

## THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ENSURING MODERN GLOBAL SECURITY

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### ABSTRACT

Since the day it was founded, the United Nations (UN) has been criticized only for fulfilling the wishes of the great powers in the international system, rather than realizing its founding purpose in its Charter. The effects of the great powers, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, and the dependence of the organization on these powers in the functioning of the UN system -sometimes its dysfunctionality- justify these criticisms. It cannot be argued that the UN does not reflect the interests of the states that led its establishment and contributed to its functions. However, in this context, the superficial criticisms of the UN System based only on the concept of "interest" cause the deeper functions of this organization to be overlooked in the international system. As it is known, the pandemic that the world faced in early 2020 has a serious impact on the social and economic spheres of the global approach. Thus, the irreplaceable role of the UN is important. Most of the research in this area is aimed at overcoming the current stagnation; some researchers are trying to explain the causes of the pandemic, while others are looking for direct solutions. It is important to study the future features of the global pandemic in ensuring peace and security in the international arena.

**Keywords:** Global problems, politics, analysis, states, international organization

## MODERN KÜRESEL GÜVENLİĞİN SAĞLANMASINDA BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLERİN ROLÜ

### ÖZET

Birleşmiş Milletler (BM), kurulduğu günden bu yana, çalışma amacını gerçekleştirmekten çok, uluslararası sistemdeki büyük güçlerin isteklerini yerine getirmekle eleştirilmektedir. Güvenlik Konseyi'nin daimi üyeleri başta olmak üzere büyük güçlerin etkileri ve BM sisteminin işleyişinde örgütün bu yetkilere bağımlı olması -bazen işlevsizliği- bu eleştirileri haklı çıkarmaktadır. Bu açıdan BM'nin kuruluşuna öncülük eden ve işlevlerine katkıda bulunan devletlerin çıkarlarını yansıtmadığı söylenemez. Ancak bu bağlamda BM sisteminin sadece "çıkar" kavramına dayalı yüzeysel eleştirileri, bu örgütün daha derindeki işlevlerinin uluslararası sistemde gözden kaçırılmasına neden olmaktadır. Bilindiği üzere, 2020 yılının başlarında dünyanın karşı karşıya kaldığı pandemi, küresel yaklaşımın sosyal ve ekonomik alanlarını ciddi anlamda etkilemeye devam etmektedir. Bu nedenle BM'nin yeri doldurulamaz rolü önemlidir. Bu alandaki araştırmaların çoğu mevcut durgunluğun üstesinden gelmeye yöneliktir ve bazı araştırmacılar pandemiyi nedenlerini açıklamaya çalışırken, diğerleri buna doğrudan çözümler aramaktadırlar. Uluslararası alanda barış ve güvenliğin sağlanmasında küresel pandemiyi gelecekteki özelliklerini incelemek önem taşımaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Küresel sorunlar, siyaset, analiz, devletler, uluslararası örgüt

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Charter is a landmark for the rules governing the use of force. During the long period when the use of force was a right for states, while the jus in bello, which determined the rules to be followed during armed conflicts, was in its golden age, the rules governing the use of force, that is, jus ad bellum, remained weak. In contrast, the 20th century, when the use of force was restricted and then prohibited, was a period of revival for jus ad bellum. First the League of Nations (MC) Pact and then the 1928 Briand Kellogg Pact took the first steps in this direction. The 1945 United Nations

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(UN) Treaty was the document in which the most advanced and comprehensive regulation was made. The term used in the UN Treaty, which we can accept as the most basic regulation regarding the use of armed force today, is the use of force. The word war appears only once in the entire 111-point agreement, and that is the preamble to the promise that the peoples of the UN have twice decided to protect future generations from the catastrophe of war that has brought indescribable suffering to humanity.

The United Nations has given the highest priority to the establishment and preservation of peace after the war, and in the 1st article of Part I, which covers the aims and principles of the treaty, "To protect international peace and security and to this end, to prevent threats to peace, to act as an active partner against acts that cause disruption of peace." taking security measures and ensuring that disputes are resolved by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of justice and international law", the determination and explanation of the authorities and responsibilities of the main organs was made in order to ensure peace and security.

