

## SAIMUN 2017 RESEARCH REPORT

<b>Forum:</b>	Security Council
<b>Issue:</b>	Reorganising the Security Council by revising membership and veto powers
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### Introduction

The role of the Security Council in the United Nations is vital; 15 permanent and non-permanent members cooperate to achieve a world peace. The Security Council was established on 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1945 by the victors of World War II for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. The victors of World War II called themselves the permanent five, or P5, meaning that they stay within the council forever. They also gave themselves the rights to veto which will be discussed later on. These permanent 5 members are: The United States of America, the United Kingdom, the French Republic, the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. Excluding these permanent 5 members, other 10 members of the council are elected for 2 year terms with 5 members changing every year. The non-permanent members for 2017 are: Bolivia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine and Uruguay. Non-permanent members are voted and selected based on their geographical regions, separated by: Asia-Pacific, Africa, Caribbean, Western Europe, Latin America and Other Eastern Europe.

The Security Council is continuously playing a significant role to establish international peace and security. Terrors associated with the terrorists groups such as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, Al-Qaeda and etc were all brought up and debated by the Security Council, though not completely. The question regarding non-proliferation of the Democratic People's Republic of

Korea, one of the topics in the Security Council in SAIMUN 2017 conference, is currently being debated within the Security Council.

A topic of reorganising the Security Council by revising its membership and veto powers has brought up around since 1992 but has since not been resolved. The problem is that in this rapidly changing world, the Security Council remained the same for more than 70 years. Reform of the Security Council encompasses five key issues which are as follows: categories of membership, veto held by the permanent 5 member states, regional representation, the size of the council and its working methods and the Security Council-General Assembly relationship.

## **Definition of key terms**

### **Permanent 5 (P5)**

Permanent 5 refers to the five countries within the Security Council that have rights to vote veto during voting procedure. These countries are the winners of the World War II and are as follows: the United States of America, the French Republic, the United Kingdom, People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. These countries have played a vital role behind the establishment of the Security Council 1945.

### **Veto**

Veto power is the authority only given to the permanent five members of the Security Council. The purpose of this veto power is to prevent the adoption of any non-procedural or substantive resolution. If the amendment seems to be unacceptable by P5 members, they need to inform the President as a potential veto action. This can be done verbally or by sending a note to the chair. Veto comes into power when any of the permanent 5 members votes against during the voting procedure. However, veto does not come into power when they vote abstain during the voting procedure. Veto power only works if they vote against.

### **P5 Caucus**

P5 caucus is a private talk between one of the presidents of the Security Council and permanent five members. The purpose of this private talk is to find a fruitful solution and avoid a veto. This talk can be commenced by one of the permanent five members bringing up a motion to entertain this caucus. This motion can be brought up by saying: 'Motion to entertain a P5 Caucus'. In this case, one of the presidents of the Security Council will take a vote only from the permanent five members, whether they agree to this motion of entertaining a private talk or not'.

Usually, this P5 caucus is frequently entertained during the debate time due to one or two members of the P5 voting against and other P5 members trying to persuade them. This private talk can happen shortly outside the debate room; other delegates would patiently wait during this talk. If an agreement is achieved, the P5 members would no longer veto a particular clause or resolution.

### **Non-permanent membership**

Non-permanent members are other 10 members of the Security Council, excluding the P5 members. These members are elected for 2 year terms with 5 members changing every year. These 5 changing members are decided in the middle of the year; to decide new members for 2017, 2016 United Nations Security Council election was held on 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2016 during the 70<sup>th</sup> annual session of the United Nations General Assembly at New York City (United Nations' Headquarters).

Candidates wishing to be elected for non-permanent members are divided into African group, Asia-Pacific group, Latin American & Caribbean group and Western Europe & Others group. From African group, Ethiopia was elected by gaining more votes than other candidates such as Kenya and Seychelles. Kazakhstan was elected from Asia-Pacific group after a competitive competition against Thailand. Bolivia was elected from Latin American & Caribbean group. Italy and Sweden were elected from Western Europe and Others after gaining more votes than the Netherlands.

With these newly elected members, the current non-permanent members are as follows: Bolivia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Senegal, Sweden, Ukraine and Uruguay.

