technological development and dependency, resources exploitation and waste and reflections on national, regional, and international developments.
- c. frustration and feelings rooted that own scientists and technologists are either uninterested in or incapable of solving local problems, the reason is the continued dependence on western institutions.

2. Public Opinion and the Arab Region in the 1980's is acting as the second main problem (as a case) and touch the core of four areas:
 - a. economic trends in the region;
 - b. leadership and trends in political ideology;
 - c. international security;
 - d. regional conflicts and possibilities of cooperation within a framework of: security-stability-development-collective self reliance-international interdependence of a more just and rational international order.

The afore-mentioned areas generally and the last one especially always twined with other many axis of crisis and interferred sharply with conflicts of other regions like:

- a. Indian ocean,
- b. Arab Gulf,
- c. South Africa,
- d. South-East Asia,
- e. Latin and Central America,
- f. Iraq - Iran War,
- g. Israile - Arab conflict;

and created a new wave of cold war which is already intense in a continuous way the sharpness and seriousness of international tension. The question come to the fore is: what results can be imagined if external intervention of super and big powers begin to act here or there? what responses of public opinion? how and where to express and participate? how for the international impact will be? ... etc.

3. The third main point is concerned with the role of the Non-Aligned Movement with respect to:
 - a. the military expenditure and the interpretation of Arms race phenomenon in the Arab region,
 - b. the interactions and interrelationships: strategically, politically, ideologically, economically;

The main result of such problem; (Arms-peace) is to try to understand and to go deeper in discussing the "International Order", and ask more about:

- a. how to put it and highlights to the public opinion?
- b. what kind of limitations and effectiveness?
- c. Will the arms exporters going to supply with up-to-date equipments in infinite sense?

- d. will all these conventional and quantities of arms in the Third World countries play a role in changing the World military balance (especially in the Arab Region)?
- e. What about the future of peace efforts, especially in a very burning region in the world (Arab Region)?

It seems that the real rationalization of explaining, honestly, the interactions and interrelationships of all the complications of the world order now more than ever be raised before put the responsibilities of many honest people to support reviving the ideas and noble aims of establishment of New International Order, and may be New International Communication order come to the fore, then not only the increases or decreases of oil prices will engage the international scene, but also how to secure life of people and welfare to the majority of mankind.

The second issue of the International Order "is dealing with the obstacles that hinder the struggle, urgency and mobilization for a New International Economic Order. A paper entitled "Many Critical Issues Still on the Table Concerning New International Economic Order (NIEO), which had been presented for discussion to the "XXII International

Summer Seminar on Transforming the World Economy - Tasks and prospects for Socialist and Developing Countries; held in Berlin - GDR 3-21 June, 1985.

The author's paper had dealt with those obstacles and itemized to groups, elements and factors which shed the light on their nature and as packages; they are as following:

1. political and administrative obstacles;
2. international trade obstacles;
3. international finance obstacles;
4. production and distribution of primary commodities and energy obstacles;
5. transfer of technology obstacles;
6. social obstacles.

The paper highlighted also the commitment to reforms, Regional Cooperation among Developing Countries (RCDC) on the basis of the commitment and the principles of collective-self reliance (CSR) producing the alternative policies to accelerate development and changes to the same direction. If the external gains will serve only the privileged minority, they will not lead to real development, and will undermine any real change in transforming the world economy endangering

both North and South Countries and will destruct the principle of interdependency for mutual interests, coexistence and survival of all the partners.

On the other hand this firm commitment of the above mentioned still face a limited success due and perhaps to the following three groups of factors: economically, politically and culturally. So, the discussion of the various reasons behind the limited success of cooperation on the basis of collective-self reliance in general point to the conclusion that while there are potential benefits over the long run to be achieved from both trade, production and development integration and cooperation, the immediate gains should not be over-estimated and due attention must be given to the possible undesirable consequences.

The third issue is dealing with some fateful issues in the Third World. A paper entitled "Are we ready Facing the Future? The continuity of Fateful Issues in the Third World", which had been presented for discussion of the topic concerning "Multilateral System: Critical review of the present and future perspectives" to the second Research and Information System (RIS) conference, held in New Delhi-India 20-22 Nov., 1985.

The author's paper had stressed on the international and academic reports and studies on NIEO which already tailored many objectives, goals and strategies, it also highlighted the packages of problems and vast number of subjects are touched in the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and other bodies on the "New International Order". The issues, if further studied, reach far beyond the conventional frontiers of "development" and international cooperation toward the most abstract reflections of philosophy and metaphysics.

The international scene since that time 1974-75 suffering from serious and structural changes especially of international development and peace. However, we cannot speak yet of a fully integrated groupings (EEC, CMEA or the more than 30 groupings of integration of Third World), and what is typical of the participating countries is rather complex interdependence and integration is only a common aim yet to be attained. The other existing regional economic groups are at a lower stage of process.

Without the permanency of the rationalization process promoting ECDC, integration in the developing world cannot lead to spectacular and rapid results. In addition any conscious activity, of necessity, implies "Looking forward,"

the world become closer and closer the "Global Village" turned to "Global Cottage", the problems of the future consists of defining on a global rather than national basis-our priorities and in making the necessary commitments.

The problems confronting the future decades (and beyond) are enormous both in complexity and dimension. They are also enormous in their importance to the present and the future economic and political stability of the world as well as in their prime importance to human welfare. There is not now, at least not yet, a basis for an equal faith that their solution can or will be found.

World intellectuals in a sense of predictability and "remote-control" have to consider highly the birth and actual presence of new axis and sources of future change such as the impact of (science + technology) especially electronics and telematics of the computerized era upon the societies culturally, psychologically, socially and economically. Doubtfully the concept of the promise of equality will take place without responses and perceptive understanding to the shift and developments of innovative sector vs. financial capital. However the gap will going

wider and deeper with respect to the interpretation of détente in a nuclear age and the divisive political force and the re-emergence of narrow "nationalism" and "colour" coincided with changing the balance of world leading forces (both technological and moral) are all the questions that reach from the present into the distant future.

Third World facing all these challenges but in a very sharp and serious correlation in addition to the continuity of the fateful triangle tying and binding: Food - Technology - Security in a broadest sense in the future, the dilemma is: Are we Ready Facing the Future?