Within the framework of ensuring peace and security, member states; They are under the obligation to resolve their disputes through peaceful means and not to resort to the use and threat of force in their international relations. While it is foreseen that the UN will step in if the disputes, the prolongation of which may threaten the protection of international peace and security, are not resolved through peaceful means, the Organization is authorized to resort to effective "collective measures" in case of threat, disruption of peace or an act of aggression. There may be measures in Chapter VI that do not require the use of force, or there may be measures that require the use of force.

While the main responsibility for ensuring international peace and security was given to the Security Council, it was also observed that the requirements of this responsibility, which was assumed by the Council during the cold war period from the first years of the organization, due to the political interests and disagreements among the permanent members and due to their veto, could not be fully fulfilled by the General Assembly. With the establishment of peace and security, decisions and peacekeeping activities and practices were observed.

In the event of deterioration of international peace and security, the system has created the "Peace Keeping Forces" within the framework of the broad initiative and pragmatically granted to the authorized bodies by the relevant parts of the UN treaty. Successful results in general are the use of peacekeeping forces in cases where peace and security are disturbed or threatened, It has become a permanent and indispensable policy of the organization.

## **2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

First, the League of Nations and then the United Nations have been concrete steps taken in an institutional form within the framework of a permanent and sustainable peace in the international system. However, it is seen that the desire and purpose of peace expressed in the normative sense cannot be realized sufficiently when real-political practices are taken into account. In a sense, both the MC and the UN assumed a status quo function and played a regulatory role in the system. In other words, the MC and the UN have functioned in terms of giving legitimacy to the structure of the international system and the healthy functioning of the international system. In this study, this situation will be analyzed with a critical perspective. In addition, some predictions about the future of the UN will be presented in the conclusion part of the study. In order to convey these predictions and the relationship between the international system and the UN, it is essential to mention some important points that are designed to guide the study.

As an institution that can survive as a unique structure in the international system, the UN constitutes an important part of the modern world. In this context, the UN is an element that should be taken into

account by both states and all actors of the international system. Secondly, it has been noted as a remarkable development that the UN emerged as a fruit of the efforts and efforts carried out in the axis of permanent peace. In this respect, the organization plays an important role in shaping international relations and international politics.

On the other hand, when dealing with the role of the UN in the international arena, the structure of the organization and its decision-making mechanisms, a power form, phenomenon or relationship is always encountered. It is possible to express this situation concretely in a few articles as follows: First, when the UN organization was established, it emerged as a formation under the influence of the victorious states. Therefore, it is possible to speak of a "confederation of the strong". Second, only five permanent members have a say in the organization's decision-making on important issues. Therefore, the power-oriented structure of the UN functions as a tool in the realization of the policies desired by powerful states in the international arena. For this reason, it can be said that the UN has to some extent established a relationship of authority despite the anarchic structure of the international system. Finally, the UN plays an extremely critical role in terms of the stability and sustainability of the international system. This role can be expressed more concretely as follows: Referring to Gramsci, it can be claimed that the UN plays a key role in the functioning of the system as a "means of using force" and "consent" (Gramsci, 1986). In the light of what is mentioned here, the UN organization will be analyzed by making use of the theoretical and conceptual framework.

## **2.1. The Structure and Functioning of the UN**

Wilson stated that world peace can be achieved and maintained with the joint effort of the community of states, and stated that an international organization can fulfill this function. At the meeting of the Paris Peace Conference, which ended the First World War, on January 25, 1919, it was decided to establish an organization to protect global peace, and a commission was formed and a contract was prepared. The prepared convention was accepted at the General Assembly of the Conference on 28 April 1919 and thus the League of Nations (LN) was established. The aims of the society are stated as accepting some obligations about not resorting to war in order to develop international cooperation, ensuring international peace and cooperation, protecting justice in mutual relations and respecting the obligations arising from the agreement (Karluk, 2014: 141). However, despite all these articles of the contract, the injustices in the post-war agreements and colonial conflicts could not prevent the start of a new world war.