### **Revision of the membership**

The phrase revision of the membership simply refers to reform of the council by adding/eliminating member states from the Security Council. The key areas to be debated on include the duration of terms in the council and the way how countries are selected from different regions.

#### **G4**

One of the main group of member states that demand for the revision of permanent members is G4. This G4 group is comprised of uprising world-leading countries: Brazil, Germany, Japan and India. They are largely supported by 3 of the P5 members: the United Kingdom, the French Republic and the Russian Federation.

#### **Uniting for Consensus (Coffee Club)**

In 1995, the ambassador of Italy, Francesco Paolo Fulci founded the Uniting for Consensus group along with Pakistan and Mexico. As an opposition to G4, the Uniting for Consensus group (also called as a Coffee Club) aims to prevent the possible expansion of permanent seats in the UNSC. This Coffee Club was then soon joined by around 50 other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America; to include, Canada, South Korea and Spain.

## **Background Information**

Reform of the Security Council has been a very sophisticated issue, by looking at the fact that no major decision has been made although this question was brought up since 1992. The Security Council's membership, veto powers and working methods reflect a bygone era. The council has changed considerably little since 1945 in this rapidly changing world.

The United Nations' conference held on September 2005 for the purpose of reforming the Security Council is unlikely to be seen as a fruitful conference. This meeting failed to achieve

the goals the council wanted to accomplish; public views on the effectiveness of the United Nations were extremely negative. Particularly after the USA-Iraq War which clearly showed how incompetent the United Nations was, a significant number of people around the world have demanded for dismantle of the United Nations. (The USA's former president George W. Bush has declared a war on Iraq without even discussing with the United Nations in 2003).

The UNSC was formed after the World War II for the purpose of preventing further wars and achieving a global peace in 1945. Just as what Silvia Perazzo has stated in 2007: *'Due to growing disagreement, global tensions and continuous conflicts the structured Security Council was not able to run its mechanisms and systems'*.

The Security Council was formed after World War II mainly by the victors of the war. On the other hand, the Axis powers including Germany, Italy and Japan were not able to join the P5 at that time because they were defeated in the World War II. If the victors of the World War II were Germany, Italy and Japan, the whole history would have changed since they would over the current P5's seats in the Security Council. There have been only 2 P5 seat changes in the past; Republic of China was originally one of the P5 members before its defeat to People's Republic of China. After its defeat, People's Republic of China replaced that place and is still in the council up to this date. Same goes to Russia, after the collapse of Soviet Union, Russia was selected as the representation in its stead.

The current P5 members, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, People's Republic of China, the French Republic and the Russian Federation maybe still considered as the most powerful and influential countries in the world, but the fact that these countries were selected based on the war that took place 70 years ago cannot be ignored.

## Key Issues

There are four key areas to be debated on while discussing on the reform of the Security Council. These are:

- The categories of how members are chosen
- The size and methods of how expansion of the Security Council will work
- The power of the Veto possessed by the five permanent members
- The representation of different regions

### **The categories of how members are chosen**

More than 60 countries have never been members of the Security Council, therefore it is important to give them chances equally and fairly. On the other hand, there are many countries which have served in the council more than 5 terms in total. Non-permanent members have 10 seats in the council; other 5 are taken by the permanent 5 members. These members are elected for 2 year terms with 5 members changing every year. The 5 changing members which will be added to the council are voted and decided in middle of the previous year of the joining year. Countries which have not had chances to join the council need to be have the priorities, although their economic stances might not be ready.

### **The size and methods of how expansion of the Security Council will work**

There have been various arguments regarding whether the Security Council should expand or not. There also have been some arguments insisting that more permanent members are needed in the council. Resolutions submitted and passed in the council in the past encourages initiation of reform of the council and goes against the expansion of the council at the same time. Some models suggested include expanding the number of permanent member seats to include G4 members and coffee club (which would be discussed later on in Major parties involved and their views section), shortening the term for non-permanent members from 2 to 1, not expanding the number of permanent seats.

The methods of how this expansion would work are not addressed in the Security Council, but rather in General Assembly and in 62<sup>nd</sup> meeting of General Assembly, this expansion was debated in the house.

