

Reforms to the United Nations' Security Council: A Case Study of Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

Since 1993, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly has debated calls for reform to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Proposed reforms have included amendments to the use of the veto, improved representation of member countries in the permanent membership and an expansion of the Council's permanent members.

The continent of Africa is not represented in the permanent membership of the UNSC, though it is the largest regional group in the UN. With three of the Council's five permanent members from Europe and one each from the Americas and Asia, the African Union argues this situation is historically unjust and contributes to a lack of balance of the Council. This thesis seeks to examine any possibilities of expansions to the UNSC's permanent membership, as well as whether Nigeria, an African country, may qualify for such a seat, based on defined criteria and as captured in the following research questions:

1. Is there a case for expansion of permanent member seats on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)?
2. If there is a case for such expansion, is Nigeria eligible, based on defined criteria, for one of these additional permanent member seats?

To answer the two research questions, this thesis explored events leading to the formation of the UN and the UNSC, and leading up to calls for reforms to the latter. Using qualitative comparative analysis, it reviews four major reform proposals and seeks to determine whether there is a case for expansion of UNSC permanent members and whether Nigeria, as a case study, is eligible for a permanent member seat, based on this study's defined criteria. While these two elements are confirmed by this research, the study concludes that any reforms would be difficult to achieve consensus from UN and UNSC members without significant compromise.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to diplomacy, the pursuit of fairer representation in the United Nations and to international relations.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Representatives from 50 nation states officially formed the United Nations (UN) on October 24, 1945 with the completion and signing of the UN Charter in San Francisco. The UN Security Council (UNSC), the smallest of the UN's six principal organs, was formed at the same time as the UN, to maintain international peace and security (United Nations Charter, 1945). The structure of the UNSC was reflective of current events at the time of its formation. Of its 11 members, five were and still are permanent members (P5), representing the great powers that had contributed much to the end of World War Two (WWII) - China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Kennedy, 2006). The other six members were from countries in different geographical regions of the world and served two-year terms on the Council in what are now referred to as rotating seats.

Though the UNSC's membership has increased from 11 to 15 members, the increase has only affected the non-permanent members and not the P5. In addition to maintaining permanent membership, each of the P5 has veto power, giving it the ability to veto resolutions brought forward to the Council, by the UN General Assembly. These vetoes have been used by these countries to veto resolutions not in their countries' best interests.

Various calls for reform of the UNSC have been tabled over its decades of existence, particularly to its membership structure and the P5's veto power. Aside from the change from 11 to 15 members made in 1965, the UNSC has not undergone any other changes. A variety of groups of countries have put different UNSC reform proposals forward, and several countries, including Nigeria, have indicated interest in permanent

member status - based on their size, contributions to the UN, and the representation of under-represented regions.

Researcher Positioning

This researcher's Nigerian origin has played a role and influenced the interest in this research topic. This will be discussed in more detail in the methodology section in Chapter 3.

Issues with Regard to the UNSC

The various calls for reform to the UNSC have come about as a result of changes in the UN and world, since the UNSC and UN's inception. Beginning with only 50 member countries, the UN has grown to include almost all countries in the world – 193. Africa, the largest regional group, is not represented on the Council. However, when the UN was formed, it may be argued that several African countries (including Nigeria) were represented through their colonial powers—the UK and France. With African countries gaining independence over the decades, this is no longer the case.

More members in the global body have increased calls for representation on its most powerful organ, questioning the Council's ability to be a true reflection of more recent or current global challenges (e.g. terrorism, political crises, environmental concerns, etc). According to Kennedy (2006, p. 51-52), "To any reasonable person nowadays, it is outrageous that a mere 5 of the 191 (sic) sovereign states that make up the United Nations have special powers and privileges."

Purpose of the Research and Research Questions

The goal of this thesis is to examine reform proposals for the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), with the particular objective of determining Nigeria's

eligibility for a permanent member seat on the Council, in light of these proposals and based on this study's defined criteria. The following four proposals were selected:

- The United Nations High Level Panel Report;
- The Group of Four (G4);
- Uniting for Consensus; and
- The African Union.

Though there have been several reform proposals put forward, it is impossible to study them all. Hence, this study has narrowed the list down to the four proposals provided above. Each of these has been highlighted by the Global Policy Forum (2012) and described by Toro (2008, n.p.) as the most “notable” proposals.

Significance of the Thesis

This research is important as it seeks to answer questions about a need for reform to the UNSC, particularly with regard to an expansion of UNSC member countries. It is also important to determine eligibility requirements for additional members to the Council and apply them to a particular case against the set requirements. In this research, an African case study was selected as that continent is missing representation on the UNSC. While Nigeria was selected as the focus of the application of the criteria developed, this was completed in a comparative manner incorporating two additional African nations.

Thesis Organization

This introductory chapter provided a general overview of the research, why it was embarked on, the research questions, and its significance. Beginning with a review of literature on the UN's formation, Chapter 2 presents an overview of events leading to the

formation of the UN and the UNSC. It discusses both World Wars and explains how their occurrences were influential in first the formation of the League of Nations, a precursor to the UN, and then the UN itself, as well as the UNSC. Further discussion examines the weaknesses of the League and its inability to prevent world conflict from reoccurring, especially as it had no military force of its own (Mathewson, 2013), as was the case with WWII.

Following the outbreak of WWII, the chapter examines different collaborative peacekeeping efforts among countries, particularly efforts spearheaded by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. Leadership by these five countries helped the allied nations to eventually end the war. Following the success of these countries to stop WWII, the desire for a global body to which world countries would belong, with the goal of maintaining international peace and security became apparent (United Nations, 1945). The five allied leads referred to above eventually led the formation of the United Nations, and together with all the other countries that had supported the war against Germany and Japan, the United Nations was formed.

Following the review of world events leading up to the formation of the UN, the chapter progresses to a discussion of the 19 chapter UN Charter, and summarizes the salient points of each charter. Further discussion on the UNSC, as well as its strengths and weaknesses, are discussed in the chapter, particularly with regard to its permanent membership structure. Finally, the chapter closes by introducing the calls for reform to the UNSC, which have arisen over the years.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology adopted in this research. Beginning with an introduction and a statement on the researcher's position, the chapter discusses the

writer's influence in the selection of the research and research questions. It continues to discuss methods used to gather and analyze data, the results of which are provided in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 examines four reform proposals in detail, identifying criteria established for membership on the UNSC. Chapter 3 provides the rationale for the selection of these four proposals. The goal of the chapter is to determine whether or not a case exists for expansion of the UNSC's permanent member seats. Using qualitative content analysis, the chapter undertakes an in-depth examination of each proposal, including its strengths and challenges, and then identifies the proposal's criteria for additional seats on the UNSC.

Chapter 5 applies the criteria to an African case study to assess eligibility for permanent membership on the Council. The chapter seeks to define each criterion and identify indicators for them. Three African countries – Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa – were examined against the indicators, and ranked based on their performance against the indicators. The chapter answers the second research question about whether or not Nigeria is eligible, based on this study's defined criteria, for permanent membership of the UNSC (if indeed there is a case for expansion). The chapter ends with the identification of indicators in each criterion. These indicators would serve as standards of measurement for each criterion.

Chapter 5 discusses the feasibility of reforming the UN, pointing out how impossible this may be, without significant compromise from UN member nations, reform proponents and the permanent membership of the UNSC. It also provides a brief analysis of Nigeria, its role in Africa and potential in the UN. Chapter 6 provides a final

argument based on the studies done in the thesis, and concludes with limitations for research as well as recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS

This chapter examines the extant literature discussing the history and origins of the United Nations (UN). This review is necessary as it provides the foundation for an objective analysis of the UN Security Council (UNSC). It further supplies the means for developing a sound perspective with which to view the discourse on UNSC reforms.

The chapter begins with a historical overview of events leading up to the UN formation. This includes a contextual review of events surrounding both world wars in the first half of the 20th century. This discussion presents a chronological review of the wars including how they contributed to a need for some form of global representation to which nations could subscribe, and which would guarantee in some measure that participating states would abide by its rules and dictates to maintain world peace and international law and order. The chapter progresses to present an overview of the elements of the UN, particularly its Charter. Included in this overview is a summary of the 19 chapters of this foundational document, highlighting its purpose and the essence of its contents. This section is then followed by an overview of the UNSC, including its origin that is tied to both world wars, as much as the UN itself is. Finally, the chapter ends with a more in depth overview of the UNSC Charter encapsulated within the broader UN Charter.

The United Nations – Historical Overview

Pre-United Nations

Any discourse on the history and origins of the UN would be incomplete without first briefly discussing the First and Second World Wars (WWI and WWII) as well as the precursor to the United Nations, the League of Nations. These all played a crucial role in

leading to the formation of a global organization representing nation states through first, the League of Nations and eventually, the UN.

World War One (WWI)

According to Schroeder (2004), the general consensus amongst historians is that blame for the immediate cause of events that led to the outbreak of WWI lies with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The former decided the latter should issue an ultimatum to Serbia in July 1914, following the June 28, 1914 assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian-Hungarian throne. Ferdinand, nephew to Emperor Franz Joseph, and his wife - Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg - were visiting Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, when they were shot dead. The planned visit was on behalf of the Austrian government and influenced by the empire's imperialist quest to prepare an army to invade Serbia (Henig, 2002). Henig further noted that in spite of the expected threat to safety and potential for disturbances and demonstrations caused by the state visit, no special arrangements were made for the security of the visitors.

According to Henig (2002), Gavrilo Princip, a teenage member of the pro-Serbian organization, the Black Hand, carried out the assassination. This group wanted to help secure Bosnia from under Austria's influence and unite it into a greater Serbia. Following a failed bomb attack earlier during the visit by another member of the Black Hand (where a member of the official guests had been hurt), Princip was able to successfully assassinate Ferdinand and his wife as they drove through the streets in an open-air vehicle.

The result of this assassination was Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on Serbia. However, this alone may not have been sufficient to lead to a world war involving

most of Europe and several countries in the world. A number of other occurrences, outlined below, preceded the assassination thereby facilitating a grander scale of events.

Defence alliances formed

As established by Henig (2002) and Schroeder (2004), years of conflict in Europe, imperialism, and the quest for nationalism had resulted in defence alliances being formed by European countries with each other, and sometimes, with non-European nations. Specifically, following series of crises and revolts in Europe, a unified Germany (which included two former French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine) and Austria-Hungary formed an alliance to isolate France's influence in Europe and force cooperation (of Austria) with Russia (Henig, 2002). Eventually, in 1882, a Triple Alliance was formed between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.

According to Henig (2002), France, having lost some of its territory in Europe, and facing isolation on the continent, was encouraged by Germany on its quest to colonize Africa. France eventually entered into agreements with Britain regarding areas of influence in North Africa. Russia, already allied with France as well as Serbia, had lost the Russo-Japanese war and was also encouraged to eventually enter into the Anglo-Russian Entente in 1907. Together, Britain, France and Russia formed the Triple Entente. Italy later left its former allies and joined forces with the Entente in 1915. It should be noted that other members of this union were Japan, Serbia and Greece. As well, Britain was also in a separate alliance with France and Belgium.

Henig (2002), further notes that the formation of several alliances provides greater comprehension as to how WWI evolved following the assassination of Duke Ferdinand in 1914, and Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on Serbia. Russia, as an ally of Serbia,

began to prepare for war against Austria-Hungary on the former's behalf. Germany, Austria-Hungary's ally, in turn declared war on Russia. France rose to Russia's defence, owing to its alliance with the country. This was followed by Germany attacking France by going through Belgium. Britain, as a Belgian ally, was also drawn into the war. Thus different players in the developing war increased as alliances were tested. The war spread to involve the territories of the different participants, as well as other sympathizers across the world.

As Henig (2002) records, and through the lens of history, it is obvious that the war was championed on the one side by what came to be known as the Allied Nations - Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Russia, the United States (US) as well as their expanded networks of allied counterparts - and on the other side by what was known as the Central Powers - Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria with their allied networks. Furthermore, Trueman (2000a) notes that frontline countries each suffered several hundreds of thousands or even millions of casualties - the total number of deaths from the war reached approximately 8.5 million, with 21 million wounded. As the war continued, some governments (e.g. the United Kingdom (UK), the US, etc.) began considering how to conduct peaceful international relations. The aim was to avoid such conflicts in future, and certainly, avoid the numerous soldier and civilian lives lost and wounded, as well as property and vast regions destroyed.

Fourteen Points for Peace

According to Trueman (2000a), the US did not initially join the war as it was embracing the ideals of isolationism, that is, a greater focus on its own affairs rather than international matters, though it later focused on engagement (United States of America,

Department of State, 2016). However, when it did eventually join, its President Woodrow Wilson described it as a war to end all wars (Archer, 2001), and one to make the world safe for democracy (Algeo, 2001). In spite of this statement, Wilson still believed in reconciliation and welcomed the idea of a community of nations or a league, created to avoid future wars. With the assistance of his advisor, Colonel Edward M. House, he presented fourteen points for peace to the US Congress in January 1918. Algeo (2001, p. 41) summarized the essence of these points:

1. Reliance on open democracy rather than secret agreements
2. Freedom of the seas
3. Free trade
4. Disarmament
5. Adjudication of colonial claims with respect for the sovereignty of the colonial peoples
6. Assistance to Russia
7. Respect for the integrity of Belgium
8. Restoration of French territories
9. Adjustment of the border of Italy based on ethnicity
10. Autonomy for the peoples of Austria-Hungary
11. Guarantees for the independence of the various Balkan states
12. Self-determination for the peoples of the Ottoman empire and free passage through the Dardanelles
13. Independence for Poland
14. The formation of a League of Nations to guarantee independence for all countries, large and small.

According to Czernin (1964), it took a few more months before it became apparent to German forces that they could not win the war. Once that realization set in, they recommended the Allied Nations be asked to cease fire and the 14 points for peace be accepted. In response, President Wilson insisted on Germany's surrender and not just peace, going as far as to demand the abdication of Germany's Kaiser (Emperor) Wilhelm II and the complete demilitarization of Germany's forces. Germany initially balked at

these requests; however, they were faced with rising desertion within their forces and low spirits among the soldiers (Czernin, 1964). This insistence was largely due to Allies regarding Germany in particular as responsible for the war and its consequences (Trueman, 2000a). To add to the pressure for surrender, revolution broke out across Germany, in addition to an announcement that the Kaiser had indeed abdicated. With mounting pressure, Germany finally accepted the terms of an armistice with its unfavourable conditions in November 1918 (Rudin, 1944).