The Second World War started with Germany's attack on Poland in September 1939, the European part of the war ended with the surrender of Germany in May 1945, and the Asian part of the war ended with the surrender of Japan in August 1945. The use of the atomic bomb, a weapon of mass destruction, by the USA against Japan has been a first in human history (Ateş, 2014: 147). The failure of the League of Nations to achieve the expected success was the main reason for the establishment of a new organization during the Second World War. The most important development in this context is the efforts to include the USA, which is not a member of the MC, into the system.

On August 14, 1941, as a result of the meeting of US President Roosevelt and British President Churchill, the "Atlantic Charter" statement, which included the principles proposing international cooperation, was published. Later, this document was supported by the "United Nations Declaration" by 26 countries fighting against the Axis Powers. The UN Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco by the representatives of the 50 founding members, mainly China, France, the USA, the Soviet Union and the UK. Later, with the participation of Poland, the number of founding members increased to 51. The official establishment date of the United Nations is 24 October 1945 and it is celebrated on 24 October every year (United Nations, 2016).

In the UN Charter, the objectives of the organization are broad enough to express the desire of war-weary states to create an agency to help prevent future military conflicts and improve economic and social relations between states. The main purpose of the League of Nations was the maintenance of international peace and security. The main purpose of the United Nations is to maintain global peace and security. The main task of maintaining peace in the UN system, in which disputes are envisaged to be resolved through peaceful means, has been assigned to the Security Council (Bennet and Oliver, 2015: 86).

United Nations Charter; The organizational structure of the organization consists of 111 articles that determine its principles, functions and responsibilities, and the United Nations has six main organs. These; The General Assembly is the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat. In addition to these, 15 specialized institutions, many programs and commissions continue to work as a part of the United Nations (Ateş, 2014: 159).

The United Nations, which was established as a universal organization and today all independent states are members, is an organization that operates on behalf of the entire international community in almost every issue that concerns them. Established in 1945, the UN was established to strike a balance between conservatism and change. Since the League of Nations failed to prevent war, the UN treaty was drawn up with the goal of correcting the flaws of the League's Covenant. The result was a new car model with different lines and shapes, but the same engine (Bennet and Oliver, 2015: 71). The United Nations defines itself as "a global organization that aims to provide justice and security, economic development and social equality to all countries internationally".

The UN, which was founded on the idea that the devastating effects of the two world wars would not be experienced again, is an organization that has 193 members as of today and prohibits the use of force in relations between countries. Its headquarters are located in New York, USA. Although it is often discussed that the organization cannot fulfill its functions due to its structure, it is considered that advocating its restructuring rather than its abolition would be more beneficial for world peace.

## **2.2. Main Organs of the United Nations and Their Duties.**

The main organs of the United Nations are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council (United Nations, 2016).

### **2.2.1. General Assembly**

The General Assembly, established in 1945 under the umbrella of the United Nations, consists of 193 members and is the main political and representative body of the organization. It has important duties in the discussion of international issues and in the formation of international law (United Nations, 2016). The General Assembly is the most important organ of the UN and is the arena of general discussion (Bennet and Oliver, 2015: 71). The Board consists of member states and each member has one vote. In addition, each member has a permanent representative in the Board and decisions are usually taken by majority vote. The general assembly is the most open organ of the organization.

The duties and powers of the General Assembly specified in the Treaty are as follows ([www.unicankara.org.tr](http://www.unicankara.org.tr));

- ❖ Address and make recommendations on issues related to the maintenance of international peace and security, including disarmament and arms control regulations

- ❖ To hold hearings and make recommendations on issues related to world peace, not including conflicts and issues discussed in the Security Council;
- ❖ Organizing sessions and making recommendations on topics covered by the Treaty and on the duties and powers of UN bodies, excluding conflicts and issues addressed in the Security Council;
- ❖ To initiate and advise on international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of fundamental human rights and freedoms for all, and international cooperation in the fields of economic, social, cultural, education, health;
- ❖ To advise on the peaceful resolution of any problem that might impair friendly relations between nations, whatever their origin;
- ❖ Evaluating the reports to be submitted by the Security Council and other United Nations bodies;
- ❖ Electing non-permanent members of the Security Council, members of the Economic and Social Council and additional members of the Trusteeship Council (if necessary); electing Judges of the International Court of Justice together with the Security Council; and to appoint the Secretary-General on the recommendation of the Security Council.