### **The power of the Veto possessed by the five permanent members**

Veto power is the authority only given to the P5 members of the Security Council. The purpose of this veto power is to prevent the adoption of any non-procedural or substantive resolution. Veto comes into power when any of the P5 members votes against during the voting procedure. Because of this such undemocratic procedure of the council, the P5 members have been blamed for being unproductive. In conflicts including Cold War, Vietnam War, none of the resolutions were passed due to the presence of Veto powers.

The overwhelming power of Veto can be cancelled by holding a P5 caucus. P5 caucus is a private talk between one of the presidents of the Security Council and permanent five members. The purpose of this private talk is to find a fruitful solution and avoid a veto. This talk can be commenced by one of the permanent five members bringing up a motion to entertain this caucus.

Countries such as Japan, Germany, India, South Korea, Brazil and etc which are all members of either G4 or Coffee Club now have a similar, or slightly lower economic stances compared to the current permanent 5 members of the United Nations. Analysts believe that there is no reason why they cannot become the new permanent members and possess Veto powers. On the other hand, some people do not want to let even more countries to possess a Veto power as they think this would make the debate unproductive and slower.

### **The representation of different religions**

Candidates wishing to be elected for non-permanent members are divided into African group, Asia-Pacific group, Latin American & Caribbean group and Western Europe and Others group. They then compete against other candidates which are from their own groups, only 1 or 2 countries get selected per each group. The whole system of the Security Council commenced like this; after 70 years, it is still the same. Analysts believe that this might not be the fairest way to divide since there are certainly more competitive continents, there will be certain continents that

have more countries than the other. It is also a problem because it has been assumed that representative countries hold the same opinions as the countries they represent within their region.

Similarly, analysts believe that the power of Veto is not spread equally for each continents; there is no Veto power possessed by any of African countries when 3 European countries already possess Veto powers. Same goes for Latin America. All the powers seem to be concentrated mainly in Europe (3 out of 5) and the other two are distributed in Asia and Northern America group respectively. It is just not fair for African and Latin American countries for not possessing a power of Veto.

## Major parties involved and their views

### **G4 (Brazil, Germany, Japan and India)**

One of the main group of member states that demand for the revision of permanent members is G4. This G4 group is comprised of uprising world-leading countries: Brazil, Germany, Japan and India. They are largely supported by 3 of the P5 members: the United Kingdom, the French Republic and the Russian Federation. However, they are opposed by Uniting for Consensus movement, a group comprised of G4's political and economic opponents.

Up until now, because G4 nations are considered as non-permanent members, they were elected with 2 years of term just like other nations. The difference is that G4 nations have been involved in the council more than any other countries except the P5 members. Japan was elected eleven two-years terms, Brazil for ten terms, Germany for four terms and India for seven terms during the period from 1987 to 2010. Japan is the current member of the UNSC so that counts as one extra involvement in the council.

Some G4 countries are even considered to be more powerful countries than some of the P5 members, since P5 members were chosen after the war that ended around 70 years ago. According to the ranking of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ranked by International Monetary



Fund World Economic Outlook (IMF WEO), all four G4 countries were ranked in the top 10 when Russia was ranked 12<sup>th</sup>. Japan, particularly was ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> after the USA and People's Republic of China in this order, insisting Japan is more than capable of gaining a permanent member seat in the Security Council. This was even higher than the United Kingdom, the French Republic and the Russian Federation.

GDP is not the only measure of how developed a country is, but even other statistics including the number of active military, defence budget and etc show that G4 countries are in the level of P5 members already.

### **Uniting for Consensus (Canada, Italy, Mexico, South Korea, Spain, Pakistan and etc)**

In 1995, the ambassador of Italy, Francesco Paolo Fulci founded the Uniting for Consensus group along with Pakistan and Mexico. As an opposition to G4, the Uniting for Consensus group (also called as a Coffee Club) aims to prevent the possible expansion of permanent seats in the UNSC. This Coffee Club was then soon joined by around 50 other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America; to include, Canada, South Korea and Spain.

During the 59<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Uniting for Consensus group – mainly led by Italy, Mexico and Pakistan made a proposal. This proposal encouraged the number of non-permanent members' seats to be increased from 10 to 20. It also proposed the General Assembly to elect non-permanent countries for the duration of 2 years and make them available immediately for re-election after 2 years. They also suggested to elect them based on the countries' respective geographical groups.