The Treaty of Versailles

In 1919, the “Big Three,” Britain (represented by politician, David Lloyd George), France (represented by Georges Clemenceau) and the US (represented by President Woodrow Wilson), came together at the *Paris Peace Conference* to negotiate a treaty that would broker peace and identify consequences to Germany which they saw as primarily responsible for the war and its ensuing carnage and loss. Each of these men, representing their respective nations, held different views on how Germany should be treated.

Trueman (2000a) noted that for political reasons, Lloyd George believed and publicly supported the notion that Germany should pay dearly for the war and loss; realizing that he would be voted out of office if he appeared soft on this issue. In private however, he was worried about the rise of Communism in the USSR and believed that Germany should not be crippled to the extent that it could not serve as a barrier to Russia. France, having suffered some of the greatest losses from the war with 1.4 million soldiers killed, 2.5 million wounded and its northeast region destroyed was of the same mind as the UK – cripple Germany by limiting its forces and influence - and ensure the country

would never be able to start another war. There was perhaps no doubt to its citizens that Germany had to pay for this (Trueman, 2000a). Wilson, though he agreed Germany should be punished for the war, also wanted to leave room for reconciliation in Europe. As well, isolationism was developing and growing in the US and the country believed it should not be too involved in Europe and that the country did not have sufficient interests in the conflict (Trueman, 2000a; United States of America Department of State, 2016b).

The three men deliberated over the three differing and yet, similar viewpoints; arriving at what was to become known as the Treaty of Versailles. Its Charter or Covenant stated among other things that a League of Nations would be set up to maintain world peace (Covenant of the League of Nations). Six months of negotiations led to the Treaty's eventual signing on June 28, 1919. Although Germany had been promised consultation by the allies on the treaty, this did not occur. Additionally, they had believed the Treaty would be based on the Fourteen Points for Peace and again, this was not so. In the end, Germany was forced to sign the Treaty in protest (Zapotoczny, 2005).

According to Trueman (2000a), the impact of the treaty upon Germany was fourfold – territorial, military, financial and general.

- Territorial: The treaty stipulated that Germany must relinquish some of its land to Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, France and Poland. In addition, a League of Nations would maintain control of some other German land, and the country would return land taken from Russia and Poland.
- Military: The treaty dictated Germany's army be reduced to 100,000 men, disallowed tanks, an air force, submarines and six naval ships. Some of its area was made into a demilitarized zone to be occupied by an Allied army for 15 years.
- Financial: Germany would pay reparations to identified countries which suffered the most in the war (Belgium and France in particular), and was instructed not to reunite with Austria.

- General: The treaty's War Guilt Clause stated Germany should accept responsibility for World War One, and responsibility for its consequent damage.

As can be expected, the treaty left a bitter taste in the mouth of the German people who felt betrayed by their leaders. Those government leaders who signed the armistice and eventually the treaty became known as the November Criminals.

The League of Nations

Trueman (2000b) records that with a signed treaty and an end to the war, the idea of a League of Nations was welcome. Its purpose of maintaining world peace was seen as positive, and the international organization embodied ideals that its member countries embraced in theory. The League was soon established, with a covenant which allowed it three options in dealing with international disputes:

1. Act as peaceful mediator between two disputing states.
2. Impose economic sanctions, should the states refuse the League's recommendations/advice.
3. Impose physical sanctions should the economic sanctions fail or be insufficient. This would allow for the League to use military force to impose its decisions.

Despite its initial welcome and noble ideals, the League suffered some weaknesses, which perhaps contributed to its ineffectiveness and eventual replacement by the United Nations.

Weaknesses of the League of Nations

As mentioned above, though a welcome concept, it appears the League was doomed to fail from the onset, for the following reasons:

- The League had no military force of its own, nor did it require its members to provide one. As such, the option of employing physical sanctions by way of

military force could not be implemented, and member states knew this. Since military force was nearly unlikely, members could decide to remain unrelenting in times of disputes, even with economic sanctions, knowing this was the worst the League could do (Mathewson, 2013).

- The US Senate did not allow the US join the League. The US, as has been explained, was embracing isolationism, with a focus on its own affairs and interests and a belief that Europe should handle its own affairs as well. As one of the most powerful nations, its refusal to join the League ultimately made that organization appear inherently weak, with reduced influence (Trueman, 2000b).
- Germany was initially disallowed from joining the League, after the war - a cause for tension in the country. Though perhaps understandable, any German strength was ultimately unavailable to the League should conflicts arise in Eastern and Central Europe (Beneš, 1932).
- The USSR was disallowed from joining the League. The Union had invaded Finland (History, 2016) and had a communist government and other internal issues that gave the League's members reason to mistrust the country (Trueman, 2000b).
- The absence of these three powerful countries (the US, Germany and Russia) meant the absence of some of the more powerful world nations from the League and consequently, lessened the authority/clout/influence and military might of the organization (Beneš, 1932).

World War Two (WWII)

With time, nations across the world signed another treaty – the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 – agreeing to never use war as a means to settle disputes. This was a positive step for world peace, a major purpose for the League. Gradually, the warring countries set down their weapons of war and began to act peaceably with one another. Economies flourished, even in Germany, and world security appeared to have improved. France eventually supported Germany's joining the League in 1926 and the country did sign the Kellogg-Briand Pact (Trueman, 2000d).

According to Harrington (1978) and Trueman (2000b), the League was successful in settling a number of disputes amicably (e.g. Upper Silesia in 1921, Turkey in 1923 and between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925). However, with no military force, it largely

operated by appealing to each nation's good conscience and could not impose its ideals should an errant member refuse to heed its warnings. Indeed, errant nations did refuse and the League was ineffective in settling disputes in Teschen in 1919, stopping a war between Russia and Poland from 1920 to 1921, amongst others.

In this period, the Germans had not so soon forgotten the Treaty of Versailles, and its nationalists still felt their leaders (several of whom were Jewish) who had signed that treaty had betrayed the country (Trueman, 2000c). Furthermore, the decline in the economy resulting from the Great Depression in the late 1930's was enough for the German government to lose the citizens' confidence further, eventually leading to their removal and a change in leadership. Therefore, it was that in 1933, the Nazi Party - a highly nationalist party headed by Adolf Hitler - rose to power.

According to Trueman (2000b), Hitler and the Nazi Party used deliberate, constructed communication, designed to propagate nationalist messages. These messages were disseminated stating Germany had not actually lost the war and Germans could never be losers but had been betrayed by civilians. Messages were also crafted, deriding the Weimar Republic – the party in leadership that actually had been forced to sign the Versailles Treaty. Furthermore, Hitler made it clear that he would break the terms of the Versailles Treaty and that he intended to re-unite all Germans and re-arm the country. He gave orders to the country's military to build up their forces and increase. This was done surreptitiously, and in 1935, it was revealed that Nazi Germany had violated the terms of the Treaty of Versailles by increasing its army to 300,000 and building 2500 war planes.

Bent on fulfilling his promise, Hitler began to test international reaction, particularly from within Europe. At certain points, he took gambles and remilitarized the

Rhineland that was being overseen by France - with no repercussion. France was facing its own internal crisis and did not have the resources to devote to this invasion. In addition, in spite of the Treaty's dictates about Germany's naval fleet, the country signed an Anglo-German Naval Agreement allowing it increase its navy (the Kriegsmarine) to one-third the size of Britain's naval fleet and submarines. Britain signed this agreement in hopes that it would appease Germany, and with the belief that it would at least help the former understand the size of the German fleet (Hunt, 2009). This thus convinced Hitler that he could go further and invade other eastern European regions without a penalty (Schuker, 1986). Trueman, (2000d) records that on September 1, 1939, bolstered by their successes, Germany invaded Poland as part of its strategy. The German forces undertook a swift operation, attacking Poland from its north and south regions and taking the country and its military by surprise. With superior weapons, Germany soon gained control of Poland.

Britain and France had promised support to Poland if it was invaded, and following unheeded and unsuccessful warnings to Germany to withdraw from the country, British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939 (The Guardian, 2009). This marked the official start to World War II. In essence, the decision to declare war demonstrated the inability of the League of Nations to maintain world peace through diplomatic processes. Henig (2010) has however referred to the League not as a failure, but as a learning ground for history students; "Rather than dwell on its weaknesses or condemn its failures, we should applaud its successes while continuing to learn important lessons from its history" (p. 187)

The Declaration at St. James's Palace

United Nations history (1945a) records that the war continued as most of Europe fell to Germany. The desire for a world with lasting peace was rife with a quest to find lasting solutions to the causes of war (United Nations, 1945a). On June 12, 1941, representatives of Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and nine other governments exiled to Britain because of the war came together to sign a declaration at St. James's Palace in the United Kingdom. Amongst other things, the declaration stated the following, which as the United Nations describes in its recorded History of the Charter, "...still serve as the watchwords for peace":

The only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security. It is our intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace, to this end. (United Nations, 1945a)

The above declaration was a public affirmation by these nations to achieve peaceful interactions among nations.

The Atlantic Charter

In August 1941, two months after the above declaration was signed, US President, F. D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill held a secret meeting on the Atlantic, off the coast of Newfoundland. Both leaders discussed the world's future, post WWII. Both leaders' discussions led to the issuing of a joint declaration termed the *Atlantic Charter* – their aspirations for the world after the war, and a statement, as the document declared, "...of certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they based their hopes for a better future for the world" (NATO, 1942).

The *Charter* contained the following eight points:

1. Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.
4. They will endeavour with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security.
6. After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
8. They believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament. (NATO, 2013)

The two leaders desired to create “wider and permanent system of general security”. The Charter formed a significant foundation for the establishment of the United Nations, a term proposed by Roosevelt and later adopted by other countries in the 1942 Declaration by United Nations (United Nations, 1945b).

The Declaration by United Nations

On January 1 and 2, 1942, China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the UK and the US (known as the Big Five) as well as 22 other nations signed the United Nations Declaration, committing to forming an alliance, based on the Atlantic Charter's eight points listed above, and to working together to end the war (United Nations, 1945c).

By signing the declaration, the allies;

Subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter. (United Nations, 1945c)

Dumbarton Oaks and the Yalta Conference

According to Mathewson (2013), in order to set up a workable structure for the new organization, representatives from China, the Soviet Union, the UK and the US held a conference in Dumbarton Oaks from August to October 1944, deliberating the form of the UN and the future of the still existing League of Nations. The proposals were shared with the other allies and were open for discussion. Each ally also encouraged discussions and deliberations within its own country, with discourse generated as a result of media broadcasts, pamphlets and other materials. The organization received a great deal of constructive feedback from citizens and comparisons were made between the UN and the League of Nations. The proposal stated the new organization would have military force at its disposal. This was considered positive as a lack of a defence force was generally acknowledged as a reason for the failure of the League of Nations. A few months later in February 1945, Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill and F. D. Roosevelt met in Yalta to

discuss the war and strategize on how to bring it to an end and what the following courses of action would be (Trueman, 2000e).

The San Francisco Conference

According to United Nations history (1945d), while the war was in its last stages, statesmen representing the 50 member states who had declared war against Germany and Japan met in San Francisco to deliberate upon, and sign the United Nations Charter that would guide their activities and the activities of their nations for generations. The proposals from Dumbarton Oaks were thoroughly discussed, debated and scrutinized, as the new organization's binding Charter would emerge from them. Six thousand people were present at this conference – 3500 delegates, advisers and staff and 2500 press men and women and observers. The United Nations describes it as likely to be the largest international gathering ever held up until that time.

The whole conference took two months and in that time, every part of the draft charter was voted upon and had to be passed by a two-thirds majority. A steering committee, plenary sessions, an executive committee and commissions were all set up to ensure every area was judiciously and painstakingly covered effectively (United Nations, 1945d).

The United Nations records that on June 25, 1945, the final draft of the Charter was put to a vote and everyone present – delegates, staff, press, etc - rose to show their unanimous approval of the document. The following day, all delegates signed the new Charter. Several member countries needed to have it approved internally by their governments and only after China, France, Russia, the UK, the US and majority of the

other countries had ratified it and given such notice was the Charter executed. This became effective October 24, 1945, and thus, the United Nations was born.

As noted by Trueman (2000d), the rest of 1945 saw the allied nations overwhelming Germany and the Axis Powers; eventually gaining victory in Europe and Japan. Hitler took his own life, the German army surrendered unconditionally and Japan surrendered as well – after two atomic bombs were dropped on its cities. The war effectively ended and the world could now focus on rebuilding itself through the United Nations, and on setting up measures to ensure history never repeated itself as far as wars were concerned.

The above discourse shows that while there may be agitations or conflicts for world or regional dominance, the relationship or alliances between states may both escalate these agitations, but with the examples of WWI and WWII, may also be effective in eventually quelling these conflicts. As such, a workable system or organization consisting of all nation states committing to maintaining peace and security, with clear penalties for defaulters, may be helpful in ensuring as many countries as possible are in alliance with one another, and working towards peaceful resolutions of disputes.

The United Nations Charter - An Overview

British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill and US President F. D. Roosevelt created the foundation in the Atlantic Charter, from which the UN Charter evolved and was developed. This took place over four years, through the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in 1944 and eventually the San Francisco Conference - where member states appended their signatures to their final draft of the Charter on June 26, 1945.

The UN *Charter* is the international organization's treaty that all member countries (193 to date) are bound to and have committed to abide by. It guides relations between states, organizations and other actors and supersedes all other treaties to which the members may be bound. As a document, the Charter opens with the following three-part preamble that summarizes its essence and the essence of the UN (United Nations 1945e):

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
 - to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
 - to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
 - to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,
- AND FOR THESE ENDS

- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations (United Nations, 1945e).

The main body of the Charter consists of 111 different articles sectioned into 19 chapters that speak to its purpose, membership, its six organs, and its enforcement powers. The following is an overview of these chapters.

Through the Charter's 19 chapters, it highlights the purposes of the international organization that is contained in its first chapter and summarized below:

1. To maintain international peace and security. This will be done by taking effective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace.
2. To develop friendly relations among states and strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems, encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
4. To act as the centre to guide nations in achieving its identified purposes.