**Peace and Arms: A Crisis or Dilemma of
Public Opinion Understanding in the
Third World**

**Presented to
The International Workshop
of Peace Research
Budapest 11-13 Dec. 1984**

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I. Arms Production as a form of Import - Substituting Industrialization.

There has been a trend towards increased Third World arms production since the 1960s and by the beginning of the 1980s some 46 developing countries were producing or planning to produce weapons domestically. The main argumentation for indigenous Third World arms production has to highlight and indicate whether arms production will be efficient or not?, expensive or not?, reliable or not?, exportable or not?, where it will be acceptable? and how the public opinion will understand or just to know something about the realities of that process as a whole? In addition, are the essential components, which will need to be imported and licenced production will ensure technological dependence or not? will scarce resources, development be affected or not?.

By 1980, according to the (SIPRI), over 100 countries were importing major weapons - tanks, ships, missiles and aircraft - and the level of world military sales was in excess of £ 24 billion. Yet even this huge level of trade in the tools of destruction is incomplete partly because of the omissions in published data, with official classifications making no clear distinction between civil and military uses for many items-and partly because the SIPRI data covers only the trade in major weapons, which is only about 40% of all arms sales⁽¹⁾.

The arms trade is dominated by six countries—the USA, THE USSR, the UK, France, Italy and Germany - who together account for over 90% of arms transfers⁽²⁾. The growth of the arms trade has been rapid even more rapid than the growth of military expenditure, with 62% of the world total in the period 1979-1981 going to Third World countries⁽³⁾.

Arms production can be regarded as a branch of manufacturing industry, and a country that decides to produce military equipment which was previously imported can be said to be engaged in import-substituting industrialization. Inward-looking policies for development emphasize the learning effects of domestic manufacturing rather than importing a kind of learning by doing without⁽⁴⁾. There is a stress on the need for the right kind of technology that will utilize available domestic resources. By rejecting outward-looking strategies for development, import-substituting industrialization stresses an independent form of development. On the other hand, and from an economic point of view the establishment of an arms industry will have the effect of absorbing scarce resources of capital, specialist labour, industrial raw materials and foreign exchange, which will not therefore be available for other projects which may be deemed socially useful. But that in itself is not sufficient reason to argue against weapons production. Whether an arms industry can be justified on economic grounds depends upon the wider contribution it

makes to the industrialization and development programme. From the consumption side there is not totally adequate way of determining the optimum quantity of arms, which is the case for many public goods, although from a global point of view arms production must be seen as wasteful since weapons provide no positive utility and in the context of an "arms race" more arms may contribute to international instability and must, therefore, be seen as inferior to the production of houses, education or other welfare services.

Speaking about technology be used in arms production in the Third World, One has to refer to public responses in general and the case of the Arab Region towards Science and technology. Feelings are rooted in the frustration that their own scientists and technologists are either uninterested in or incapable of solving local problems, the reason here is the continued dependence on western institutions for the training of scientists and this means: that universities in the Arab Region have been serving the interests not of their own societies but those of wester western culture.

II. The Arab Region in the 1980s and how to approach the public opinion.?
Only by facts...

Four areas of concern have to be considered in that matter,
economic trends of the region, leadership and trends in political

political ideology, international security, and regional conflict and cooperation. The very complicated mix of interactions and interrelationships between and among all the four areas put the Arab public opinion in a big puzzle day-by-day according to the flow of events be surrounded with on the basis of geopolitical climate and geostrategic importance.

The Arab public opinion now is not only busy of what is going within the Arab Region but also of other near reach be summed finally in one or more of arcs of crisis. The Indian Ocean, for example has a sound here, Since local and regional conflicts in the Arab Region, the Gulf, south Africa and South-east Asia were responsible for further escalation of tension. The Israeli-Arab dispute, the Islamic revolution in Iran, the Iran-Iraq war "The so-called "Gulf-war" and the American hostage crisis in Tehran, on tope of the 1973 oil price shock, all raised the regional temperature and resulted in a new wave of-more or less- a new cold war atmosphere, all that brings to an international tension.

The existence of this new cold war has vitiating the security environment of the majority of the littoral and hinterland states of the two regions, the Arab region and the Indian Ocean Region, in the main newly independent nations which have gained their freedom during the past forty years. They are, however, relatively defenceless

against the encroachments of the superpowers. The American Strategy is clearly outlined in the annual military posture statement by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The 1981 statement contains the following remarks.

The United States has number of major interests in the region comprising the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and the Northwest Indian Ocean. These interests involve access by the U.S. and its allies to the resources of the area, most notably oil from the Persian Gulf States-to include protection of transportation routes for the flow of that oil to North America, Western Europe and Japan... In the past year, the United States has taken a number of steps to improve the military balance in Southwest Asia. U.S. objectives call for a greater military presence, a capability to surge additional forces into the region, and access to facilities sufficient to support both peacetime presence and contingency operations. The United States has concluded agreements for use of support facilities in Oman, Somalia and Kenya. Improvement of facilities in Diego Garcia is already underway⁽⁵⁾.

Such passages show very clearly that US hardliners have full faith in following an aggressive military strategy in pursuit of their objectives. X President Carter had issued a grim warning in January 1980 that". Any attempt by any outside force

to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force⁽⁶⁾. Unfortunately, such tough postures are not compatible with the realities of current international politics, especially with reference to the rising power and capabilities of the USSR. Namboodiri in his astute analysis states: "Despite the call for peace and apparent adherence to UN system, the superpowers have time and again demonstrated their proclivity to militarily intervene in situations when their interests are threatened (e.g. U.S. intervention in Indochina, Iran, Lebanon, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Grenada and French intervention in Zaïre are only some of the more pronounced in a long list of overt and covert interventions in the Third World"⁽⁷⁾.

In addition to its strategic interests and its concern to keep the sea lanes open, the United States also wants to protect its huge investments in the area and establish markets for its consumer products. It also enjoys a lion's share of the lucrative arms trade in which most of the big powers, including the Soviet Union, participate actively. The region (Middle East + Indian Ocean) is also a valuable source of imports of the vital strategic raw

materials required by the industrial economies of the West. Moreover, west European countries and Japan look towards the United States to counter Russians access in the region. The entire gamut of Soviet activity (military, political, economic and diplomatic) is viewed as a danger, and is seen as necessitating an accompanying Western build up. The U.S. presence in the region is seen as tangible evidence of western interests in the area, as well as an expression of its determination to prevent the Soviet Union from becoming strongly a rival in the region. The most alarming facet of this build-up is that the area has become a theatre for nuclear rivalry between the nuclear giants. The first move was U.S. deployment of submarines with facilities for launching nuclear ballistic missiles aimed at the southern flank of the Soviet Union. The challenge was met head on and the soviet fleet of nuclear submarines and anti-submarine missiles has entered the arena. In the case of an exchange of missiles with unclear warheads, Indian Ocean territories in the vicinity of the persian Gulf and the Horn of Africa will be caught in the cross-fire.