The UN General Assembly has made a significant contribution to the development of friendly relations between nations for over sixty years. The conclusion of many important international agreements has been possible with the contributions of the General Assembly and some of its commissions; however, the resolutions of the General Assembly are not binding. On the other hand, the decisions adopted by this body have political and moral weight (Aral, 2013: 10).

### **2.2.2. Security Council**

The great powers that both led the war effort against the Axis and dominated the post-war international organization designed the Security Council as the foremost organ of the UN. According to these states, the creation of a mechanism that will assist in ensuring international peace and security will be the main objective of the new organization and the executive will be based on the power of the great states. Continuing the cooperation between the allies in wartime will be able to find solutions to the conflicts. If the strongest states do not cooperate among themselves, it will not be possible to produce a solution (Bennet and Oliver, 2015: 98-99).

The Security Council consists of 15 members, five of which sit on the council in accordance with the UN convention and have veto rights. The other ten members are temporary members and are elected by the General Assembly for a two-year term. Permanent members consist of USA, England, France, Russian Federation and China (Karluk, 2014: 153). The Security Council is the executive body of the United Nations (UN) and is the executive body of the UN in the political field. According to Article 24 of the UN Charter, the responsibility for ensuring peace and security in the international arena is primarily given to the UN Security Council, and according to the provision of the same article, these decisions are binding for all members (Paine, 1997).

The duties and powers of the Security Council are as follows ([www.unicankara.org](http://www.unicankara.org));

- ❖ Maintaining international peace and security within the framework of United Nations principles and purposes;
- ❖ Taking measures to regulate arms production;
- ❖ Inviting the parties to negotiate for peaceful resolution of their problems;
- ❖ To investigate disputes and problems that may lead to international disputes and to advise on the solution of these problems or matters;
- ❖ To call on the relevant parties to comply with the said measures in order to prevent the situation from worsening;
- ❖ Calling on United Nations members to comply with non-violent Security Council resolutions directly, such as sanctions, in order to increase the effectiveness of Council resolutions;

- ❖ Resort to or consent to the use of force to establish and maintain international peace and security;
- ❖ Promote the peaceful resolution of local disputes through regional arrangements and ensure that these regional arrangements are used within UN mandate;
- ❖ Advising the General Assembly on the appointment of the Secretary General and electing together with the Assembly judges of the International Court of Justice;
- ❖ Requesting legal reports on legal matters from the International Court of Justice; To advise the General Assembly on the admission of new members to the United Nations.

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Considering the structure of the international system in the 1930s, this structure can be characterized as quite realistic and state-centered, as determined by international relations theorists. When this situation is examined from the point of view of the MC, it reveals that there is no trend that the best way to protect national interests is to establish a system of collective security, fair and global. This judgment is very clear considering that the European great powers in the Council of the League of Nations in 1931 evaluated Japan's invasion of Manchuria within the framework of their national interests and did not consider this invasion as an important development, and that no serious intervention was made against this action. proves its accuracy (Pearson, 2018: 7).

Thus, although it is thought that idealist aims were a factor in the establishment of the League of Nations; It is seen that the main purpose is to try to protect the Versailles order. When the decisions taken by the organization after the establishment of the MC and the stance of the organization are examined, it is understood that the national interests of England and France are prioritized over the organization. If it is; It was the source of the evaluation of the League of Nations as "the organization of the victors".

In this context, it can be argued that two main factors were effective in the failure of the League of Nations in terms of maintaining peace in the international arena. The first is the inadequacies of England and France in terms of administration. The second is; Two important states such as the USA and the USSR are not members of the League of Nations. Undoubtedly, the Treaty of Versailles also played a role in the failure of the MC. In addition, Italy, Japan and the USSR (after becoming a member) violating the MC agreement and attacking other states was a very negative development for the MC and rendered the organization dysfunctional. On the other hand, although the success in the border dispute between Bulgaria and Greece in 1925 was a positive achievement for MC, the organization failed in the face of great powers such as Japan, Italy and Germany. The main reason for this failure is; This is due to the fact that the embargoes and the collective security system, which are the sanctions tools of the organization, cannot be fully implemented against these states.