In the rest of its chapters, the Charter discusses several issues, including:

- Membership: UN membership is open to every nation state on conditions they be peace loving, accepting of the Charter's provisions and approved by the UN's General Assembly (on recommendation from the Security Council).
- The six organs of the UN: These include the General Assembly, the Security Council (discussed in more detail later in this chapter), the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat). This chapter discusses the chapters on the UNSC in more detail later.
- The various UN institutions and their powers, and how these powers may be enforced on member states - to maintain peace and security.
- The order of precedence in the event of a conflict between the Charter itself and other international treaties which member states may be party to. Essentially, this order places the UN Charter above any other treaty the member state may be party to, before or after it joined the UN.
- Processes for its amendments or ratification: Amendments to the Charter require a two-thirds majority vote by the General Assembly, including all permanent members of the UNSC.

The following pages present an overview of the Charter's different chapters:

Chapter I: Purposes and Principles

This chapter contains two articles relaying the UN's purposes and the principles which shall guide its actions in pursuit of its purposes. The purposes can be summarized as below:

1. To maintain international peace and security. This will be done by taking effective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace.

2. To develop friendly relations among states and strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems, encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.
4. To act as the centre to guide nations in achieving its identified purposes.

In summary, the UN's Principles essentially state that the organization is based on the sovereign equality of all its members, hence, no state should be considered superior to others and every state is well within its rights to settle its internal disputes, as long as it does so peacefully. As well, international relations between states shall be conducted peacefully.

This chapter sets the guiding rules by which all other articles and chapters were built.

Chapter II: Membership

Articles within this chapter speak to the UN's membership, leaving it open to every nation state, on the condition that they be peace loving, accepting of the Charter's provisions and approved by the UN's General Assembly (on recommendation from the Security Council). A member who persists in breaking the Charter's rules would be open to expulsion.

Chapter III: Organs

This chapter lists the six different organs of the UN:

1. The General Assembly
2. The Security Council
3. The Economic and Social Council
4. The Trusteeship Council
5. The International Court of Justice
6. The Secretariat. (UN Charter, art 1, par 1)

It also leaves room open for the establishment of other subsidiary organs as necessary.

The next few chapters describe the UN's six organs in detail, listing their composition, functions and powers, voting and other procedures.

Chapter IV: The General Assembly

In summary, the UN's General Assembly consists of all its member states, each of which is allowed up to, and no more than five representatives in the Assembly. The Assembly is the UN's largest organ and is able to discuss issues and make recommendations to members or the Security Council, except those which the Security Council is already intervening in.

The Assembly meets annually but can call special sessions where necessary. It also has the powers to create its own subsidiary organs as needed.

Every member of the Assembly, irrespective of how many representatives they have, is only entitled to one vote, thus ensuring fairness with voting. However, should the member be owing in its fiscal responsibility to the UN, it stood to lose this vote, unless the Assembly was convinced this was due to conditions beyond its control.

United Nations Charter on the Security Council

Chapters V through to VIII relate to the UN Security Council and are discussed later in this thesis chapter, under section *2.4 The United Nations Charter on the United Nations Security Council*.

Chapter IX: International Economic and Social Cooperation

The UN promotes economic and social growth and development among member states. Members are bound to cooperate with to achieve its purposes. The UN also has the

powers to initiate negotiations to create specialized agencies to achieve the purposes outlined in Article 55 of this chapter.

Chapter X: The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

ECOSOC is made up of 54 elected members of the UN, each of which would serve three terms on the organ. Its purposes are to assist the UN with promoting economic and social growth, as well as promote respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

It achieves its purposes through the establishment of commissions, consulting with relevant non-governmental organizations and international organizations and recommendations on courses of action to the General Assembly, UN members and any agencies concerned.

Chapter XI: Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories

The two articles within this chapter state UN members' obligations to territories they oversee, which may not have attained self-governance. The chapter binds such member states to respect the culture, political, economic, social and educational advancement of peoples within those territories, as well as their just treatment and right to protection from abuse. Such members are also bound to develop self-governance in consideration of the territories political aspirations, and promote development in those regions.

Chapter XII: International Trusteeship System

This system is established for the administration and supervision of territories under member states – trust territories. The objectives of the system are (UN Charter, art 76):

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Chapter XIII: The Trusteeship Council

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council – China, France, Russia, the UK and the US each have a non-veto seat on this council. There is also an equal number of trust and non-trust administering member states on this council. The council is tasked with providing an annual report to the UN's General Assembly on all trust territories; however, it currently no longer operates.

Chapter XIV: The International Court of Justice

The ICJ is the primary judicial organ of the UN and all member states are parties to its Statute. Non-member states may also become party to the Statute, as approved, on a case-by-case basis by the General Assembly.

Members are bound to the decisions of the ICJ, or may face consequences, as determined by the organ. The ICJ also provides advisory opinion as requested, to the General Assembly, UNSC, other UN organs or specialized agencies.

Chapter XV: The Secretariat

The UN Secretariat consists of the Secretary General (appointed by the General Assembly on UNSC recommendation) and other required staff. They are responsible only to the UN and may not seek or receive instructions from any governments.

Chapter XVI: Miscellaneous Provisions

This chapter covers the supremacy of the UN Charter over any other treaties to which member states are party to – before or after they sign the UN Charter.

Chapter XVII: Transitional Security Arrangements

This chapter relates to transitional arrangements made during World War II, which was ongoing at the time. It provided for joint action against the Axis Powers, in order to maintain international peace and security.

Chapter XVIII: Amendments

This chapter highlights the process for amendments, based on the process for amendments of the US Constitution. Amendments to the Charter require a two-thirds majority vote by the General Assembly, including all permanent members of the UNSC.

Chapter XIX: Ratification and Signature

This chapter provides clauses for the Charter's ratification. Ratification was achieved in October 1945, after China, France, the USSR, the UK, the US and a majority of the other (originally) 50 signatory states.

The United Nations Security Council

Origins of the United Nations Security Council

As Kennedy (2006) and the United Nations Foundation (2015) record, the victors who had invested much in ensuring an end to World War II and an establishment of world

peace were – China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States. These countries, known as the Great Victors or Great Powers, were seen as responsible for containing an overly ambitious Germany in its quest for world domination. More than any other countries in the world, this group had contributed the most in terms of military strength, financial support and diplomacy – to ending the war.

With the leadership of the Great Powers and the support and agreement of the war allies, this new order was born and the floundering and ineffective League of Nations gave way to a new and promising UN, with the following purpose (UN Charter, art 1):

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Six principal organs were created to execute the UN functions, namely: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat (United Nations, 1945e).

The Security Council is the world body's final decision-maker on issues pertaining to international peace and security. Though one of the smaller organs of the

UN, it wields the most power and influence. Unlike all the other UN organs that can only make recommendations to UN member states, the Security Council is the only organ that can force binding obligations on members. These, if flouted, can be penalized by sanctions.

Kennedy (2006) notes that to appease those who had contributed much to quashing Adolf Hitler, Nazi Germany and Japan's aspirations, it was agreed the Great Powers would maintain permanent status on the UNSC. Indeed, at the time, this appeared to make the most sense. These five were the most powerful nations at the time. They had the military might, tactics and deep financial pockets and they had invested much to ensure global peace and security. With their permanent member status on the Council, the Great Powers came to be known as the P5.

The UNSC thus began with 11 member states – the P5 and six non-permanent members, each holding two year-terms. Over the years however, with changing world dynamics and as more countries gained UN membership, there were (and continue to be) calls for reform to the UNSC, some of which will be examined in more detail in this thesis. Though most of these reform proposals have not been adopted, the non-permanent membership of the UNSC was increased from six to 10 in 1965. With this change, the Council's membership increased from 11 to 15, as currently exists. The UNSC meets in public and in private, with private sessions being off the record.

The Role of the UNSC

Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII of the UN Charter describe the purpose, functions, operations and procedures of the UNSC. Together with the General Assembly, the Council is responsible for electing judges to the International Court of Justice. In

addition, as designated in the UN Charter, the UNSC has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security has the authority to intervene in, and settle disputes without prejudice between member states or non-member states that choose to bring their matters before the organ. The Council is made up of 15 members who take monthly turns to preside over the affairs of the organ.

Peacekeeping is an important part of the Council's responsibility, as mandated in Chapter V of the UN Charter. If it determines a threat to peace or an act of aggression, it has the powers to prevent such situations by recommending measures to address the threats or disputes including mediation, economic and military sanctions (the use of force). The latter means can utilize regional arrangements e.g. NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), ECO-MOG (Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group), etc, to enforce military action (UN Charter, art 25). All UN member states are bound to accept the decisions of the UNSC (UN Charter, art 25).

The UNSC treats each crisis separately, taking issues and circumstances into account, before making a decision about how best to respond to threats to peace. According to the United Nations (2014h) the Council has several options available to it, and reaches a decision after considering a range of issues, including the existence of a ceasefire, the safety and security of UN personnel, to mention a few. In addition, the Council must adopt a Security Council resolution before a peacekeeping operation can be established. It monitors such operations and may amend mandates around these mandates as it deems necessary. According to Sarooshi (2000), the peacekeeping operations are only dispatched to a crisis area following a ceasefire.

In addition to the above, Chapter VII of the UN Charter also grants the UNSC the authority to impose other measures in a bid to maintain peace and security; this includes economic and military sanctions (Sarooshi, 2000).

The United Nations Security Council: 1945 to present

The UNSC non-permanent membership structure is set up to represent different geographical regions of the world. These different regions are responsible for providing 10 members to make up the two-year temporary membership of the Council, as follows:

- The African Group - supplies three members.
- The Asian Group - supplies two members.
- The Eastern European Group - supplies one member.
- Latin American and Caribbean Group - supplies two members.
- The Western European and Others Group – supplies two members.

Ten representatives from the five groups above serve staggered two-year terms, with five completing their terms every year. In addition, all members take monthly turns to preside over the Council, rotating in alphabetical order of their names. The UNSC is permanently resident in the UN headquarters in New York and its member countries must have representatives present at all times, should the need arise for urgent or emergency meetings or responses to world events.

UN Security Council Voting

The UNSC reaches decisions through voting. On this, Article 27 of the UN Charter records that:

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.
3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting. (UN Charter, art 27).

As can be seen from the above, the entire Council can reach decisions on procedural matters by a majority of votes, in this case, nine out of 15. All other matters, or substantive matters, must also have a majority of nine votes; however, each of the P5 must also cast a positive or 'yes' vote for that resolution to be carried. As Kennedy (2006) notes, there is no clear cut definition on what constitutes procedural matters, and determining this is itself considered a substantive matter, needing full P5 agreement. Kennedy (2006) also records that the Charter was deliberately crafted this way to encourage the P5, particularly the US and the USSR (later Russia), to remain in the world body, for it was considered "better to have the larger nations inside the UN system rather than on the outside" (Kennedy, 2006, p. 54). Indeed, as earlier mentioned, one of the weaknesses of the League of Nations was that it lacked membership of some strong powers.

Though skillfully written, the language in Article 27(3) empowers each of the P5 to stop decisions or resolutions they are in disagreement with, by casting a 'no' vote or veto on such decisions. According to Mahmood (2013), it was the USSR which initially pushed for the P5 to have an unrestrained right to veto resolutions of the Council. The Soviet Union had been expelled from the League of Nations in 1939 after its attack on Finland, and likely wanted to ensure a substantive decision could not be taken against it in this new world body. While several countries opposed this, the P5 made it clear that the UN could not exist without their having this veto power, as they were the most suitable to guarantee future international peace and stability (Russett et al, 1997). The request was ultimately approved and with their status, the P5 obtained the right to

disallow any resolution from the UN that it so desired – in the interest of world peace. Thus, the leaders of the allied nations which had come together to champion the war against the Axis Powers transformed their alliance into a permanent institution which they essentially maintained leadership of.

As Kennedy (2006, p. 52, 52) states:

...any single one of the Permanent Five, were its national government determined upon it, can paralyze Security Council action; moreover, it would be fully within its charter rights to do so... One of them simply had to threaten that the veto might be wielded, and the others were forced to compromise.

Throughout the decades from UN inception to the present day, history is replete with numerous decisions disallowed through each of the P5's use of the veto. This has also meant that the UN and sometimes, the rest of the Council, has had to seek out alternate measures to address matters brought before the powerful organ. The UN's official record of the Council's vetoes (United Nations, 2015a) records 194 (public) matters that have been disallowed by one or more members of the P5, from February 16, 1946 to October 8, 2016. There have been 2313 UNSC resolutions, from December 10, 1946 to October 13, 2016 (United Nations Security Council, 2016). The list shows that some members of the P5 have been more vigilant in the use of the veto. In particular, the USSR (later listed as the Russian Federation) has cast a no vote at least 101 times or about 53% of the time and the US, 79 times or about 41%. The USSR was largely responsible for the use of the veto the first two decades, and in December 1955, famously cast a no vote on 16 different matters. A large number of its vetoes were disallowing memberships to the UN. Kennedy (2006) notes that the US did not exercise their right to veto matters they might have been concerned with in the first 25 years of the UNSC's

existence. However, he suggests the likelihood that this is a result of most matters going in its favour. Between 1985 and 1990 though, the US cast a “no” vote 27 times (Kennedy, 2006; United Nations Security Council, 2016).

An overview of UNSC actions from 1946 to date

With a UN Charter mandate to maintain peace and security, recommend the admission of new members and a secretary-general, enforce military action against aggressors as necessary and set up subsidiary organs to carry out its work, it is easy to understand why the UNSC is the world body’s most powerful organ. The power of the veto further gives exclusivity to the Council in general and the P5 in particular, ensuring that the UN General Assembly has, and would continue to need the Council (P5’s) affirmative decision on substantive issues to proceed.

The Cold War, which began towards the end of WWII and continued for decades, afterwards saw the USSR veto several resolutions that it felt were not in its best interest. The first use of the veto was in February 1946 when the USSR Ambassador, Andrei Vishinsky, cast a no vote in a situation involving Lebanon and Syria. Britain and France were withdrawing their forces from these two countries and the USSR considered that the language in the related resolution was not strong enough and the successors would be “western imperialist lackeys” (Kennedy, 2006, p. 52). Though the use of the veto in this instance was surprising to many, the US reaction was equally surprising, positively identifying that “the system worked” and not objecting to the veto (Kennedy, 2006, p. 52). Consequently, the USSR’s action that was allowed set a precedent to be followed by other members of the P5 in future.