The increase in the number of naval vessels on the ocean and the frequency of their visits gathered pace with the outbreak of the second cold war and the intrusion of global superpower rivalry into the Indian Ocean area. The search for permanent bases and facilities in the Ocean area itself started with the U.S. acquisition of a fifty-

year lease from the British on the use of Diego Garcia for the building of a communications base in 1972. It has since become a fully - fledged and well-equipped naval and air base. In due course, the United States obtained other bases closer to the Persian Gulf and the Ocean entry straits, some of which were also required for use as springboards for the Rapid Deployment Force. The island of Masirah off the Omani coast, only 400 miles from the straits of Hormuz is an important U.S. base. The U.S. navy has access to facilities in Berbera in Somalia, and at Mombasa and at Nanyuki international airport in Kenya. In the case of an emergency, the United States. Could also use some ports in Saudi Arabia (Jubail and Yanbo), Israel (Eilat), Bahrain (Manama), Oman (Muscat). Also available for U.S. navy use with the agreement of the South African government would be the ports of Simonstown, Durban and Port Elizabeth. The French base at Reunion could also be made available. This is an impressive list and completely outclasses the Soviet acquisitions. (8)

III. Do the people of the Third World know?.. The role of the Non-Aligned Movement with respect to our problem;
The Military Expenditure and the interpretation of Arms race phenomenon in the Arab Region .

1. The Non-Aligned Movement :

The shared experience of Colonialism and imperialist domination has united most of the region's states (Middle East + Indian Ocean) in a resolve to keep out of international power politics and participation in military pacts and treaties. A platform of common interest has been provided by the non-aligned movement, which has given them self-confidence and a willingness to come together and develop Collective self-reliance. These states are now increasingly reluctant to accede to superpower requests for grants of bases and facilities, though some do not find it easy to resist financial inducements or offers of arms which may enable them to defy any internal challenges to their power or authority.

Nehru. Tito and Nasser, the principal architects of the Non-Aligned Movement, witnessed the declaration of 1964 that India was determined to "keep away from power blocs or groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale". Of the many countries which have gained independence since 1947, a large proportion have come to the decision that their interests would be best served by peaceful coexistence. The membership of the non-aligned movement has risen from 25 in the early stages to 100. In her inaugural address to the seventh Conference of heads of government of non-aligned

countries in March 1983. Mrs Gandhi spoke about the significance of the movement:

The very growth of the membership of our movement, 25 in Belgrade, a hundred now, proves that non-alignment meets a felt need of vast numbers of people in various continents. Its significance is not to be measured by the number of divisions or the megatons of destructive power we command, but by the intensity with which we desire peace and freedom, development and international justice. Non-alignment is not vague, not negative, not neutral. Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and the avoidance of confrontation... The desire for peace is universal even within countries which produce nuclear weapons and in those where they are deployed. The non-aligned movement is history's biggest peace movement. It welcomes these spontaneous upsurges of peoples. But governments persist in producing, practising and pursuing the self-same strategic interests, spheres of influence, balance of power and tutelary relations reminiscent of the earlier theory of divine right⁽⁹⁾.

The members of the Non-Aligned Movement have expressed their apprehension about the continued divergence of views on the holding of the Indian Ocean conference. The heads of government of Commonwealth Countries, meeting in New Delhi in the last week of November 1983, once more expressed their disappointment that despite the expressed wishes of the littoral and hinterland states and the adoption in 1971 of the UN declaration there had been a further increase in the military presence and rivalry of outside powers in the Indian Ocean with adverse consequences for peace and security in the area. They called upon all governments concerned to reach agreement for the convening of the proposed conference in 1984, or early in 1985 at the latest.

The concept of the Zone of peace is an attempt to reduce tensions and conflicts in international waters in a sensitive, crisis-ridden area of the World. It is a measure of vital importance for resolving the deadlock caused by the clash of interests between the generally poorer peoples who live in the Indian Ocean territories and the outside powers who are determined to pursue their own interests, by all available means. It is in the interests of all members of the World Community to keep the maritime lines of communication open for international trade. The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which was adopted last year, guarantees passage for all ships through international waterways, with referral in cases of disagreement on interpretation or implementation of the regulations to an international tribunal. This has been suggested as a precedent for a way of settling disputes between the nation states of the Indian Ocean region and external powers. The states of the Region (Middle East+Indian Ocean) would do well to try to establish greater Unity and cooperation among themselves and devise ways and means for achieving collective self-reliance. The security of the region is unlikely to be assured until some such progress is made.

2. The Military Expenditure and the interpretation of Arms race phenomenon in the Arab Region.

Two Principal Facts:

- * The Arms race is not only a military phenomenon but acts as an inst-
ant where many other very critical and sharp factors are goint alw-
ays to act, (economic, strategic, political and ideolOgical),
- * The follow up of this phenomenon in the Arab Region in the last dec-
ade clearly will show the relationships between arms and armies (quant-
ity, quality and' expenditure).

Do the public Opinion in the Region know that:

1. The military expenditure of Saudi Arabia 23 billion dollars (31% in
84/-985 budget.
2. The military expenditure of Saudi Arabia since 1980 uptill 1984 ex-
ceeded the amout of 80 billion dollars.
3. Saudi Arabia ranked as the sixth on the basis of military expenditure on
the World -level (U.S.A., USSR, China, U.K., W. Germany). (10)
4. The phenomenon in Saudi Arabia is not isolated from its framework gen-
erally with respect to the tension in the whole region.
5. Some western circles concerned with the analysis of the phenomenon in-
dicate that by the end of the last decade, the Middle East was on the
top since 1977 with respect of military imports 39 % from the total to
the Third World, and

AFRICA	:	17 %
NATO	:	12 %
ASIA	:	11 %
Latin America	:	6 %

6. Others believe that the Arab Countries and Israel have an arsenal of conventional arms equal to the same in USSR and countries of Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe.