Morgenthau attributes the unsuccessful performance of the League of Nations in preventing a major war and in maintaining international order mainly to three important shortcomings. These deficiencies are expressed as constitutional, structural and political foundations (Morgenthau, 2018: 374). In other words, the failure of the organization to function like a state (constitutional, political and hierarchical structure of the State is meant) is shown as the reason for failure, referring to the state-centered analysis of the realist perspective.

The Waltz international system is based on the principle of regulation, inspired by domestic political structures; analyzes according to the character of the units and the distribution of abilities. Accordingly, first of all; While the organizing principle in domestic political structures is hierarchy; The organizing principle of the international system is anarchy. Latter; while the units are in a subordinate-superior relationship with functional difference within the state; There is no such relationship between units in the international system. On the contrary, there are similar and equal units in the international system. Third; In a hierarchical system, when there is unity between

functionally different units with different abilities; in the international system, since the units are not functionally different; they act according to the form of power and size in the distribution of talent (Waltz, 2015: 112-125).

When a conflict arises, the UN Security Council first directs the parties to reach a solution on the basis of peaceful means. On the other hand, the Security Council has the opportunity to offer solutions to the parties, to appoint special representatives related to the problem, and to use tools such as mediation and assistance from the Secretary General for investigation. However, if the conflict evolves into conflict despite these attempts, the Security Council's aim here is to end the conflict as soon as possible. At this stage, it is also seen that ceasefire proposals are generally on the agenda. In addition, the Security Council can use military observers and peacekeeping forces to assist the peace process. VII of the UN Charter already on this issue. The Council has been authorized in this section. Implementing embargo and sanctions and making a decision to use force when necessary are among the tools that can be applied. But the use of force is a tool that can only be used as a last resort when there is no other solution. On the other hand, VII. It is also possible for the Council to establish international courts against serious human rights violations, including genocide, under the Chapter.

According to Weiss, the United Nations should not only be evaluated as an organization that emerged in terms of commitment to war-oriented commitments, but also in terms of emphasizing liberal goals such as commitment to multilateralism and strengthening international organizations (Weiss, 2015: 1224).

Ian Hurd, on the other hand, draws attention to three important elements that are closely related to this problematic. The first is "a subordinate-superior relationship", the second is "knowledge of the parties" and the third is "legitimacy". Hurd states that these three elements are frequently encountered in the context of the concept of authority in terms of political theory and International Relations. In other words, the situation of "mutual recognition of a legitimate hierarchical relationship" is mentioned. Thus, a form of power emerges here, other than coercion, rational persuasion, and cost-based calculations. In this case, "authority is a subcategory of power relations". This form of power is explained on the basis of "the existence of a legitimate hierarchy" (Hurd, 2008: 24-25). Ian Hurd similarly defines authority on the basis of the same elements in the axis of the sociological approach to the phenomenon of authority. In this context, the first is "the social relationship of a hierarchy that includes upper and lower positions", the second is "mutual recognition" and the third is "legitimacy". Thus, "a legitimately recognized hierarchy becomes an institutional authority" (Hurd, 2008: 36). Hurd's points prove correct given the structure of the UN and its function in the international system. Because the UN is an organism that emerges on the basis of legitimacy, consent, mutual recognition and a superior-subordinate relationship. However, it is not possible to talk about a structure in which the element of coercion is excluded. Because the UN's power to "use force" can be considered as a force of force in a sense.

At this point, it is necessary to examine the problematic of legitimacy. There are symbols that increase the legitimacy of an institution. These; It can be expressed in terms of "objects (such as flags and uniforms) or mannerisms of expression (such as when a judge delivers his sentence) and procedures (majority of decision making in the Plenary Session) or speech behavior". It should be noted that the elements in question are related to power. Because authority can be established on the target actors through these elements. Symbols can also be described as a currency. When an object is transformed into a symbol and "invested" in this object in relation to power, this object will become power itself and will be an element that reveals competition in terms of power (Hurd, 2002: 36-37). As can be understood, this object appears in the form of a UN organization.