In 1956, military crises emerged involving English, French and Israeli invasion into Egypt, and the USSR's attacks in Hungary. As Kennedy (2006) records, resolutions against the larger aggressors were raised by the General Assembly in vain, as Britain and France vetoed such. The USSR in turn vetoed resolutions against *its* activities in Hungary. However, with pressure from the US, Britain and France eventually backed down, not wanting to take independent stands against the US. With the cold war however, US pressure had no effect on the USSR, and it maintained its grip on Hungary. The US possessed nuclear weapons that it had used barely a decade earlier, and the USSR possessed one of the largest military forces, and neither country was prepared to enter a dangerous war that could end up having far-reaching negative consequences on the world and on itself.

Each member of the P5 had interests in various parts of the world that it touted as reasons for vetoing resolutions that would affect them. As such, there were numerous instances of deadlock, where the world body was seen to be ineffective in dealing with crises and matters of peace and security. Though Russia began as the most frequent user of the veto, the US took over that position later in the 20th century, a trend that has continued to date.

Throughout the cold war, the US and Russia continued to disallow decisions that they felt compromised their interests in some way. The US in particular, vetoed any resolutions condemning Israel. Occasionally, Britain and France teamed up with the US in its stance. However, it appeared to members of the world body that the US and Russia were determined to pull the UN in each of their directions or at least paralyze it to ensure it did not go in opposite directions to what either country wanted. As Kennedy (2006)

identifies - at some point, the rest of the Council and the UN realized the US and the USSR interests determined war and peace issues, with everyone else really having no significant influence.

Kennedy (2006) notes that this entire impasse was challenging for the office of the Secretary-General who was referred to as the Chief Administrative Officer of the UN. This role involved balancing the needs and expectations of members of the world body with the interests of the UNSC, particularly the P5. This was quite an interesting situation, and a former Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, found himself in disfavour with the USSR for promoting anti-North Korean resolutions against its interests. Eventually, since the Council has the final say in the choice of secretaries-general, it was no surprise Lie's tenure was not renewed once it ended. Conversely, the next Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, was successful in balancing the interests of all parties as he displayed great diplomacy and was known for working behind the scenes to get things done. The General Assembly began to look upon him as a trouble-shooter, and he had displayed great skills and tact in helping ameliorate conflict situations such as those involving Suez (Egypt) and Hungary, and a crisis in Congo. Hammarskjold died in a plane crash during the execution of the Congo mission. Nevertheless, by this time more countries began to regard the Secretary-General role as one devoid of politics and playing an important role in dispute resolution.

Eventually, the cold war came to an end with changes to the Soviet Union imminent and its leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, reaching out to the US and the rest of the Council in conciliatory moves. Hesitant at first, the Council responded positively in due

course, and consequently, the UNSC began to work in agreement, seeking solutions to world issues, setting up peacekeeping missions in response to conflicts, and more.

African issues were also prominent on the global stage in the 1990s, including the fall of apartheid South Africa, the Rwandan genocide and the conflicts on the continent. As well, in 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait in a clear act of aggression. The UNSC acted swiftly to condemn the invasion and all members of the P5 were in agreement about penalizing Iraq. Britain and France sided with the US, Gorbachev was in the midst of reforming the USSR and sought favour with the west, and China as well had no interest in opposing penalties against Iraq in this case. Led by the US, the Council passed economic and military sanctions against Iraq and followed these with military action, over 11 months. These operations were successful, and were a positive for the UNSC and its measures to maintain international peace and security.

After the Kuwait-Iraq crisis was successfully handled, there followed numerous other wars and conflicts in different regions of the world – Haiti, Congo, Yugoslavia, Liberia, Cambodia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Burundi. These were exhausting to the world body with limited resources to handle. Moreover, as there was no constituted UN military, it meant the Secretary-General had to approach different countries each time, to request support through aid and donor troops to conflicted regions.

By this time, several countries were stretched and there had already begun to exist a resentment of the status quo as more members were contributing more to UN peacekeeping and enforcing missions and began to question why they did not have the same influence as the P5. Examples are Japan and Germany which were the highest contributors to the UN after the US, but which certainly did not have the same P5

privileges. Across the world, there arose calls for reform to the structure of the UNSC, particularly the P5 and its use of the veto. In addition to all the above calling for the UN's attention, a new US conservative government elected in late 1994 began to question the country's contributory share (28%) to the UN annual budget. With the UN stretched for resources, and with different crises across the world requiring responses (at one point 18 wars and conflicts running concurrently) reforms did not receive much of a priority from the world body, and certainly, from the UNSC. As well, with many conflicts seeing slow responses from the UN (e.g. Rwanda and Sierra Leone), there were many dissatisfied member nations of the world body.

Kennedy (2006) notes that disaffection with the UNSC slow response to world crises continued for some time, essentially, up until the 2001 Al-Qaeda attack at the World Trade Center in the US. Following this terrorist attack, the countries of the world were united with the UN and one another, as they judged that the threat of terror was not confined to the US alone, but could involve them. In response to requests from the US, intelligence agencies worked collaboratively, central banks across the world cooperated to freeze assets related to terrorist organizations, and security systems worked together to identify terrorists. It was apparent to all that the war against terrorism was being led by the US, including its venture into Iraq and Afghanistan that many did not agree with. By the time the US decided to bring down Saddam Hussein's government, it was practically going it alone, without authority from the UNSC. France was vocal in its opposition to the US' measures; however, this achieved little, save the development of frosty relations between the two countries. At this point, if it was unclear before, it became obvious that the US, as the strongest member of the UN, intended to exert its control over the world

body for its own interests, and was willing to go it alone, if need be. It succeeded in pulling alliances (Britain, Canada, etc.) to join its long, drawn-out missions in the Middle East. Though these missions have somewhat ended, the US has set a dangerous precedent by choosing to disregard opposition from a system designed to check excesses and exert some measure of control.

Calls for reform to the UNSC have continued, to no avail. Apart from the likely disapproval from the P5 of reform measures, there also is no singular proposal that has gained the approval of the various groups, regions and governments calling for reform. To this date, the structure of the UNSC remains the same. And though not to the same degree, as the UN marked its 70th year in 2015, this last decade has seen the same old instances of P5 members exercising their right to veto any matters where their interests are at stake, even at the expense of general consensus. For example, between 2011 and 2014, China and Russia have continued to veto UN resolutions against, and condemning Syria - in the wake of the uprising and civil war within its borders. This has paralysed the UN's ability to respond with economic sanctions or force, limiting its activities to 'softer' responses such as providing aid to displaced and affected citizens and support to neighbouring countries accepting Syrian refugees. Thus, the old system continues to date.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)

Strengths

As previously described, the UNSC is the smallest but most influential organ of the UN. There are a number of strong points in its favour. McDonald et al (2010) and Schlosser (2012) posit that the UN legitimizes international action. By this, it gives credence to united decisions to intervene in global conflicts as it seeks to maintain

international peace and security among its member states. As well, the UNSC has final say in matters of international peace and security. As such, where neither member country of the UNSC is involved in a dispute, they are able to mediate objectively in issues of conflicts, and pass recommendations. When this happens, it is positive, as the disputing factions are more likely to be favourably disposed to an unbiased decision, based on the fact/objectivity of the circumstances. Finally, keeping the enormous authority to impose economic and military sanctions on states within just a few hands makes a strong argument for the benefit of experience (particularly with each of the P5 having over 300 years of combined experience dealing with disputes through measured/effective responses).

Weaknesses

Just as there are strong points for the UNSC, there are also identified weaknesses. Debusmann (2012) has suggested that use of the UNSC veto power can effectively paralyze operations of the UN on an issue of interest to only one member of the P5. An example of this is with the civil conflict in Syria, where China and Russia's continued opposition to UN sanctions against Syria since 2012 has made the UNSC unable to impose General Assembly supported penalties against the warring country.

Berdal (2003) has also noted the veto power effectively grants any of the P5 the permission to protect itself from UN sanctions, perpetrate acts in conflict with the Charter without penalty, and protect its allies who may be acting in disregard to the UN *Charter*.

In addition to the above, there are arguments that the UNSC is not representative of the UN's greatest contributors or geopolitical realities (Schlosser, 2012). Countries like Japan, which provides the largest financial contributions to the UN's peacekeeping

operations (outside of the permanent members of the UNSC and second only to the US in amount), have argued for permanent member status of the UN.

Brazil, which has one of the largest populations in the world, as well as the largest in South America (which is not represented in the permanent membership of the UNSC), has also sought permanent membership status on the Council. This move has been supported by the UK in 2010 and the US in 1945 (Rathbone, 2010).

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on world and geopolitical events through WWI and WWII, the League of Nations, the creation and deliberation of charters and proposals and eventually the creation of the UN and the UNSC. It has provided an understanding of the context surrounding the various treaties, declarations and charters that evolved to the creation of the UN and UNSC. All of this has been necessary to comprehend how the UNSC was developed and why it is structured the way it is.

As decades have passed since its creation, it is necessary to consider whether the contextual biases present at the UNSC's formation, and proffered as reasons for its structure, still exist. The rest of this thesis shall provide this review, starting with the following chapter that discusses the methodology applied in this thesis. Chapter 4 then examines calls for reform to the UNSC and the underlying reasons for these calls. The chapter will go further to analyze four popular reform proposals proffered, including their strengths, weaknesses and challenges - taking the present day global context into perspective.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

As stated in the introduction, the goal of this thesis is to examine reform proposals for the United Nations Security Council, with the particular objective of examining Nigeria's eligibility for a permanent member seat on the Council. This goal was approached in two parts and by answering the two research questions:

1. Is there a case for expansion of permanent member seats on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)?
2. If there is a case for such expansion, is Nigeria eligible, based on defined criteria, for one of these additional permanent member seats?

This study was undertaken from an interpretivist theoretical perspective, which has been described as one that looks for "...culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67). The method employed was content analysis of documents.

Researcher Positioning

According to Cole and Knowles (2001, p. 36), "We express and represent elements of ourselves in every research situation". The authors also recommend that the influence of a researcher should be acknowledged in qualitative research. This section provides the reader with an overview of the researcher's position.

Growing up in Lagos, Nigeria, the largest city in Africa in the largest country on the continent, the researcher garnered familiarity with living in the centre of economic activity considered by some as the capital of the African continent. The country is a leader in Africa, with the largest economy on the continent (African Development Bank,

2016). In addition, Nigeria has Africa's largest population size, with 182,201,962 people (World Bank, 2015b).

After its independence in 1960, Nigeria adopted an Africa-centric foreign policy, and committed itself to ensuring other sub-Saharan African countries gained independence, economic stability, peace and security. Nigeria continues to play a prominent leadership role, and as the largest black African country, it attracts interest from across the world, from Africans across the continent and in diaspora abroad.

According to the Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations (2015), Nigeria makes the largest contribution, from amongst African states, to the maintenance of international peace and security, and has played pivotal roles in the UN. One of the roles played by Nigeria is the coordinator of the African Group on the UN's First Committee that deals with disarmament and international peace and security. In addition, since 1966, Nigeria has served five two-year tenures as a non-permanent member of the UNSC, and has served as UNSC president 10 times.

The researcher's interest in the United Nations, particularly that of the UNSC, has grown more since moving to North America almost 12 years ago. Intrigue has arisen in the UN's responses to international conflicts in Europe, Africa, and other parts of the world, as well as its decision-making processes. Against the background of Nigeria as an influential leader on the African continent, the researcher developed an interest in researching what makes other countries more 'powerful' than others in the UN. This piqued the interest in the UNSC and the use of its veto.

Over time, this developed into a desire to research the origins of the UN and its most powerful decision-making body, the UNSC, as well as the most powerful group on

that body - the P5. This interest has resulted in this study to understand the distribution of power and the rationale for this. Taking this further, the researcher attempted to isolate criteria that may be required, for other countries to attain permanent membership on the UNSC.

Examining the Four Proposals

Data collection

There are numerous UNSC reform proposals addressing a number of issues, including the Council's membership and representation, its working methods, the P5, and the veto. The Global Policy Forum (2016) has gathered 52 statements from 1995 to 2011 (proposals, statements and reform positions) proffered by world leaders (including UN Ambassadors, world leaders, UN officials and regional organizations). It was impossible to analyze all these submissions in detail for the purpose of this thesis. With the foregoing in mind, this research was limited to the following four proposals:

- The United Nations High Level Panel Report;
- The Group of Four (G4);
- Uniting for Consensus; and
- The African Union.

Many other reform proposals address one or more of the issues listed above (membership and representation, working methods and the P5 veto). However, while considering discourses on UNSC reforms in the course of this study, the four selected proposals were the most referenced and were often the first points of discussion in UNSC reform proposals. They were highlighted by the Global Policy Forum (2012) and described by Toro (2008, n.p.) as the most “notable” of reform proposals. As well, the

United Nations High Level Panel Report is the most cited of all UNSC reform proposals. This prominence given to them influenced their selection for this study.

Data Analysis

This study used qualitative content analysis to examine the four proposals and attempt to isolate their criteria for additional/permanent UNSC membership for use in the case study that follows. This aspect of the analyses sought to answer the first research question posed in this thesis. Neuman (1997, p. 272-273) has defined content analysis as “a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. It helps to document in qualitative terms, yielding precise results about the text content being analyzed.”

Analysis of each proposal included:

- A detailed review of each proposal;
- A description of its identified strengths and challenges; and
- A table listing the proposals’ identified criteria. In each table, the ‘Criteria’ column lists the different criteria offered by the reform proponents, as rationale for the reform. The ‘Description’ column provides a description of each criterion, as highlighted by the proposal under review.

The analyses collated the criteria from the four proposals as well as their rate of occurrences across each of the proposals. Upon completion of the analyses, the researcher constructed a final list of criteria for use in the case study to assess Nigeria’s case for UNSC permanent membership.

The Case Study

Data Collection and Analysis

The researcher identified Nigeria as the primary focal state for the case study based on the aforementioned reasons discussed in the section above regarding the researcher's position. Following the first qualitative content analytical process, the researcher utilized the final grouping of the identified criteria to proceed with the case study. The research delved deeper into examining the qualification criteria, drawing out similarities and isolating a comprehensive list of possible requirements for permanent membership of the UNSC.

In order to determine Nigeria's eligibility, the country was measured against each criterion's indicators. Indicators were determined for each criterion by examining the measures used in the original proposals as well as seeking additional ones from the literature in the area to serve as the basis of measurement. In each case, this study attempted to use an objective indicator sourced from UN-related information, as a measure for each criterion. For example, with 'Criterion 8: Country's Population Size', the World Bank's population data was used as an indicator.