There has been discontent among the Coffee Club countries and they believe that G4 nations should not be gaining permanent member seats in the Security Council. Japan is heavily opposed by People's Republic of China and Republic of Korea who think that Japan still needs to make further atonement regarding their war crimes during World War II. Looking back to the history of Japan, China and South Korea believe that they deserve a more sincere, public apologies from Japan. Italy and Spain are opposing Germany, Mexico is opposing Brazil and Pakistan is opposing India.

Although the Coffee Club countries are also fully capable of gaining permanent seats in the Security Council considering their GDP, active military, defence budget and etc, these countries aim to prevent the expansion of permanent member seats. They do not necessarily believe that they should be gaining permanent member seats, but they insist there should be a global consensus before the expansion of the Security Council.

### **The United States of America**

The USA has previously suggested possible criteria that can be used to judge countries regarding the reform of the Security Council. These include:

- Population
- Military Capacity
- Economic Size
- Financial contributions to the UN
- Contributions to the UN Peacekeeping
- Record of counter-terrorism and non-proliferation
- Commitment to democracy and human rights

The United States Department of State has stated on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2005:

*“The United States is open to UN Security Council reform and expansion, as one element of an overall agenda for UN reform. We advocate a criteria-based approach under which potential members must be supremely well qualified, based on factors such as: economic size, population, military capacity, commitment to democracy and human rights, financial contributions to the UN, contributions to UN peacekeeping, and record on counterterrorism and non-proliferation.*”

*We have to look, of course, at the overall geographic balance of the Council, but effectiveness remains the benchmark for any reform.”*

Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia. “Reform of the United Nations Security Council.” Written in September, 2016. Retrieved in December, 2016 from:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reform\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_Nations\\_Security\\_Council](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reform_of_the_United_Nations_Security_Council)

### **The United Kingdom and the France**

During a joint United Kingdom-France summit, a following statement has been made on 27<sup>th</sup> March 2008:

*“Reform of the UNSC, both its enlargement and the improvement of its working methods, must therefore succeed. We reaffirm the support of our two countries for the candidacies of Germany, Brazil, India and Japan for permanent membership, as well as for permanent representation for Africa on the Council. We regret that negotiations towards this goal remain in deadlock and are therefore ready to consider an intermediate solution. This could include a new category of seats, with a longer term than those of the current elected members and those terms would be renewable; at the end of an initial phase, it could be decided to turn these new types of seats into permanent ones. We will work with all our partners to define the parameters of such a reform.*

*UNSC reform requires a political commitment from the member states at the highest level. We will work in this direction in the coming months with a view to achieving effective reform.”*

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### **Russia**

At the general debate of the 64<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly on 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep 2009, Dmitry Medvedev, the former President of Russia has stated:

*“The UN must rationally adapt itself to new world realities. It should also strengthen its influence and preserve its multinational nature and integrity of the UN Charter provisions. The*

*reform of the UN Security Council is an essential component of its revitalization. The time has come to speed up the search for a compromise formula of its expansion and increased efficiency of its work.”*

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## Timeline of Relevant Resolutions, Treaties and Events

Event	Description
11 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1992	Reform of the Security Council was added to the Agenda of the United Nations General Assembly.
3 <sup>rd</sup> Dec 1993	<p>Resolution A/RES/48/26 was written by the Security Council demanding:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="878 1094 1409 1419">1. Decides to <b>establish an Open-ended Working Group</b> to consider all aspects of the question of increase in the membership of the Security Council, and other matters related to the Security Council;</li> <li data-bbox="878 1549 1377 1818">2. Requests the Open-ended Working Group to submit a report on the progress of its work to the General Assembly before the end of its forty-eighth session;</li> </ol>

	<p>3. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its forty-ninth session an item entitled "<b>Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters</b>".</p>
<p>1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1998</p>	<p>Resolution A/RES/53/30 was written to oppose the future expansion of the Security Council.</p>
<p>2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 2000</p>	<p>Former Secretary General, Kofi Annan proposes two solutions regarding the expansion of the Security Council which are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 6 new permanent seats, with no veto power and three new two year term non-permanent seats. They are distributed as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Africa: 2 permanent seats</li> <li>Asia and Pacific: 2 permanent seats</li> <li>Europe: 1 permanent seat</li> <li>Americas: 1 permanent seat</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. No new permanent seats however a new category of 8 four-year non-permanent seats and 1 four-year non-permanent seat. They are distributed as follows:</li> </ol>