Here, based on Chimni's views, it is seen that powerful states intervene in states by instrumentalizing the UN with motives such as humanitarian intervention/responsibility to protect or promoting democracy. However, as many cases show, it is understood that the main purpose is to meet the

market and raw material needs of international capital and to exploit the target states. In addition, from a political point of view; It has been seen that the great powers intervene in the target states during their efforts to balance each other by taking into account the geostrategic targets. However, this political aim cannot be evaluated independently of capital. Because the main focus of the capitalist system and liberal democracy is the real-political applications of a realistic exploitation perspective rather than idealist goals. The UN, on the other hand, functions as a "legitimacy shield" here. In this regard, the situation will be understood more clearly when the process of the US intervention in Iraq in 2003 and the NATO intervention in Libya in 2011 are taken into account.

At this point, despite all the negative evaluations, it is still necessary to mention a positive case study in the UN Security Council. This case study is the decision-making process in the Security Council during the invasion of Iraq. In this context, Wallerstein thinks that the USA's failure to reach a majority in the UN Security Council for the first time is an issue that needs to be emphasized. Although there have been similar situations in the past, these were related to issues that were not very important for the United States. However, it was a remarkable development that the resolution in March 2003 received 4 votes and was withdrawn. As Wallerstein emphasized, this is a development that can be considered as a political humiliation, and the perception on a universal scale is already in this direction. This situation shows that the USA has lost its legitimacy, and in this respect, it is not possible to express the hegemonic power ascription for the USA (Wallerstein, 2003: 6).

#### 4. DISCUSSION

Global peace cannot be achieved in any way because the interests of states do not coincide with each other in the international arena. On the other hand, the great losses caused by a widespread war pushed the states that make up the international system to seek solutions. Although the attempts to gather under the umbrella of a global organization date back to before the First World War, the first important initiative in this regard was made with the League of Nations (MC), and after the Second World War, the United Nations (UN) was established. First of all, the UN, which is an American project, has an unfair functioning due to the veto rights of the victors of the Second World War.

The UN organization could not adequately fulfill the functions expected from it until the end of the Cold War in 1945 and the beginning of the 1990s. In this period, the Cold War triggered by the bipolarity between the capitalist bloc led by the USA and the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union made it almost impossible for the Security Council to act effectively. Therefore, when international crises broke out in this period and the issue was brought to the Security Council, it was either vetoed by one of the permanent members or it was never (never) brought to the Council. For example, although the USA invaded Vietnam between 1965 and 1973, killed three million Vietnamese and committed all kinds of war crimes, no decision was taken within the Council on this issue. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, occupied Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan (1979) during the Cold War, but the Security Council did not intervene in the face of these aggressions. Again, the sanctions against the occupations carried out by Israel in violation of international law remained inconclusive (Aral, 2013: 11).

Leaving its tenth year behind, the Syrian crisis has caused approximately 300,000 deaths and 4-5 million refugees to become refugees. In the intervening time, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) held many meetings and took decisions on the subject. The first decision on April 14, 2012 was a roadmap named after the UN Secretary General of the time for a ceasefire call in Syria, and 30 military observers were sent to the country. Assad did not comply with the decision, and it was not clear what he observed. Decisions were taken to extend the mandate and increase the number of the delegation, and then, on September 27, 2013, the draft resolution envisioning the destruction of all chemical weapons in the country went down in history as the most important UN resolution; however,



Assad did not comply with this decision. Thereupon, the UNSC addressed another issue in its resolutions and directed its attention to DAESH. All efforts by the UN have been inconclusive; because the countries that make up the UN Security Council cannot agree among themselves, making it impossible to impose sanctions. These countries take care not to touch each other's interests even in this chaos environment. In this case, the most important supranational organization, the UN, cannot show a presence in Syria for a solution.