At this stage, quantitative content analysis was introduced, and Nigeria's scores on the criterion were measured in comparison to a selected reference group, to determine its eligibility for UNSC membership as a representative from Africa and based on this study's defined criteria. According to Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter (2000) this method is appropriate where there are directly quantifiable aspects of a text's content. The reference group includes Egypt and South Africa. According to Uwimana (2006), other critics have also suggested Senegal and Algeria as possible permanent members

from Africa; however, this study shall be limited to Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa as they have each expressed interest in representing the continent with permanent member seats on the Council (Uwimana, 2006). They have also been noted as front-runners in this process, should it ever occur. Finally, Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa each already represent three geographic regions in Africa - the North, the West and the South.

In accordance with the method identified in Chapter 3, comparative qualitative content analysis, the analyses examined the relative positioning, on a three-point “score-card”, wherein each of the states used in the comparisons were ranked against the other States on the given criterion and indicator. The rankings were then tabulated across each of the criterion to arrive at a final ranked score for each state.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS CONDUCTED ON THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM PROPOSALS

This chapter provides the results from the analysis conducted with regard to the examination of the proposed reforms to the UNSC, with the aim of determining whether a case for reform actually exists. While it is impossible to consider all reform proposals that have ever been put forward, as explained in the methodology chapter, this study examines four well known proposals identified by the Global Policy Forum (2012) and Toro (2008) including: proposed reforms put forward by: 1) The United Nations High Level Panel Report the 2) Group of Four (G4), 3) Uniting for Consensus, and 4) African Union. The chapter begins by summarizing the calls for reform from the UN's inception through to the 21st century. Next, the study undertakes a critical analysis of each of the four proposals listed above, identifies their strengths and weaknesses as well as each of the criteria employed to generate their proposed reforms. The study then concludes by establishing a case for expansion of the UNSC, based on the reform criteria isolated from the four proposals under study.

Calls for Reform

As the world moved on from WWII, and as new independent states were created, it was apparent that the international composition of states was changing. What followed were calls by different countries, regional groups, and alliances for greater representation within the permanent seats of the UNSC. According to the Global Policy Forum (2012), the UN General Assembly began debating UNSC reforms in 1993. The following highlights the calls for reform over the decades.

The first two decades - 1945 to 1965

In 1945, the UN had only 50 member countries. However, following decolonization in Africa several new independent countries were created as a result of gaining independence. This resulted in more members signing the *Charter* and voluntarily joining the global organization as full-fledged members. In response to this, the Security Council's non-permanent membership was increased from 11 to 15 in 1965 (Weiss 2005). This has been the only reform to the Security Council since its inception.

Reform Proposals after 1965

Calls for representation on the Council to reflect a more accurate picture of the UN's member nations have been ongoing. As at 2012, there are currently 193 member countries of the UN. Despite this dramatic increase in numbers, it has not affected the number of permanent member seats on the UNSC, nor has it resulted in other reforms. According to Kennedy (2006, p. 51-52), "To any reasonable person nowadays, it is outrageous that a mere 5 of the 191 (sic) sovereign states that make up the United Nations have special powers and privileges."

Member states began to question the ability of the Security Council to represent and reflect current world challenges (e.g. terrorism, political crises, environmental concerns, etc). It has been noted that the UN, particularly the mechanisms within the Security Council, needs to be positioned to respond to an environment in which world affairs are constantly changing, appropriately and effectively (Thakur, 2004). It is thus not surprising that the calls, proposals and quests for reforms have continued. This chapter now explores four of the proposals identified by the Global Policy Forum (2012).

The United Nations High Level Panel Report

As earlier mentioned, the United Nations High Level Panel Report (UNHLPR) proposal is the most cited in reference to Council reforms. In 2003, former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, stated the need for reforms to key aspects of the UN, also declaring that reforms to the UN would not be complete without reforming the UNSC. He constituted a high-level panel to ultimately make recommendations for strengthening the world body to provide collective security for all in the twenty-first century (United Nations, 2003). Thailand's former Prime Minister, Anand Panyarachun, chaired the panel, comprised of 16 eminent politicians and diplomats. The panel's objectives, as stated in the report were:

- To assess current threats to international peace and security;
- To evaluate how well our existing policies and institutions have done in addressing those threats; and
- To recommend ways of strengthening the United Nations to provide collective security for the twenty-first century. (United Nations 2005c, p. 109)

This panel presented its report in time for the 60th anniversary of the world body, in 2005. Among other things, it made recommendations for reforms to the Security Council, starting out by laying down the following principles in Table 3.1 which reforms to the Council must satisfy (United Nations 2005c, p. 109):

Table 4.1: UNHLPR Principles for Reforms to the UNSC

Principles	Explanation
(a) They should, in honouring Article 23 of the Charter of the United Nations, increase the involvement in decision-making of those who contribute most to the United Nations financially, militarily and diplomatically - specifically in terms of contributions to United Nations assessed budgets, participation in mandated peace operations, contributions to voluntary activities of the United Nations in the areas of security and development, and diplomatic activities in support of United Nations objectives and mandates. Among developed countries, achieving or making substantial progress towards the internationally agreed level of 0.7 per cent of GNP for ODA should be considered an important criterion of contribution;	With this, the report recommends countries making the largest contributions to the UN and UN member countries, as well as the UN's goals, be afforded more decision-making opportunity on the UNSC.
(b) They should bring into the decision-making process countries more representative of the broader membership, especially of the developing world;	Including representation of the broader membership in decision-making could be taken to mean giving countries like Brazil, India, Nigeria, etc (with some of the largest populations in the developing world) membership status (or permanent membership status) on the UNSC.
(c) They should not impair the effectiveness of the Security Council;	This could mean any additions to permanent membership status should not be allowed veto power, as this could impede the decision-making process or effectiveness of the Council.
(d) They should increase the democratic and accountable nature of the body.	With this principle, the report suggests any addition to the membership should enhance and not reduce its democracy (as the veto power does).

Against the background of these principles, the panel shared its recommendations for UNSC reforms. However, unable to agree on a single proposal, the panel proposed *two* models for reform (A and B), both of which called for an expansion to the council to allow for a more up-to-date representation of member states in the UN.

Model A called for six new permanent seats in the council, with no veto being created, and for three new two-year term non-permanent seats, divided among the major regional areas (United Nations, 2005c).

Table 4.2: Model A of UN High Level Panel's Proposed UN Security Council Reform

Regional Area	Number of States	Permanent Seats (Continuing)	Proposed New Permanent Seats	Proposed Two-Year Seats (Non-Renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	1	2	6
Americas	35	1	1	4	6
Totals (Model A)	191	5	6	13	24

(United Nations, 2005c, p. 81)

Model B called for no new permanent seats but for the creation of a new category of eight four-year renewable-term seats and one new two-year non-permanent (and non-renewable) seat, divided among the major regional areas (United Nations, 2005c).

Table 4.3: Model B of UN High Level Panel's Proposed UN Security Council Reform

Regional Area	Number of States	Permanent Seats (Continuing)	Proposed Four-Year Renewable Seats	Proposed Two-Year Seats (Non-Renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	2	1	6
Americas	35	1	2	3	6
Totals (Model B)	191	5	8	11	24

(United Nations, 2005c, p. 81)

Strengths

These two models, allow for more representation among member countries of the UN. The two models provide two options that will expand membership of the UNSC on a permanent basis or for longer renewable terms (London, 2007).

Renewable terms (particularly with Model B) may be more popular in member states and make them more disposed to reaching solutions to issues, knowing there would be a chance for re-election in future (London, 2007). Finally, the Panel's proposal calls for a review of the Council's composition in 2020 for effectiveness. With this, member countries may be more disposed to adopting either model, knowing that an opportunity for revision would arise in future.

Challenges

The difference between both models is that while Model A proposes six new permanent seats, Model B proposes eight new renewable four-year seats. This difference between both models means that with Model B, countries from different regions would get the opportunity to change the regional representative if they were unsatisfied with their performance, whereas Model A would not allow for that. As stated earlier, each of

the P5 countries represents their country alone, unlike Model A's proposition which calls for regional representation which leads to broader accountability. In addition, Model A calling for six new permanent seats on the UNSC without the extension of veto powers to them is likely to build a rift between veto and non-veto-wielding permanent members, creating a disparity (London 2007).

Closer scrutiny demonstrates the incompatibility of the first two principles the panel laid out in 2005. The greatest financial contributors (e.g. Japan and Germany) are not necessarily representative of the UN's broader membership and not classified as being part of the developing world. Finally, an inability to arrive at a consensus on either model was not limited to the Panel. To date, UN member countries are yet to decide on, or adopt either proposed model.

The United Nations High Level Panel Report Criteria for UN membership

Table 4.4 shows the selection criteria based on this reform proposal.

Table 4.4: UN High Level Panel Report Criteria for Additional/Permanent Membership of the UNSC

S/N	Criteria	Description
1.	Financial contributions	Contributions to United Nations assessed budgets; 0.7 per cent of gross national product to the UN's Official Development Assistance should be an important criterion for assessment.
2.	Military contributions	Participation in mandated peace operations, as well as contributions to voluntary activities of the United Nations in the areas of security and development (e.g. peacekeeping).
3.	Diplomatic contributions	Diplomatic activities, e.g. mediation and peacemaking, in support of United Nations objectives and mandates.
4.	Democratic enhancement	Any additions should increase the UN's democratic accountability, meaning decisions are arrived at with equal input from members.
5.	Expansion	Expansion to the council to allow for a more up-to-date representation of member states in the UN.
6.	Increased representation	Every geographical region (as categorized by the report)

Table 4.4: UN High Level Panel Report Criteria for Additional/Permanent Membership of the UNSC

S/N	Criteria	Description
		would be represented at the permanent and non-permanent member level. Two models proposed to represent every geographical region (as categorized by the report) at the permanent and non-permanent member level (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3 above): Model A: six new permanent seats in the council, with no veto power, for three new two-year term non-permanent seats, divided among the major regional areas. Model B: no new permanent seats but the creation of a new category of eight four-year renewable-term seats and one new two-year non-permanent (and non-renewable) seat, divided among the major regional areas.
7.	Regional representation	New permanent and non-permanent members would represent their continents and geographical regions, not just themselves.
8.	Representation from the developing world	Yes. Representation would cover Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and the Americas. In addition, the report lays emphasis on representation of the developing world. Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean would each have new permanent and non-permanent membership.
9.	Geopolitical representation	All regions would receive additional representation on the Council.
10.	Reflection of current UN membership	E.g., Africa currently has the largest number of UN member states and would be represented at the permanent and non-permanent level. So would the Pacific region.
11.	Increased effectiveness	Any reforms should make the UNSC more effective, not less. This could mean no additional veto rights assigned, or voting methods that could negatively impact decision-making
	Support from other UN members	No consensus has been reached on either model proposed.
	Support from P5	No.

Group of Four (G4)

The Group of Four (G4) includes Brazil, Germany, India and Japan –which either are large financial contributors to the UN or represent the largest populations in their respective regions. On the heels of the UN’s inability to achieve consensus on reform

proposals by the Secretary General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, the group came together in 2005 to draft a reform proposal.

Essentially, the G4 proposal seeks the expansion of the UNSC with six new permanent members including Brazil, Germany, India and Japan and two countries from Africa. It proposes the addition of four more non-permanent members from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean States, expanding the Council in total to 25 members. The primary motivation behind the G4 proposal was recognition of the need to improve representation through expansion of the permanent seats on the Council, and therefore include other contributors to the world body.

This reform was co-sponsored by a number of other countries, including Belgium, Bhutan, Czech Republic, Denmark, Fiji, France, Georgia, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Kiribati, Latvia, Lithuania, Maldives, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, and Ukraine, but opposed by others like the African Union which was itself seeking two permanent member seats on the Council. At a March 2012 Intergovernmental Negotiations meeting held on Security Council reform, Japan's representative, speaking on behalf of the G4 stated the group's "...desire for structural reform by expanding the number of seats in both categories, taking into account the contribution of countries to the preservation of international peace and security as well as the need for increased representation" (Schlosser, 2012).

The G4, and other proponents of this proposal, argue that expanding the UNSC to include major financial and other resource contributors (military strength, aid, etc), will make it a more realistic representative picture of current UN membership and geopolitical realities. In addition, the effectiveness, credibility and legitimacy of the work of the

Security Council will be enhanced by its improved representative character, giving it a better ability to discharge its primary responsibility and to carry out its duties on behalf of all members (United Nations, 2005b). In addition, the G4 calls for amendments to the UN *Charter* to allow for expansion of the permanent membership.

No doubt, the G4 proposal does allow for greater representation for UN members with Japan and Germany, the largest financial contributors to the UN (Centre for UN Reform 2007). With India, the second largest country (population) in Asia and the world after China, and Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world and the largest Latin-American country, the G4 present a fairer representative balance of world nations on the UN's most powerful organ. According to the Rediff News (2012), the group shares a vision of,

A reformed Security Council, which takes into consideration contributions made by countries to the maintenance of international peace and security and other purposes of the organisation, as well as the need for increased representation of developing countries in both categories in order to better reflect the current geopolitical realities.

Strengths

The proposal is a prominent one, in that it is often referred to, in the midst of the various calls for reform that have been put forward for the UNSC. Though, like others, it is yet to be adopted, it does have a number of strengths that lend to its credibility. Firstly, the proposal enhances the current representation on the P5, as it allows for some of the greatest financial contributors to the UN to have a seat at the all-important table of the Security Council. With full permanent membership, these countries will have a say in vital matters of international peace and security, and a voice in decisions taken that will

affect not just them, but other member countries. As well, countries such as Brazil and India, though not the largest financial contributors to the UN, are still of great consequence, having some of the largest populations in their regions and indeed the world. A permanent seat on the UNSC will also give them the opportunity to represent their regions better.

Secondly, another strength of the G4 proposal is more inclusive of countries in both the developed and developing world. This way, the UNSC is not composed of only world powers; rather, countries from different economic make-up are represented and have the opportunity to belong to this powerful, decision-making organization. As a result, such countries can lend their voices to debates and discussions at this level; bringing another perspective not necessarily readily seen by others who may not share the same experiences.

A major area addressed by the G4 is representation of South America and Africa. Currently, the P5 does not have any member states from Africa or South America within its composition. This means that there is no representation from the second most populous continent in the world. By allotting additional permanent seats to Africa and South America, the G4 proposal provides geographic representation that allows for these regions to truly become a part of the UNSC. As a result, the G4 not only expands the membership of the UNSC but also includes members and regions that have had no permanent representation on the council.