Result:

All these indicators shows and illustrate that: the phenomenon has many dimensions: (Military, Economically, Trade...etc). Which surely will affect and worsening the development problem and in addition the geopolitical dimension and the political trends and attitudes, international relations and tensions, whatever (the military or arms exports and sales relations one of principal sides of the foreign affairs of the countries concerned).

Hence; the analysis indicates that the phenomenon in the upward directions as function of time (Arab East + Iran), adding some ideas about intervention scenarios in the Gulf Area according to threats of closing the straits of Hormuz on front of international navigation by its negative effects in oil supplies to the west.

Other group of factors are dealing with other factors as: economic and political changes going to take place under conditions of difference or conflict among these countries of the Arab Region (whatever the reason or the reasons). The following table illustrates the evolution of military personnel and equipments of some Arab States on the basis of some facts:

- a. The national armies of some of the Arab Countries after independence were in a poor and weak conditions,
- b. The result of 1967 June war, and the events of 1960S in the region put the Arab Governments in a situation to concentrate on defense affairs.
- c. Not only the Arab Region as a single are of crisis but also other are of crisis acting fully in this critical and dengerous one. (Indian Ocean).

The last reports of SIPRI, especially the annual report of the last half of 1983, reported that the Middle East countries military imports in 1982 equal to the half of all imports to the Third World (4548 million Dollars, 1975 prices), South America imports (1982) approx. 771 million Dollars, South Asia 881 m.d., North Africa (Maghreb countries) 1078 Dollars.

Armies and Arms of Some Arab Countries*

1976 - 1981

	1976				1981			
	Person.	Tanks	Air Force	War Planes	Person	Tanks	Air Force	War Planes
Egypt	342500	1970	30000	488	452000	2800	27000	429
Iraq	158000	1390	15000	299	3422500	3500	38000	330
Syria	227000	2400	25000	440	222500	4000	50000	450
Saudi A.	51500	385	10000	97	52200	700	15000	128
Algeria	69300	450	4500	182	168000	680	12000	306
Morocco	37000	320	5000	59	141000	-	10000	97
Libya	29700	715	5000	129	65000	3100	5000	555

Source: World Military Balances 1976-1977, Institute of Strategic Studies, London and other sources in recent figures up to 1981.

* A remark on the table: The table does not reflect the great efforts of these countries to update their defence means specially efforts to obtain the modern warplanes, missiles, submarines and remote sensitivity equipments etc.....

Military Expenditure in Third World

Regions, 1982

Region	Expenditure (Billion Dollars)
Middle East	7.4
South Asia	31.2
Far East (excl. China)	16.5
South America	3.1
Central America	"

Defense Expenses as ratio of GNP of Some Arab Countries and Israel

Year	Country	Ratio (%)
1975	All Arab Countries	14
1980	Egypt	8
1977	"	22.5
1974	"	36.5
1981	Jordan	14
1980	Saudi Arabia	14
1980	Oman	22.3
1980	Syria	16.1
1979	N. Yemen	14.5
1981	Israel	19.1

Military Expenditure (Arab Countries, Israel and
Iran) 1973-1982 (1980 Prices) in million Dollars

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Egypt	3978	4393	4266	3709	3883	1884	2068	1886	1875	-
Syria	822	776	1389	1381	1382	1450	2511	2144	2018	1699
Iraq	1123	2210	2247	2204	2303	2179	2783	3175	3850	-
Jordan	367	333	329	535	438	444	502	469	496	609
Lebanon	71.9	87.3	91.7	95.2	74.2	143	215	266	307	363
Saudi Arabia	394	4429	6774	9120	9850	12217	16252	19261	22110	25772
Kuwait	490	858	1017	1246	1361	1169	1159	1265	1430	-
Oman	122	342	698	785	686	767	779	1178	1511	1679
U.A.E.	13.9	21.6	33.4	84.2	520	814	1185	1707	-	-
Bahrain	42.8	50.8	27.3	35.7	46.6	114	149	157	192	-
N. Yemen	71	87	103	126	141	259	310	245	-	-
S. Yemen	56.3	56.1	62.7	67.1	74.6	98.2	116	130	-	-
Iran	4798	10604	13530	14673	11888	11043	6582	4995	-	-
Israel	4103	4166	4439	4435	4430	3942	4156	2812	4220	4257
Algeria	281	538	597	836	729	791	661	704	-	-
Libya	600	1090	1090	1780	1800	2200	2820	-	-	-
Morocco	390	460	673	948	1088	970	971	1118	1129	1228
Tunisia	63.6	77.1	105	118	101	181	170	191	236	-
Sudan	281	226	188	239	271	232	212	-	-	-
Mauritania	11.7	13.5	42.7	61.4	79.8	93.3	78.1	-	-	-

Source: SIPRI, Annual Report (1983).

It is clear from the table that the military expenditure of Arab States totaled at 33 billion dollars in 1975, and it is sure that increases year - by - year amounted between the period 1973-1983 of more than 300 billion dollars.

Concluding...

It will be very interesting finally to ask, how to understand the phenomenon of arms race' in Third World regions (e;g; Arab Region).?

How to put it and highlights its all dimensions to the public opinion?

What kind of limitations and effectiveness?

Will the arms exporters going to supply with up-to-date equipments in infinite sense?

Will all these conventional and quantities of arms in the Third World countries play a role in changing the World military balance (especially in the Arab Region)?

What about the future of peace efforts, especially in a very burning region in the World (Arab Region)?

One have to ask many, more questions... but this open message to the public opinion in the Third World generally and Arab Region especially

only put a foot on the long thorny road of how to contact the public opinion rationally through not only the peace researchers but also through a very tight and thorough programmes planned, investigated and channellled through UNESCO as well as whom are interesting more than concerned all over the World to draw a strategy of how to adjust educational systems in its grass roots in the Third World and parallel with developments and progressive approach involving mass media role not only of what have to do for the people now but also of what must done in the future to save Third World people from death by both means war and hunger. Our sentiments and emotions must'nt to play a role now here, also the words, may be actions have the chance of the game. It seems that the real rationalization of explaining, honestly, the interactions and interrelationships of all the complications of the World order now more than ever be raised before put the responsibilities of many honest people to support reviving the ideas and noble aims of establishment of New International order, and may be New International Communication order come to the fore, then not only the increases or decreases of oil prices will engage the international scene, but also how to secure life of people and welfare to the majority of mankind.