When the events in Syria are analyzed in general, it can be said that there is not a rule gap in the international arena, but a lack of authority that can enforce the existing rules. The legal norms created under the leadership of the UN require that the world states take all kinds of measures, including sanctions, in such human tragedies. The structure of the UN lacks the will to enforce these norms. States do not consider any moral values in Syria in order to maximize their interests.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Thus, the perspective of the formation of the new world order is heavily bound up with very complex geopolitical, theoretical and practical-diplomatic considerations. In terms of currently available theoretical approaches, the formation of the new order seems to be a necessity. However, the view regarding its concrete mechanisms is different. The theoretical constructs that emerged in the twentieth century are no longer able to fully meet modern demands. Therefore, there is a serious need for a transformation of ideas in geopolitics. At the same level, experts give priority to international organizations more as a mechanism to ensure this process effectively.

The United Nations is an organism that is frequently criticized and questioned due to its inadequacy in many areas, its anti-democratic structure and failure to achieve the desired success in the realization of the goals of the organization. However, despite all these negative criticisms, the UN can be considered as an extremely valuable achievement as an institutional structure that gathers all states and/or societies under a single roof for the purpose of establishing peace in the international arena and creating an atmosphere of solidarity in solving problems, despite all these negative criticisms. In addition, despite all the problems and crises experienced, the UN was not as short-lived as the League of Nations and could still maintain its existence.

The critical point for the fate and evolution of the United Nations is that the organization must go through a process of change and be strengthened with radical reforms. However, as long as the organization continues to be at the center of power policies and maintains its policies aimed at regulating the functioning of the international system and ensuring the stability of the system, it does not seem possible for the UN to maintain peace and order in the international arena. In this respect, as long as the reform initiatives to be made are on this axis, the organization will not be able to increase its effectiveness. Even if the existence of the UN does not end, the prediction that the organization will lose its effectiveness in the international arena if it continues in its current form is considered as a serious possibility. In this respect, if the structure of the UN is transformed on the basis of democratic principles, the organization will be able to show a much stronger effectiveness if it is transformed by considering the principles that unite societies and peoples and emphasize the sense of solidarity and reconciliation. In this sense, it is unthinkable that the suggestions made on the Security Council in reform initiatives will yield a healthy result. What needs to be done here is the abolition of the Security Council and the General Assembly to be the main decision-making center. The 2/3 majority of the votes present in taking decisions will also allow sufficient efficiency to be achieved. In no way should veto be on the agenda. In addition, in order to prevent the said 2/3 majority of the votes from turning into representative democracy deceptions, lower assemblies should be formed before the peoples and an egalitarian mechanism spreading to a wider base should be

established. Only in this way will it be possible to ensure order and stability in the international system in real terms.

However, the real-political implementation of the normative proposals mentioned here does not seem possible in terms of current conditions. Of course, there is always the possibility that states and societies will reveal a system that eliminates the oligopoly tendencies in both the political and economic fields in the international system and makes disarmament possible. However, current conditions do not allow this possibility to occur in the near future.

It is also possible to imagine a more realistic and pessimistic picture on the basis of current conditions. Accordingly, the United Nations will act in accordance with the structure of the "confederation of the strong" in which power policies play a central role. Thus, it can be argued that a consensus and solidarity cannot emerge between states and societies on the solution of problems, and it is unlikely that a sustainable vision of international peace will be realized. In addition, there will be a high probability of encountering a picture in which the interests and practices that are tried to be hidden on the basis of "humanitarian interventions" and "export of democracy" and the efforts and practices that eliminate the development and development opportunities of the peoples of the neoliberal system of exploitation through globalization will be more visible. In other words, it is possible to encounter an international system in which inequality experienced in every field (political, social, economic, etc) deepens further and an instability and deadlock emerges. The United Nations does not have the qualifications to reverse this negative picture drawn with its current structure and inadequacies. From this perspective, it can even be argued that the United Nations, like the League of Nations, is likely to disappear altogether.

As a result, it would be quite wrong and misleading to make a preconceived and definitive judgment about the structure of the United Nations and the international system. However, it is possible to make predictions about the optimistic picture and the pessimistic picture. Despite everything, it should be reminded that the majority of the masses have opposition to war, the desire for disarmament, and the aim of peace at the global and local level. The reflection of this situation is seen both in the anti-war actions and in the policies and practices of the organs (such as UNESCO and UNICEF) where the power policies of the United Nations are essentially ineffective. This makes it necessary to always consider the possibility of meeting positive expectations regarding the UN.

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