A final strength of this proposal is its support from a number of countries which themselves have no prospects of gaining seats on the Council, particularly permanent seats – owing to their size and member contributions (e.g. Latvia, Honduras, the

Maldives, and Solomon Islands). This support demonstrates that the proposal's appeal cuts across different geographical boundaries and is able to garner support from regions that may not appear to benefit from it directly. It also shows member nations' confidence in the proposal's ability to better represent the interest of majority, as opposed to the interest of a few.

Challenges

A major challenge to this proposal being adopted and ratified is consensus. In order for a proposal's ratification, at least two-thirds of UN member countries must support it. As to be expected, other countries in the same regions as Germany, India, Japan and Brazil are against the G4 proposal. In particular, Brazil's candidacy for the UNSC has been opposed by other Latin American countries (e.g. Argentina, Colombia and Mexico), which feel the Portuguese-speaking country is not representative enough of their largely Spanish-speaking continent. As well, China has vehemently opposed Japan's candidacy for a permanent seat on the Council because of their participation in WWII. At some point, Japan dropped out of supporting this proposal, choosing instead to negotiate with the United States on a US favourable option. While this option is still being negotiated, Japan has noted the US' opposition to the G4 proposal and seeks to gain their support on a proposal that would also gain support from two-thirds of UN member countries (Global Policy Forum, 2006).

In addition to the above challenge, several European countries are currently opposed to this proposal or any other that may see Germany gain a permanent seat on the Council. London (2007), notes that countries such as Spain and Italy, and other European nations fear having Germany on the Council will lead to a coalition of power among the

European Union's three most powerful nations - the UK, France and Germany. Fears about this coalition have been followed by calls to replace Germany, the UK and France on the Security Council, with a collective EU seat. However, it is highly unlikely that the UK and France would agree to this (London, 2007).

Support from the P5 is required for any proposal to be ratified, and currently, only the UK, France and Russia support this proposal. The US, arguably the UN's most powerful member has stated that it is focused on overall reforms of the UN as a whole and not specifically on Security Council reforms. It has also expressed interest in Japan gaining permanent membership of the Council, and may be willing to back that interest (London, 2007), and President Barrack Obama supports India's quest for a permanent seat on the Council (BBC News, 2010).

Group of Four Criteria for UN membership

Table 4.5 presents the content analyses of the reform proposal.

Table 4.5: Group of Four criteria for additional/permanent UNSC membership (permanent and non-permanent)

S/N	Criteria	Description
1.	Financial contributions	Largest financial contributors (aside from the US which contributes the largest, 22 per cent of the UN's budget), e.g. Japan, second largest at 10.8 per cent and Germany, third largest at 7.1 per cent) should have permanent membership. (Auswärtiges Amt - Federal Foreign Office, 2015).
2.	Contributions to maintenance of international peace and security	Countries that provide the most contributions (finances, military troops) would be eligible for consideration.
3.	Size of population	Countries with largest populations (in the world and their regions) should be equally represented on the Security Council.
4.	Increased representation - improved representative character	Membership should be expanded to countries with some of the largest populations, from a new continent, etc.
5.	Regional representation	Somewhat: Regions that currently have no membership (e.g. Africa, Latin America) would have membership under the new proposal. However, the countries would represent themselves, not their specific regions.
6.	Representation from the developing world	Africa would be allowed two permanent member slots, while Brazil and India would be allowed one each.
7.	Reflection of current UN membership	Large populations (e.g. Brazil) and under-represented areas (e.g. Latin America) would be reflected through this proposal.
8.	Geopolitical representation	Regions, e.g. Africa and Latin America, would be represented on the Council – particularly regions currently with no representation.
9.	Inclusion	Areas not previously included in the permanent membership structure (again, Latin America and Africa) would have the opportunity for inclusion, with this proposal.
10.	Additional non-permanent membership seats	Four more from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean States.
	Support from other UN members	At least 24 UN member countries support this proposal.
	Support from P5	Medium*: three out of five - France, Russia and the UK.

Uniting for Consensus

In response to the G4 Proposal, a number of UN member countries (particularly Argentina, Canada, Colombia, Italy and Pakistan) got together in 2005 to propose a

reform to the Security Council. As Italy's representative, Marcello Spatafora, explained, the intention of the Uniting for Consensus draft resolution is to offer a "...constructive non-divisive platform that is...extremely flexible and centred on a strong regional empowerment" (United Nations, 2005a).

This group proposes leaving the composition of P5 membership as is; and instead, increasing the number of non-permanent members from 10 to 20, bringing the number of the Security Council to 25. The voting majority would also be increased to 15 and the prohibition on immediate re-election of non-permanent members whose terms have lapsed would be lifted by the UN General Assembly. The group also proposed a reform of relevant sections of the UN *Charter* (Article 27, paragraphs 2 and 3, and Article 109, paragraph 1) to allow for the increase in the voting majority to 15 out of 20. This reform was proposed by Argentina, Canada, Costa Rica, Colombia, Malta, Mexico, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, San Marino, Spain and Turkey – largely middle powers without the prospect of a permanent seat. China, a member of the P5, 'embraced' this proposal in 2005 (Wang, 2005).

According to the proposal, the non-permanent members of the UNSC will be selected following this order:

- Africa – six countries.
- Asia – five countries.
- Latin America and Caribbean States – four countries.
- Western Europe and Other States – three countries.
- Eastern Europe – two countries.

Allan Rock, Canada's representative who presented the draft proposal at the General Assembly sitting stated its objective as seeking to gain the "fairest and most

democratic approach to the complex and controversial question of Security Council enlargement, while seeking the broadest possible consensus on how to proceed,” (United Nations, 2005a). In 2009, this proposal was revised to include another category of non-permanent seats for three to five years each, given to regional groups on a rotational basis.

Strengths

A strength of this proposal is its call for equality of all UN member states. In addition, because this proposal does not seek any changes to the P5 membership on the UNSC (the only one of the four proposals in review to do this), it avoids opposition from the P5 and other member countries whose interests may not be represented. This is important, as it could help the proposal with gaining the two-thirds majority support needed for ratification.

An additional strength of the proposal is the ‘democratic’ manner in which non-permanent members may be chosen. According to this proposal, most continents, e.g. Africa and Latin America will be represented and individual states will have the opportunity to stand for nomination from their region. Collectively, the members of each regional group would also determine how long each representative would sit on the UNSC. As well, the proposal’s call for veto restraint by the P5 is a strength, requiring members of the P5 only resort to the use of the veto in matters of extreme importance that concern international peace and security. This would reduce the use of the veto on matters of a P5 member’s national interest.

Challenges

Though this proposal calls for increased non-permanent member seats on the UNSC, this would not necessarily improve the Council's effectiveness, particularly with the P5 still having veto rights, albeit more limited than before. Scholars, such as London (2007), have argued that the increased number of non-permanent members may affect decision-making and the ability for the UNSC to achieve consensus on issues, ultimately rendering it ineffective. Unless there is a change to the UN *Charter*, the latest revision to the proposal in 2009 would likely continue to be met with deadlock as currently, the UN *Charter* currently only allows *countries* to be members of the SC.

Uniting for Consensus Criteria for UN membership

Table 4.6 represents a summary of the criteria upon which selections based on this reform proposal would be made.

Table 4.6 showing Uniting for Consensus criteria for additional membership of the UNSC (non-permanent membership alone)

S/N	Criteria	Description
1.	Regional representation - improved representative character	Yes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Africa – six countries. • Asia – five countries. • Latin America and Caribbean States – four countries. • Western Europe and Other States – three countries. • Eastern Europe – two countries.
2.	Representation from the developing world	Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America would have additional representation.
3.	Reflection of current UN membership	Africa, which has the largest number of regional members, would be represented as listed in '1.' above.
	Support from P5	Low*, one out of five (China).
	Additional non-permanent membership seats	Nine, with categorizations as in '1.' above.

*P5 support ranges from 1 country through to 5 countries, representing the range, low (1, 2) medium (3), high (4, 5).

The African Union

In 2005, Ghana, Senegal, Nigeria and South Africa prepared this proposal on behalf of the African Union. This proposal calls for two permanent member seats for Africa and five additional non-permanent members – two for Africa and one each for Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean States, all these expanding the Council to 26. This proposal was agreed to by African nations at the African Summit in July 2005. According to the African Union, 2005a, some specifics of the proposal are to:

- (a) Enlarge the Security Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories and improve on its working methods;
- (b) Accord the new permanent members the same prerogatives and privileges as those of the current permanent members, including the right of veto;
- (c) Grant Africa two permanent and five non-permanent seats in the Security Council and increase its membership from fifteen to twenty-six with the eleven additional seats to be distributed as follows:
 - i. Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for African States;
 - ii. Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asian States;
 - iii. One non-permanent seat for Eastern European States;
 - iv. One permanent seat and one non-permanent seat for Latin American and Caribbean States;
 - v. One permanent seat for Western European and other States;
- (d) Amend the Charter of the United Nations accordingly.

The group insisted that the new permanent member countries should also have all the rights and privileges as the P5. The two new members from Africa would be representing the continent as a whole, unlike the G4 proposal where Brazil, India, Germany and Japan would represent themselves and not necessarily their respective regions.

“Africa’s goal is to be fully represented in all the decision-making organs of the UN, particularly in the Security Council, which is the principal decision-making organ in matters relating to international peace and security” (The African Union, 2005b, p. 9). The African Union proposal has defined full representation to mean having not less than two permanent seats and five non-permanent seats on the UNSC. Though opposed in principle to the veto, it does believe that as long as this still exists, all permanent members should have this right (The African Union Consensus, 2005).

Strengths

A major strength of this proposal is that it would solve the issue of a lack of Africa’s permanent representation on the Council. According to von Freiesleben, (2013, p. 3), “The African Union argues that, although the main part of the work of the Council is concentrated on Africa, it is the only continent not permanently represented (if both South and North America are counted as one continent, representing the Americas), and this historical injustice has eschewed the balance of the Council”.

In addition, with the continent choosing two members to act on its behalf, it could allow for consensus in the selection of these countries, as opposed to if only one country selected from the continent. The draft proposal also recommends more African non-permanent members on the council than previously existed. These seats would rotate amongst the member states within the continent, allowing non-permanent members have their turn, as it were, on the UNSC.

If adopted, the proposal will lend legitimacy to the UNSC as it deals with conflicts on the continent. It will also show representation on the Council as Africa is the

second largest continent in the world, and currently has no permanent member on this body.

The African group is the largest regional group in the UN, with 54 members (28 per cent of UN membership). Though the Union is yet to put forward any of its members for the UNSC, a number of countries have been identified as front-runners – Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa in particular. Others given consideration include Algeria and Ghana.

Challenges

A major challenge with this proposal would be a selection process for the two countries to take up the permanent member seats on the Council. Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa each have made a case for this opportunity. Nigeria is the most populous African country; furthermore, it has made significant military contributions to peacekeeping and other missions on the continent. South Africa is Africa's largest financial contributor to the UN (although contributions are based on a UN formula which bases countries' assessments on their economic performance and ability). Egypt, an Islamic country, was once seen as a stable, rising economy. However, the uprising ("Arab Spring") which cut across a number of middle eastern/north African countries in 2011, including Egypt may have done much to destabilize any claims of state stability.

Another challenge to the adoption of this proposal may be its calls for full veto rights of its new permanent members. It is unlikely that this will receive the two-thirds majority affirmative vote from the UN General Assembly, needed to move it forward as several countries believe that an expansion of the veto is not needed. Finally, the P5 may

be strongly opposed to sharing this veto right with new members and may likely fail to ratify any proposal with such a condition.

The African Union Criteria for UN membership

The following table 4.7 represents the selection criteria of this reform proposal.

Table 4.7 showing the African Union criteria for additional/permanent membership of UNSC (permanent and non-permanent members)

S/N	Criteria	Description
1.	Increased representation	Yes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two permanent seats and two non-permanent seats for African States. • Two permanent seats and one non-permanent seat for Asian States. • One non-permanent seat for Eastern European States. • One permanent seat and one non-permanent seat for Latin American and Caribbean States. • One permanent seat for Western European and other States.
2.	Regional representation	New permanent and non-permanent members would represent their continents and geographical regions, as they would be selected by the continent. (The process for this is yet to be determined).
3.	Representation from the developing world	Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean would each have new permanent and non-permanent membership.
4.	Geopolitical representation	Large regions, e.g. Africa, would be represented on the Council.
5.	Reflection of current UN membership	Yes. Africa currently has the largest number of UN member states and gaining permanent seats would reflect this.
6.	Inclusion	Yes. Every geographical region would be represented at the permanent and non-permanent member level.
	Support from other UN members	54 members of the African Union.
	Support from P5?	Low*.
	Additional non-permanent membership seats	Four more from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean States

*P5 support ranges from 1 country through to 5 countries, representing the range, low (1, 2) medium (3), high (4, 5).

The United Nations Security Council: A Case for Expansion?

Following the review of the four proposals in this chapter, it is noteworthy that they all recommend some form of member-expansion to the UNSC, even if there is no agreement of who these new member-states of the UNSC should be. Other reasons offered for a case for expansion of the UNSC include:

- The need for membership that is more representative of the larger UN membership which has grown from 50 in 1945 to 193 in 2015. This will also improve the Council's ability to respond to changing world affairs, as noted by (Thakur, 2004).
- The need for representation from more countries which make the largest financial contributions to the UN.

Each of the four proposals examined above has included its own qualifications, criteria that UN member-states should successfully meet, for consideration to permanent and/or non-permanent membership of the UNSC. The first goal of this thesis, to determine a case for expansion, is thus fulfilled, and the first research question answered.

The next chapter will delve deeper into examining the qualification criteria above, drawing out similarities and isolating a comprehensive list of requirements for permanent membership of the UNSC. To fulfil the next identified goal of this thesis and answer the second research question, a case study focusing on Nigeria, in comparison with other states, is examined against this list of criteria, to determine its positioning with regard to its eligibility or ineligibility for permanent membership of the UNSC, based on this study's defined criteria.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDY

This chapter focuses on determining Nigeria's eligibility for permanent membership on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) against the criteria previously established and in comparison to other African states. The chapter begins by isolating a single list of criteria for any new member of the UNSC. The criteria are derived from criterion identified by the four reform proposals reviewed in the previous chapter. Indicators for each criterion are developed and used to assess the relative strengths of the states used in this comparative case study. The chapter concludes with the results of the comparative analysis, Nigeria's eligibility for UNSC membership based on the four reform proposals and identified criteria in comparison to the other selected states.