Note and References :

- 1- The US Arms control and Disarmament Agency (A C D A) publishes data on arms transfers which include not only the major conventional weapons but also small arms, ammunition, Support equipment, military communications and electronic equipment, artillery, infantry weapons and even parachutes, uniforms and equipment for defence industries. Excluded by definition are nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, strategic missile systems, food stuffs, medical equipment and training and technical services. Clearly ACDA data has a wider coverage than SIPRI data, and could account for as much as 65% of all arms sold. ACDA estimates that in 1980 the value of weapons related sales agreements to the Third World was about £ 18 billion (38,969 million dollars). See ACDA, World Military Expenditure and Arms Transfers 1970 - 1979 .
- 2- SIPRI, Yearbook (1982) .
- 3- Ibid. SIPRI also estimates that 74.3% of the arms trade was with Third World countries during the 1970s.
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- 6- Namboodiri, Anand and Sridhar, Intervention, PP. 158 .
- 7- Namboodiri, Anand and Sridhar, Intervention, PP. 162 - 3 .
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**"Many Critical Issues Still
on the Table Concerning**

NIEO

**.A paper for discussion
"An Abstract"**

By

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The question arises: what alternative strategy can be visualized which could be more appropriate and feasible, to lead, indeed, toward a new order or NIEO?

The understanding and a rational perception to the following key issues may help providing an approach to an answer:

1. Intra-social and international inequalities;
2. National Sovereignty;
3. Foreign ownership and control;
4. Transformation of the international division of labour;
5. International Cooperation in S+T and R+D;
6. Regulation, Control and Global planning;
7. East-West-South interdependence;
8. Security-disarmament-development interactions, interdependence, and interrelationship.

In practice many obstacles that hinder the struggle, fight, urgency and mobilization for a New International Economic Order resulted a delay and put its noble objectives aside. The following groups, elements, and factors may illustrate such obstacles:

I. Political and administrative obstacles

General political obstacles:

- ideological and perceptual impediments;
- regional political obstacles;

- constraints on the autonomy of developing countries;
- the financial and resource constraints of the arms race.

Institutional Obstacles:

- Lack of Comprehensive negotiating framework;
- insufficiency of existing institutions.

Legal Obstacles:

- disagreement on international norms;
- lack of formal legal authority of the principles,
- some obsolete concepts and principles of international law;
- the requirement of mandatory international procedures for resolving conflicts;
- the requirement that dispute settlement procedures be concerned with all aspects of economic development.

II. Obstacles to international trade

Obstacles to commodity trade:

- the free market position of some industrialized countries;
- control by transnational corporations;
- lack of agreement on the financing of buffer stocks;
- competition.

Obstacles to trade in manufactures:

- actions taken through GATT;
- tariff barriers;
- non-tariff barriers.

Obstacles to trade among developing countries:

- the slow expansion of intra-third-world trade;
- the weakness of producers' associations;
- problems in the creation and maintenance of producers' associations.

Obstacles to trade between socialist countries and the Third

World:

- the home market orientation of socialist countries;
- ideological constraints;
- Competition in world markets.

III. Obstacles to international finance

The structure of the international monetary system:

- the dollar dependence of the international economy;
- international liquidity excess;
- world-wide inflation.

The structure and policies of the IMF:

- insufficient finance capacity;
- policy of orthodox adjustment of external payment imbalances;
- inability to control monetary expansion;
- internal power structure.

Mounting Third World indebtedness:

- insufficiency of internal resources;
- chronic current account deficits;
- pressure of excess liquidity;
- disagreement on the nature of the debt;
- constraints in debt renegotiation.

The terms and conditions of financial transfers to
developing countries:

- the privation of Third World debt;
- the debtor concentration of Third World private debt;
- the lender concentration of Third World private debt;
- the financial cost of Third World private debt;
- decline in official financial transfers;
- opposition of major economic actors to the SDR/Aid link;
- bilateral official debts and the restriction of recipients;
- clashes with the domestic priorities of the donors;
- administrative constraints on official transfers;
- constraints on OPEC transfers;
- competition for foreign private direct investment.

IV. Obstacles to the production and distribution of primary commodities and energy

Obstacles to an international food program:

- the unreliability of food aid programmes;
- the manipulation of reserves;
- the agribusiness orientation of TNC.

Obstacles to the equitable exploitation of the seabed:

- differing understandings of the meaning and scope of the common heritage of mankind concept;
- lack of agreement on the attributes of an international authority;
- unilateral exploitation.

Problems created by first world concern over access to Third World resources

- pressures by developed countries;
- constraints of international fora;
- international regulation of export controls.

Problems of energy use:

- energy waste and misuse;
- lack of a comprehensive world energy plan.

V. Obstacles to the transfer of technology

The growing imbalance in scientific and technological development

(S+T):

- the terms of the transfer of technology, external obstacles
- scientific-technological conditions in developing countries:
internal obstacles.

VI. Social obstacles

Obstacles to social justice:

- income maldistribution and population growth;
- inequitable access to food and nutrition;
- inadequate and inappropriate health care;
- illiteracy and deficient school systems;
- inappropriate information patterns;
- discrimination.

Environmental obstacles:

- human settlements;
- environment and development.

A thorough handling of those obstacles from planning point of view, the tasks of regional planning involve all the required changes in the

planning mechanism and institution for the developing countries participating in cooperation and integration groups.

The experiences of CMEA, the integration organization of the socialist countries in Europe proved, that coordinated or joint planning efforts were extremely difficult matters, because they must be carried out in a delicate context of changing national interests.

This means, that regional coordination of national plans and joint regional planning requires consultative bodies on policy level, more sophisticated techniques and new institutions.

For instance, CMEA has not developed any mechanism for international planning and even has difficulties with the coordination of national plans.

Necessary changes and solutions should stress many areas. One of the most important general issue is the role of agricultural sector, which lies at the heart of the development problem in developing countries. It still accounts for the production and income of the bulk of the population, it is the source of food, no mention of food security vs food weapon, of savings and it is a major-sometimes the only-earner of foreign currency. The agricultural sector is usually also the main focus of poverty and nutrition especially in the countries with high and rapidly increasing population. Low incomes, technological backwardness, low productivity, devastating impact of natural calamities, on the whole country, great inequalities

in the distribution of land and incomes, institutional weaknesses etc. are very typical characteristics almost everywhere. The poor performance of the agricultural sector of the developing countries between 1971-1974 had very negative impact on the whole economy. Therefore, while most of the actions, which must be taken in agriculture is of domestic, by nature, appropriate regional and international programs could contribute to the success of internal policies.