	<p>Africa: 2 four-year seats          Asia and Pacific: 2 four-year seats          Europe: 2 four-year seats          Americas: 2 four-year seats</p>
<p>Sep 2004</p>	<p>During the 59<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Uniting for Consensus group – mainly led by Italy, Mexico and Pakistan made a proposal. This proposal encouraged the number of non-permanent members’ seats to be increased from 10 to 20. It also proposed the General Assembly to elect non-permanent countries for the duration of 2 years and make them available immediately for re-election after 2 years. They also suggested to elect them based on the countries’ respective geographical groups.</p>
<p>Jan 2011</p>	<p>The G4 produces a resolution which contains points regarding the expansion of the permanent seats in the Security Council.</p>
<p>July 2016</p>	<p>A resolution was written in the Security Council in order to expand the number of non-permanent seats around 21~27. This resolution, does not, however, mentions the points brought up by the G4 or Uniting for Consensus regarding the expansion of permanent member states. The resolution did not, yet, passed nor adopted by the Security Council.</p>

## Previous attempts to resolve the issue

Due to overload of continuous works of the Security Council caused by Liberian crisis, threats to international peace caused by terrorist attacks and etc, the Security Council seems not to have done much since 1992 when this issues was first brought up.

As mentioned previously, there has been a demand to expand the permanent member states by G4 nations (Brazil, Germany, Japan and India). Though this could have been one of the solutions to the reform of the council, more than 50 countries in Uniting for Consensus have been going against this due to their political and historical stances. The Security Council has still not suggested a clear, possible solution to deal with these opposing views as this is a very sensitive issue for all member states.

A sincere appreciation to Kofi Anan, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, has proposed two solutions which one of them has been adopted by the council. It was decided that there would be no extra permanent seats however a new category of 8 four-year non-permanent seats and 1 four-year non-permanent seat.

Regarding the Veto powers, multiple suggestions have been brought up, including limiting the uses of Veto, getting rid of the Veto powers and making sure Veto would need multiple agreements before it can take place. However, according to United Nations Charter of 108 and 109 states that Veto has power over any amendments to the Charter. This means that P5 members need to agree upon any changes to Veto power before any amendments could be made to this power. This is unlikely to happen since Veto was originally to protect the P5 members.

## Possible Solutions

Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon has stated: *“The U.N. Security Council reform, being debated since two decades is too long overdue and the necessary expansion must be made considering how much the world has changed.”*

The prime minister of Portugal José Sócrates has stated in September 2010: *“The 15-member Security Council must be enlarged so that it is more representative, transparent and efficient. In our view it is illogical that countries like Brazil or India that have today an irreplaceable economic and political role are still not permanent members of the Security Council. Africa also deserves consideration to take due account of the remarkable political and economic progresses that we have witnessed in that vast continent.”*

The question regarding reform of the UNSC is a sensitive topic for all member states in the United Nations. Although it might seem very simple to just accept more permanent member states and expand the Security Council as a whole, it cannot be easily done since other opposing countries which are political and historical opponents can disagree and refuse to vote for. Take a look at the example of Asia: Japan, as one of the G4 nations, demands to be the new permanent member in the council. However, the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of Korea strongly refuse to agree to this; they still think that Japan still needs to make further atonement regarding their war crimes during World War II. Same goes to India and Pakistan which are two countries in conflict at the moment.

### **Discussion of Veto power**

As mentioned previously, according to the United Nations Charter of 108 and 109 states that Veto has power over any amendments to the Charter. This means that P5 members need to agree upon any changes to Veto power before any amendments could be made to this power. When the UN was being created, the leaders of P5 have stated that they would not join the UN without getting Veto powers.

During the discussion period, before suggesting and adopting an amendment regarding Veto power, all P5 members would have to agree first. Although they were chosen as the permanent member states after winning the war that ended more than 70 years ago, they are the ones who



still have the power in the United Nations and by addressing this agenda, the reliability on current P5 members would decrease; taking new uprising superpowers into account.

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