Determining Nigeria's Eligibility: Development of the Criteria for this Research

From the four proposals studied in the preceding chapter, it is apparent that though each proponent recommends UNSC expansion, they all favour different classes of membership (for example, permanent, with and without veto rights). This issue has proven to be a roadblock in addressing UNSC reforms as highlighted by the dual models proposed by the High Level Panel Report.

Despite the inability to agree on a consensus proposal, the need for greater representation of the UN's 193 member countries on the UNSC still exists, as established in the previous chapter. In some instances, the Council has been unable to adopt certain resolutions owing to P5 members exercising their veto rights (for example, China's 2012 veto of sanctions against the Syrian government. China is an ally of Syria, thus the veto

was in the latter's interest). With the right balance of representation on the decision-making seats of the Council, perhaps other voices may successfully offer up different perspectives for the Council to consider before taking decisions that will affect the member countries and regions they represent at the UN.

Comparison of Nigeria and Other African Countries

In view of the above, the next part of this study will examine data on three states, in a bid to determine their respective qualification for permanent membership of the Security Council. To do this appropriately, the study will use comparative qualitative analysis to compare Nigeria with other African countries, specifically Egypt and South Africa, as explained in Chapter 3.

Table 5.1: Criteria for UNSC permanent/additional membership

S/N	Criteria	Rate of occurrences
1.	Contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security	2
2.	Diplomatic contributions	1
3.	Democratic enhancement	1
4.	Effectiveness	1
5.	Financial contributions	2
6.	Geopolitical representation	3
7.	Inclusion	3
8.	Increased representation	3
9.	Reflection of current UN membership	4
10.	Regional representation	4
11.	Representation from developing countries	4
12.	Size of country's population	1

Identification of indicators for each criterion

This aspect of the study focuses on the definitions of each criterion in Table 4.1 above, and establishes indicators for them. In this process, items with common meanings will be collated and collapsed into one criterion. Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa will then be assessed against each criterion and its indicators. The assessments will identify how each country measures against the established indicators, and assign each of them their relative position.

Criterion 1: Contributions to the Maintenance of International Peace and Security/Military Contributions

This criterion was drawn from both the G4 and the UN High Level Panel report (UNHLP). The latter reform proposal explains it as participation in mandated peace operations, as well as contributions to voluntary activities of the United Nations - in the areas of security and development.

Indicator

There is no minimum or maximum number of police officers or military troops a country must contribute to UN peacekeeping operations. However, the maintenance of international peace and security is listed as the first of the UN's four objectives, suggesting its importance and significance to the world body (UN Charter, 1945). As such, the amount of officers, troops and military contributions made towards this will be used as an indicator. The higher the number of police officers or military troops contributed, the higher the score assigned.

Data for this indicator is sourced from the most recent compilation of the United Nations Peacekeeping data dashboard, which shows the most up-to-date contributions of

members (United Nations, 2015b). Data from the past five years, i.e., 2011 to August 2015 (further months are yet to be provided by the UN) is considered.

Three-Country Comparison

To determine scores in this criteria, the contributions of the three selected countries are assessed by examining its records from 2011 to 2015 (United Nations, 2015b). These numbers show each country’s total contributions, including police, UN military experts and troops. To the right of contribution numbers are the country’s ranking among UN member states, based on the number of people resources contributed to peacekeeping operations. The average over the five years is calculated, and each of the three countries are measured and ranked based on this average.

Table 5.2: Criterion 1 Peacekeeping Contributions to the United Nations, from 2011 to 2015

Year	Nigeria		Egypt		South Africa	
	Personnel	UN Rank	Personnel	UN Rank	Personnel	UN Rank
2011	5,742	4	4,885	5	2,129	14
2012	5,622	5	4,030	8	2,112	14
2013	4,949	5	2,865	13	2,056	14
2014	3,851	7	2,636	10	2,207	13
2015	2,968*	10	2,090*	16	2,165*	15
Average	4,626	6.2	3,301	10.4	2,133	14
RANK	1 st		2 nd		3 rd	

* This figure represents the number of peacekeeping personnel as of August 2015

Table 5.2 shows Nigeria remained among the top five contributors for 60 per cent of the past five years, and among the top 10 contributors in the UN for 100 per cent of the past five years. It also reports that Nigeria ranked 6.2 or among the top seven largest contributors of personnel to the UN’s peacekeeping operations. Table 5.2 shows that over

the five-year period reviewed, Egypt remained among the top five contributors 20 per cent of time, among the top 10 contributors 60 per cent of the time and among the top 20 contributors 100 per cent of the time. The above shows Egypt ranked 10.4 or among the top 11 largest contributors of personnel to the UN's peacekeeping operations. Table 5.2 shows that over the five-year period reviewed, South Africa remained among the top five contributors 0 per cent of time, among the top 10 contributors 0 per cent of the time and among the top 20 contributors 100 per cent of the time. The above shows South Africa ranked 14 or among the top 14 largest contributors of personnel to the UN's peacekeeping operations. Based on the comparisons completed on this first criterion, Nigeria ranked the highest, followed by Egypt, and finally South Africa.

Criterion 2: Diplomatic Contributions

The UNHLPR is the only proposal that specifically indicates diplomatic activities in support of UN objectives and mandates as a suggested criterion. No further definitions were given for the term 'diplomatic activities'. As no measure is attainable, the states will not be compared on this measure.

Criterion 3: Democratic Enhancement

The UNHLPR recommends any additions to the Council should increase the UN's democratic accountability.

Indicator

There is no clear indication of the scope of this criterion; however, Nadin (2014), explains a more democratic council as one that incorporates inclusive and participatory decision-making. The report also suggests any addition to the membership of the UNSC should enhance (and by extension, not diminish) its democracy (as the veto power can),

meaning decisions are arrived at with equal input from members. Thus, it may be argued that additional veto-wielding members of the UNSC may impede the Council's democratic ability, if they choose to exercise their veto.

Three-Country Comparison

The UNHLPR followed this and other conditions for reform to the Council with two proposals for expansion - Models A and B. The main difference between both models is while Model A recommends an additional six permanent UNSC members to the Council; Model B does not recommend any new permanent members. Both models recommend additional non-permanent seats to the Council. Of its six new permanent seats, Model A recommends two of these be assigned to Africa. Each of the three states under review is assessed against this recommendation, in order to assign ranking to them, as below:

Table 5.3: Criterion 3 Democratic Enhancement			
	Nigeria	Egypt	South Africa
	Meets Model A Criteria	Meets Model A Criteria	Meets Model A Criteria
	Yes	Yes	Yes
RANK	1st	1st	1st

Table 5.3 above shows Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa will each meet the UNHLPR's Model A recommendations for a new African permanent member to the UNSC, *without* veto power thus meeting the requirements of the Model to enhance (and by extension, not diminish) the UNSC's democratic enhancement.

Criterion 4: Effectiveness

The UNHLPR recommends that any changes to the UNSC should not impede the effectiveness of the Council.

Indicator

Though the UNHLPR did not specifically define effectiveness, this study has defined it to mean any additions to permanent membership status should not be allowed veto power that can hinder the decision-making process or effectiveness of the council. Additional countries with the power of the veto on the Council may be inclined to exercise this power in matters in favour of, or against their interests. A lack of consensus on draft resolutions presented to the Council, and especially the P5, reduces the UNSC’s decision-making ability. Where all Council members agree on a draft resolution, or at least, do not vote against it, they are able to make decisions quicker, endorse actions to support those decisions, achieve desired results and ultimately be more effective as a Council.

Three-Country Comparison

Proposing two models for expansion to the Council (Models A and B), the UNHLPR recommends the allocation of six new UNSC permanent seats (Model A), all without veto power, with two of these six going to Africa. All three African countries will meet this requirement of permanent membership in the UNSC, as depicted in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4: Criterion 4 Effectiveness

	Nigeria	Egypt	South Africa
	Meets Model A Criteria	Meets Model A Criteria	Meets Model A Criteria
	Yes	Yes	Yes
RANK	1st	1st	1st

Table 5.4 above shows Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa each meet the UNHLPR's Model A recommendations for a new African permanent member to the UNSC, *without* veto power thus not impeding the effectiveness of the UNSC.

Criterion 5: Financial Contributions

Based on the G4 and UN HLPR proposals, this criterion recommends increased participation on the UNSC for countries that make the largest financial contributions to the UN's assessed budgets (this includes the UN's regular and peacekeeping budgets).

The UNHLPR specifically recommends that important considerations should be:

- A developed state's contribution to the internationally agreed level of 0.7% of its gross national product to official development assistance projects. (Nigeria is classified as a developing country by the World Bank (2015a); thus, it would not meet this consideration) and,
- Countries making the largest contributions to the UN's assessed budgets.

Indicator

The UN's Administrative and Budget (Fifth) Committee is responsible for establishing the UN's budget. Every two years, member states are assigned an assessed rate of contributions to be made to the UN's regular and peacekeeping budgets. The rate for the regular budget is based on the country's ability to pay, with its population, income, etc., taken into consideration (Global Policy Forum, 2015).

Three-Country Comparison

The peacekeeping budget is based on the regular budget, though countries with less of an ability to pay receive discounts. The P5 make extra payments to cover these

discounts. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the countries with the three largest assessed regular budgets in the United Nations are:

1. The United States, assessed and contributing 22 per cent of the UN's budget.
2. Japan, assessed and contributing 10.8 per cent of the UN's budget.
3. Germany, assessed and contributing 7.1 per cent of the UN's budget.

(Auswärtiges Amt - Federal Foreign Office, 2015).

Overall, the top 10 countries with the largest assessed contributions to the UN's budgets, from 2011 to 2013, are below (Norway Mission to the UN, 2015).

Table 5.5: showing Top 10 providers of assessed contributions to United Nations budgets and of voluntary contributions to United Nations Funds, Programmes and Agencies including the standing Peacebuilding Fund in total for 2011, 2012 and 2013.
(Numbers have been rounded up to the nearest whole number)

Countries	TOTAL USD	3 year Average	2011	2012	2013
United States of America	21,303,680,713	7,100,893,571	7,131,612,709	6,782,623,761	7,388,444,243
Japan	8,739,008,361	2,913,002,787	3,088,904,351	3,088,904,351	2,949,085,371
United Kingdom	8,575,784,105	2,858,594,702	2,570,723,158	2,765,356,301	3,239,704,646
Germany	5,090,082,092	1,696,694,031	1,701,793,763	1,513,779,504	1,513,779,504
Canada	4,387,218,238	1,462,406,079	1,462,406,079	1,234,695,650	1,542,023,237
Norway	3,992,495,471	1,330,831,806	1,230,923,045	1,421,522,813	1,340,049,559
Sweden	3,910,528,135	1,303,509,378	1,247,806,103	1,306,257,013	1,356,465,019
Netherlands	4,070,609,940	1,356,869,980	1,809,034,730	1,204,520,219	1,057,054,991
France	2,992,974,634	997,658,211	1,047,483,401	893,033,802	1,052,457,431
Australia	2,549,916,479	849,972,160	872,584,978	926,667,688	750,663,813

(Norway Mission to the UN, 2015)

When examining the data presented in Table 5.5, as developing countries, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa would be on the receiving end of the UN’s official development assistance projects, not contributing the required 0.7 per cent to this internationally agreed upon fund.

Though Nigeria is a strong contributor to peacekeeping resources (one of the top ten contributors on the continent), it is not nearly close to being one of the largest financial contributors to the UN's budgets. The country's scale of assessment for the UN's regular budget for 2016 is 0.090 per cent or \$5,157,131. On the other hand, Egypt’s scale of assessment for 2016 was 0.134 per cent, at \$3,781,487. Lastly, South Africa’s scale of assessment also for 2016 is 0.372 per cent, at \$9,078,662 (United Nations, 2016).

The 2016 contributions for each of the three countries being measured is a far cry from Australia, which is the least among the top 10, at 2.074 per cent or \$58, 146,547.

Though Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa make relatively lower financial contributions to the UN, they will still be ranked based on the amount of contributions for 2016, as depicted in Table 4.6 below:

Table 5.6: Criterion 5 – Financial Contributions to the UN

	Nigeria		Egypt		South Africa	
	Scale of Assessment	Percent	Scale of Assessment	Percent	Scale of Assessment	Percent
2016	\$5,157,131	0.09%	\$3,781,487	0.13%	\$9,078,662	0.37%
RANK	2nd		3rd		1st	

Criterion 6: Enhanced Representation

This section combines criteria 6 to 10 in Table 5.1, to form a single criterion ‘6’. The five criteria combined include geopolitical representation, inclusion, increased

representation, reflection of current UN membership and regional representation. These elements have been combined as they ultimately identify the need for improved representation in the permanent membership of the UN from geographical regions which appear to be currently lacking this representation.

Indicator

According to the four proposals, indicating factors for these regions include the following identified factors:

- Population size, e.g. Brazil, India. Data from the *World Bank* (will be used as an indicator.
 - As population size will be considered as a single criterion, it will be removed from this criterion so it will not be double-counted.
- Under-represented geographical regions (e.g. Africa, South America, Oceania)

Three-Country Comparison

The regional representation of the P5 membership is:

- One country from the Asia-Pacific Group (China).
- Four countries from the Western European and Others Group (WEOG) (France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States).

With no seat on the P5 allocated to Africa, the Eastern European Group and the Latin American and Caribbean Group (GRULAC), these regions can be classified as under-represented regions. As Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa are each located in Africa, they thus measure favourably against this criterion and rank equally at the highest level (1st).

Table 5.7: Criterion 6 – Enhanced Representation			
	Nigeria Meet underrepresentation factor	Egypt Meet underrepresentation factor	South Africa Meet underrepresentation factor
2016 RANK	Yes 1 st	Yes 1 st	Yes 1 st

Criterion 7: Representation from Developing Countries

Each of the four proposals cites representation from the developing world as necessary criteria for UNSC membership (particularly permanent membership). Specific regions listed by the four proposals include developing countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean. The proposed advantages of having representation from developing countries include diversity of economies at the UNSC table, and the broader perspectives these would bring to UN debates and discussions, as noted in the previous chapter.

Indicator

The indicator for this criterion will be the World Bank's definition of developing countries, and its categorization of these countries, which cuts across different continents. This will distinguish this criterion from criterion 4 (Enhanced Representation).