Technology, and transfer of technology, R+D, are areas of very vital regional and international actions. More than 90% of the world research and innovating capacity is concentrated in the developed industrial countries. Most of the new technology in the capitalist economy is owned by the largest U.S., Japanese, West German, British, French and TNCs who use their technological monopoly as a formidable weapon to increase their power and profits.

The socialist countries are transferring new technology on favourable terms connected with know-how and with the training of the workers. The receiving countries are usually paying with the products. All the other alternate sources are applying strict market conditions, and the bargaining power of the developing countries is very limited. One of the fields for international action, restructuring, is the formulation of an international code of conduct within the framework of the U.N. for the transfer

of technology. This code of conduct should establish rules for the price for the conditions of production and export etc. The innovating and adapting ability of the developing countries must be also strengthened. Known solutions must be made accessible for the developing countries through information centers and with the improvement of the educational and technological infrastructure. The different existing channels of the transfer process should be used alternatively, taking into consideration the interest of the transferee. (More licencing and less direct investments). International assistance should be also given to the developing countries in the selection of the proper technology in more complicated cases so that not the interests of the foreign corporations should determine the imported new technology in the developing countries, but their real needs.

An increasing armament race, nuclear war threats, insecurity, and conflicts and regional disputes and tensions, become serious and very dangerous key problems, the establishment of a new international economic order cannot be achieved in a tense international situation and in the atmosphere of suspicion and hostility. Not only because a new second cold war or international crises absorb an increasing part of world income through armament expenditure. They also use the best brains of the world for the same purpose: researchers, engineers, managers, politicians.

It is also very important, that the new level of international cooperation needed for the implementation of the New International Economic order requires more confidence from all the partners. Confidence can be established only in the atmosphere of security and peace.

Needless to say, the responsibility of colonialist and neo-colonialist international division of labour for many grave issues in the developing countries gives no excuse for those problems and others, which are the consequences of internal policies: promised but never implemented reforms, increasing inequalities in income distribution, only lip-service, big mouths, slogans but no real action in planning, resistance to the overdue institutional changes etc.

No external change could be stabilized without firm internal commitment to reforms-Regional Cooperation among Developing Countries on the basis of the commitment and the principles of collective self-reliance producing the alternative policies to accelerate development and changes to the same direction. If the external gains will serve only the privileged minority, they will not lead to real development, and will undermine any real change in transforming the world economy endangering both North and South countries and will destruct the principle of interdependency for mutual interests, coexistence and survival of all the partners.

On the other hand this firm commitment of the above mentioned still face a limited success due and perhaps to the following three groups of factors:

1. Economical Factors:

- (1) differences in the level of industrial development;
- (2) fear of unequal distribution of gains;
- (3) distortions in relative prices;

2. Political factors:

- (1) differences in economic and social systems;
- (2) considerations of national sovereignty;
- (3) considerations of internal and external security;

3. Cultural factors:

- (1) considerations of ethnic and individuality conflicts;
- (2) rigidity of rational and progressive thinking;
- (3) dogmas and traditions by which not bring about desirable easy change.

The discussion of the various reasons behind the limited success of cooperation on the basis of collective self-reliance in general point to the conclusion that while there are potential benefits over the long run to be achieved from both trade, production and development integration and

cooperation, the immediate gains should not be over-estimated and due attention must be given to the possible undesirable consequences. So, it will play the game for long-term fight and struggle for the transformation process of the world economy. It is very important to note here that among the very broad and wide international literature related to the issues, topics and problems of the New International Economic Order see UNITAR-CEESTEM Library on NIEO. Also see writers on the same topic like:

- Miha'ly Simai, "Disarmament and the Struggle ^{for} a New International Economic Order", Budapest, Institute for World Economy.
- Miha'ly Simai, "Struggle for New International Economic Order", New Perspectives-Journal of the World Peace Council, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1975, PP. 12-13.
- Miha'ly Simai, "International Development Strategy and the Struggle for the New World Economic Order, Budapest, Institute for world Economy.
- Miha'ly Simai, "Towards an International Strategy of the Eighties", in Selected Papers by Hungarian Scholars, Edited by István Major, New Delhi, Hungarian Information and Cultural Centre.
- Miha'ly Simai, "Planning and Budgeting for a New International Economic Order", Budapest, 1976, Institute for World Economy.
- Miha'ly Simai, "Changes in the International Economic Environment: An Hungarian View", Lo Spettatore Internazionale, No. 2 1981, Institute Affair Internazionali, Rome.
- Péter Mándi, "An Appraisal of the First Four Years of the New International Economic Order" (Theses), The Hungarian-Egyptian Round-Table Conference, Budapest, September 9-18, 1978.
- Tamas Szentes, "Unity and Differentiation of the Third World", Budapest, Institute for World Economy
- Tomas Szentes, "Solidarity Contract on what, between whom and for whose Benefit? "Budapest, 1977, Institute for World Economy.

Tóma's Szentes., "Crisis and Asymmetric Patterns of the International Division of Labour , ISS 25 th Anniversary Conference, 16-20 December, 1977.

Tóma's Szentes, "A Few Thoughts on Development Strategy and a New International Economic Order", International Symposium on the New International Economic Order, Cavtat, 31 May - 4 June 1977.

Tóma's Szentes, "Some Critical Issues Relating to Establishment of NIEO", New Perspectives-Journal of the World Peace Council, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1981, PP. 10-13.

Tóma's Szentes, "Changing Patterns of World Economy", Subproject on the Transformation of the World (TW), United Nations University, 1981.

Tóma's Szentes, "The Strategic Issues of NIEO and Global Negotiations", Second congress of the Association of Third World Economists, April 26-30, 1981, Havana City.

Tóma's Szentes, "Crisis and Internal Inequalities of the World Capitalist Economy and the Third Development Decade, Development and Peace, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1980.

Tóma's Szentes, "The TNC Issue: Naive Illusions or Exorcism and Lip-Service?" General Conference of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, 11 - 14 Nov. 1981, Budapest.