According to the World Bank (2015a), a developing country is "... one in which the majority lives on far less money—with far fewer basic public services—than the population in highly industrialized countries." To facilitate debt relief, technical assistance, advisory services and more, the World Bank has categorized developing countries into the following:

- Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC);
- Middle-Income Countries (MIC);
- Low Income Countries Under Stress (LICUS) and,
- Small States.

Three-Country Comparison

Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa have each been classified by the World Bank as MICs - a group eligible to receive funding from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (World Bank, 2000).

Table 5.8: Criterion 7 - Representation from Developing Countries

	Nigeria	Egypt	South Africa
	Meet representation factor	Meet representation factor	Meet representation factor
2016 RANK	Yes 1st	Yes 1st	Yes 1st

As all three countries are developing, as defined by the World Bank, they thus meet the requirements of this criterion, as required by each of the four proposals. In view of the assessment, all three African countries will rank equally, as depicted in Table 5.8 above.

Criterion 8: Size of Country's Population

The G4 recommends that countries with the largest populations in the world and their regions should have equal representation on the UNSC.

Indicator

Population data from the *World Bank* will be used as an indicator.

Three-Country Comparison

Table 5.9 below shows the 2014 population size of Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa, and their ranking compared with other countries across the world, as well as with countries across Africa:

Table 5.9: Criterion 8 – Country’s Population Size

	Nigeria			Egypt			South Africa		
	Population Size	World Ranking	African Group Ranking	Population Size	World Ranking	African Group Ranking	Population Size	World Ranking	African Group Ranking
2014	182,201,962	7 th	1 st	91,508,084	15 th	3 rd	54,956,920	24 th	5 th
RANK	1st			2nd			3rd		

(World Bank, 2015b)

With the largest population in the world, African Group and overall ranking as noted in Table 5.9, Nigeria measures positively against this criterion of population size, while Egypt and South Africa fall in 2nd and 3rd position, respectively.

Interpretation of Results

Following the above analyses, this study will collate the ranking for each criterion, to ultimately determine Nigeria's eligibility for permanent membership on the UNSC, based on this study's defined criteria.

Table 5.10 Showing Nigeria, Egypt And South Africa’s Ranking Against Eight Criteria Identified By Four UNSC Reform Proposals

Criteria	Rank		
	Nigeria	Egypt	South Africa
Contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
Democratic enhancement	1 st	1 st	1 st
Diplomatic Contributions	-	-	-
Effectiveness	1 st	1 st	1 st
Financial contributions	2 nd	3 rd	1 st
Enhanced representation	1 st	1 st	1 st
Representation from developing countries	1 st	1 st	1 st
Size of country's population	1 st	2 nd	3 rd

Based on the information provided in Table 5.10, the rankings were collated by assigning each rank a score (i.e. 1st = 3, 2nd = 2, and 3rd = 1), and summing the values to determine a final overall score. Thus, the final ranking for this study is as depicted in Table 5.11 below:

Table 5.11 Showing Final Ranking of Nigeria, Egypt And South Africa, Based on Criteria

Country	Final Score	Final Ranking
Nigeria	20	1 st
Egypt	17	2 nd
South Africa	17	2 nd

By defining each criteria and identifying indicators, this research has isolated measures to determine Nigeria's eligibility for permanent membership of the UNSC, comparing it with Egypt and South Africa who have indicated interest in UNSC permanent membership. The final scores show Nigeria measures highest and most favourably against the list of criteria, and compared with Egypt and South Africa.

Thus, the final results shows that using the above criteria from the four proposals, Nigeria ranks highest and most favourably against the list of criteria, followed by South Africa and Egypt achieving the same score and finishing ranked second. Based on these results, Nigeria is the most eligible, based on this study's defined criteria, for a permanent seat on the UNSC, amongst the comparator group.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This thesis has sought to determine Nigeria's eligibility for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), based on this study's defined criteria, in the event that an argument for expansion could be put forward. It focused on two central research questions:

1. Is there a case for expansion of permanent member seats on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)?
2. If there is a case for such expansion, is Nigeria eligible, based on defined criteria, for one of these additional permanent member seats?

Chapter 1 introduced the entire thesis, including an introduction to the United Nations (UN), calls for UNSC reform, purpose of the research and an overview of all of the chapters. Chapter 2 provided a historical overview of events preceding the United Nations (UN) and events leading to the formation of the UN and leading to calls for a reform of the UNSC. In Chapter 4, the study sought to establish the case for reform. It provided an analysis of popular UNSC reform proposals establishing cases for UNSC membership. This was done with a view to isolating criteria for new permanent members of the UNSC. Chapter 5 followed this analysis by comparing Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa against the established criteria for permanent membership of the UNSC. The comparator countries were included in the study, as they have indicated interest in representing the continent with permanent member seats on the Council (Uwimana, 2006).

Reforming the United Nations: How Feasible?

Though there have been calls for reform over the years, the UN General Assembly began to debate UNSC reforms in 1993 (Global Policy Forum, 2015). However, this remains a complex issue, likely to be debated well into the future. Each of the four proposals studied in Chapter 4 lays out its reasons for reform and presents its suggested approach to these expansions. However, they each have challenges to their adaptation. A common challenge is consensus.

It has thus far been impossible to achieve consensus from all other UN members on any reform, including the two proposals put forward by the UN High Level Panel in its report. Even if any proposal does obtain the consensus needed from the UN General Assembly, it is likely to be very difficult to achieve consensus from all the P5, an important and necessary step to achieving ratification.

This will be made even more difficult with proposals that require amendments to the use of the veto or veto rights. Members of the exclusive P5 group on the Council are unlikely to give up or share their rights to the veto and may veto any proposals put before them for a vote, if they disagree with its terms. In view of all of the above, this study thus concludes that it would be very difficult to reform the UNSC membership, particularly by expanding or amending its permanent membership structure. However, if this is to be considered, a possible approach may be to identify and examine criteria from reform proposals (e.g. the criteria identified from the four proposals in this thesis) and use these as a basis for determining membership eligibility.

Nigeria, its Role in Africa and Potential in the United Nations

As earlier stated, the criteria used for this exercise was derived from all four reform proposals examined in Chapter 4. It includes measures such as a country's contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security and diplomatic contributions; representation from its region (geographic, economic); its population size and its financial contributions to the UN, among others. Nigeria and comparator countries were measured against indicators assigned to each criterion with results showing Nigeria ranking highest on these measures. The following sub-sections in this section offer more background information on Nigeria, its role in Africa and the UN.

The analysis completed in Chapter 5 ranked Nigeria the highest amongst the three comparator countries with regard to meeting the criteria established for permanent membership of the UNSC. The results by no means suggest that Nigeria is the only African country qualified for such a position, nor do they also suggest that when compared with all 53 African countries, Nigeria would necessarily score highest. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the scope of this research is limited to examining Nigeria as a case study, to determine its eligibility for permanent membership on the UNSC, based on this study's defined criteria.

Nigeria and the United Nations

With 182,201,962 people, Nigeria has Africa's largest population (World Bank, 2015b). The West African country joined the UN on October 7, 1960 after its independence from the United Kingdom on October 1, 1960. In addition, Nigeria makes Africa's largest contributions to the maintenance of international peace and security. As well, according to the Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations (2015), the

country has played pivotal roles in the UN. One of these roles is as coordinator of the African Group on the UN's First Committee. The Committee deals with disarmament and international peace and security.

Furthermore, since 1966, Nigeria has served five two-year tenures as a non-permanent member of the UNSC, and has served as UNSC president 10 times. Nigeria has assumed a big brother role at various times in Africa, with a foreign policy described as being afro-centric in posture (Nwanolue and Iwuoha, 2012). According to United States President, Barack Obama, the country "...is critical to the rest of the continent and if Nigeria does not get it right, Africa will really not make more progress" (Emelumadu, 2010). Finally, while Africa has no permanent representation on the UNSC, Nigeria's vice-president, Professor Yomi Osinbajo, has noted that Nigeria in particular deserves a seat on the Council owing to its "...contributions to international peace keeping, size of its economy and population" (Usman, 2015, n.p.).

An African-centred Foreign Policy

In line with its Africa focus, Nigeria's government played a leading role in the formation of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in 1963 that had decolonization of other African countries as one its objectives. In 1980, the country's president Shehu Shagari stated:

Africa remains the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy. My administration is committed to the cause of the total liberation of Africa and the abolition of racism in all its manifestations. We shall neither relax nor relent until all Africans and all black men are free. (Tijani & Williams, 1981, p. 167)

The statement above and the information in the following sub-sections have been included to highlight the efforts Nigeria has taken to contribute to the independence, and

subsequently, the success of other African nations, representing the interests of the African continent. It speaks to Nigeria's prominent role in Africa, and offers why the country may consider that it deserves to represent the continent as a permanent member on the UNSC.

As recorded by Nwanolue and Iwuoha (2012), since independence, successive Nigerian governments have continued on with the country's afro-centric foreign policy. This saw the country involved in, and leading events to see to the independence of other African countries (e.g., Zimbabwe and Angola).

The country also played a significant role leading the African continent against the South African apartheid government. In the 1960s, Nigeria's prime minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa led a protest on the continent, against the apartheid regime. According to the South African Institute of International Affairs, from the 1960s to 1995, Nigeria contributed \$61 billion to help the African National Congress (ANC) in its fight against apartheid South Africa, more than any other country in the world. The country also offered free education to black South Africans (Koutonin, 2015). In addition, in the 1970s, Nigeria's government nationalized British Petroleum, after the organization provided oil to South Africa (Okosun, 2016).

Role in West Africa

As well as all the above, Nigeria has also played prominent and leading roles in the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In 1990, ECOWAS member countries set up a monitoring group, known as ECOMOG, to help keep the Liberian civil war from spreading to other West African countries. As noted by the BBC (2004) Nigeria as a regional giant, contributed most of

the ECOMOG troops, material and financial backing, with a dearth of involvement from western nations.

Nigeria, through ECOMOG, also led the intervention into Sierra Leone's civil war, helping to recapture the capital, reinstate the democratically elected president and end the war. Aside from Liberia and Sierra Leone, Okunnu (2010) notes that Nigeria also participated in peacekeeping operations in Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Cote d' Ivoire, Somalia and Darfur, Sudan.

Contributions to Peace, Security and Development in Africa

In addition to the many lives lost through its involvement in maintaining or enforcing peace and security in Africa, Nigeria has invested billions of dollars into African nations, including:

- Twenty million naira (\$20 million) in support of Angola's quest for independence from Portugal in 1975 (Nwanolue and Iwuoha 2012);
- Eight hundred million dollars towards a *Nigeria Trust Fund* established under the African Development Bank. This fund was to be given as a loan through the bank, to help African countries execute vital projects (Al-Hassan, 2008);
- Ninety billion dollars in the OAU Peace Keeping Force deployed to Chad in the 1980s (Nwanolue and Iwuoha 2012); and
- Ten billion dollars in the peace missions deployed to Liberia and Sierra Leone (Nwanolue and Iwuoha 2012).

The above discussion supports the view that Nigeria has played a significant leadership role in Africa. In addition to ranking highest against the criteria and indicators in chapter 4, Nigeria is identified as playing a prominent role in the UN, as a contributor to UN

missions and to the maintenance of international peace and security. In view of this, this thesis suggests that Nigeria indeed has a case for permanent membership on the UNSC.

Limitations of Research

Though attempting to determine Nigeria's eligibility for permanent membership of the UNSC (as a case study), this research encountered a number of limitations. Firstly, the study was limited to only four reform proposals analyzed in chapter 4. The UN General Assembly began debating UNSC reforms in 1993 (Global Policy Forum (2012)). This followed various calls from countries and different groups for greater representation within the permanent membership of the Council. As such, there have been several reform proposals put forward and it is impossible to study all in-depth. As such, this study was limited to the four most popular proposals, as identified by the Global Policy Forum (2012).

Secondly, the analyses against the criteria isolated from the four proposals were only made with three African countries, as explained in Chapter 5. Africa is the second largest continent, with 54 countries. In order to remain within the scope of this research, study was limited to the three African countries in Chapter 5. Though these three countries represent West Africa (Nigeria), North Africa (Egypt) and Southern Africa (South Africa), there remain other African countries that may indicate interest in permanent membership on the Council. However, Egypt and South Africa were specifically chosen as they have been noted as front-runners in the race for a permanent member representing Africa on the UNSC. As well, they have each expressed interest in representing the continent with permanent member seats on the Council (Uwimana, 2006).

Finally, the study only goes as far as isolating criteria for, and determining eligibility of permanent membership of the UNSC, based on its defined criteria. It does not propose a means to actually reform the UNSC or to make the proposed changes work. This research was important, in keeping with the scope required to answer the two research questions about a case for expansion of the UNSC and a case for Nigeria's permanent membership of the Council.

Recommendations for Further Study

In view of the identified limitations above, this thesis recommends a number of opportunities for further and future study. Following from the limited number of proposals studied, as cited in the section above, further study of other UNSC reform proposals may be made, to determine their arguments and identify other criteria for UNSC permanent membership. In view of the scope limited to three African countries studied, other African countries may be examined, to determine their eligibility of permanent membership of the UNSC, based on defined criteria. As well, other countries and under-represented regions may be examined, for their eligibility.

In relation to the lack of reform proposals proffered, it will be noted that the purpose of this research was not to proffer reform proposals. However, in order to address this issue, following an in-depth study, further reform proposals may be proffered, that may be better representative of, and accepted by UN member states. In addition to the above recommendations, a feasibility study may be undertaken, to determine how feasible reforms to the UNSC may be. Perhaps the study may identify short and long-term reforms that may be made, as well as easily achievable reforms that may be executed. Success at these may increase the appetite for further reforms. Finally,

further and regular research may be undertaken to determine whether there continues to remain a case for UNSC reform, and if so, how best to approach this. For example, it may be determined that the road to UNSC reform may be better approached through reforms to the UN or other UN organs or international organizations.

Conclusion

Though the case has been established for expanding the UNSC and for Nigeria gaining a permanent seat on the Council, the reality is that this is unlikely to happen anytime soon. As earlier stated, the P5 are unlikely to be willing to give up veto power. As such, reforming the UNSC may take a lot of compromise, not just from the P5, but also on the part of UN member nations. Indeed, as noted by Swart and Pace (2015), “Progress will likely only occur when those countries that have been pushing the hardest for expansion realize that there is little chance of success without considerable compromise.”

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