Tóma's Szentes, "The Conception of a New International Order-Is It a Fashionable Slogan or a Feasible Strategy? 5 th Session: "Toward a New International Order", IPSA Tokyo Round Table Conference on "The International Economic Order and Political Development in the Asian Pacific Region", March 29-April 1, 1982. Tokyo.

Ervin La'szlo', "Regional Cooperation: Round Three in the Third World's Fight for Development", Feature, UN Division for Economic and Social Information, Department of Public Information, March 1981.

Johan Galtung, "Poor Countries vs. Rich'; Poor People vs. Rich-Whom will the New International Economic Order Benefit?", Occasional Paper 7714, Vienna Institute for Development

József Bognár- "The Fight for a New system of International Relations", Trends in World Economy, No. 21, Budapest, 1977, Hungarian scientific Council for World Economy.

József Bognár, "Survival, Development and World-Wide Cooperation in the Economy of the Turn of the Millennium", Keynote address to the EADI General Conference, Budapest, 11-14 Nov. 1981.

Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, Development and the International Order-Selected Papers, Cairo, Institute of National Planning, Oct. 1977, Memo. No. 1210.

Ismail-Sabri Abdalla, "Heterogeneity and Differentiation-The End for the Third World?" Development Dialogue, No. 2, 1978.

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Are We Ready Facing the Future?

" The Continuity of Fateful Issues in the Third World "

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*** The paper presented to open discussions of the topic concerning
"Multilateral system: Critical Review of the present and future
perspectives".**

Are We Ready Facing the Future?

"The continuity of Fateful Issues in the Third World"

An extensive World-wide literature concerning the new International Economic Order: NIEO is becoming, as usual in many other instances, a catchword thrown here and there and expected to go soon out of fashion. The underlying problems are not going to vanish because these problems, if nothing adequate is done about them, will remain and their consequences will appear in due course.

Among the main Academic reports and studies on NIEO which already tailored the objectives, goals and strategies, one can remember the following:

1. The limits to Growth, Club of Rome, 1972,
2. Mankind at the Turning Point, Club of Rome, 1974.
3. Reshaping the International Order ((RIO), Club of Rome, 1976.
4. Beyond the Age of Waste, Club of Rome, 1977.
5. Goals for Mankind, Club of Rome, 1977.
6. What Now?, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1975.
7. Towards Another Development: Approaches and strategies, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1976.

8. Catastrophe or New Society?, Bariloche Foundation, 1976.
9. Towards a Renovated International Order, The Trilateral Commission, 1977.
10. Reducing Global Inequities, 1980s project/ Council on Foreign Relations, 1978.
11. The Future of the World Economy, Study prepared for the United Nations, 1977.
12. Declaration of Cocoyoc, Cocoyoc International Symposium, 1974.
13. How to Make Operative the New International Economic Order and the Charter of Rights and Duties of the states, Algiers International Conference, 1975.
14. Towards a New International Order, Algiers, Club of Rome, 1976.
15. Symposium on a New International Economic Order, Netherlands, 1975.
16. UNITAR-CEESTEM NIEO Library, of Approx. in a series of 17 books, 1976-1984. etc...

With respect to the packages of problems one can note the following:

1. Food,
2. Technology.

3. Armaments,
4. Population,
5. Energy and Natural Resources,
6. International Trade,
7. International Monetary System.
8. Aid,
9. Pollution.
10. The Oceans
11. Outer Space
12. TNCs
13. Human environments.
14. Human Settlements.
15. Industrialization,
16. Planetary Interdependencies.

etc...

A vast number of subjects are touched in the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and other bodies on the "new international order". The issues, if further studied, reach far beyond the conventional frontiers of "development" and international cooperation toward the most abstract reflections of philosophy and metaphysics. These core issues could be examined in an evaluation of obstacles and opportunities for the new order as following:

1. Political and administrative obstacles,
2. Obstacles to international trade,
3. Obstacles to international finance,
4. Obstacles to the production and distribution of primary commodities and energy,
5. Obstacles to the transfer of technology,
6. Social obstacles.

These obstacles in practice could be divided in a detailed elements and factors which all may consist a matrix of about more than 65 core issues, and which indeed hinder the struggle, urgency and mobilization for a New International Economic Order. The question arises: what alternative strategy can visualized which could be more appropriate and feasible, to lead, indeed, toward a new international order" or NIEO? I think-and cannot claim-that the understanding and a rational perception to the following key issues may help providing an approach to an answer:

1. Intra-Social and international inequalities;
2. National Sovereignty;
3. Foreign ownership and control;
4. Transformation of the international division of labour;
5. International Cooperation in science and technology;
6. Regulation, control and global management and planning.

7. East-West-South interdependence;
8. Security-disarmament-development interactions, interdependence, and interrelationships.

Since 1974-75 practically almost all the UN bodies, IGOs and NGOs besides the Non-Aligned Summits Conferences have made efforts to apply the idea to their own spheres. All in all, we may refer to it in a more concentrated manner: changes on the surface, reforms of the consequences rather than those reaching the causes. Let us call it "grass-roots-oriented change" is needed.

Now, let us explore the scene since that time 1974-75 and what has happened in a simple trial illustrating a picture of the international development panorama with special stress on the Third World conditions.

1. many countries in the Third World, the poor now constitute a larger proportion of the total population than they did at the start of the sixties. A process of impoverishment has occurred in the Third World which economic growth, in the context of acute inequality-in incomes, in land, in access to work-has accelerated.
2. in the 1970s, developed countries have passed on their economic problems to the international economy, forcing developing countries to take a disproportionately large share of the burden of economic

adjustment. This has occurred first through the inflationary price of manufactures and food exported by the West; Secondly, through currency instability; and, finally, by a growing battery of protectionist measures which has hit Third World trade precisely where it is most successful.

3. The Third World has become an important market for Western products. In 1978 (e.g.), developing countries took 20 % of the manufactures exported by Western Europe, 32 % of North America's manufactured exports and 46 % of those from Japan.
4. Progress still remains far short of the goals envisaged by developing countries. Despite recognising their dependency on assured supplies and stable, remunerative prices, developed countries have continued to be miserly in their response to calls for greater resources and fearful for their domination of international commodity trade.
5. The Code of Conduct for the Transfer of Technology is intended to be extensive in scope and precise in the practices it condemns, but it is likely to lack the vital teeth of legal sanctions. Attempts by the UN Centre for Transnational Corporations in New York to bind companies to stringent rules of accountability have so far met with little success.

6. Third World Countries will face challenges from the developed Countries more than the existing ones (TNCS, new technology) on the issues of food power.
7. At the level of international negotiation, throughout the latter part of the 1970s, the introduction of strategies aimed at providing basic needs such as food, health, housing and education has been a controversial issue. At one and the same time it is accused of providing a cloak for grass-roots-change and a means through which the rich Countries can make excuses for standing firm against establishing a "new international economic order".
8. Under political systems which exist in a number of Third World Countries today, there is no chance of redistribution taking place which would enable the poor to attain a minimum standard of living. The gap between the declaration of the goals of self-reliance, and the implementation of concrete policies, still remains wide for most developing countries.
9. Participatory patterns of democracy (and not quasi-democracy) and respect for the people's culture-their values, their language, their religious beliefs, their arts and crafts-must be preserved. Development has no meaning if people are alienated from the process of their environment which provides richness to their lives. It

is the erosion of their cultural values which has been taking place in the absence of a positive self-reliance, which, would seek to preserve cultural basic needs as well as providing material basic needs. It follows that a self-reliant strategy would be to a great extent rurally oriented, agriculturally based, with industrial development focussed on raw materials available locally; less energy intensive, labour intensive and would make use of appropriate technology.

10. There are a number of problems which increasing Third World Collective self-reliance faces, not least being the fact that their economies are dominated by the North and its TNCs. In addition to technology, Third World countries are dependent on TNCs for marketing and trading facilities.
11. Interdependence, however helpful to the North, is far from being a panacea for ending World poverty. The vast transfer of resources envisaged in the Brandt Report and elsewhere will not remove poverty from the face of the globe, whatever the acceleration in economic growth that occurs.
12. Internally, each country in the 1980s faces fundamental reapraisals and decisions on its future direction. But, internationally, the first

priority must be how the mistrust, prejudices and self-interests of individual nations can be overcome to give a new globalization process a chance of ensuring "Development and peace."

Economic Cooperation and integration among states-as a process-is a more advanced stage of internationalization, and it presupposes the existence of interdependence. Its function is elimination of the contradiction between the internationalizing productive forces and the survival of national boundaries. Already we have two models, market integration" (unhindered sales) and production and development integration" (planning of production). However, we cannot speak yet of a fully integrated European Economic Community, and what is typical of the participating countries is rather complex interdependence. Integration is only a common aim yet to be attained. The other existing regional economic groups are at a lower stage of process.

The CMEA member countries "common objectives call for the promotion of the integration process. These objectives are embodied in the Comprehensive Programme and in the new long-term agreements, and their implementation calls for great efforts to be made and for a great many tasks to be solved by the participating countries.

More than 30 groupings of integration of the Third World also has its specific problems. The scope of the national economies of the developing countries is usually rather narrow. Hence, it is completely evident that for most developing countries regional integration is the only possibility for faster economic growth. The plans and ideas of integration in the developing countries arise primarily from the fact that their productive forces are underdeveloped, their national markets are narrow both in absolute and relative terms, and they are short of capital and qualified manpower. In addition, further problems are caused by the fact that the development aims of most developing countries follow the same direction and lead to the establishment of the same industries.

The rational promotion of ECDC has to consider highly investigations of the following problems:

1. Trade cooperation and integration, capital flows, skills and manpower acting as basic elements have to ^{be} reoriented towards developing countries themselves and not towards the advanced industrialized countries only;
2. Even the fractions of the aggregation of those elements for every individual developing country but it has the importance of a reassessment;

3. reassessment must make an interpretation of the historical process of the systems of integration and cooperation among the advanced and the underdeveloped countries without cancelling the monopolistic and political factors in relations between the core and the periphery;
4. recognition of the causes of change must be integrated and injected as a process of a comprehensive development in the framework of indigenous strict economic rationalization in the Third World countries;
5. Means of change as an integrated part in the comprehensive development which has a sense of predictability;
6. Political factors support and promote cooperation and integration process (e.g., international power structure, interests, conflicts... etc.) and mobilizing the efforts of the developing countries concerned politically and economically in order to improve terms of cooperation among themselves first and second with developed countries;
7. The investigation and the reassessment process should be extended to cover many issues, such as; technological development; brain drain R + D policies; industrial designing process, local + regional cooperation, limits to success, political and economical obstacles, income distribution (redistribution), minority parasitic interest groups, majority marginalization, burning issues (food, armaments,

security, population, energy, environment, monetary systems, trade systems..);

8. Predicting future features in a sense of a long-term planning and management (e.g., change of production structure leading towards increasing intensity of cooperation on specialization basis among developing countries, changing patterns of consumption (over consumption) relying upon own resources and fulfilling self-sufficiency of basic needs, maximizing productivity and narrowing the incomes gap.

Without the permanency of the rationalization process promoting ECDC, integration in the developing world cannot lead to spectacular and rapid results. In addition any conscious activity, of necessity, implies "looking forward, the World become closer and closer the "Global Village" turned to "Global Cottage", the problems of the future consists of defining on a global rather than national basis-our priorities and in making the necessary commitments.

The problems confronting the future decades (and beyond) are enormous both in complexity and dimension. They are also enormous in their importance to the present and the future economic and political stability of the World (Worlds 1 st, 2 nd, 3 rd, may be 4 th) as well as in their prime importance to human welfare. There is not now, at least not yet,

a basis for an equal faith that their solution can or will be found.

World intellectuals in a sense of predictability and "remote-control" have to consider highly the birth of new axis and sources of future change such as the following:

1. The impact upon society of S+T; the societies become a "Technetronic": a society that is shaped culturally, psychologically, socially and economically by the impact of technology and electronics, particularly computers and instant communications.
2. The promise of equality; (Haves and Have nots).
3. The structural shift and developments in society, maximizing the role of innovative sector (human capital vs financial capital).
4. The Dilemma of Détente in: a nuclear age, the widening gap between rich and poor nations, the threatening role of "colour" as a divisive political force, the re-emergence of narrow nationalism, the possible emergence of China as a third super-power, as well as the changing balance of forces (both technological and moral) are all the questions that reach from the present into the distant future.

The fateful triangle in the Third World challenging and will more do so in the future, in a very serious and sharp correlation, tying and binding Food-Technology-Security, Are We Ready Facing the Future?.